

D.M.  
PEST. 1

DESIGN OF AN INSTITUTIONAL ANSWER FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG ONES  
DEPRIVED OF FAMILY

ADVANCED DIPLOMA IN PSYCHOLOGY  
OF  
EDUCATION

Ref. 5770

Instituto Superior de Psicologia Aplicada  
BIBLIOTECA



UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL  
INSTITUTO SUPERIOR DE PSICOLOGIA APLICADA

LISBOA/1987

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first acknowledgments to Prof. Peter Robinson who guided this essay to Dr. Margarida Alves Martins and Dr. Fernando Branco for their precious help in all statistical work.

I am deeply thankful to Casa Pia de Lisboa's Purveyors Commander Baptista Comprido and Dr. Luis Manuel Martins Rebelo for all the means they gave me to do this task as well as for the technical interview given by the latter; to Dr. Videira Barreto and Institutio's psychologists Dr. Isaura Teixeira and Dr. Maria Arminda Barreto for the coloboration they gave in the making and reformulating of the questionnaires and for the intelligent critical views of the whole project; to Social Service Technicians Maria José Gens Gil, Maria Odete Garrido, Maria do Rosário Zambujal, Esperança Antunes for giving me all the available information and their analysis oionly possible due to their long experience and professional competence; to Boarding-School Directors Dr. José Pereira Pires, Dr. Duarte Pereira and Dr. Irene Coito for their open permission to all the knowledge of the structure of the houses they direct and for putting at my disposal all the services I needed; to the pupils and staff of Algueirão and Nuno Álvares Pereira for all their coloboration; to Dr. Maria Augusta Amaral, ex-Director of Nuno Álvares Pereira, for her critical coloboration; to Prof. Torres for his permission to use his photographical archive; to Mr. Vieira who made the cover of this study and Prof. Luis Simões who concieved it; to Dr. Maria da Conceição Lobo Antunes and Dr. António Pires who collaborated in the determination of categories of the contingency tables.

To all those who in one or another way participated in this boldness and are not mentioned here my best thanks

Catalina Pestana

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"A esperança não é, pôr um novelo de lã dentro duma gaiola e esperar que cante."

Autor Desconhecido

"To Hope is not to put a ball of wool inside a cage and wait for it to sing."

Unknown Author

## PREFACE

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- In Portugal, according to the calculations made by Centro Regional de Segurança Social (Social Security Regional Centre) there are about 10,000 children living in a boarding-school basis.

Most part of these Boarding-Schools or Orphanages possess assistance characteristics, being most of them composed by I.P.S.S. (Instituições Particulares de Solidariedade Social - Social Solidarity Private Institutions) depending on Religious Orders, Misericórdias \* or individual or collective Benefactors but most part of them receive a State aid through substantial subsidies. The very State supports directly some Boarding-Schools for children and youngsters all over the country and the best known, most reputed and oldest of all is Casa Pia de Lisboa, founded in 1780 by Queen D. Maria's General Superintendent of Police, Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique.

- When I entered this Institution for the first time, in 1975, my notions about boarding-schools were those influenced by romantic books which described English boarding-schools for rich families' youngsters in nineteenth century. But reality was quite different though some essential points which were focused in those books like, for instance, the real or dissimulated rejection which victimized these children, the deep

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\* Private social solidarity institution for assistance and health support to childhood, youth and old age.

solitude that they suffered in some epochs of their lives, the strong solidarity between fellow-men which enabled them to face the repressive educational structures and the often perverse and traumatic staff, the common "unrooting" in relation to people and atmospheres where they belonged before, in early childhood, which were considered like Eden in the child's or youngster's imaginary world.

- In the 70's, Portugal was living a decade of strong social convulsions due to the regimen's political change in April 1974 through Revolution. Boarding-schools were, at that time here and in the rest of the world, very reserved and despotic educational solutions. The political changing was pointing to a clear regimen's liberalization and so all the social life was inserted in this motion. The most authoritative "discipline chiefs", tutors and directors, in front of the imminent danger of being object of contestation or in the prospect of being included in the strong "cleansing wave", withdrew from authoritarianism and refused even the authority they were entitled to practise.

Chaos was everywhere in many Institutions.

Casa Pia de Lisboa could't escape the national sociological phenomenon and therefore boarding-school life was highly disturbed here too. The need for alterations in the Institution's

functioning ways was already a preoccupation, present in some technician's minds, and so this new social and political situation gave an easy way for new experiments which would try to give an answer to dozens of youngsters in total rupture with the educational system in which they were inserted because most of them had no survival familiar or social alternative solution.

This essay's aim is to study the bigger or lesser effectiveness of some of those experiments, namely those which, through the decades, maintained a clear improvement in educational quality for the youngsters and in work quality for the staff.

We really know that ten years is a very short period time to be subject to serious analysis and valuation and we also know that, existing up to now no valuation tools specifically directed to the social-educational development resulting from a certain period of time of boarding-school life, the decision to elaborate those tools was much more than an adventure, it was a boldness for those who had a very limited knowledge in the methodological field and not even had psychology as their instruction basis.

In spite of all these difficulties there was a strong motivation which helped the decision to work these matters and this motivation was the reduced number of specific bibliography about boarding-schools available and specially about massed boarding-schools designed to "unable non dangerous" persons

according to Erving Goffman's "Asiles" (1970). To be more precise the only systematic study about this matter we found was the work "Tenter le Possible, une expérience de socialisme d'adolescents en milieu communautaire" by Felice Carugati, Francesca Emiliani and Augusto Palmonari where they study, describe and analyse the disinstitutionalization of the education for young people living in a boarding-school situation in Bologna Commune, Italy, from 1969 on.

It was in this place that one tried the possible... and when it was decided to do this work the experiment's maintenance was a controverted subject.

So, what are we intended to do?

- After describing the Institution through a brief synthesis of its past and present history, we will characterize one of the massed boarding-schools, still existing in 1982 when this study was started, and a "Home", a small structure integrated in a habitational community in the suburbs of Lisbon, this one with a longer story to tell. Later we will try to analyse the effects of the two educating structures in the education of the young people who were admitted to live in each one of them, according to the same admission criterion and therefore originated in families with similar social and economical situations and, if possible, with equivalent internment duration.

We believe that an educational context of family dimensions, where personalized attention may be possible, where social insertion may be permanent and gradual, where each child or youngster feels permanently responsible and as much free as possible, where the staff is reduced to a necessary minimum and sees the younger in a positive way which the young ones feel and understand, reinforcing thus their self-esteem, where the good conditions are given so that the same staff be stable and so each one of the adults may be the reference figure or symbol for the personality structuration of the younger, is a facilitator for a bigger and better affective development, for more autonomy, more responsibility and more critical sense.

On the contrary it is our conviction that a monumental, massed "social ghetto" boarding-school, as referred in the theoretical scheme of Erving Goffman's "Asiles" (1961), a Total Institution - "Lieu de residence et de travail où un grand nombre d'individus, placés dans la même situation, coupés du monde extérieur pour une période relativement longue, mènent ensemble une vie recluse dont les modalités sont explicitement et minutieusement réglées" (1) - is a highly limitative structure for the development of the above cited parameters. These parameters are, in our point of view, important conditions for the education of Men and Women able to love and be loved with simplicity and without the interference of the responsibility

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(1) "Place of residence and of work where a great number of people, in the same situation, apart from the outside world during a relatively long period, lead a secluded life, the modalities of which are explicitly and meticulously regulated"

of their personal past stories in their future life. Therefore this study will be attempt to found this conviction with as much objectivity as possible and with the limited tools that we dispose of.

"Estou infinita e profundamente convencido do poder ilimitado do trabalho da educação e do trabalho na educação."

Anton Makarenko

in "Poema Pedagógico"

"I am deeply convinced of the ilimited power of education work and of work in education."

Anton Makarenko

in "Pedagogical Poem"

## CHAPTER I

## CASA PIA DE LISBOA - BRIEF HISTORICAL NOTES

- Casa Pia de Lisboa was created by a dispatch of Queen D. Maria II in May 1780.
- The execution of such dispatch and therefore the authentic foundation of this Institution was entrusted to the General Superintendence of Police, Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique, who settled it in St. George's castle.
- Such attribution of the General Superintendent of Police is justified by the fact that Casa Pia was created as an institution of criminal prevention with the function of regenerating delinquents of both sexes who invaded by that time Lisbon due to a bigger police tolerance after the political fall of the Marquis of Pombal and the beginning of the reign of D. Maria II considered a queen of excessive kindness.
- Half prison, half house of work, casa Pia at its creation is intended to the reeducation of adults with social and human negative experiences in a time where there was no theory about the social meaning of prisons nor any outline of penitentiary pedagogy. Historian José Hermano Saraiva in his opening speech of Casa Pia de Lisboa's Bicentenary Commemorations, analysing the controverted person of Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique says: "It was not necessary for the Superintendent to have read

scholars to know the plain truth taught by the aphorism: "idleness is the mother of all the vices". Degradation was always connected with unemployment. The Castle's new population won't rot in the dungeons but will acquire new capacities and the right to a free and worthy life by learning how to work. In this subject the work of Pina Manique anticipates in many years everything that was done in the next century about penitentiary life."

In the end of the eighteenth century Portugal imports tissues, mainly from England. The country has practically no industry and Pina Manique intends to develop it. For that he instals in St. George's Castle weaving machinery from closed factories, as much in degradation as the people who were going to work with it.

In the beginning men were not enough and the machinery was out of date but Pina Manique engages specialized teachers and buys new machinery and, in few years, as José Hermano Saraiva says, "Casa Pina furnishes the clothing for the army and due to St, George's Castle people efforts the country's commercial balance was positive, around 1800, an unique case in our economical history.

Thieves, tramps and prostitutes were taught weaving techniques, living in a community under a severe discipline but acquiring progressively the rudiments of socialism. Casa Pia stimulated marriage between them by giving them a dowry and a weaver's

loan and by settling them in the province where their past was unknown and so they could start a new life.

- Soon the Superintendent realized he was working with people who, though with social problems, could change their behaviour, learn new things and restructure themselves as persons. What would it be possible to do with children with very low social and economical situations if they were given the chance to study and work? In the eighteenth century one didn't establish correlation studies between S.E.S. (Social Economical Situation) and improvement in school but self fulfilling prophecies worked the same way as today; the Superintendent believed that and soon the Penitenciary Institute gave place to a school and from street kids the pupils became artists, honest and humble workers, politicians, researchers etc. So it was founded the Casa Pia called by Latino Coelho the "People's University".

In this ambitious and innovating school the studies plan was divided in two phases: preparatory and superior studies.

Preparatory studies included reading, writing, calculation, drawing, civil architecture, English, French and Latin.

The Superior studies included pure mathematics, mechanics and optics, astronomy, practical geometry and navigation, engineering and artillery, natural history and experimental physics, chemistry applied to agriculture, metallurgy and dye-working and finally instrumental music.

In 1789 Pina Manique founds a medicine schools and afterwards one for pharmacy, one for nursing and one for specialists in

midwifery. They were nonuniversitary medium schools, essentially practical, for which worked the best teachers of the nation and from abroad. The best pupils were sent afterwards to Coimbra, the only national university of the century and in 1795 four young people from Casa Pia graduated. When the dream seems larger than life the Superintendent sends pupils to study medicine in London, Edinburg and Copenhagen and art in Rome.

- Everything in these first years of Casa Pia happened as a response to the needs of the city of Lisbon and to the dynamics created inside the institution. Society and school were in permanent dialogue and the first required specialization of the second so that demands were granted.

In 1800 there were no theoretical or systematic plans for studies in Casa Pia but there always were answers to concrete needs where José Hermano Saraiva finds permanent criterion, in his opinion strong enough to give unity to the work. These are:

- "(a) Recruiting of students by their needs and not by their parents' economical possibilities. Education is not only for those who can afford it but also for those who need it.
- (b) One doesn't apply the rule, still nowadays alive, that the one that works doesn't need to study and the one that studies doesn't need to work. On the contrary: working and studying go together. The people that go to Casa Pia are the ones that, in the future, will produce so that they may live. Therefore teaching is basically teaching to produce.

- (c) All this reflects itself in pedagogic methods. Workshop education substitutes book education. It's not enough to cultivate the mind, one needs to educate the hands. In the end there is no certificate of degree, which is a cheque on the State budget, but a profession, which is a contribution to public welfare."
- Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique dies in Lisbon in 1805 and with him part of a global project that, with immediate followers, could in a certain way have changed the modern attitude of Portugal towards industrialized Europe. Casa Pia de Lisboa didn't turn in Casa Pia Nacional, as Pina Manique wanted, with delegations in all districts and giving responses to every regional need but, in what regards the capital, others maintained alive the project with periods of strong innovation and productivity in between low periods of institutional prostration when everything seemed impossible.
  - The French invasions made an interruption in Casa Pia's activities of four years (1807-1811): Junot's troops were settled in St. George's Castle and the New School transferred to Desterro Monastery and instead a social transforming school it becomes an Asylum School for Lisbon's helpless children.
  - The notion of Asylum as a "Total Institution", according to Erving Goffman, an institution like a prison or a concentration camp, with the ambiguous function of neutralizing or re-adapting to the social order a portion of disturbing people is a notion that prevails in Casa Pia during the last two

centuries until today. The difference between Pina Manique's notion of Casa Pia and the "Total Institution" notion has created a dialectic tension which generates the low and high periods of this Institution.

- In 1833, during the reign of D. Pedro IV, the institution leaves the Desterro Monastery and is settled in the Jerónimos Convent until 1940. By this time it is definitively transferred to the place occupied today by Pina Manique Section next to the Convent.

According to recent investigation (1984-1985) carried by Maria Helena da Silva Cidade Amaral and Paula Alexandra Ochoa de Carvalho under the title "Royal Casa Pia de Lisboa in Portuguese Society on the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century" we can divide Casa Pia's history in three decisive periods:

The first period starts with the settling in St. George's Castle and ends with the French Invasions (1780-1807). This corresponds to Pina Manique's direction period and may be considered a period of growing apogee ended by external causes (The French Invasions) although all the responsibility must not be imputed to that cause. Casa Pia was a project for the future in a society that, after the earthquake of the French Invasions, couldn't still understand where the sun rose and where rivers ran to. Europe's future was in an embryonic phase and the apogee of a social and educational project with the size of Casa Pia suffered from it.

The second period starts with the installation in Desterro Monastery and ends with the transfer to Jerónimos Convent (1812-1833). At the time Portugal lived a period of civil war between absolutists and liberals and Casa Pia starts an epoch of big decadence. It is the punctual intervention of some of its directors that saves the institution from total destruction. In 1823, during this period, was created an institute for auditive deficient people named today after Jacob Rodrigues Pereira.

The third period starts with the settlement in Jerónimos Convent up to 1850. This period reinvigorated the educational ideas through a reform made by Pinto Basto but the fact of its nonapplication gave birth to a new decadence period.

For a better understanding of the above mentioned authors concepts we must inform you that they consider decadence : a low brilliant form of reality, a less successful and less original one, reflecting problems of internal organization specially the corruption inside the administration, indiscipline and the nonapplication of the rules of admission and exit which lead to the negligence of the pupils towards the institution and the other way around.

As the political situation was an agitated one the importance given to the institution by the power starts to decrease. In conclusion we may say that decadence, though not a synonym of disappearance or dismembering of the institution, means a backing of teaching methods and of the pupils way of life.

Concept of Reform - announces a change of orientation inside the administration towards a better functioning of the institution. It implies a certain sympathy with the established power, this one more stable politically. Only on these conditions it is possible to reform. The steps taken are always towards a higher civic sense, order abiding and more love for the work, the country and other people. Progressively there are taken steps for a better health and hygiene of the pupils trying to solve the problem of high mortality during decadent periods. Such steps applied during a certain period are abandoned by the next administration according to the new needs or just ignoring them, which originates a new decadent period.

Concept of Apogee - It concerns the periods of high economical standards and good intellectual progress of the pupils. We consider that this applies only to the first period.

- This study of these young researchers takes care in detail of all these periods with the foundation of the given classification but such an exhaustive information doesn't concern us in this present work.
- In between 1856 and 1859 the educational conditions were so degraded that an extinction of the institution was easily predictable. By this time the direction is given to José Maria Eugénio de Almeida and under his orientation new reforming steps are taken such as:

- The sanitation of the building so that boarders can be accommodated properly,
- Total elimination of scrofula and ophthalmia which killed many boarders due to the worse conditions they lived in,
- Diminution of the number of pupils so that the existing accommodations would be fit for the minimum conditions of development and sociability of the boarders,
- Rationalization of the boarder's teaching and education. An important symptom of this is the publication of a decree in 20.3.1860 establishing the Gymnastics School existing since 1838 as included in the official teaching program, the classes of which took place in the first gymnasium of the country founded by Casa Pia in 1835.

The teaching of gymnastics was, up to 1860, done by circus professionals or by military men. In this date the institution engaged the French Jean Rouger for the sole purpose of teaching gymnastics (in "Subsídios para a História da Educação Física na Casa Pia de Lisboa" - Moraes Rocha e Fernando Barreto, 1987).

Such innovating steps gave back to the institution pupils the lost prestige as qualified workers and people of good will in such a way that their engagement was disputed between merchants and industrials.

