Visibilizing Everyday Intergenerational Engagements: Philippines in 2020 Lockdown

Visual Technologies as a Panacea for Social Isolation

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Abstract

Contemporary depictions of learning in early years research and practice are mostly located within formal educational institutions. Educational experiences that take place for young children in the family home, and across generations, are much less visible, despite persistent claims concerning the importance of the wider family in early experience. During COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, however, learning at home with family members became much more visible as private and public settings...
coalesced. In the present study 2-4-year-old Filipino children's intergenerational experiences at home during lockdown were shared through visual data, as a source of valued learning—highlighting the pedagogical role of family. The authors' interest in this article is to explore what kinds of learning were made visible—by whom, for whom. Special emphasis is given to intergenerational engagements between young children and older adults, as represented by the families themselves. Heywood and Sandywell's concept of 'visibilization' is operationalized as a visual route to these sites of production—the images themselves, their intended audience, and their circulation. Videos produced by families portray intergenerational arenas for learning. The mediating role of the sandwich generations in these intergenerational encounters are made visible in the private and public sphere of social media.

Keywords

visual technologies against social isolation – visibilization – intergenerational learning – intergenerational engagements – critical visual analysis – sharenting

1 Refocusing the Lens on Intergenerational Learning in Intergenerational Settings

Despite their espoused significance for learning (Early Childhood Care and Development Council of the Philippines, 2011; New Zealand Ministry of

feature This article comprises a video, which can be viewed here.
Education, 2017; Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training, 2017) community and family settings receive less pedagogical attention than formal learning institutions (Sánchez et al., 2018; Stephan, 2021). Intergenerational learning is widely ‘accepted as the oldest method of informal learning ... both [in] formal and non-formal education’ (Luka & Niedritis, 2012). Understandings of learning that stem from engagements and interactions of different generations or age-cohorts with each other precede formal educational institutions (Cortellesi & Kernan, 2016; Hoff, 2007; Schmidt-Hertha, 2014). Generations pass down family and community traditions, skills, culture, values, and customs (Jessel, 2009; Rogoff, 2015; Schmidt-Hertha, 2014). However, with the genesis of formal educational institutions and age-specific social services, constructions of learning are increasingly drawn from settings where generations are edged apart (Oropilla & Guadana, 2021). Here, learning is more likely to be represented according to measurable, quantifiable, and normalized outcomes by individual learners, according to age or stage (Elwick & White, 2022). Calls to re-balance these against more informal learning opportunities have received minimal attention in policy or practice (Hager et al., 2006) despite sustained attention to family and community in many early years curriculum documents.

One avenue for increased visibility of intergenerational learning arises through recent visual and material turns in educational research that make use of images and visual artifacts to understand learning processes. Visual techniques can promote an in-depth examination of private worlds, making visual exploration a ‘legitimate subject of inquiry’ (Dussel, 2020, p. 137). The plethora of information, communications, and tools poses challenges and opportunities for 21st-century scholars (Quinlan, 2017). An increasingly technologically connected society affords opportunities for making everyday-life and staged life visible to family, friends, and followers on social media platforms. For example, ‘sharenting’ allows parents and grandparents to share photos of their children and grandchildren on social media (Fox & Hoy, 2019). In visual practices such as these, visualization is controlled (and perhaps also out of control) within the public sphere—accessible to all consequently—but often in the absence of scholarly scrutiny (White & Ødegaard, 2019).

The coronavirus pandemic of 2020 further blurred public and private spaces when people shared visual data on digital platforms such as TikTok and Facebook—making private worlds visible in public domains (Budd et al., 2020; United Nations, n.d.). These visual routes provided a unique window into the learning experiences of young children, who spent more time at home and experienced different inquiry opportunities.

Also, during this time, many families used social media for communication, information, and entertainment (United Nations, n.d.). Social media posts and
news outlets around the globe featured stories lamenting the lack of access younger generations had to grandparents in elderly home institutions (Sidner, 2020; Welsh, 2020) as the elderly were deemed to be most at risk for being infected (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2021). At the same time, young children were more frequently at home than in early years institutions as a result of countrywide school closures in 188 countries affecting 1.5 children and youth (UN Sustainable Development Group, 2020). In countries such as the Philippines where multigenerational households are highly prevalent (Oropilla & Guadana, 2021; Philippine Statistics Authority, 2015), the pandemic provided them more time to spend with families across age groups. As such, social media was used to connect across generations in familial contexts, locally and also globally.

