Research Paper

The 'Another Childhood' Portuguese On The Margins Of Society (19th Century And Part 20th)

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I. INTRODUCTION

In modern times the child has been seen and understood as "[…] a unified, reified and essentialized subject – at the centre of the world - who can be considered and treated apart from relationships and context" (Dahlberg; Moss; Pence, 2003: 63). If we start from the paradigmatic perspective of postmodernity, the child is decentralized, removed from the centre, since it is considered that they exist through their relationships with others, always in a particular and proper context. In fact, the questions surrounding what the child /childhood is encourage studies in different scientific areas (history, anthropology, pedagogy, psychology, sociology, etc.), since there are many children "[…] each one built by our understandings of childhood and what children are and should be" (Dahlberg; Moss; Pence, 2003: 63). The multiple conceptions of child / childhood (and adolescent) are socio-historical constructions or representations, from (adult's) views that are not at all neutral. For this reason, knowledge about them comes from the dominant discourses, located in historical time and within the limits of the project of modernity. When incorporating them into their studies, historians allow us to understand the influences on the theoretical-conceptual aspect and on their daily practices in historical time. That is, the different conceptions of children/childhood become differentiated from the various theoretical approaches and, therefore, form multiple concepts (Cordero, 2012). It is necessary to understand history-graphically how these different conceptions were constructed.

It is obvious that these (social) conceptions and representations have been analysed by authors who have looked at the historical question of children/childhood, mainly in the last half century (P. Ariès, DeMause, C. Heywood, Stone, etc.), improving the conceptual debate of its concepts and its place in history, in the field of historiographical research. In the case of 'Another Childhood', still little explored by historians, it presents a range of multiple aspects of studies, such as: those exposed, child poverty, orphans, child and youth work, underprivileged, abandoned, vague, wandering or delinquent, re-education in asylum and / or care and educational reception institutions, in correction houses, in tutelary establishments (retirement schools, refuges attached to the Central Childhood Tutoring, reformatories) or simply children in school in their schooling and in the material culture of education.

How can we understand 'Childhood (s)' and in particular 'Anther Childhood'?

From Modernity to today, children, as well as childhood, has presented various conceptions (Hendrick, 1990), knowing that all their aspects of human life have a history, be it rich, noble, bourgeois, Catholic or poor, orphan, beggar, helpless, marginalized, offender or delinquent, etc. subject to a complexity of influences that, dialectically, constitute the dynamics of the reality of each historical era. The socio-historical variability of these terms and their representations seem to be common to all Western societies, following the evolution of political-ideological, economic, scientific, cultural and educational thinking, and also the social processes experienced by different generations. If the child was recognized as a human being and a member of a different social group and based on age, their childhood was the stage of the vital cycle of their development, from birth until puberty.

Childhood is understood as a particular way of thinking about the child, and not a universal state, experienced by everyone in the same way and hence it has a generic meaning due to social changes. The discussion about the multiplicity of childhoods clarifies the historical (socio) construction of this category. Ph. Ariès (1973) affirmed that childhood was an invention of modernity, a creation of a historical time and certain determined socio-cultural conditions, considering that it is wrong to analyse all children /childhood with the

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same reference. Thus, childhood changes in time, in spaces (social, cultural, economic, educational, geographical) and in individual peculiarities. Both terms 'child / childhood' become objects of studies and knowledge from different sciences, with an interdisciplinary nature, regardless of the theoretical-conceptual focus we have and, thus, childhood (and adolescence) became visible as a statute (Corsaro, 1997).

Our object of study focuses on 'Another Childhood' (the differentiated childhood), in the historical period of the 19th century and the 1st Republic - 1910-26, since, this historical section, however not rigorous, according to N. Elias (1993), the delimited periods are flexible and adjusted, according to criteria that help us to understand certain dynamics and rhythms, certain regularities. It should be noted that these have merited some studies with a historical-educational and social retrospective, which have generated social constructions according to the contexts, spaces, circumstances and culture in which they lived and the influences received, in addition to the attention of social reformers (policies), with measures or devices.