- In 1911 Dr. Antônio Aurélio da Costa Ferreira was designated director. He gave the institution a new educational dynamics based in the new growing european psychopedagogical theories. He increased the formation of school councils, the participation of teachers in the educational reform and in pedagogical congresses, created the Medical-Pedagocial Institute whose action spread beyond the institution. Under his administration the Alfred Binet's tests were introduced in Portugal for the first time.

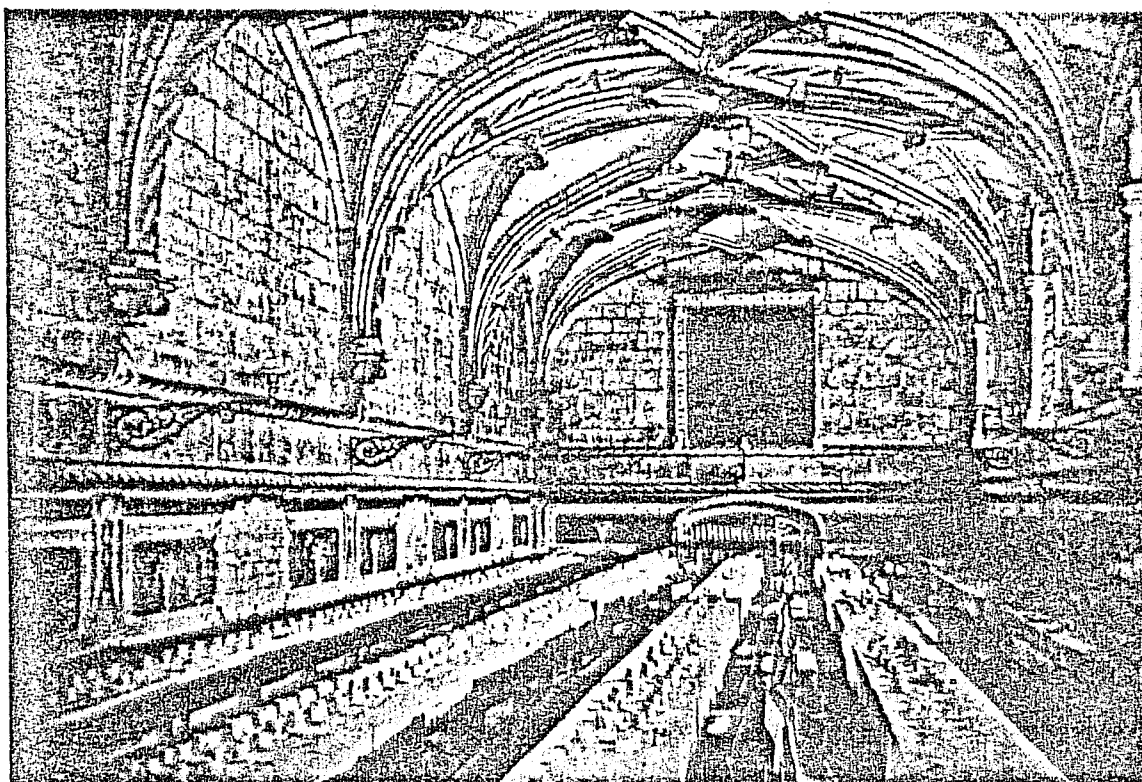
Dr. Costa Ferreira was followed by directors Alfredo Soares (ex-pupil) and Camara Leme and by purveyors Braga Paixão, Pedro Campos Tavares, Silva Dias and José Francisco Rodrigues.

From January 1942 on several official education and assistance institutions depending on Direcção Geral de Assistência were added to Casa Pia de Lisboa, the whole being named afterwards Casa Pia de Lisboa Sections.

Actually Casa Pia is composed by the Sections/Colleges of Pina Manique, Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Santa Clara, Nuno Álvares, D. Maria Pia, Santa Catarina and the Jacob Rodrigues Pereira Institute.

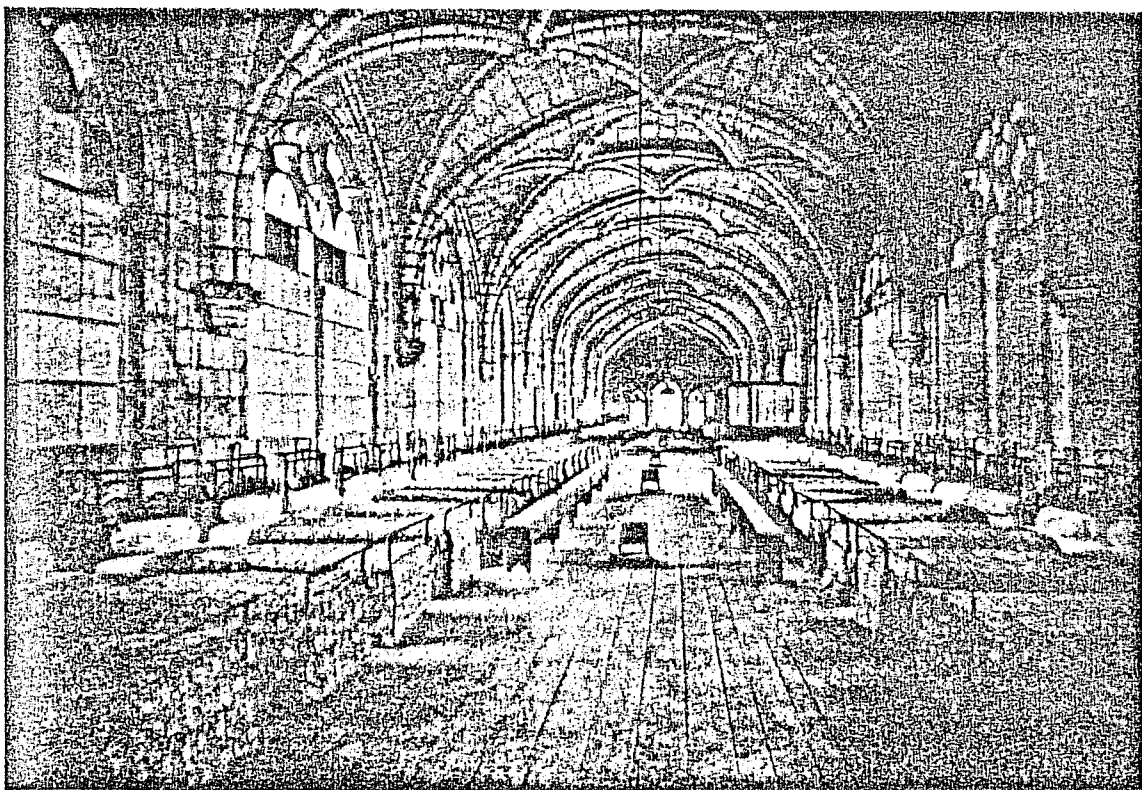
Though the social and educational action of the institution is very variegated (traditional school teaching, professional formation courses, teaching of auditive deficient people, etc.) its main vocation is as a boarding school.

Two type boarding schools of Casa Pia will be the concern of this study.



O antigo refeitório do Internato de Pina Manique

The old refectory of Pina Manique Boarding-School



Antiga camarata do Internato de Pina Manique

The old dormitory of Pina Manique Boarding-School

III - ILLUSTRAÇÃO PORTUGUEZA

III VOLUME -- 8 de abril de 1907



onde se vêem as figuras  
austeras de antigos e emi-  
nentes alunas da casa

Alunos vestindo-se depois do banho

onde os são comprimentos  
de banhos, arduos  
campesinos que se que

Alunos vestindo-se depois do banho - 8 de Abril de 1907

Pupils dressing after bathing - 8 April 1907

"Na minha opinião, criar e educar tem de ser o ofício de todos os cidadãos. Educar é: Relacionar as pessoas numa forma integrada na cultura comunitária. Criar o respeito pelo património cultural da comunidade. Promover a saúde. A educação que, por renúncia dos pais e da comunidade, fica confinada a departamentos burocráticos e a superestruturas administrativas é uma mistificação demagógica que conduz ao fracasso integrativo das novas gerações."

João dos Santos

in "A Caminho de uma Utopia" Pag. 37

"In my opinion to bring up and to educate must be the job of all citizens. To educate is: - To relate people in an integrated way in the community culture. To grow respect for the community cultural heritage. To promote health. Education that, because of the parents or the community renunciation, is confined to bureaucratic departments and administrative superstructures, is a demagogic mystification which leads to the new generations' integration failure."

João dos Santos

in "A Caminho de uma Utopia" Pag. 37

## CHAPTER II

BRIEF NOTES ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND PEDAGOGIC EVOLUTION IN  
CASA PIA'S BOARDING-SCHOOLS DURING 1974/1984 DECADE  
-----General Conditions

The deep need of educational and pedagogic alterations in Casa Pia de Lisboa had with 25 April 1974 the chance of become an act.

In truth we must say that many of the alterations that took place after that date existed already as aspirations of many people who worked there and of students living inside the Institution and during the decade of 60 and 70 were elaborated regulation sketches with that purpose. The deep alterations are always difficult and obstacles become bigger when it concerns an institution with the age, the dimension and the political state connections of Casa Pia.

In Pedagogy and Education "evolutions" are possible, "new experiences" admissible and sometimes stimulated specially when "to experiment" belongs to the scientific and philosophic line of thought of the moment. It is very difficult and sometimes impossible to break with the weight of routine, to break the line of a reproductive sequence (up to inconsequence), starting afresh immediately almost without chaos hiatus, a little bit further on, in a new way and in different terms if, between others, some basic conditions are not present:

- Dissatisfaction based on unsuccess, failure and inadequateness having grown up to a level of difficult acceptance.
- Alternatives having been previously thought, sketched and discussed, even if only as mere hypothesis.
- The changing agreeing minimally with a basic philosophy, both very enticing and relatively ample in its divulgation and acceptance.
- The historical moment (the "timing") being favourable.

This is what happened with Casa Pia in the decade of 70.

### Big transformations in boarding-schools

These modifications were possible in three ways:

- 1) Admission criteria
- 2) Circuits
- 3) Types of answers

Such modifications were still possible because Casa Pia de Lisboa claimed for the first time its true dimension of an answer between others to an exceeding reality: - Normal children with no family

or with a deficient or disorganized one

- Auditive deficient children with no other reeducative answer in the area of their families.

This attitude could only be real with the implication, concordance and colaboration of other institutions and services with a similar action field or embracing a confining problematic, the most significative being:

- Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa
  - Centros Regionais de Segurança Social
  - Tribunais Tutelares de Menores
- Under the same circumstances of inter-institutions cooperation, Casa Pia de Lisboa determined and limited its field of action: District of Lisbon (Big Lisbon and municipalities of the same District).
  - It delimited the age zone for which was designed its social and educational action: "Children in school age " (Safeguarding the groups of brothers whose biggest number satisfied these conditions.
  - It was settled that, as a rule, there were no transfers in between institutions not even between sections of the same institution.
  - Groups of brothers were mantained together.
  - The internment of a child, that is, his separation from the family and comunity which he belonged to, would take place only when all the other alternatives were exhausted or considered totally inadequate.

The most significant propositions of this enunciation were made by technicians of Casa Pia de Lisboa and of other institutions, were subject to superior approval and received it.

#### 1 - Criteria of Boarding-School Admission

Children internment was, during a long period, an automatic and almost preferential answer to a very variegated number of reasons:

- Reasons of social and familiar type: Total or partial orphanhood, desagregation of the family group, "illegitimate children", as was the epoch's designation, etc.
- Reasons of social and cultural type: Inexistence of educational resources in the family's residence area to go on studying.
- Reasons of preventive and reeducational type: Children or young people "at moral risk", pre-delinquency or social or school inadaptation, etc.
- Reasons of substitution of family due to its educational incapacity (desease, desagregation, social marginalization).
- Reasons of economical type: poverty, unemployment of the family though there is one and someone responsible for it.

#### Lodging

Casa Pia de Lisboa for its assumed dimension, always growing up to the decade of 50, became an "endless hole" which contained

everybody as long as considered a minor: From northern to southern provinces, from "feeble" to "overgifted" children, from "orphans of dead parents" to "orphans of living ones" (or functioning likewise), from "adapted" ones to "misfits" with all the ambiguity that the used terminology permits.

Given this variety of origins (geographical, social, cultural economic, etc.) pupils admitted in the boarding-schools up to the decade of seventy demanded quite different answers which didn't exist nor could, due to this very same variety of population. Education was massive, though divided in two areas: the ones that studied beyond the obligatory school level and those who were learning a craft.

Actual criteria of minor admission in Casa Pia de Lisboa are presented as follows in the study "Minor Boarding-School Admission in Casa Pia de Lisboa" by Maria Arminda Barreto, Maria José Gil and Teresa José Pacheco Soeiro in March of 1983:

"Casa Pia's vocation is that of an institution for children deprived of normal family atmosphere. The characterization of the non-normality of a family atmosphere is though very difficult to describe and limit in a perfect objective way. So we shall classify the basic characteristics in big sub-groups, which doesn't exhaust the matter:

(a) Family existence

a.1) Complete orphanhood

a.1.1. - Factual

a.1.2. - Functional

a.2) Partial abandonment, in which the existing "Father" doesn't guarantee the child's education.

a.2.1. - Factual

a.2.2. - Functional

(b) Abandonment

b.1.- Factual

b.2.- Functional, due to:

b.2.1. - Permanent incapacity of the parents

b.2.2. - Temporary (hospitalization, prolonged disease and others)

(c) Rejection

c.1. - Assumed

c.2. - Camouflaged, through forms of superprotection or undervalorization.

(d) Youngster's or child's conflict with the familiar or social atmosphere resulting in situations of physical or moral danger.(e) Need of specialized educational actuation due to the child's characteristics (the case of auditive deficient children)

- With the purpose of exemplifying the motives that through such criteria lead to requests of internment in Casa Pia de Lisboa we will include a study of Centro Médico Pedagógico (1981) concerning 268 requests made in a period of two years in between May 1978 and April 1980:
  
- "In a sistematization attempt, and concerning one only motive, we tried to establish it from the "main complaint" and found ten items. We present them with their respective frequencies:
  - A - "Cases" in which both members of the couple are attained by one of these situations: chronic disease (physical or mental) or alcoholism..... 3,8%
  
  - B - One of the parents (father or mother) suffers from chronic disease (physical or mental), alcoholism, is in prison or works in night shifts which prevent him of taking care of the child and the other one (father or mother) is dead, gone away or in unknown ..... 29,9%
  
  - C - Total orphanhood ..... 1,9%
  
  - D - Total abandonment: whenever the child is abandoned in fact, in a temporary situation in an adequate institution (Mitra, hospitals, etc.) ..... 10,4%

- E - Economic-dwelling deficiency: both parents or one of them is unemployed and has no house to live in with the child ..... 17,9%
- F - Abandonment during the day: parents or other relatives who ask for internment justified by the fact that they have no one to take care of them during the day ..... 6,8%
- G - Inadequate behaviour of the child: situations which the main cause is the child's unaccepted social behaviour (theft, vagrancy, etc.) ..... 9,3%
- H - Beating: children are beaten by parents or other members of the family. .... 5,6%
- I - Non functioning of the alternative solution: A nurse or other members of the family are taking care of the child due to the death, abandonment or arrest of one of the parents and these invoke, as internment's cause, the lack of health or death of the person who was taking care of the child or simply the lack of mood to go on doing it ..... 14,1%
- J - Others: the services of auditive deficient children who are present to the admission services of Jacob Rodrigues Pereira Institute ..... 0,37%

The situations out of the established criteria are conducted to alternative solutions.

2 - Limits

- (a) The internment requests were first organized rationally through the so called "Inquiries", a kind of questionnaire filled by the family or by the person who proposes the child's internment. These questionnaires were centralized in Casa Pia de Lisboa and were sent to other exterior organizations that confirmed or not the data and gave them back to Casa Pia.

The questionnaires received a punctuation according to the items and the admission were made according to this punctuation, starting with the lowest values.

The "selection", exclusively according to the teaching grade in which the child should be included (and only on that aspect) , was made in the beginning with the collaboration of the Aurélio da Costa Ferreira Institute and later inside Casa Pia de Lisboa by C.O.P.P. (Centro de Observação Psico-Pedagógica).

The admissions of new pupils were generally made for Nuno Alvares Pereira Section where primary education was taught. The pupil, after 12 or after having finished primary school, was transferred to Pina Manique Section if he was going on with the studies or to D. Maria Pia Section if he was to learn a craft.

The pupils that showed a medium or light feebleness were integrated in a special teaching school, the Adolfo Coelho Institute.

This situation we tried to outline concerned only boys, as girls were received in 28 de Maio Institute functioning as a "welcome center", the transfers being less rigid and, when made, destined to particular institutions who cared for girls and had agreements with Casa Pia de Lisboa.

- (b) The circuits have been altered. The situations are now presented directly to the base services (Santa Casa da Misericórdia Zones or Social Security Centers), which are services in contact with the local communities, which study the situation and do the leading.

Beyond Casa Pia de Lisboa there are at the beneficiary disposal as alternatives for the indicated situations other boarding-schools, specially those of Misericórdia de Lisboa the official services of adoption, welcoming or substitution families (Nurses) and financial supports given by the Social Security to the child's family if the study of the situation demonstrates that the internment request was based in economical problems.

- The situations conducted to Casa Pia de Lisboa arrive through a documental process and a descriptive report which are present to the "Team of Boarding-School Admissions", formed by

technicians of social service and psychologists which summon the proponent service for a conjunct analysis.