It was within this context, at the height of Covid-19, that we set out to understand how intergenerational learning might be visibilized by Filipino families on social media. We wanted to find out how these visibilized sites of production could contribute to greater insights concerning young learners’ intergenerational engagements in family settings.

2 A Visibilization Approach

Heywood and Sandywell (2012) define research using visibilization as inquiry processes that are “concerned with the activities, techniques and performative status of seeing, spectatorship and the technological expansions of visual experience through optical media” (p. 16) as it “designates the social and material conditions, machineries and processes that make different modalities of visuality possible” (p. 15). Visibilization involves a critical reorientation of the eye to the images’ context, which affords visibility (or invisibility). Visibilization reveals not only what is portrayed but also what is rendered consequently—that is, the meanings produced or generated through the process—and by whom, for what purpose. Visibilization requires reflexive descriptions of knowledge formation and production (Mitchell, 2002).

In the current study, intergenerational engagements in family and community settings are visibilized as potential venues for learning to further understand the contexts through which the learning takes place. Our route to understanding emphasizes the actors within and the producers of the visual data and the strategies through which their motives and intentions are made visible. The intention is to interrogate the underlying meanings and purposes of the videos, as imbued by those who produced them. Heywood and
Sandywell’s (2012) concept of visibilization embodies an analytical framework visibilizing the three areas of production where meanings are located—the site of circulation, the site of the image itself, and the site of the audience (Rose, 2016). By critically engaging with the sites, modes, and intentions of production, nuanced representations of learning are made visible by families and by the researchers in the project. As collaborators in this project, the families and the researchers are both audiences and disseminators of the visual data. Doing so subscribes to the idea that visual data does not merely describe a preexisting social world but rather, illuminates strategic orientation and value through the data produced (Kjeldsen, 2022). As such, videos and photos can be viewed as performances, supporting the argument that ‘knowledge traditions are performative, helping to create the realities that they describe’ (Law, 2008, p. 623).

Visual production interpretation entails recognizing inclusion and exclusion, detecting roles, understanding circulation, and distribution, and recognizing hierarchies and differences (Fyfe & Law, 1988). According to these principles, researchers must be reflexive about the development, usage, and impact of proffered intergenerational social life experiences. Visual resources form part of a dialogue between researchers and participants, open to altering interpretation as meaning is added. Meanings coming from the photos and videos produced by the families are therefore ‘truth(s) that are not denied to the participants, but … constructed out of the experience of seeing rather than as a received event of reality’ (White, 2020, p. 10).

3 Visibilizing Learning in Intergenerational Engagements during the Pandemic Lockdown

Given the pandemic context enframing the research project, this study began through an open invitation to families via a public social media post on Facebook through the research center’s page (see Figure 1). Facebook was selected because it is the most widely used social media platform (Neufeld, 2021) which has also been widely used as a recruitment platform, especially for health research, because it can overcome time and geography barriers (Reagan et al., 2019; Whitaker et al., 2017). Facebook is a helpful medium for recruiting if researchers remain conscious of their responsibilities to protect human participants (Kamp et al., 2019). Guidelines for using social media for recruitment (Harvard Catalyst, 2017), which emphasize informing participants about data privacy and creating trust and respect, were adhered to. Participants received all
required data privacy information through the online survey form, information letters, emails, and informal social media interactions.

Visual data such as photos and videos were welcomed with the understanding that the internet sets a unique challenge in that information shared can take on a new meaning in a different context. When shared on social media or a website for research articles, the photos and videos gain many immediate co-owners of the material through the collaborative nature of its production. It was specified in the online form as well as the information letter and consent forms that by sharing their stories, photos, and videos with us, they are consenting to their data being shared with a wider public in a research context.