If the "internment request" is accepted, and there are vacancies or these are predictable in a short time, the minor and his family is summoned, the first for a psychosocial observation, the second for an interview and anamnesis report. It is from the psychological observation report and the interview that the team purposes the internment for dispatch to Casa Pia de Lisboa's Purveyor.

The leading is made to the place (section or home) considered at the time the most suitable one for that concrete situation but internment takes only place after the case's presentation (without the presence of the child) at the chosen place in a reunion between the admission team and the technicians, perceptors and responsible ones that are going to take care of the child and in case these agree that the admission team's decision was the most correct one.

It is not a quick process, but up to now it's been efficacious, reducing substantially the situations of inadequateness or total inadaptation.

- Revaluation reunions are made occasionally with the teams of the places where the children were interned.

- There are no more systematic transfers of minors in between institutions or places of the same institution.
- Casa Pia de Lisboa has just inaugurated a "welcome center" for the purpose of answering to situations of big urgency and gravity (children abandoned in the streets, police cases or minors court cases, etc.), needing the children to be taken out of the places where they are found without all the delays of the methods explained above. The "welcome center" will be a passing place where the technicians will have time to study the situation, without anguish or urgency, and provide for the correct solution.

### 3 - Types of Answers

#### (a) Schooling

Whatever was the way of doing it, Casa Pia de Lisboa always saw itself as an educational answer. Even when identified with a typically assistance-bound "social politic", the Institution always practised its educational functions with a strong schooling component. The bigger or smaller weight of school changed with time and suffered big influences, as was to be expected, from the national pattern, though its relative autonomy allowed innovation outbreaks, sometimes very daring ones, that originated its "Apogee Era". In other periods the Institution, in what regards education and schooling, dragged in ways of short horizons with no project nor ideals.

(b) Boarding-schools

The massed boarding-school, with its population of 500 or more pupils, in monumental quarters which rivaled in deployment with the monasteries which, in some cases, were its first function or in nudity and anonymity with the barracks where one can hardly be more than a number. There, the loss of identification with the outside world was very big, the loss of roots and primitive references was increased with the common clothes, the book without an owner, the inexistence of a privacy space, though minimal it could be.

- This reality lasted up to the decade of 70 and bore its fruits. Here and there timid and sporadic changing attempts were made, dividing spaces and groups, counteracting the allotments. The structures seemed though unshakable.
- The big changes were only possible from 1974 on, whenever the social-political situation presented an opportunity for them.
- One talked about dismassification and one started to do it - in the beginning and in some places, according to hazard and need, in other places one thought more about it and assumed it and sometimes not always without some backward movements.

(c) Homes

Today the tendency is guided to little structures, living in some cases very autonomously, but technically and administratively dependent on the five big Casa Pia de Lisboa Colleges which already dealt before with the boarding-schools problematic.

These new units are the new Homes, at the moment eleven:

Each one's population is about twenty children or youngsters with an educational team of three educators and one supporting person (cook, "housekeeper", cleaning woman).

- Some homes are in the interior of the big settlements, in totally recovered buildings and with the adequate dimension for the group that lives there, others are outside, in common houses, flats or residences as much as possible inserted in the local communities.
- Nuno Álvares Pereira, where the last big masculine boarding-school existed, was subject to reconstruction works and re-organized in the 80's, in a smaller boarding-school for two groups of children, and if not in the same way as the others, in a very different way of the crowded system that existed before. In this Section there is besides a feminine home working in a much more autonomous way than the referred groups.
- The uniformization of the organizational rules with its repercussion on the group's daily life is not very much present.

The "answers" were organized, consciously or at random according to a conjunctive model: sometimes there was improvement, remodelling or total innovation... sometimes, not at all!

There were homes where it was possible to introduce co-education others where there was no justification for it, or not enough will to try the experience; in some Homes life goes on like in an almost autonomous little community and in others hierarchical dependences have still a big weight; in some the "answers" for school, health or preparation for work are found outside in the nearby zone and in others the school, the sick-ward or the workshop are all inside the institution.

There are children and youngsters living in external Homes and going to school in big settlements, others for which this solution was not advisable or not even accepted as an option even if the home's localization could suggest it.

All this diversity, though far from perfection, doesn't mean chaos.

One can see that even most rigid, conservative or past-bound sectors inside or outside the Institution can question the "way", "means" or "functioning" but nobody is interested in rejecting the dismassification principle which originated everything.

We have interviewed the Casa Pia de Lisboa Purveyor concerning the actual problematic of boarding-schools and in accordance with the importance of its answers we are transcribing it integrally.

1) Question:

Mr. Purveyor, you lived in this House a period of deep transformations concerning pupil life in boarding-school situation, what were, in your opinion, the essencial transformations which took place in the last decade in Casa Pia de Lisboa on the matter?

Answer:

Life as boarders of Casa Pia de Lisboa knew in the last decade deep alterations due to diverse circumstances, some of which I point out:

1.1 - The changing of the traditional physical structure - the big dormitory - for smaller and more humanized structures - the so-called Homes.

1.2 - The changing of the tutor's posture attitude because he stopped being a mere "watchman", a zone guard, and started to be a true "educator" who acts in a more personalized form on a more restricted pupil group.

1.3 - The elimination of symbols and attires of military tendency: uniforms (grey for internal wearing and blue for outside activities); formations (at the dormitory's entrance, for class, for refectory, etc.); corporal punishment (the possible method to impose authority if we think that there was once 1 tutor for 100 pupils...)

1.4 - The opening to outside life, giving to the pupil the understanding of an always changing reality in contrast with the limited horizon, closed in itself, of the traditional

boarding-school, the gates of which were only opened, and not for everybody, on week-ends.

1.5 - Limitations of boarders admissions to the cases with no other alternative solution, granting the privilege, as much as possible, to half-boarding situations.

1.6 - The encouragement of sporting and cultural activities and the creation of spaces for them.

2) Question:

Nowadays, in Casa Pia de Lisboa, the conventual building were or are being reconverted and there are almost no massed boarding-schools. Do you think that these alterations of the Institution's physical structures are enough to alter the quality of the life of the pupils who live there?

Answer:

As I told before the physical changing of the building is not enough, in itself, to make the quality of life and education of the pupils better. We recognize, nevertheless, that it is an important contribution to it specially if we consider that the little structure called Home permits to put at the pupils' service goods and services impossible in the traditional structure: intercourse and study rooms; bathrooms of restricted use; comfortable bedrooms; meals in an almost familiar atmosphere; easy approach to audio-visual means, etc.

3) Question:

What do you think of the Home's education quality in 1986?

Answer:

Although one thinks to be pursuing a true communitarian education - responsible and to hold responsible for - it is not easy to judge the educational quality in Casa Pia's Homes today, because:

- The way of living in each one of them, as there is no fixed rule coming from above, is very autonomous and different between them;
- Each college has its very own orientation, much of the personality and stamp of its directors being reflected in the Homes;
- Each tutor team has its own dynamics, very unfluenced by the basic or specific education of each one of its members; by the little or big experience in educational work; by the better or worse adaptation to team work; etc.

It is though perfectly possible to say, by analogy with the past and by comparison with other models of boarding-schools belonging to other institutions, that Casa Pia's actual boarding-schools/Homes receive from this confrontation a very positive mark.

4) Question:

Which are the Institution's objectives for its boarders?

Which essential values would you like them to acquire during their stay in Casa Pia?

Answer:

It is obvious that a child's internment in Casa Pia de Lisboa has as a priority objective to give him or her a "Home" in

an atmosphere as close as possible to a familiar one that in another way he or she would never have due to complete absence of family or its social, moral or economical degradation.

Attained this primary objective, there are other goals that immediately follow and the success or failure of its attainment is the Institution's reason to be:

4.1 - Human, literary, professional, sporting and cultural education;

4.2 - The assimilation of work's value and the value of civic participation in social, political and religious activities;

4.3 - The fact of being responsible for the taken decisions and the assumption of its consequences;

4.4 - The act of being conscious of his or her individual or collective responsibility as a single or collective person that he or she is;

4.5 - The instigation of his or her autonomy regarding the future integration in the work's world.

"Sabemos hoje que há doenças somáticas em que o factor abandono afectivo participa de forma evidente no próprio desenvolvimento estrutural: nas crianças que não crescem por motivo emocional - o "nanismo psicogéneo"; prova-se que uma mudança de ambiente desencadeia um rápido desenvolvimento e que estaciona de novo, se se verificar o regresso ao ambiente patogéneo".

João dos Santos

in "A Caminho de uma Utopia" Pag.29

"We know today that there are somatic diseases in which the affective abandonment factor participates in an evident way in the very structural development: in the children that don't grow up due to an emotional motive - "The pshycogenesis nanism", it is proven that an atmosphere changing unchains a quick development which is stopped if there is a coming back to the pathogenic atmosphere".

João dos Santos

in "A Caminho de uma Utopia" Pag. 29

## CHAPTER III

BRIEF CHARACTERIZATION OF TWO TYPE STRUCTURES  
THAT WE INTEND TO STUDY

- 1 - ALGUEIRÃO HOME
- 2 - NUNO ÁLVARES PEREIRA BOARDING-SCHOOL

## 1 - ALGUEIRÃO HOME

## I

The educational structure that we will call Algueirão Home (A.H.) was founded in 12 February 1979 in the same place where it is today. Its true origin though can be found in 1975 in an old house, unoccupied until then, in the valley of Jamor River, near the National Stadium and known institutionally as "Balteiro Home". At that time, it didn't correspond to the project we intend to study and its aim was to give urgent answers to groups of pupils for whom the overcrowded D. Maria Pia Section, in Xabregas Quarter, had no solution.

In some cases they were groups of pupils in a pre-marginal situation or even in a pre-delinquent one, For some the changing of atmosphere and life came too late.

The big theoretical and practical mentor, in the beginning of this operation, for the alterations of the boarding-school's structure was Dr, José Pereira Pires, a psychologist graduated from I.S.P.A. but a peasant by nature.

A controverted personality, he enters a bicentenary institution which survives with some difficulties the social convulsions caused by the Revolution of 25 April 1974. He enters, observes, tries to understand and acts; his actions are often against the opinion of colleagues and chiefs, often against the heavy bureaucratic machine that obstructs the public institution's functioning. He acts on behalf of the pupils' rights, sometimes in very heterodox ways as those used by Makarenko and described in "Pedagogic Poem" were for the 20's. We think it is useful to join here his direct testimony, through an *ipsis verbis* interview, so you can understand his way of thinking and his pragmatic and transformer personality:

Question: You come to work for Casa Pia de Lisboa in 1974, a year of deep alterations in the country's social and political life.

Did you find in Casa Pia de Lisboa any reflections of the situation?

Answer: We can say that any institution is generally the reflection of what is lived in the country. A people who took liberation in his own hands is very different from the one that remains silent and subject to be beaten when he tries to speak his mind. Before 25 April a director said: "Maid's children can be nothing else than maids". After April many said that peasant's and worker's children were entitled to go to university.

All of a sudden all the institution's workers were democrats and revolutionaries and cried: "nobody is going to crush us anymore". We heard these words very often from these who were crawling at the director's feet before.

Everybody was entitled to decide on anything or anyone. We heard

constantly: "the workers are the ones who decide". And behind all this we saw the chance for many manipulators and opportunists to gain their way to power on account of other people's candidness.

All this participation mood influenced the pupils themselves. They also wanted to choose everybody, without noticing that they were being used by demagogues of no scruples.

They wanted more week's money because they saw on TV workers demonstrating for better wages.

They didn't want to work on workshops for they wanted to go on studying even without improvement.

All this, considered very gloomy by some, was the first condition for the institution to become an educational one.

Everything that was good or bad could be seen immediately and taken care of. Values could be found due to everybody's participation mania.

So the way was found through the contacts between workers and pupils.

Question: At the time how were the boarding-schools you direct?

Answer: Maria Pia Section had 223 pupils in 1974. It was a crowded structure and pupils were grouped by age in spaces called "Colleges", which were no more than dormitories and "garages", as the pupils called them, due to their likeness to true garages. The pupils had almost no personal objects and when they had they were coveted by everybody because in such an anonymous structure nothing belongs to nobody.

Question: Why did you believe that the solution for the problems you found was personalization?

Answer: I believe that the solution was personalization because I felt that in the pupils. Some spoke of it clearly, others showed it through individual attitudes.

One day a pupil asked the director to be allowed to take his bed out of the College where 60 pupil were sleeping and put it under the stairs somewhere in the building, in a place he had found.

Another one took the curtains of the dormitory and put them around his bed creating an individual space among the crowd. It was not necessary to be very intelligent to know what to do but one had to have a lot of courage because the majority of workers were trying another solution: to militarize.

When the director told of his intention of separating pupils in little homes, the workers organized an assembly to run him out of the place.

In this meeting one social assistant asked me: "Do you think that at this moment you have someone besides you?"

I answered: "No, but in spite of everything I am going to face them!"

Out of this determination was born Casa Pia's new orientation which is almost totally accepted or at least can resist the arguments of the few who are against it.

Question: What did you expect that internment in Casa Pia's "Homes" could give the pupils?

Answer: I hope that the pupils' internment in "Homes" could give them the means of becoming themselves through a better individual

attendance, through the participation of everyone in that collective project, through the possibility of each one having his own and defining more richly his being. This means that everyone must have the things that he uses and needs and at the same time must be autonomous and know his space and the other one's so nobody feels crushed by his neighbour.

Question: What do you think of the educational quality in Casa Pia de Lisboa's Homes in 1987?

Answer: I don't know all Casa Pia's Homes. I only know those connected with Maria Pia Section.

About their educational quality, there is still a lot to do.

Those little structures have flaws that are sometimes difficult to solve at an institutional level. But if these little structures have flaws, the overcrowded structure is an endless problem even if its walls are clear and the floor spotless.

It hasn't been easy, in "Homes", to form a team of grown-up, dedicated and sagacious people.

Administrative autonomy isn't still what it should be for those workers that may feel, not the owners, but the most responsible for the pupils.

Question: What are the Institution's objectives for the boarder? What essential values would you like them to get?

Answer: The institution's objectives should be to shelter, educate and protect the children and youngsters with social or familiar difficulties. The most essential value to be acquired at the Institution should be the awareness that each one is a person with many things in common with the others and at the same time

very different from them. Another essential value is the solidarity sense, the sense that everything is on the service of everybody. It is indispensable to evaluate the work for this is the means to transform the world, making it better.

## II

Balteiro grew from an emergency answer into a "Home" embryo where recently admitted pupils were oriented to, instead of staying in the crowded D. Maria Pia Section.

The direct contact with big green spaces and big freedom zones was very pleasant for the pupils but the precarious conditions of the building, subject to periodical floods in winter and big isolation were considered inapt for its educational function.

In 1979 Casa Pia buys a villa in Algueirão for the accommodation of a new home. Algueirão is in the outskirts of Lisbon in Sintra municipality, five kilometres away from Sintra. The building is in the middle of a quarter of villas and buildings belonging to the medium bourgeoisie and not far away from slums where life is very difficult. The house has a ground-floor used as sitting-room and kitchen, bathroom, hall and covered verandah and a first floor with bedrooms, bathroom and verandahs. There is also an attic used as girls' bedroom. In the outside there is a good garden and a garage used as workshop or a festivity room.

- It has a capacity for 18 pupils and a staff of 4 adults, three educators and a woman for the domestic service.

- The purposes of this structure were synthetized in a work made by the educators working there in 1982 called "Algueirão, 3 years of Life" and we transcribe here integrally:

- "Purposes"

"With the opening of a home in the outside it was possible to insert a group of children in a community like this, a mixed rural and industrial one, with the alterations that come from this fact in the social, educational and professional point of view.

- The appearance of this new home forces the section director and those responsible for it to reflect upon what they wanted for this home and two big purposes are set: "co-education and possible and realistic autonomy."

It was a new experience in both fields because in our "educational circuit" the education of minors coming from problematic families didn't come up to all this. That's why we see big masculine and feminine boarding-schools centralized around heavy administrative structures and depending educationally very much on them and where to speak of autonomy is a sacrilege.

Our collective aim was to point out these trails. We had not to replace the family, but to create conditions for the pupils to feel at home and trust the adults around them and we wanted them to act as human beings (not as

machines), avoiding each one's personality deformation and "following the boss" mentality. We wanted them to feel useful to the home and the community, helping them with this usefulness perception to overcome the social barrier that all children who are deprived of a normal family atmosphere feel. We want to create conditions for a bigger child's individualization so as the child may be treated as he or she is and not as we want him or her to be. So the big purpose is to raise the children as critical, acting and happy people."

- Underlying the purposes formulated by this new educational structure are the fundamental concepts for the harmonious evolution of any human being such as: better auto-concept and auto-image; co-education; responsibility; freedom; etc.

In another chapter of this work we will deal with the total or partial results of this new practice.

As any new educational experience which tries a transforming rupture with the established system is subject to intense criticism and sometimes big mistakes, we will try to describe the methodology used to attenuate the possibility of such mistakes and to safeguard the experiment from situations that may be destructively criticized:

### Pupil and Staff Selection

- In February 1979 twelve boys were living in "Balteiro Home". From this group only nine were transferred to "Algueirão Home", being the other three considered unfit for it due to their age (16/17 years) and long internment years that would make them difficult to adapt to co-education and a different way of living, which were the main purposes. The group of nine pupils that was going to be subject to the new experiment has pupils between 8 and 14 years old and some were brothers. These were the first pupils in "Algueirão Home".

The educators were chosen between those who wanted to try the new experiment. The choosing was made between themselves and the team was composed by : José Nascimento Dias, Ilda Piçarra and Manuel Canteiro as educators and Anabela for the domestic service.

- Adult's ages were around thirty and their cultural knowledge was the highschool basic one. Nobody had specific educational knowledge.
- Nine pupils and four adults find themselves in an empty place which needs furniture, decoration and conditions for living. The young people are not used to work, in the beginning the conditions for living are short and uncomfortable, the big institution is far away and the logistic support it gives is sometimes not fast and efficacious enough.

The adults make a big effort so that the young ones don't break up and difficulties don't turn into aggression.

All the decisions should be shared but that is for adults a difficult thing to do which is only possible as times goes by and with the stimulation of a new experiment.

In this first phase all the tasks were shared, from cooking to gardening. The pupils, the educators and the cook become masters of that home that gained a bit of everybody's taste and personality. The decoration was not perfect but it was and still is highly personalized.

- As the job of creating the conditions for the "nest/hole" was done, it was necessary to start the communication with the outside world, to fight for the right to be a group of citizens with responsibilities and rights in the middle of that community equal to everybody.

For the neighbours this group was seen with the bad connotations generally attributed to that type of institutions; some pupils had the vices acquired in them.

So it was established an agreement between adults and children  
 - Everyone who had a problem with the outside, broke or damage anything or was charged with that, should tell the adults immediately and the thing was repaired. On the other hand, though the adults analysed the situation with the responsible for it, they shouldn't "dramatize" it so that the responsibility charge was not too heavy.

So it began the dialogue with the outside world.

The first experiment was school. It was February and school had begun in October last. Some teachers were reluctant in receiving pupils in the middle of the school year; in the educator's opinion this had more to do with the fact of them being pupils coming from that institution than the reason they invoked because the pupils were in school in other places before. The school's director was very helpful in solving this problem and any difficulty during the school year and the pupils in the end were considered individually, each one with his own characteristics, and not as a group. The schoolmates came to play with their friends in the Home and the boarders were invited to play at their friends' homes.

When acceptance seemed a fact, gentile attitudes were conducted in a paternalistic way. Medium socio-economic-status families start to think that they must "help" the children, giving them warm-out clothes and toys because "the poor dear ones had no family". Surprised by this behaviour, the group accepted at first the donations but soon started to explain to the "worried citizens" that they lived in much better conditions than the slum children nearby and so these donations should be given to those.

- After the beginning of the school and the quarter integration there came the integration in other communitary services. Health problems were treated in Sintra Hospital instead of using the institution medical services which were still very complet in 1979.

- Some free-time activities like gymnastics and football took place in local collectivities and sports clubs where integration started to be a fact.

### Relationship with the Pupil's Families

Anabela, the person in charge of domestic services, was the only one between the adults that knew the children and some of their families from before.

The educators, in collaboration with the Institution's social service technician, started to visit systematically the children's families or what was left of them to study with them and the children a programme for week-ends and vacations to strengthen "the roots" of the pupils' boarding-school disentanglement as soon as possible. At first there were big difficulties because the pupils refused to spend week-ends with their families which in many cases, lived in worse conditions than those of the Home.

These situations took place in the families where love was a weak or badly defined feeling due to a prolonged absence or the pupils' perception of former rejection or abandonment.

Everything became better when the families began to understand their co-responsibility on the matter, when they started to see that the children were not an "Institution's Belonging"

but elements of a family with some difficulties and definitively the family was the aggregate where the most determining affections for most situations exist.

### Co-education Beginnings

- It was only in November 1979 that the educators and supporting technicians considered that the existing conditions were good for new admissions, specially girls.

The first group to be admitted was composed by four sisters between 4 and 12 years old, and the Home's capacity was completed only in 1980 with the admission of two boys and two girls and later of "Manuel", who after spending some time in Caxias Reeducation Center (Justice Office) and after two integration attempts followed by escape in D. Maria Pia Section, shows up in Algueirão Home asking to live there, something that was agreed after a short period of testing.

- When these youngsters were admitted the situation presented no such problems as those the "pioneers" had to suffer; the home was comfortable, the teachers and schoolmates knew they were coming and the neighbours were curious to know how a "boarding-school" for boys and girls of the same age could work.

Sexual taboos are still very strong in Portugal and they gain a bigger dimension whenever the situations with which they collide take place under an institutional hand.

If co-education was one of the first purposes of Algueirão Home, if the very adult team was chosen with a mixture of two men and two women so that as far as possible, the parental figure's complementary and difference was safeguarded, it was necessary to decide correctly so that a situation, elementary for an education professional, was not damaged by "ethical-administrative" fears and prejudices exterior to those concerned and strong enough to abort the experiment.

There follows an inventory of some of the decisions taken in that period considered of confirmed usefulness by the intervenients:

- A considerable rigour in the age level of the admitted boys and girls - An age above twelve years old is considered improper and the younger the pupils are the better are the results in the beginning of communitarian life.
- The admission of different sex brothers is highly suitable for a co-education without significative problems - The youngsters attitude towards a colleague is influenced by the attitude taken by the colleagues towards his sisters.
- The open and exhaustive discusssioon with the yougster, boys and girls, of every behaviour which can be negative for the exterior community "image" - The "complicity" notion in education is a badly studied concept but it is very important for the qualitative growth jumps to happen in the educational relationship between adults

and youngsters. If the youngster understands that not everybody who surrounds the house has about human relationships, specially about relationships between youngsters of both sexes, the natural and simply notion that love must be shown and the physical contact is an expression of that love, he will accept without aversion that he cannot be seated on the entrance bench with "Margarida", who is 13, seating on his knees because that will harm "Margarida", him and the group.

- The permanent exigence to find out a balance between privacy and an "open door" or "glass wall" life absolutely necessary to pacify the "badly loved ones" imagination for whom those who laugh and grow with pleasure are "in mortal sin" - The more rough and slanderous the neighbour is or conservative and moralist the administration delegate is, the more often must they be invited for the Home's social activities and if that invitation is a tough thing for adults and children then they must be invited for more intimate occasions where it will be possible to unmythologize former ideas and make them feel involved in the going on dynamics.

#### Autonomy development and power circuits

In the beginning most pupils were very dependent on adults. Such dependence may be attributed to the personal characteristics of each one of them and to difficulties they found in an unknown atmosphere in relation to which they had to present a positive image.

School, learning and cultural and entertaining activities took most of the pupils' time and the daily tasks of a house

with 20 persons could become too heavy if they were not systematically shared by everybody. The alternative was to admit more staff or to ask the Institution for more support as regards to cloth washing, provisioning, etc.

Both the adults and the children wanted to maintain and emphasize a maximum of autonomy in relation to the Institution and the admission of new staff would mean the reproduction of the same vices and systems that they wanted to overcome and besides these new admissions would be authorized by the administration with a big difficulty.

The educators started to divide the tasks according to everyone's age and schedule and at the same time conflicts started to grow for everyone considered himself hardly hit by heavier tasks than those of his fellow-beings.

Some essential tasks were late or never done at all.

It was important and necessary to change this situation.

It was taken the decision of attributing the total responsibility of home tasks to the whole group.

Every week took place a "Home Assembly", a reunion where all the people who lived there was present and where the weekly life was analysed and decisions for the future were taken.

The reunion was directed by an older boarder chosen for each reunion and helped by two elements, one of whom might be an adult.

At first these assemblies were not very effective because a lot of time was spent in individual accusations and prolonged defences but progressively these assemblies' ambit became clearer and from the mere distribution of tasks they became the space for reflexion and normalization of community life. Nowadays they discuss in the reunion only what is collective or what, being individual, has a reflection on the group's life direct action.

Responsible pupils were elected for the most different areas: group's money, food buying and quality, gardening and kitchen-garden, animals, occupation of times, etc.

This responsibility made autonomy stronger though I could see a bigger level of group responsibility and a lower individual one. From all this work it resulted a daily functioning model considered efficacious by adults and youngsters and described in the work already quoted, "Algueirão 3 years of Life" which I quote again:

"Walking up time is between 7 and 7.30. Young people who must attend school in the morning, after washing and cleaning themselves, have breakfast and go to school. Breakfast is cooked by a pupil that buys the bread daily. The rest of the pupils who only attend school in the afternoon, have breakfast a little later after washing themselves. In between 8.30 and 9.30 they do the rooms, dividing the tasks by everybody. From

9.30 in everybody does their homework, being the duration variable according to everyone's needs or the school's exigency. As far as everyone finishes his homework he has the rest of the time free to do what he wishes but, if necessary, can be called to give a hand in any other task.

Whenever the domestic service employee can't cook the meals, because it is her day off or she is doing something else urgent, the pupils must do it. Lunch is at 13.30 for the group who goes to school only in the afternoon (one group is responsible for the dining-room). After lunch this group goes to school up to 18.00.

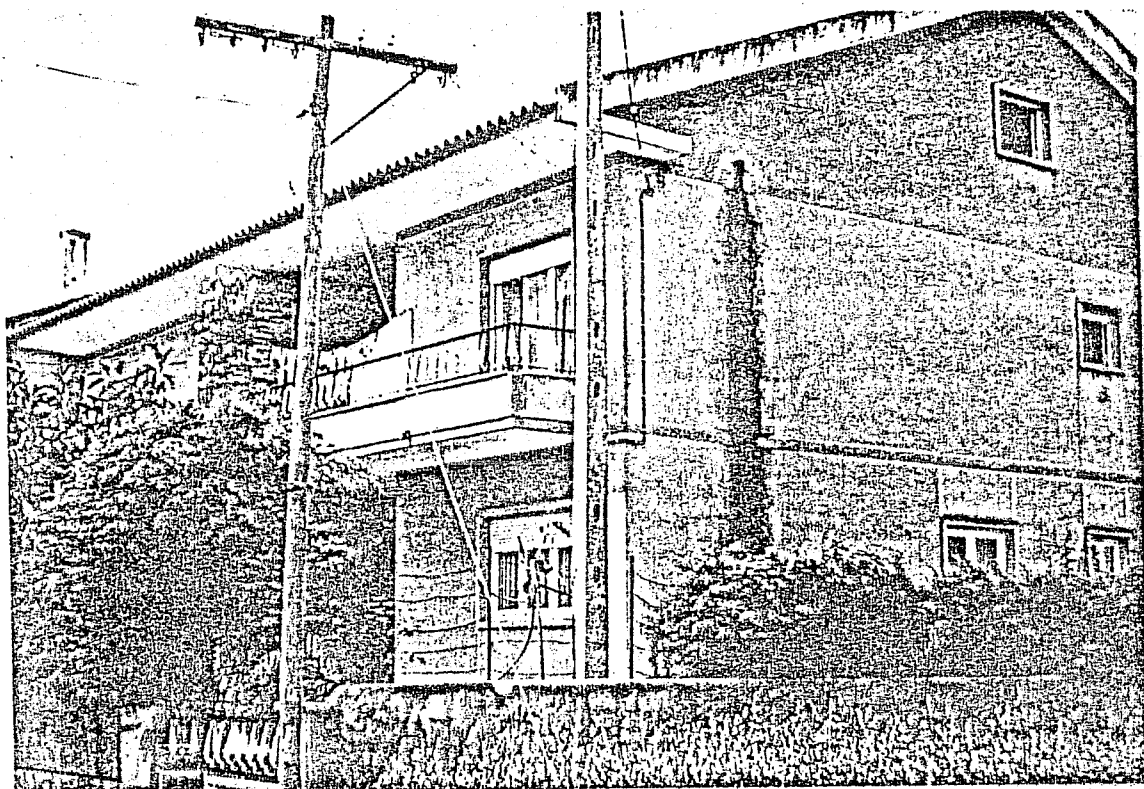
At about 13.15 the group who went to school in the morning comes back, has lunch and cleans the kitchen and the dining-room. After 15.00 they do their homework and have free time afterwards. Dinner is served at 19.30. The other group does the rooms as they did before and after lunch.

After dinner and before going to bed (which has no rigid schedule and depends on the age and tasks done) everybody has free time to watch television, listen to music, walk, etc. or to participate in extra-home activities he or she has chosen like ballet, gymnastics, foot-ball etc. in the local sports associations or collectivities.

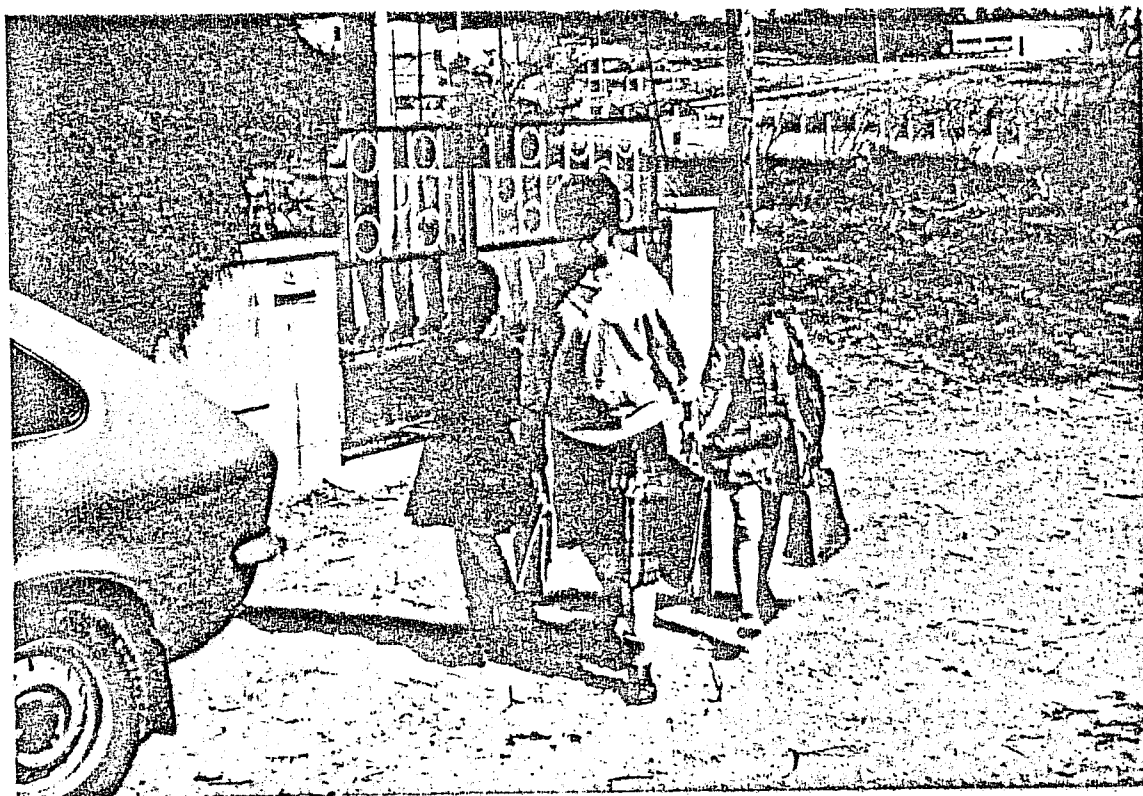
### Last Informations

I could say much more about what I saw in Algueirão Home or is written about it but, if I did it, I would put it in unequal terms in relation to Nuno Álvares Section as what regards to the amount and quality of the information. Here are some items between the many I found:

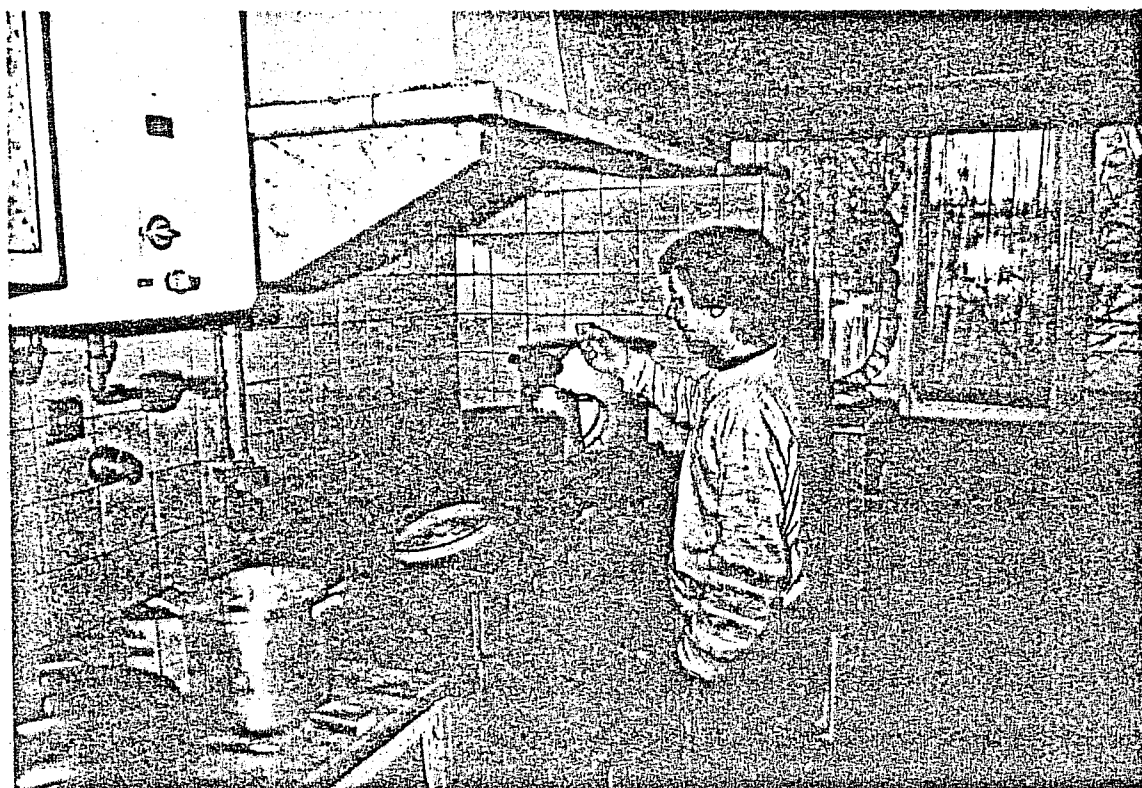
- Holidays - This programme is studied collectively and they are as diversified as possible. Some older pupils go camping alone to discover other parts of the country.
- Work - The situation of two boarders that didn't want to go on studying and were beyond school age and wanted to start working and a place was found for that in the nearby area.
- Surrounding sphere - Nowadays nobody in the surrounding sphere relates the young people to the boarding-school. The asylum people mark that is so well described by Goffman in "Stigma" is clearly subdued, if it exists. They are daily invited or invite in a range of 5 kilometres. They fight and play in the streets in their own name and not with an asylum people status.