Upon gaining initial consent on Facebook, first author Oropilla proactively contacted participants, who supplied visual data via Facebook Messenger and Zoom. The participants were informed of what would happen to the data, where it may be published, who read such journals, and why. Participants
received information, consent forms, and options to share material by QR code or Google Drive. Some participants opted to send stories, images, and videos directly to the researcher.

The Facebook post reached 29,930 people, attracted 443 reactions and four comments, and was shared 60 times (Figure 2). The response was extremely low for sending photos and videos as only three multi-generational families in the Philippines responded to the invitation. Low response rates utilizing social media as recruitment platforms are difficult to define and evaluate when the link to participation spreads through forwarded postings, resulting in undocumented invitations, multiple clicks, and unintended target participants (Bhutta, 2012; Stern et al., 2014). Despite attempts to personalize and humanize the research through the social media post (Dillman et al., 2014; Kittleson,
Oropilla's network was the most influential factor since all families that volunteered to participate were from her community in the Philippines.

Out of three families, two case studies (as visualized in Figure 3) were selected for this study to represent an equal socio-economic representation through a geographical and territorial contrast that is still significant in Asian countries today (Batabyal et al., 2021). The family of Case Study 1 consisted of...
a 4-year-old boy (Lucas), his grandmother (3 Mama Inda), grandfather (Lolo Papa Alex), aunt (Tita Joy), and mother (Mommy Kaye). Lucas’ aunt took photos and videos of him and his grandparents while Mommy Kaye worked. They live in a rapidly developing Philippine municipality. The family of Case Study 2 consisted of 2-year-old Pia, her mother (Mommy Paula), her 62-year-old maternal grandmother (Mamita Susan), 65-year-old maternal grandfather (Lolo Bienvenido), and 66-year-old paternal grandmother (Lola Nympha). They live in one of the most urban cities in the Philippines.

It is noteworthy that the participants’ names are not pseudonyms, and that we have received consent from the participants to use the names they use for each other in the presentation and discussion of their data. In doing so, the authenticity of their everyday lived experiences remains intact.

The mothers and aunts are described by Chisholm (1999); Miller (1981); Williams (2004) as the ‘sandwich’ generation who sit between older and younger generations and play a significant mediating role accordingly.

The respondent-generated visual production was a co-creation process—that although the tasks were prompted by the researchers, the families had control over the machineries, the tools, and the content of the photos and videos that they deemed appropriate for the task. Not everyone has access to high-end technology, so no guidelines were given for technological tools and video output specifications. As such, they were encouraged to use whatever tools they have available—their mobile phones, tablets, laptop computers, etc. to capture still images and videos of intergenerational engagements as it was what they had access to, and what they used in everyday life. No specific technical skills were required. Throughout the pandemic lockdown, the participants sent 14 videos sharing interactions between small children and their grandparents. The videos combined visual data they had produced before participating in the study and videos made specifically for this project.

Pakikipagkwentuhan is a participatory and indigenous data collection method drawn from Sikolohiyang Pilipino (Filipino Psychology) that is sensitive to the Filipino culture and highlights equal status between researchers and participants (Pe-Pua, 2006). Pakikipagkwentuhan involves casual chats, interviews, storytelling, or peer conversations (Pe-Pua, 2006). The principal researcher is from the Philippines and built rapport and trust with the subjects over months of informal digital discussions. Pakikipagkwentuhan was used to ask follow-up questions to validate and contextualize the data, such as the motivation for capturing the images and videos, the context of the materials’ use, and the verbal exchange between small children and older adults that cannot be heard in the visual data. Pakikipagkwentuhan plays a fundamental
role in identifying what families view as learning opportunities in intergenerational exchanges, especially in the videos, which we focus on in this study.

4 Framework for Analysis

Visibilization is approached through three sites of visual meaning production—the site of circulation, site of the image itself and site of the audience (see Figure 4). By systematically examining these sites, the analysis turns to the machineries, processes, and conditions of visual production as a route to understanding intergenerational learning.