O Lar do Algeirão é uma vivenda igual a todas as outras do bairro  
Algeirão Home is a villa like all the others around



De manhã como qualquer outra criança eles saem para a escola  
In the morning, like other children, they go to school



Cozinhar é uma tarefa colectiva acessível a quase todos

Cooking is a collective task accesible to almost everybody



O Pequeno-Almoço é preparado por grupos em roulement

Breakfast is cooked by groups by turns.

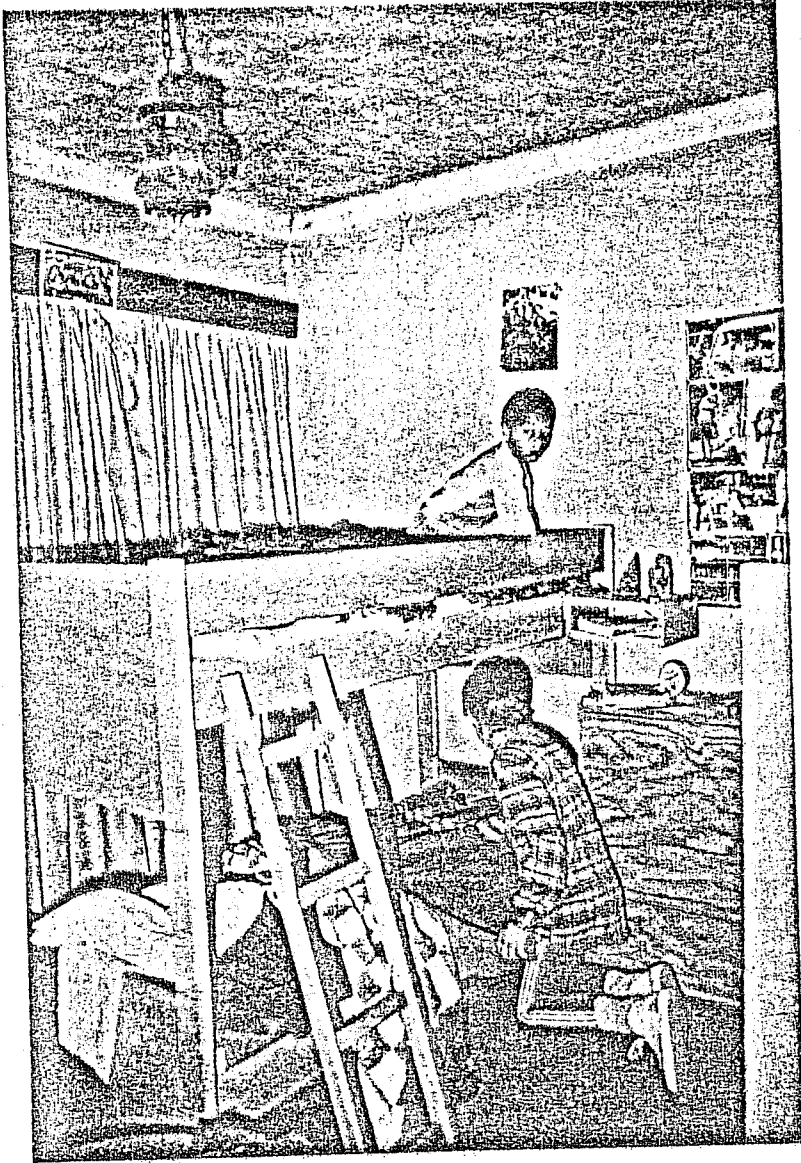


Uma Assembleia de Lar no Algueirão

A Home Assembly in Algueirão



No quintal os educandos têm animais. Este é um dos coelhos criados por eles  
 In the kitchen-garden pupils have animals. This is one of the rabbits



Um dos quartos do Lar de Algueirão

One of the bedrooms of Algueirão Home

## 2 - NUNO ÁLVARES PEREIRA BOARDING-SCHOOL

Nuno Álvares Pereira College is situated in Alexandre Sá Pinto Street near the Monumental Zone of Belém occupying the ancient Salésias Convent.

Up to 1974, it was a masculine boarding-school for children between 7 and 12 years old, therefore in their schooling years, who had primary school education inside the very college. Once completed that educational period, those considered with intellectual capacity and motivation, were transferred to Pina Manique Boarding-School, located in the nearby zone, for the continuation of their studying. Pupils with confirmed learning difficulties were transferred to D. Maria Pia Boarding-School, in the east zone of the city, where they started to learn a craft.

Transfers to any institute were always regarded by pupils as a discrimination between the intelligent and the non-intelligent ones, whose effects men and women of today still suffer from.

The transfers separated, on the pretext of a certain schooling grade being attained, children who, in certain cases, had their first affective compensating relationship with a schoolmate or member of the staff and saw themselves, from that moment on, separated from them.

Everybody, technicians and pupils included, considered positively the changing of these transfers, being stability considered a

positive factor for affective and emotional growth of any child. We must consider the statements of Tomkiewicz and Joe Finder in the article "How to transform your children in a delinquent" (1977) in "Educating, Outcasting or Letting Grow" page 107: "If you are not able to respect our advice scrupulously, if you are not able to be or seem hostile or indifferent, if you can't also suffocate your baby with your exclusive love, you will fail completely the task of making your child a delinquent. In that case, remove him decidedly from your life, give him to the caress of a nurse, send him to a boarding-school and above all things don't forget to change nurses every two months and boarding-schools twice a year."

In the school year of 1974/1975 this institute's structure was subject to big alterations: Thirty female children were admitted for primary school learning while the group of pupils who had finished that period of learning were not transferred as usual but inscribed in preparatory schools of the nearby zone belonging to the general educational system.

At the time of this work-'s beginning (1981/1982) its population is 82 boarders and 163 half-boarders who attend to primary school regular and special, inside the institution, to preparatory and secondary school in the nearby zone schools and to professional teaching in D. Maria Pia Section, though as half-boarders, coming back to Nuno Álvares at sunset.

Between the pupils who live as boarders, 26 are girls who live in a separate place (the old Purveyor's home) in the same building and 56 are boys. The fact of existing both boys and girls in the same boarding-school must not, in our opinion, be considered as a co-educational system and though the meals are as often as possible eaten together the structure where the girls live is relatively autonomous, both educationally as for resources and equipment they use. They have their own study-rooms, social intercourse rooms, their own educational staff and their daily life is quite separate.

- The college was globally directed up to 1974 by a female director who assumed the coordination of all the sectors, with the exception of the supporting staff one guided by a subregent under her direct supervision. During the year of 1975 and part of 1976, resulting from the national wave of "participated management" occurring immediately after the Revolution of 25 April, there was a Management Commission with the representation of all the sector. The Director was part of that Management Commission. Soon the action of those who were part of it was weakening and so the Director started again to assume almost by herself, the College's guidance though some of the staff's representatives for some sectors were maintained with exclusive consultative functions.

The official staff belonging to Casa Pia de Lisboa was at the time as shown in the scheme below:

Primary school Teachers	Music Teachers	Regional and Moral Teachers	Workshop Monitor
13	2	2	1

Perceptors	
Male	Female
111	16

Technical Education Staff			
Shoemaker	Carpenters	Mason	Painter
1	2	1	1

Health Staff		
Nurses	Family Lady Doctor	Specialist Doctor
<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>

Administrative Staff			
Stward	Telephone Girls	General Office Staff (Several Categories)	Storekeepers
1	2	4	3

Supporting Staff					
Whitewasher	Porters and Guardians	Cooks	Sewing-women and washerwomen	Servants (*)	Loader (*)
1	3	2	4	11	11

(\*) Staff for indiscriminated tasks.

Two social assistants, one psychologist and one chaplain complete the staff.

In the College there are some adults engaged as task workers whose number is difficult to determine.

This is a "typical structure" of what we call Massed Boarding-School. It demands costly under-structures which distort the common daily life image.

- Industrial kitchens - where the children cannot learn how to cook because they can't reach the stove or simply because it is forbidden to them to enter the kitchen; where the notion of quantity, supply gain, transformation, good appearance, hot tea for <sup>"</sup>lack-of-love-desease<sup>"</sup> at 10 o'clock in the evening are abstract or even unknown ideas.
- Linen Rooms - Warehouses - where something hardly belongs to somebody; where each item of linen is a number, where its real value is not understood, where fitness to everybody is fictitious, where there is always another item if one disappears or is destroyed, where the "prefered vest" or the "only pair of trousers I like" are treated animously as hundreds of others.

- Dinning Rooms and Canteens - where to speak to a meal mate is a challenge to auditive sharpness or where the time for a meal is the minimum needed to eat the food. Being is a word of unknown meaning.
  
- Rooms - Dormitories - Divided - by -Partition - Walls - where, in spite of the thousands of escudos spent in furniture one hardly feels those spaces as "his own corner". The partition walls were in time a real effort for personalization but today as there are already boarding-schools with human dimensions, they look like amplified labyrinths for rats conditioning. In the dormitories there never exists a minimum space for privacy in spite of all the decoration perfection. All the keys are fit for all the drawers, when they exist, or, as is often the case, they are not closed so that the staff can show the visitors their educational perfections saying: "See, each has his own drawer to keep his belongings in, here everything is individualized!"  
 And the secret spot to keep "marbles" , "metal bottle caps", "little things from back home" out of robber's reach or sight?
  
- Corridors - Endless, heavy, cold, frightful, No man's land which nobody wants to clean, decorate etc. Their only usefulness is a playing function to skate... but as it is completely forbidden, naturally, to skate in the corridors!
  
- Courtyards - The only good thing around. Anyway they are sometimes felt as space-prison for the one who lives inside

and space-privilege for the one who looks at them from the outside.

- High Walls - As if that highness had any meaning in education. The boarding-school "protected" or "segregated" by them is physically the image of a "ghetto", where the children rejected by society are "hidden" not to disturb it.

When they are eighteen, one tells them "go and live in that society and make part of it!"

- With this type of physical structure around the tutor team is, by force of circumstances, transformed into watcher team. Until recently the Institution's professional board included this professional category. In many situations the educational functions are reduced to watch over the pupils when they may be absent-school, meals, sleeping hours; to care for the settlement and material, so that they are the less spoilt possible; to see if the pupils don't fight too much between themselves and a few more things.

A good part of these tutors feels it should be different and very often, as I could see, they try to educate outside the institution and off duty hours, as to have a better relationship and privacy with the pupils not permitted by the structure where they work. Absolute doesn't exist, at least in human sciences, and therefore a very incorrect process as we think it, may show objectively some positive aspects.

I lived for some time in boarding-schools like Nuno Álvares Pereira in almost the whole country and, like here, four characteristics are always common as positive factors:

- As the relationships are weakened, the adult's effects unbalanced, sadistic, despotic or dishonest when they exist are much more subdued than in a little structure.
- The pupils organize themselves in "clans" with their own rules and different from the Institution's which they obey without transgressing.
- Solidarity between pupils, very often activated by lack of communication or by the conflict with the adults, is an incontestable and lasting fact.
- The very young ones are protected by their equals.

Dr. Maria Augusta Conde Amaral was Nuno Álvares Pereira Director for 8 years and stopped directing in 1978. Her substitution originated the nomination of several individual persons or coordination teams that directed the institution during short periods of time without special notice for pupils or staff. For a long period, when I started interviewing the pupils and staff in 1982, to speak of a Director was to speak of this technician. On the other hand, I knew that she had, during the last part of her directing, often put on the alert Casa Pia de Lisboa Administration for the urgent need of personalizing Nuno Álvares Pereira College without creating tension

situations between pupils and the Institution. I think it useful to ask her some questions which I transcribe together with the answers:

Question:

1 - You were Director for 8 years of one of the massed boarding-schools of Casa Pia de Lisboa.

What do you think of the type of educational answer this structure can give?

Answer:

My experience tells me it is not possible to give the needed educational answers when one lives in a big and closed collectivity.

I think that, in these conditions, one considers more the physical wellcoming than the global developping and needed social integration indispensable for each one.

So I think this type of structure doesn't give the correct answer and cannot give it.

Question:

2 - During a long time you told Casa Pia de Lisboa's Administration of the need of personalizing Nuno Álvares Section.

Why?

Answer:

For the reasons given in 1. I tried to call Casa Pia de Lisboa' Administration attention to the problems of a massed boarding-

-school, pointing the correct solutions which I think possible and fundamental:

Living in small groups with varied structures and dimensions, depending on the pupils' individual characteristics.

As this cannot happen tottaly in the existing building, we suggested the search for little dwelling units outside the building (specially for the cases needing a bigger individualization).

As outside school attending was a difficult practise by all the pupils we opened the existing primary schools to outside pupils so that children enjoyed a better intercourse, recognising though that this was an "on the contrary" opening.

This personalization demanded the preparation and finding of available persons; what was attained.

Question:

3 - After leaving, Nuno Álvares lived a difficult period which culminated in the massive disentailling of the pupils. Do you think that such situation would be the same if the boarding-school structure was different?

Answer:

The pupils massive disentailling which happenned was the obvious result of an educational phylosophy changing which took place when I left.

The atmosphere gradually deteriorated by the personalization process. This starts the deterioration between pupils and

tutors in this way are created all the conditions for mutual aggression inside the institutional relationship.

To prevent this situation, someone thought that the solution was the pupils' expulsion and so the personalization scheme was made easy as it is today.

Such a situation wouldn't be possible if I went on directing the personalization development.

Question:

4 - Do you think that the boarding-school you directed had the chance to give the pupils the growing and autonomy critical points of view they needed?

Answer:

The conditions I tried to fulfil in the Boarding-School which I directed were in such a way as to make it possible for the pupils to acquire and develop the most possible their autonomy, responsibility and critical points of view.

Something was achieved though one knows, when one starts, that there is no boarding-school where those objectives are totally achieved as those children have severe familiar and personal traumas.

It is though the massed structure that doesn't allow to achieve those points, specially with children.

Question:

5 - Do you consider these as important values for a good social integration? What others should accompany them?

Answer:

I consider those values mentioned very important for the personal growing and therefore for a good social integration. They are, of course, other items, which are those which complete the individual as a person and as a social being. It is unnecessary to number them but I cannot leave affective growing behind as a crucial point which is only achieved by individual means and never by massed ones.

The massive functioning of this boarding-school and the eventual consequences resulting for the educational growing of those young people were the concerns of the direction and of some of the staff.

According to this concern contained in the interview presented before, several "opening" attempts took place between 1973 and 1978.

- Female pupils admission for the boarding-school though living in an independent building.
- Maintenance of pupils who finished primary school in the boarding-school were they had been living up to now and attempt to insert them in the nearby schools, enjoying the educational general system, a thing that every citizen is entitled to.
- Opening of the boarding-school primary school to the nearby zone children, who started to attend it in a half-board basis.

- Development of inter-relationships between the families of the young people, the institution and the young people themselves.
- Changes in the physical space organization, specially in the dormitories and intercourse rooms.
- Admission of male tutors to take care of those who, because they were not transferred between being 10 and 12 years old, were becoming adolescents with all their common problems.

Two social service technicians played an active role in these personalization attempts: Maria do Rosário Serra and Maria José Gil.

- Because we couldn't find, like we did for Alguerião Home, any characterization data on written documents about Nuno Álvares Boarding-school activities, we had to make two separate interviews in order to have a better knowledge of the matter.
- To the question "what were the main problems, in your opinion, of the boarders" they answered in a similar way:
  - "Absence of an individualized educational action due to the big number of pupils (about 200 between 1971 and 1978) and their big number for each dormitory (about 30)."
  - "Difficulties between pupils as well as between adults resulting from the adaptation of the educational process to the new

age status which resulted from the permanence of the young people in the building after finishing primary school."

- "The tutors mobility, for the pupils distribution in the dormitories was changing almost ever year because these were once organized according to schooling."

Both technicians point out and identify the efforts which were made to change these conditions:

- Cancellation of boarding-school admissions to shorten pupil number.
- Dormitory redimension
- Human resources rationalization

In spite of all these efforts, to the question "There would have really been a true solution for the problems which showed in a boarding-school with the characteristics, physical and organizational, like Nuno Álvares in this period", both answer no, attributting the impossibility either to the building's structure or to the staff's several incapacities but one of them finishes by saying that such a big number of pupils in the same building could never be subject to an educational intervention for individualization and personalization and for as much as possible, a structure close to family life, even if the staff had more knowledge and interest.

From all the questions to these technicians one deserves to be mentioned due to the quality of the given answers.

We asked if "A big building, many pupils and a big number of staff were not enough conditions to make of that structure a Massed Boarding-School?"

- Both consider that those are not conditions enough and by the justification they add those are not the necessary ones too. We will transcribe:

I

- "The contrary is also true. A little physical structure, a little number of pupils and staff may be a massed boarding-school.

In my opinion, between the facts that condition or not the existence of an educational process, a massed or personalized one, I mention:

- The physical structure and its location
- The number of pupils
- The number and type of staff (its personal structure and life project)
- Organization forms (hierarchical dependence, possibility of creation in educational action which is only achieved with a minimum of personal and institutional autonomy)

I consider that Nuno Álvares Boarding-School, during the cited period, was a massifying structure. I think that almost all

of us knew it and so the efforts we made then and before in 1974 to adapt the existing structure to an educational process as much as possible directed to each pupil's needs."

## II

- "In my opinion it is not because a big number of pupils are living in a big building with enormous corridors, large dormitories and a lot of staff to maintain it that massification exists.

Whenever a child, even inside a little structure, has no "space" to be and is "one more" between others, there you can also find massification.

Nuno Álvares, in spite of all the serious attempts to get out of this situation, went on being a massed boarding-school."

- This recognized massed boarding-school lived in the beginning of the 80's an unknown phenomenon.

The children which the institution decided to keep for continuing their education until they were fit for disentailling\* grew up.

They were young people with strong and different problems who started some indisposition or conflict situations. School achievement was low and social and institutional behaviour was far from exemplary.

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\* A concept used to name the process of preparation for leaving the boarding-school and the correspondent integration in society.

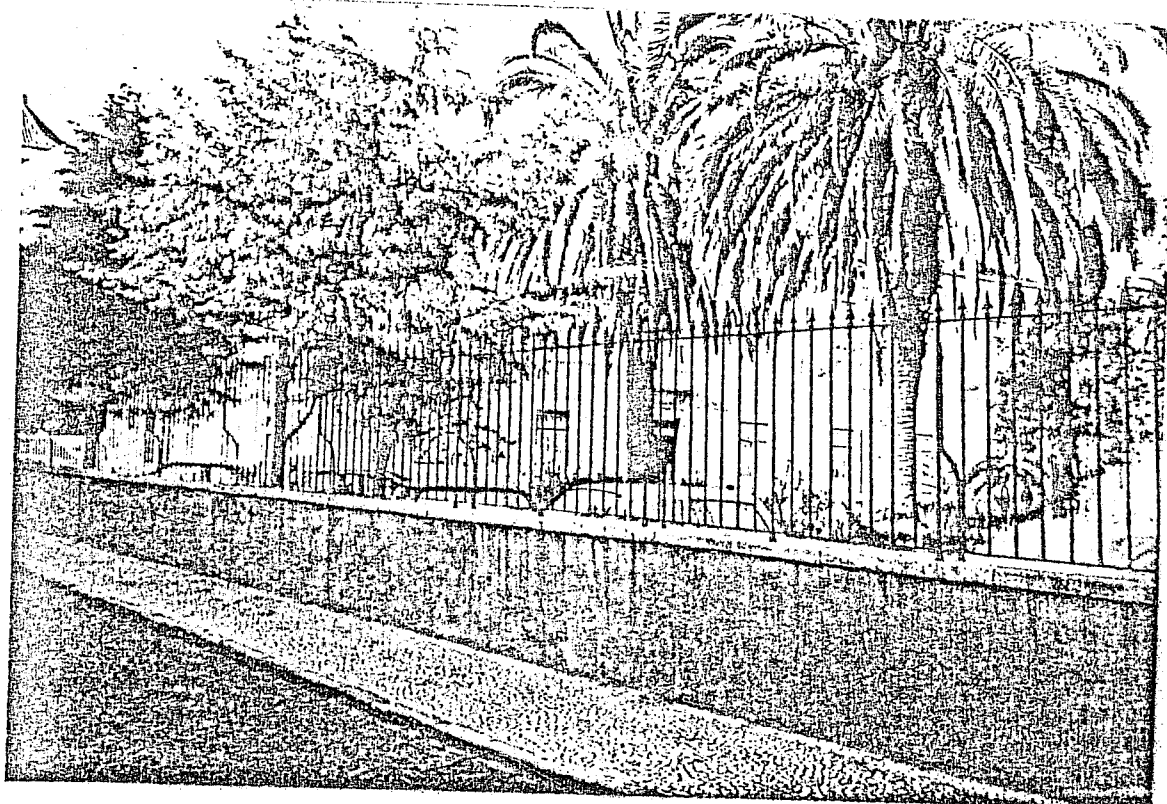
Purveyor's office started to demand a changing of situation and it was decided to study each boarder's situation and find an adequate solution for their going out.

The pupils who generated more problems were in fact disentailed in a controverted way called by some "expulsion" and considered correct by others.



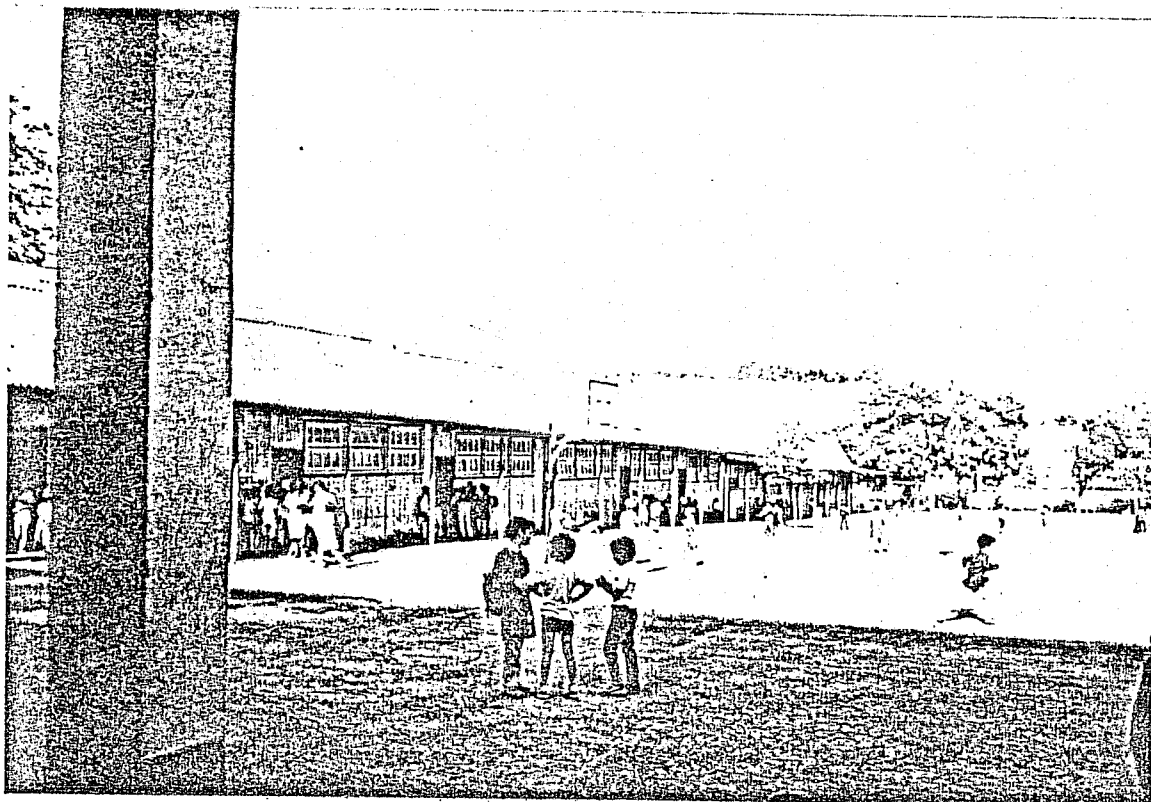
Uma perspectiva das traseiras do edifício onde ainda não tiveram lugar obras de beneficiação. Ao tempo deste estudo, quase tudo era semelhante.

A view of the back of the building before the beginning of improvement works. At the time of this study almost all buildings were in this state.



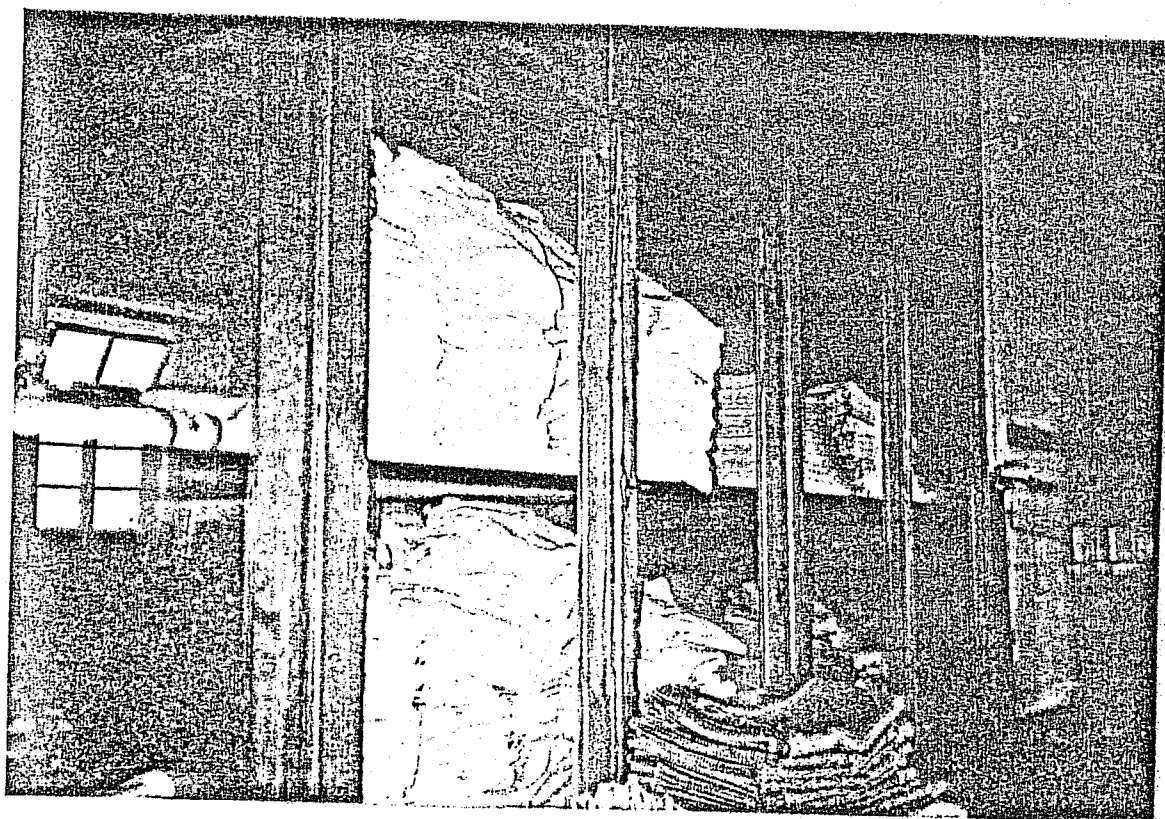
O gradeamento da entrada principal.

Main entrance railing.



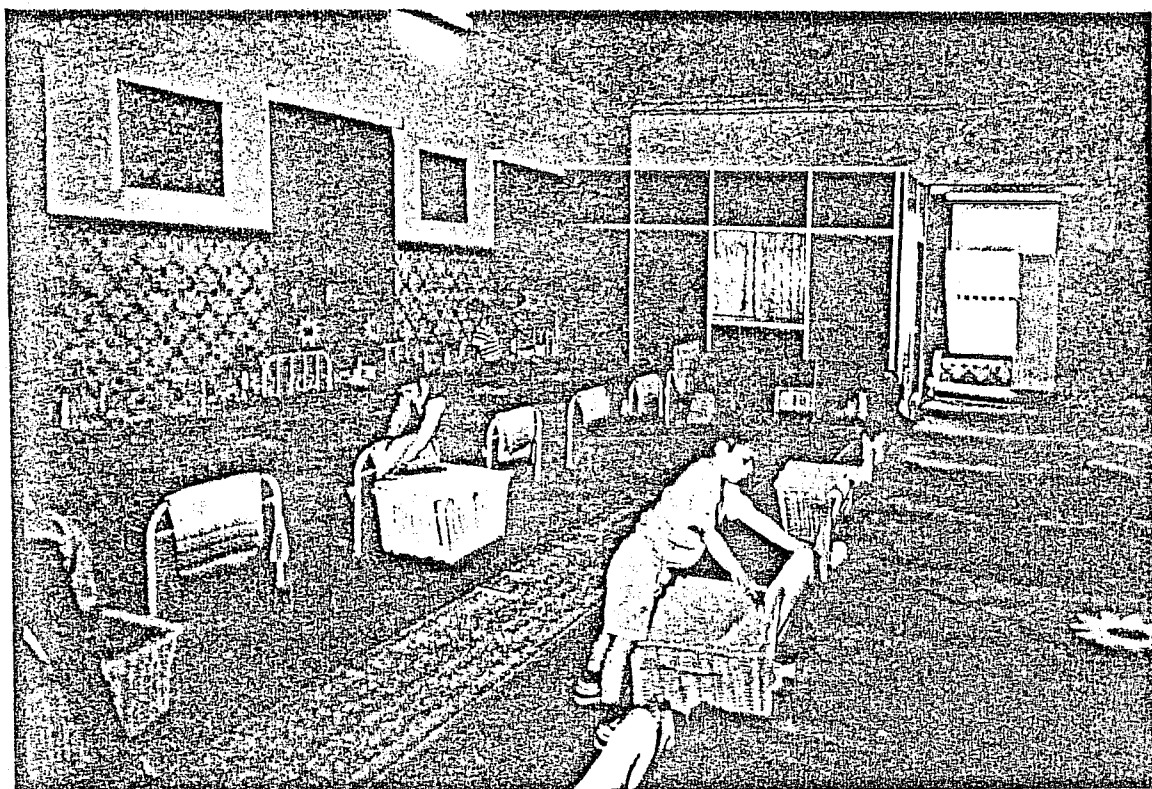
A escola primária tem lugar dentro do edifício do Internato

The primary school is settled inside the boarding-school building



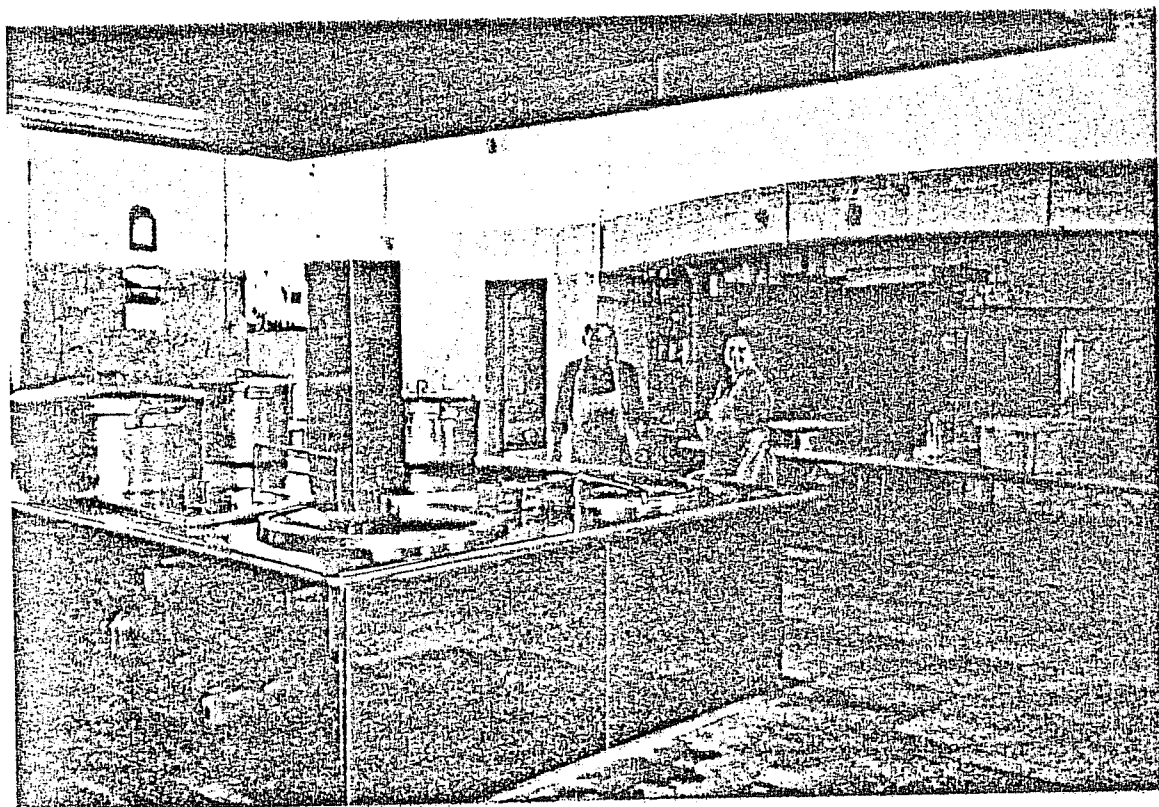
A rouparia do Internato onde o anonimato é bem evidente