4.1 Site of the Image/Videos
The production sites are where visual data is created (Rose, 2016). To visualize the phenomenon being studied, it is vital to examine who created the videos and why. Photos and videos can reveal ‘apparent truthfulness’ (Rose, 2007, p.15) and genuine representation of the interactions between young children and older persons. We agree that images and videos, especially those shared by participants, can decolonize some participant groups and reduce misrepresentation (Olsson & Lindgren, 2019). However, it is also vital to consider who records the footage.
The families controlled the content of the images and videos, making them respondent-generated visuals (Pauwels & Mannay, 2020). In Case Study 1, Lucas' aunt and mother were behind the camera, whereas Pia's mother was primarily behind the camera in Case Study 2, except for some TikTok videos Pia self-produced (Videos 1 & 2). In these videos, young children's ability to use modern technologies presents participation and protection themes. Pia's ability to record Videos 1 and 2 demonstrates how easily children can use digital technology. As such, while digital technology poses threats such as cyberbullying and the increased scale of child sexual abuse and exploitation (The Lancet Child and Adolescent Health, 2018), its interconnected potential can help children participate in digital societies by recognizing their agency and increasing their digital skills and literacy, thereby helping to protect them against risks (Smahel et al., 2020; Livingstone and Haddon, 2009). The Lancet Child and Adolescent Health (2018) writes that while young children could be most at risk when using digital technologies, they are also the ones with most to gain when policies and environments encourage them to use digital technologies safely and responsibly.

In producing the videos, the families' environments and available materials were connected to the message they wanted to portray. The families produced photos and videos in their homes and surrounding areas, representing varied home environments in the Philippines. They controlled the sites and production methods. They controlled the initial audiences for the images and on which social media platforms they were shared. Families participating in this study agreed to have their videos viewed for research purposes. It brings to light some of the intent, meanings, and purposes the producers of the videos wanted to convey, which could have been altered as some of the videos have been created in the private world of their homes for more private documentation.

Visibilization requires considering the video's visual content and components. A close examination of the footage entails reflecting on what message the producers of the video wanted to convey—and these include the relations of the children to the grandparents, as well as 'visions of social categories such as class, gender, race, …' (Rose, 2007). The process recognized participants' capacity to contribute 'unique insight into the respondent's culture through what they include and leave out of (static or moving) pictures (Pauwels & Mannay, 2020, p. 5). Some researchers highlight the difference between private and publicly mediated self-representation, manifested in idealized social media personas (Drozdova, 2020; Enli & Thumim, 2012). Others argue that persons seek to present an authentic representation of themselves (Holiday et al., 2022). According to Holiday et al. (2002), what is hidden can be elicited
from what is revealed; the shared material provides meaningful insights into an expanded embodied self-representation.

The videos were relatively short—a function of both material and social conditions. Mobile phones have limited storage; therefore, shorter recordings were transmitted to the researchers to save space and internet bandwidth. In their videos, the families emphasized “making memories” and “not taking moments together for granted” in their videos. All videos submitted depicted engagements between young children and their grandparents that the families viewed to represent learning opportunities—not just for young children but also for older adults, as evident in the Tiktok videos and confirmed in the paki-kipagkwentuhan sessions (Videos 3 & 4). In these videos, Pia and her grandparents created content together through digital platforms and technologies that, according to Pia’s mother in the informal conversations, the grandparents are not familiar with and that they learned about as they engage with Pia.

The families’ notions of intergenerational learning include their everyday chores (Videos 5 & 6), eating (Video 7), playing (Videos 8 & 9), and even attending televised church mass (Video 10). Notably, the children are featured center of the frame in most videos (Video 11), representing the central role the children assumed in these engagements. Featuring children’s in the center of the frame also indicates that the people filming the videos focused on the learning opportunities for the children. They framed the videos to capture the children’s movements and reactions as they interacted with their grandparents in various places around their communities. In Video 12, for example, Mommy Kaye emphasized how the pandemic provided opportunities for Lucas to explore the nearby outdoor areas with his grandparents. This was something they could not do as much before the pandemic as they were all busy with their day-to-day lives.