The Boarding-School linen room where anonymity is obvious

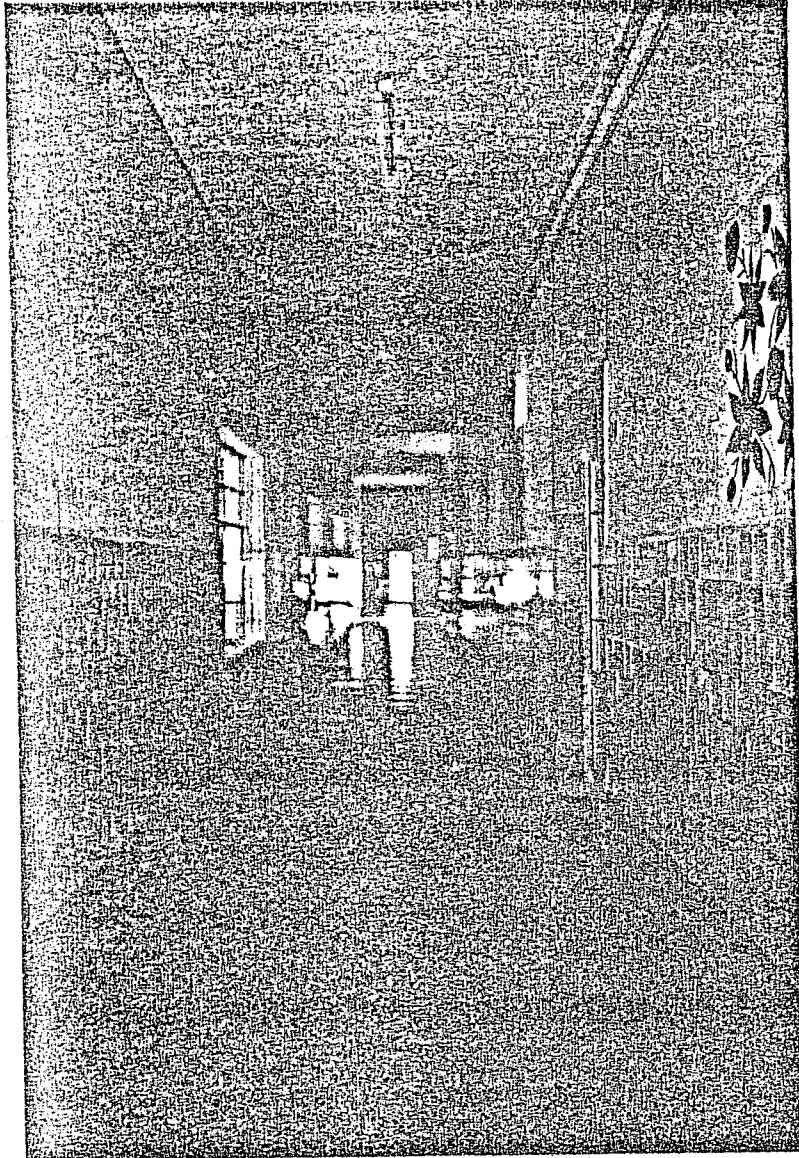


Camarata remodelada posteriormente a este estudo no Internato de Nuno Álvares Pereira.

Dormitory remodeled posteriorly to this study in Nuno Álvares Pereira Boarding-School



A cozinha do Internato de Nuno Álvares Pereira  
Nuno Álvares Pereira Boarding-School kitchen.



Um dos corredores do Internato de Nuno Álvares Pereira

One of the corridors of Nuno Álvares Pereira Boarding-School

"A Felicidade não é um objectivo, é o resultado de uma acção significativa para nós. Por isso é vão procurar a felicidade ou procurar dar a felicidade; o importante é descobrir os caminhos da realização própria ou, em educação, da realização dos outros; é, portanto, suscitar e fazer desabrochar projectos que dêem um sentido ao que se faz hoje e prolonguem a acção no futuro."

Maria Borges Medeiros

in "O Papel e a Formação dos Professores"

"Happiness is not an objective, it is the result of an action significant for us. So it is vain to search happiness or to try to give it; what is important is to discover the ways of self-achievement or, in education, the achievement of others; it is, therefore, to promote and to make bloom projects that give a meaning to what we are doing today and extend its action to the future."

Maria Borges Medeiros

in "O Papel e a Formação dos Professores"

"Pedagogical Creed" by Dewey

"With the advent of Democracy and of the modern industrial conditions it is impossible to predict with accuracy what civilization will be in twenty years. Therefore it is impossible to prepare a child within an exact order of conditions. To prepare him for future life means to give him the management of his own affairs; means to educate him in a way that he may use totally all his capacities; that his eye, his ear and his hand may be ready to command instruments, that his judgement may be able to find out the conditions in which he must work and the forces he must develop to be able to act economically and efficiently.

It is impossible to reach this adaptation (...) if education is not constantly transformed in psychological terms".

Abbagnano Visalberghi

in "Pedagogy History"

## HYPOTHESIS FOUNDING

- After having described the "type" structures of boarding-schools for children deprived of normal family atmosphere it is the occasion to clarify and found the hypothesis from which we started, the validity of which we intend to test.

### Hypothesis I

- 1 - Nuno Álvares Boarding-School in spite of all the efforts made by the staff and the directors to humanize its action towards pupils, maintains many characteristics of the Total Institution as described by Erving Goffmann. The young people under this educational process maintain a behaviour similar to the one described as the behaviour of Total Institution boarders.

Let's see:

- Total Institution structure according to Erving Goffmann (1968)
  - 1) All the aspects of life are developed in the same place and under a sole authority.
  - 2) Massification system.
  - 3) All the steps of daily life are strictly ruled, the whole sequence is imposed from above through explicit formal patterns and a group of staff.

- 4) Little or no interaction with the outside world.
- 5) The different compulsory activities are integrated in a sole rational plan deliberately conceived for the attainment of institutional purposes.

- Such structures, according to the same author who will be a fundamental reference here, have several purposes but maintain, with some nuances, its ways of functioning. Goffmann gives five types of Total Institutions:

- 1) Institutions for the protection of the unable non-dangerous ones (orphans, old people, indigents, physical or psychical deprived).
- 2) Institutions for the protection of the unable dangerous ones though involuntary (tuberculous ones, mental patients, those suffering from contagious diseases).
- 3) Institutions that segregate intentionally dangerous people (prisons, penitentiaries, concentration camps).
- 4) Institutions designed only for the development of one activity and therefore justified on instrumental terms (barracks, ships, etc.)
- 5) Institutions "separated from the world" for the preparation of religious people (abbeys, seminaries, convents, etc.)

- When he enters the institution the child has already his own past and he will be stripped of this usual supports by the institutional mechanism. Each person's self will be systematically mortified and profaned. We must remind the

lack of privacy, of any individuality, the weight of "adult world" whose functions take a long time to understand; all this presses any child when he enters a massed boarding-school.

- In this matter the boarder will make secondary adjustments, a thing that doesn't defy directly the board of directors but allows the boarder to get non permitted satisfactions. Some young boarders call it "natural selection". These secondary adjustments lead to several adaptation forms which Goffmann characterizes this ways:

- 1 - Situation Retraction - The boarder abstracts himself of almost everything around except of what is going on close to him. He is indifferent to everything that surrounds him. In our boarding-school experience it means "to have nothing and to wish nothing".
- 2 - Rebellion - The boarder challenges intentionally the institution using a constant inflexibility and a high rebellion moral.
- 3 - Colonization - The negative sample of the outside world given by the institution is taken by the boarder as a whole and this leads him to convince himself of how good it is to live in the institution. For these boarders the departure process is a very intricate one and sometimes they destroy equipment to convince the technicians that

they are not ready yet for society integration. Total Institutions which try to humanize their action run the risk of enlarging the number of "colonized situations".

4 - Conversion - The boarder assumes completely the director's point of view and tries to play the "perfect boarder" role. He adopts a moralist way of action whose institutional enthusiasm is always at the board of director's service.

- Such form of adaptation is in educational boarding-school the choosen one by those pupils, that we always see very dressed, in uniform or not, in official occasions.

This amount of boarders attitudes may be considered coherent adpataion directions though completely different from one another.

Anyway most part of boarders keeps an attitude of "avoiding problems". With their mates that act in a certain way and with directors they show a totally docile behaviour.

(Goofmann, "Asiles" 1968 pag. 43/165)

- But while Goffman characterizes Total Institution in the whole, Palmonari, Emiliari and Carugati analyse the institutions for children deprived of familiar atmosphere in detail and consider them as entities which have an efficacious action in the social contradictions balance. For that reason their internal logic can't but block all the development of actions of liberator type.

- What is the meaning for a minor of being educated in an institution? It means to be situated under an influence sphere of a system of forces the origin of which is exterior to him and which controls and manipulates him constantly, according to the points of view of those authors ("Tenter le Possible", 1981, pages 17 to 35).
  
- In the school year of 1970/71 the closing of one of these institutions, with about one hundred boys between 6 and 18 years old, affords the Psychology Institute of Bologna, to which these authors are connected, to try a first experiment of "flat groups" as their support was asked by the administration board of the institution which had been closed in a quarrelsome situation.
  
- These first "flat groups" had, very synthetically, the following characteristics:
  - 1) They were composed by 6 to 8 young people, grouped according to age, who were lodged in common flats in the different quarters of the town.
  - 2) The staff, three tutors with only one receiving full time wages, was reormited between finalists of Education Sciences and all the adults spslept in the flat.
  - 3) The administration gave to the responsible one for each group the money for common-expenses and this sum was calculated in the basis of "per capita" expenses in institutional boarding-schools.

- 4) The administration paid directly the rent, the gas and the electricity and a cleaning woman who worked in a half time basis.
- 5) Every young one attended public school as much as possible.
- 6) Daily life was organized by each group in an autonomous way according to each one's schedules and interests.
- 7) This experience ended one year later with the youngster's integration in their families with the help of education familiar subsidies. Anyway it has been the reference for all subsequent experiences of minors desentaling made by the administration of Bologna Commune.

### Hypothesis II

Algueirão Home offers some characteristics of dimension, social insertion and autonomy similar to "flat groups".

As the two types of answers coexist in the same institution, we will try to compare the effects took by each one of them in the young people who live there.

## INVESTIGATION DESIGN

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### I

#### 1) Methodology and Data Analysis

##### A) Methodology

We made two questionnaires with questions of open answer destined to be put in an interview to the pupils of the two institutions described in the former chapter. For their elaboration we counted with several informal conversations with pupils of these and of other similar boarding-schools and with several members of the staff.

To each questionnaire we made a pre-test in boarding-schools similar to those we intended to study. This pre-test revealed the possibility of, through these questionnaires, obtaining clear differences between the affective development process and social skills acquisition of the pupil groups respectively in a massed boarding-school and those living in a small structure, called "Homes", integrated in a dwelling community. After the pre-tests the questionnaires were reformulated.

- The first problem we had to solve was the fact of, existing only 17 pupils in Algueirão Home and at the time about 48 in

Nuno Álvares Boarding-School, being necessary to decide how to compare them, for the numbers were very small in themselves, we decided to present the questionnaires to the whole of both structures and afterwards select, in an aleatory way, 17 of the Nuno Álvares answers for statistic comparison treatment with those of Algueirão Home.

- The questionnaires were settled in individual interviews made to each pupil without establishing any type of dialogue to deepen the question's contents as to avoid eventual different influencias; it was necessary to explain the meaning of several words declared incomprehensible by the pupils.

All the pupils had been admitted in Casa Pia de Lisboa according to the same admission criterion, the parameters of which are explained in the second chapter. Therefore we concluded that their S.E.S. (socio-economic-status) was similar.

- We know that this study would be more rigorous if the pupils were of the same age and school level but the neutralization of these variables became impossible by the fact of having to study the whole of pupils in Algueirão Home.

- We had the same number of boys and girls for every structure.

- Ages are between 11 and 16 and internment time between 3 and 9 years.

- Nuno Álvares Pereira pupils had, in general, a longer intern-ment time than those of Algueirão and they were generally 2 years older.

After having the answers to the questionnaires, we made a contents analysis of them as to obtain, from this work, dichotomic answer categories. As the author of this work has her own clear convictions about the consequences of each one of the studied educational structures, she asked the coloboration of Dr. Maria da Conceição Lobo Antunes (sociologist) and Dr. António Pires (Psychologist) to coloborate in the determination of those categories, safeguarding in this way the impartiality in their contents analysis.

- For each question we verified the answers frequency in each category, with the obtained results we made the respective contingency tables.

#### Questionnaire I (See annex I)

- The first questionnaire is designed to obtain in the whole the image/idea that the pupils have about the adults that live with them inside the Institution:
- What do you expect from these adults?
- The Institution adults have a better image when they are better known or the other way around?

- The privileged relationship which permits a modelling action is made with a specific adult with specific educational functions or there is no privileged relationship with any member of the staff and it is outside that such a relationship is searched for?
- The pupils feel the boarding-school as their home or is it something exterior to them that doesn't give them security and pleasure to meet again?
- What is the affective importance of the family or part of it in the life of these children and youngsters?

Questionnaire II (See annex II)

- This questionnaire was designed to establish in which group (Algueirão Home or Nuno Álvares Pereira Boarding-School) the pupils had acquired better social skills in areas considered important to their future social integration.

We considered, after having talked a lot with the Institution's technicians, these areas to be: Autonomy, Responsibility and Critical Sense.

We call Autonomy to: the capacity of having one's one project and the necessary steps to develop it. Physical, intelectual and moral independence.

We call Responsibility to: the capacity to foresee and to assume the consequences of the practised acts, not putting the individual or collective daily life at risk.

We call Critical Sense to: the capacity of, in face of the human and physical atmosphere where one is inserted, giving one's founded opinion and unchaining transforming actions.

b) Data Statistic Analysis

- The statistic procedure used is  $\text{CHI}^2$  ( $\chi^2$ ) as independence test. We chose an one-tailed test as the considered hypothesis were directional.  
The  $\chi^2$  values required for significance at the levels of 5 and 1%, for  $gf$  (big freedom)=1, are respectively, 2.71 and 5.41.
- In the analysis of some answers the sum of the answers to the considered categories is not equal to 17, the number of the universe of pupils of Algueirão Home and of the sample taken out of Nuno Álvares Pereira Boarding-School pupils because we didn't consider the answers "I don't know".

Questionnaire IQuestion 1

- Would you like to be an adult?

	YES	NO
A.H.	10	2
N.A.	6	6

$$\chi^2 = 3.00 \quad p > 0.05$$

By the results that we obtained we may consider that, though the pupils of both groups come from families or familiar

remnants where, due to several contingencies, the adults responsible for them failed, such situation didn't prevent the Home pupils to face the need to grow with optimism. We may also consider the hypothesis of, as the structure where they live permits a more individualized relationship, the staff in Algueirão Home having played a role with stronger positive reference.

### Question 2

- Is there an adult you remember more often?

	YES	NO
A.H.	10	6
N.A.	16	1

$$\chi^2 = 4.93 \quad p > 0,05$$

As we already know, adults play an important role in memories of children and youngsters and though in both educational structures a bigger number declares that there is one adult that they remember more often, that statement is stronger in the massed Boarding-School. We will try to interpret the reason of this situation with the results of the next question.

Question 3

- Who is that person?

	Family member	Staff member
A.H.	7	6
N.A.	13	3

$$\chi^2 = 2.52 \quad p \text{ N.S. (Non significant)}$$

Though the probability is N.S. we can see that a bigger number of Nuno Álvares Boarding-School pupils conduct their memories towards an adult/Family member. We have two hypothesis to justify this: Either this adult prolonged absence mythologizes his image or, in this concrete situation, the relationship with the family is more compensating in Nuno Álvares Boarding-School. Another reflection is still possible: in Algueirão Home the pairs play a strong role in interrelationships and daily actions. Is the role of the older pupils so strong as to substitute the adults references? Only posterior studies may clarify this hypothesis.

Question 4

- How many adults work in your college?

	Knows	Doesn't know
A.H.	16	1
N.A.	1	16

$$\chi^2 = 26.47 \quad P > 0.01$$

The answers to this question reveal with a clearness that needs no further comments, the world of anonymous massification where we intend children to grow harmonically.

Question 5

- Do you think that these adults are many?

	YES	NO
A.H.	2	15
N.A.	9	8

$$\chi^2 = 6.58 \quad p > 0.01$$

It is normal that in Algueirão Home, where the number of staff has a dimension close to that of the adults of the nuclear family, the pupils consider that there are not many adults but is much more difficult to understand that almost 50% of Nuno Álvares boarders think the same way. Either the adults' role is so subdued that pupils don't notice their specific action, or such conviction results from a phenomenon observed in many structures of the same type where, as each member of the staff feels exclusively responsible for a specific task, in his sporadic absence these tasks are hardly guaranteed.

Question 6

- Is it important for you to live with adults?

	YES	NO
A.H.	14	1
N.A.	16	1

The statistical analysis of this question is not significant for most part of the answers of the two groups are similar. Anyway the next question justifies the existence of this one.

Question 7

- Why?

	Affective motives	Pragmatic motives
A.H.	8	8
N.A.	3	14

$$\chi^2 = 3.88 \quad p > 0.05$$

Justifying the consensus importance of living with adults the massed boarding-school group considers that it happens by pragmatic motives (primary needs satisfaction) while 50% of Algueirão Home group justifies that importance with

affective motives. In our opinion this fact will reflect different experiences in the relationships with the adults, being those of Algueirão Home group more global and compensating.

#### Question 8

- Do you know how many adults were engaged for your college after you being there? How many?

	Knows	doesn't know
A.H.	14	3
N.A.	1	6

$$X^2 = 20.10 \quad P > 0.01$$

Though each pupil internment duration is not exactly the same, it is clear the ignorance of new staff admissions by the group of Nuno Álvares. In our opinion this is not a strange thing due to the institution's structure and the staff's mobility, specially the tutors, persons who should play an important stability role. The staff world doesn't seem to be a determinant factor in the lives of these young people who live with them, in some situations 24 hours a day. Part of the staff also lives in a boarder basis.

#### Question 9

- Do you know how many left?

	knows	doesn't know
A.H	14	3
N.A.	3	14

$$\chi^2 = 14.24 \quad p > 0.01$$

The answers to this question serve to confirm the former analysis aggravated by the fact that, in relation to the adults who left the institution, there could be from the pupils side affective bindings, in a positive or negative way, but striking. That doesn't seem to exist in Nuno Álvaro's pupils way of life.

#### Question 10

- Do you remember in a special way someone who left?

	YES	NO
A.H.	12	5
N.A.	17	0

$$\chi^2 = 5.86 \quad P > 0.05$$

I call your attention to the fact that the question doesn't specify the word "adult" but comes after questions about adults' admissions and departures. All those of Nuno Álvaro's group declared remember someone in a special way but 83% said they were talking of a mate, someone who was a

close friend. In the Algueirão Home group only two pupils exemplified the situation with a mate while all the others that answered yes were referring to an adult who left at a certain moment.

Question 11

- There are grown-up people who at first are unpleasant, but later we discover that they can be very good friends of us. Do you agree or not?

	YES	NO
A.H.	17	0
N.A.	14	4

$$X^2 = 5.18 \quad P > 0.05$$

The whole group of Algueirão Home maintains in relation to deepen the adult knowledge a positive expectation and in the Nuno Álvares group, though this with a significative difference, the number os pupils who maintain a positive expectation is bigger than the number of those who don't. For us it is obvious that in the little structure of human dimensions where the first group lives the deepening of each adult knowledge is natural and easier and so a better positive expectation towards adults in general.

The opposite situation may be considered in Nuno Álvares group, though whenever such knowledge is possible, the same expectations may be confirmed.

Question 12

- Whenever you go on vacation, do you miss any staff adult?

	YES	NO
A.H.	13	4
N.A.	8	9

$$\chi^2 = 3.11 \quad p > 0.05$$

As, for most part of these pupils, hollidays are the time to meet again their families or what is left of them, with all the positive imaginary that absence and distance afford, it is important to notice the big number of Algueirão Home pupils who declare to miss a staff member. This member of the staff may be for each one of the young ones the reference figure that will help him to structure his personality and organize his affective life.

Question 13

- Imagine you are lost and alone. Of all the houses you know, which one would you like to meet?

	Family or others	Boarding- -school
A.H.	10	7
N.A.	15	2

$$\chi^2 = 3.78 \quad p > 0.05$$

I consider the results obtained by this question a highly revealing factor of claiming the boarding-school where they live as their own home. "Lost and alone", not in the adventure of being lost in the middle of a group, any child wishes to find a "safe port", Only two of Nunç Álvares group declared the boarding-school to have that function against seven of the Algueirão group.

#### Question 14

- Who is your tutor?

	Knows and gives a name	Several anonymous
A.H.	17	0
N.A.	12	5

$$\chi^2 = 5.86 \quad p > 0.01$$

This seems to me to be the essential matter of the educational process in a boarding-school: The role played by

tutors and educators permitted by the Institution. Each child/youngster needs an adult as reference, someone with whom one shares some intimacy and complicity beyond his or her "duty hours". Once more the big boarding-school makes this situation more difficult for, from the whole group, five pupils didn't know which were their references in personal terms.

#### Question 15

- Would you like your children to be Casa Pia boarders?

	Yes, if it was necessary	No
A.H.	10	6
N.A.	55	12

$$\chi^2 = 3.64 \quad p > 0,05$$

We can make two reflections out of these answers:

- 1 - Boarding-school is recognized by everybody who doesn't refuse its use as a necessary misfortune, "only if it is necessary". They seem to know very well that the natural atmosphere for growing up is the family.
- 2 - Once more the Algueirão group reveals a more positive image of boarder life.

## Questionnaires II

As we said before this questionnaire was destined to perceive the different degrees of Autonomy, Responsibility and Critical Sense in the pupils of the two educational structures. So we grouped the answers according to the concept for which they were guided and not according the order they have in the questionnaire as one can see in Annex II.

### Autonomy

Question 1 - When do you think to leave Casa Pia?

	Age	Autonomy Conditions
N.A.	9	7
A.H.	3	11

$$\chi^2 = 3.77 \quad p > 0.05$$

Question 2 - Do you know how to find out a job?

	Knows	Doesn't know
N.A.	10	7
A.H.	15	2

$$\chi^2 = 3.78 \quad p > 0.05$$

Question 3 - If you loose your I.D. Card, what do you do to replace it?

	Calls an adult. Doesn't know	Goes to the right place
N.A.	7	10
A.H.	2	14

$$\chi^2=3.42 \quad p > 0.05$$

Question 4 - What do you need to cook white rice?

	Knows exactly	Knows, more or less or doesn't know
N.A.	10	7
A.H.	14	3

$$\chi^2=2.91 \quad p > 0.05$$

Question 5 - If, when you enter your dormitory, there is smoke going out of the electric installation, what do you do?

	Takes the iniciative	Calls an adult
N.A.	9	8
A.H.	16	1

$$\chi^2=7.40 \quad p > 0.01$$

- Considering "Autonomy as "the capacity of having one's own project and the capacity to take the necessary steps to develop it; physical, intellectual and moral independence" it is difficult for an exploratory questionnaire to cover all the items of this concept. In spite of this limitation we think it to be more accurate to attribute to the chosen concept Autonomy, the characteristics that we consider essential in a youngster's education than to adapt it to the explanatory capacity of the questionnaire. The analysis instruments ameliorate in an easier way than our objectives when we started for this analysis. Safeguarding therefore the known questionnaire limitations, it seems clear by the analysis of the obtained results between the two groups (N.A./A.H.) that children and youngsters living in a structure of reduced dimensions, where their daily life goes on with the adults support but without the permanente vigilance of the same, where the problems of the house where they live are solved by themselves whenever there is no one else to do it, where those problems have a dimension that permits them to solve them, where the big institutional superstructure, though it exists, is so far away that is hardly felt, these children have a better growth of autonomy.
  
- The results obtained in relation to this parameter may be considered the most significative ones for the person who cares about boarding-school problems: 1) Because lack of autonomy is, among young people who were educated in boarding-schools, one of the problems that worries most the technicia

who work in this area; 2) Because, being the Algueirão Home pupils two years younger than those of Nuno Álvares, the results we obtained have a deeper meaning.

### Responsibility

#### Question 1 - Where do you want to go when you leave Casa Pia?

	Family House	To live by himself
N.A.	12	3
A.H.	8	8

$$\chi^2 = 3.04 \quad p > 0.05$$

We consider the decision to live by himself a sign of bigger responsibility degree, because in this situation the young person has to foresee and assume the consequences of his own acts more clearly.

#### Question 2 - If your best friend fell from the first floor stairs and was laying on the yard, what would you do?

	I touched him and call an adult for help	Asked for an ambulance
N.A.	9	8
A.H.	1	16

$$\chi^2 = 9.07 \quad p > 0.01$$

As we know that in the present clinical situation to touch or stir injured person without specific knowledge may be dangerous we considered more responsible the pupils who declared that they would ask for an ambulance, as their first initiative, because with that ambulance there will come staff technically prepared to handle the situation.

Anyway I must inform that in Nuno Álvares there is a sick-ward and such a thing may give the young people the notion that it has more capacities than those it really has. If this reality may justify the answers of Nuno Álvares group, it may also help us to reflect whether to educate young people in structures where there are all the necessary resources to individual and collective life, doesn't make them irresponsible towards social life.

Question 3 - If you need to get up early for school or work, what do you do?

	I set the alarm-clock or wake up by myself	I ask someone to wake me up
N.A.	10	7
A.H.	17	0

$$\chi^2 = 8.81 \quad p > 0.01$$

Question 4 - When your room is full of dirty or displaced things, who takes care of that?

	I/We	Staff/We
N.A.	14	3
A.H.	17	0

$$\chi^2 = 3.29 \quad p > 0.05$$

Question 5 - There is an assemblage of laws in the house where you live. Who made them?

	Director Purveyor Tutor	We and the Tutor
N.A.	17	0
A.H.	0	17

$$\chi^2 = 34 \quad p > 0.01$$

Responsibility may only be developed by holding responsible for.

The last question of this group and the answers we obtained are, in my opinion, the clearest explanation that we could find to justify the bigger degree of responsibility revealed in all the given situations by the Algueirão Home group.

The participation in the elaboration of the rules under which we will live involve us in such a way in their observance that the exterior powers are seldom necessary to do it. To argue that in the case of such a practice being considered positive, after being subject to several other tests, would be the solution for the massed boarding-schools, doesn't seem to me to be feasible. Direct and participative democracy has its own rules and in what concerns to their application to education, group dimension is one of them.

### Critical Sense

Question 1 - What do you think necessary to leave Casa Pia?

	Age and autonomy	Autonomy
N.A.	5	12
A.H.	0	16

$$\chi^2 = 5.55 \quad p > 0.01$$

Here age means older than 18 for in Portugal majority is attained at 18. The young people who live under the educational tutelage of any institution consider this age the goal necessary to attain self-determination. On the other hand institutions, in the so-called normal cases, have this age as the goal for their responsibility. On what concerns the autonomy concept here stated the young people exemplified it with economical autonomy, existence of a job and a space where to live. We

think that those who didn't consider age as a decisive factor in itself to ease, with success, the departure from the institution had a better critical sense.

Question 2 - At what age do you think boarders should live  
Casa Pia?

	$\pm 18$ years	Doesn't depend on age
N.A.	16	1
A.H.	6	11

$$\chi^2 = 18.88 \quad p > 0.01$$

This question's aim is to deepen the latter. To include explicitly the age factor was a decision with the purpose to understand what value was really given to it by each group.

Question 3 - How much would you need for transportation,  
clothes and food for a period of one month if  
you left Casa Pia now?

	-15.000\$	15.000\$/25.000\$
N.A.	9	5
A.H.	2	13

$$\chi^2 = 7.99 \quad p > 0.01$$

When these questionnaires were presented to the young people (1982), after hearing several social service technicians who were working in boarding-schools and specially accompanying pupils in a disentailing phase, that one might consider as a reasonable amount of money between 15.000 and 25.000 escudos for food and clothing expenses, revealing this amount a critical sense in relation to a fundamental item of daily life.

Question 4 - For you, which are the adult's defects you hate the most?

	Moral defects	Behaviour defects
N.A.	0	10
A.H.	2	13

$$\chi^2 = 2.28$$

There is no significant difference between the two groups

Moral defects are more abstract realities that demand a bigger intellectual effort to be isolated and identified. It seems clear that for the two groups the adult's defects are basically perceptible through their behaviour. It is not clear to me if the question and its putting in classes are unfit or if there isn't really any significant difference between the two groups.

Question 5 - Out of your College, in the same area, the houses where people live are good, bad or moderate. What do you think and why?

	Justifies	Doesn't Justify
N.A.	7	10
A.H.	15	2

$$\chi^2 = 8.24 \quad p > 0.01$$

It is important to see that this justifications deserved by themselves a separate analysis. While Algueirão Home group describes the characteristics of the houses that they consider good or moderate with items such as number of rooms, existence of electricity and water, etc., four of the Nuno Álvares group justify like this "they are small", "they are good".

- These were the results obtained by the treatment of collected data. We know of its limitations in what concerns to a possible generalization. We don't know many alternative structures to massed boarding-schools and we also know no socio-educational study on this area.

These results have for us the importance of tendency spots and never in the way of "it is" or "it is not". Next we will try to elaborate some conclusions that forcibly bear these results in mind.

## CONCLUSIONS

We said in the beginning of this work that we had convictions about the better or worse educational quality of each of the studied structures.

Some may consider an error the act of starting an investigation with "a priori" convictions. In our opinion the educational phenomenon is not something that we may be indifferent to if we want to stay alive and acting in the society where we live. We observed with accuracy, asked with the true desire to understand, analysed with the best objectivity we could: - the convictions we had at the beginning gained in foundation and extension:

- The results of data analysis obtained through questionnaires presented to pupils, revealed clear differences between the two groups in what concerns the study.
  
- Children and youngsters in a situation of educational interment in a structure as similar as possible to the normal family structure reveal, according to our model, bigger autonomy, more responsibility and a better critical sense. The image of their interrelation with adults is more positive. If these differences are in fact so clear as this study demonstrates, we must conclude that the young people educated in little structures have a better chance to be well-balanced adults, active elements of society, able to do big things or

lead a simple life with the same pleasure of being alive.

- But this was just a first approach and it is necessary to continue and investigate to understand as close as possible to exactness. We think it necessary to study other massed boarding-schools and other homes. It is also useful to know, in two or three years time, what is the real situation of the young people who left both structures.

To work for three years this problematic, to contact daily with young people living in the most different boarding-school structures, to confront convictions with other adults working in the same area, allows us the "boldness" to put here some reflexions not directly connected with a measurable investigation but with what I may call "participating investigation":

- In a boarding-school, independent of its dimension, all the adults have educational functions and therefore must be selected with a big rigour.
- There are "educators" (independent of their having this or other designation on the administrative board) so available and resolute in the big boarding-schools as much as in "Homes" but the work in a Total Institution is less compensating. There, both staff and pupils are the system's big victims.
- If in Homes adults play in relation to the children/youngsters with whom they work a more important modelling action role,

as this study reveals, so it is essential to achieve mechanisms that may grant their stability in their functions.

The impossibility or incapacity to ensure these conditions is equal to the responsibility to provoke in many of these children consecutive "orphanages".

It seems necessary to destroy the word HOME and not to limit its meaning to its physical structure. In our opinion these new structures will be the more efficacious for the child's global development the more:

- They are an answer to community answers,
- They are located in the community which shows that need,
- They are the object of engagement of the community's living forces (Church, Parish, Autarchy, Syndicate, Clubs, etc.),
- They have a certain educational, administrative and economical autonomy.

I am going to finish, happy to have given a voice to a "poor" side of education, the boarding-school world, where, as Mondrian says "Everything is structures by relation and reciprocity. Colour doesn't exist if there is no counter colour, one dimension is defined by other dimension. That's why I say: Relation is the main thing" (cited by Nuno Bragança in "Directa" page 25).

Questionnaire ISection:Age:Sex:

- 1) Would you like to be an adult?
- 2) Is there an adult you remember more often?
- 3) Who is that person?
- 4) How many adults work in your college?
- 5) Do you think that those adults are many?
- 6) Is it important to live with adults?
- 7) Why?
- 8) Do you know how many adults were engaged for your college after you being there?
- 9) Do you know how many left?
- 10) Do you remember in a special way someone who left?
- 11) There are grown-up people who at first are unpleasant, but later we discover that they can be very good friends of us. Do you agree or not?
- 12) When over you go on vacation, do you miss any sfatt adult?
- 13) Imagine you are lost and alone. Of all the houses you know, which one would you like to meet?
- 14) Who is your tutor?
- 15) Would you like your children to be Casa Pia boarders?

Questionnaire IISection:Age:Sex:

- 1) When do you think to leave Casa Pia?
- 2) What do you think necessary to leave Casa Pia?
- 3) Where do you want to go when you leave Casa Pia?
- 4) At what age do you think boarders should leave Casa Pia?
- 5) How much would you need for transportation, clothes and food for a period of one month if you left Casa Pia?
- 6) Out of your College, in the same area, the houses where people live are good, bad or moderate. What do you think and why?
- 7) Do you know how to find out a job?
- 8) If you loose your I.D. card, what do you do to replace it?
- 9) What do you need to cook white rice?
- 10) If your best friend fell from the first floor stairs and was laying on the yard, what would you do?
- 11) If you need to get up early for school or work, what do you do?
- 12) If, when you enter your dormitory, there is somke going out of the electric installation, what do you do?
- 13) When your room is full of dirty or displaced things, who takes care of that?
- 14) There is an assemblage of laws in the house where you live. Who made them?
- 15) Do you usually fulfil ) them? Why?

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