The families also included videos of the children and their grandparents sharing toys (Video 13) and school materials (Video 14), and food (Video 15) in their engagements. Arguably, the families consider these artifacts to support intergenerational learning as they actively chose to feature them in the videos—passing knowledge, traditions, and practices from one generation to the other in a reciprocal manner. Mommy Paula included a video of Mamita sewing a dress for Pia. They considered this to represent a learning opportunity for both Pia to have something for role-playing and Mamita to create the dress, which she reportedly did not usually do.

In another example, Lucas observed and attempted to copy how his grandfather used a machete to remove weeds and thorns. He was subsequently warned that he might get thorns in his hands (Video 16). In this example, some facets of learning by observing and pitching in (Rogoff, 2014) are evident. Rogoff (2014) posits a prism model with seven interrelated facets that constitute LOPI—1)
the learner is incorporated and contributing to family and community endeavors; 2) Learners are eager to contribute and belong as valued members of their families and communities; 3) Learning is a collaborative engagement, with flexible leadership and where learners are trusted to take initiative; 4) The goal of learning is transforming participation to contribute and belong in the community which involves learning to collaborate with consideration and responsibility; 5) Learning involves wide, keen attention, in anticipation of or during contribution to the endeavor at hand; 6) Communication happen through verbal and non-verbal conversations, as well as through the use of narratives and dramatization; 7) Assessment of learning with a focus on the success of the support and feedback provided for the learner and the progress toward mastery. In the video, Lucas intently observed everyday tasks and attempted to participate by imitating these tasks. These examples highlight how the families were keen to produce conceptions of learning as a series of activities resulting from natural engagements in everyday situations and community settings.

According to their parents, the grandchildren and grandparents bonded while making the videos for this research. In one of the submitted videos, Lucas asked his grandfather to make more recordings with him outdoors (Video 17). Producing the videos allowed inter-generational family members to interact during the pandemic. The digitally captured videos also allowed them to create shared projects and moments.

4.2 Site of the Audience
Analyzing the audience site involves considering where the videos are viewed, received, interpreted, and why. Two criteria must be considered in site analysis: The social identities of the spectators and the social performance of spectating (Rose, 2016).

In the current study, the families producing were aware of the researchers’ role as spectators due to the information shared during the consent gathering stage. Therefore, the families’ knowledge of the researchers’ backgrounds inevitably influenced how some videos were produced. However, some of the videos were posted on social media before the initiation of the study. As such, the participants’ friends and families were also spectators. Consequently, the processes and social conditions may have influenced the videos in that they represented a social performance or were staged to convey learning through intergenerational engagements.

The videos have at least three purposes: first, to fulfill the research task; second, to document family memories, as the mothers said in the pakikipag-wentuhan sessions; and third, to be uploaded and shared with the public. The films have diverse meanings depending on where they were posted and why (Fox & Hoy, 2019)—for example, mothers regularly shoot images and videos
of their children to track their growth and development. Recordings of intergenerational encounters between children and their grandparents are for their own record of ‘precious moments together’ which they have reflected on in the light of the ongoing pandemic that hit older adults hard. Consequently, families provided films of intergenerational engagements for this research, but they also produced the data for personal and relational reasons. This resonated with recent studies on sharenting (Barnes & Potter, 2021; Bhroin et al., 2022; Holiday et al., 2022), that there is underlying motive to produce visual data to portray their families as having the ideal experiences and engagements. While media research earlier pointed to the parents’ responsibility for protecting children in the digital environment, and national authorities in many countries provided parents with multiple guidelines for monitoring children’s screen time and online use, the societal understanding that parents are responsible for surveying their children’s online behavior is clear (Barnes & Potter, 2021). A growing body of research, however, now focus on families creating their own digital narratives through ‘sharenting’ their family activities and portraying their children. Some studies include shares, likes and clicks on the uploaded photos, videos or social media post as part of the analysis pointing to how audience responses can form, shape and determine content of succeeding posts.

4.3 Site of the Circulation

Lastly, the site of circulation involves a discussion of where the videos are viewed received and interpreted (Rose, 2016). The introduction of digital technologies in every home and the prevalence of social media platforms where one may upload images, videos, and other material, make the site of circulation accessible to everybody. Facebook, TikTok, and YouTube provide face-to-face communications in isolated communities and are important communication portals for accessing government efforts to fight COVID-19 in the Philippines (Toquero & Talidong, 2021). The Internet provides people with free access to these social media platforms. Given the video producers’ intent and purposes, it’s not surprising that the families in this study used social media to share intergenerational experiences.

Contexts where videos were profiled influence what is viewable on this site. As noted, distributing content and videos on social media platforms affects what and how the audience views it—a result of material and social variables around production. What is circulated depends on the aim of the videos, and the producer controls who watches the films. Videos that families find unsuitable for sharing have limited visibility.
As part of our reflexive account of visibilizing intergenerational learning, however, we must acknowledge that it was part of the plan to include the videos in an academic journal article. At the onset of the study, before they provided their consent, the main researcher explained thoroughly what will happen to the visual data—and therefore they knew of academic journals such as the Video Journal of Education and Pedagogy (VJEP). Upon the knowledge that their lived experiences are to be included in a journal article such as this, one of the mothers mentioned that they did not realize that their lives and activities warranted a study. As such, the genesis of VJEP also provided a site of circulation to make learning from intergenerational engagements visible for the readers who are mostly educators themselves.

4.4 Visibilization through the Three Sites of Meaning
Using lenses to explore visual data meanings represented a useful technique to examine how families experience and express intergenerational engagements. Families’ videos showed intergenerational learning using local artifacts and community places. Both families said the pandemic lockdown allowed them to spend time together, and their recordings reflected joy and pride. These families viewed learning as manifest in these relationships, highlighting core principles of intergenerational learning (Schmidt-Hertha, 2014). These include 1) learning more about one’s generation and other generations, 2) reciprocal and equal exchanges, and 3) shared commitments. Stephan (2021) added a fourth principle, which has also been observed in the videos—and that is relationship building. Though not evident in the footage included in this study, the sandwich generation plays a big role in intergenerational engagements and in visualizing learning from the perspectives of young children and older adults. They acted as mediators of engagements by exerting some control over the activities, materials, and spaces used by the children and their grandparents, but also of what the rest of the world or their audience see through the videos they have produced.

5 Visibilized Intergenerational Lives

Through a systematic analysis of the production sites surrounding videoed portrayals of young children at home during lockdown, this study visibilized intergenerational learning through the lens of Filipino families. Such viewings highlight the reciprocal nature of experience in private spaces at home that is often overlooked in educational research. This study highlights that learning
occurs outside of school, in family and community settings. These settings are legitimized as intergenerational learning spaces. This study offers the possibility of looking more at engagements as learning opportunities that might otherwise be invisible.

This study is an acknowledgment of the powerful potential visual data such as photos and videos in creating meaning and understanding of different situations at a particular time and space. Further, the narratives reveal the participants’ digital literacy. One could question if the children were exploited to demonstrate intergenerational engagement; however, via analysis, we found the participants engaged in extended embodied self-representation aligned with discussions offered by Holiday et al. (2022). It is also a recognition of the pluralities and temporality of lived experiences such as intergenerational engagements—every video produced could contain similar subject matter, but each one is unique, complex, and part of an ever-changing world that is susceptible to shifts and transitions. As a consequence, there is scope for reflection on what is not visibilized, and why.

The analysis has helped us reflect on researchers’ responsibilities while accessing and co-owning visual data and family narratives. Especially when access is secured due to personal relationships (as was the case with Oropilla). In these circumstances, families share glimpses of narratives of intergenerational engagements involving children and older adults. The findings assist us in comprehending intergenerational engagements and what visibilization means in a research context.

Visibilizing through the sites of production can grant insight into otherwise invisible spaces for intergenerational engagement. Through such scrutiny it becomes possible to investigate other ways of seeing learning, understand its value within a culture, and speculate about other ways of seeing young children—“to look beyond ‘what merely is’ to ‘what more can be seen’ to contemplate ‘what could be’ as a means of embracing more radical becomings” (White, 2020, p. 12). Through this, we explore the possibilities of what is yet to come.

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