We analysed in this study, of historical-descriptive content and of hermeneutic methodology from the systemic literature of specialized studies on the conceptions of childhood (s), the 'Another Childhood' that did not even have a normal schooling and social norms, nor an adequate family and social life conditions for its development and, therefore, due to different situations (abandonment, helplessness, orphanhood, begging, child labour), deficiencies (poverty, precariousness), educational difficulties (poor education) and social conflicts were at the margins of society at the time (Sarmento, 2000). We established three main objectives, corresponding to the structure of our argument and the points of approach: to analyse ('Other') child / childhood 'in the context of (social) History and, in particular, of History from below and in the context of the History of 'third sector'; understand the emergence of ('Other') childhood and its respective representation or social construction (conceptions); to analyse in the historical arch of the study the medical-social, hygienist and legal-social aspect given to the Portuguese "Other Childhood", aiming to understand the situation of these childhood (s). We deal, therefore, with the concept of 'childhood', knowing that there are childhoods, some normalized and schooled and others outside the canons of the society of their time ('Another Childhood'). In other words, childhood as a distinct group, defined by age, whose analysis requires knowledge of the structural conditions in which this stage of life is inserted, taking into account their specificities and the relationships between adult-child (Chartier, 2002), therefore, our main object of argument is the social representation and the conception of this 'Another Childhood'. Basically, we intend to make a contribution to the [Social] History of Childhood in Portugal, taking into account the 'Another Childhood' within History from below and listed in the third sector, with (new) enriching discourses. The historical-educational update of the theme is part of the (new) challenges and proposals of the History of Education (Social) considered by A. Tiana (2005: 108) in a "[…] disciplinary field and with the incorporation of childhood as a new object research". We fit in, because the 'Another Childhood' in the 'history from below' and / or in the micro themes that require the inclusion of this (these) childhood (s) in the 'new history' (Child Studies) and History (Social) from childhood.

1.- The historiographical study of 'Another Childhood' in the context of History

In the course of [Social] History, the configuration of different childhoods shows a scientific and cultural production, to which pedagogy / social education has not been the basic reference (Martins, 2002). The constraints under which the child / childhood has been subjected, since modernity, have promoted initiatives and measures of social (political) reform in the legal-penal, medical-social, socio-pedagogical, psychological and assistance aspects, linked to a certain 'childhood culture ', in each season, with its own image / representation, given by adults. Thus, the [social] history of childhood is, therefore, the history of the heteronomy of childhood (s) contextualized (s) in historical time (Langmuir, 2006). From its analysis we find dominant conceptions and characteristics, which reflect different historical forms and modes of ambivalence for example: freedom and subordination; social protection and control; assistance / socio-educational support and normative submission.

In the classic theses of Ariès (1973), on the rise of modern childhood, it is considered that the family and the school were and are the places of socialization, where it develops in a different way and recognizes the child's status. In other words, while the family is the private place where affective feelings, relationships of love and family belonging arise, school is the sphere of learning, moralization and normalization. In this modern view of childhood, new socio-educational practices were considered to be the cause of changes in parental and filial relationships and children were limited to the orbit of family governance and their deformations and socio-educational and economic conditions. Child and youth socialization is modelled on the family model without the disappearance of socio-cultural practices related to popular sectors. J. Donzelot (1979) indicates three devices present in the transition from the Old to the new family regime: moralization; normalization; tutelary contract between the State/Family. Moralization was established in order to increase the autonomy of families, being against the maintenance of social policies of generalized assistance to poor and needy families, with the emergence of host institutions (hospices, orphanages, homes).

Social and intervention reforms on the 'social issue' to 'Another Childhood' (poor, vague / underprivileged, beggar, marginalized and delinquent), have been accompanied since the middle of the 19th century by a scientific production aimed at analysing childhood typologies, such as: medical sciences (psychiatry, paediatrics, childcare, hygiene); pedagogical or psychological (paedology, pedotechnics, psychometrics); legal-social (law, criminology, sociology). From these scientific discourses and political debates, asylum and reception, assistance and correction or childhood (re) education institutions were born, "[…] based on an orientation based on neutrality and the establishment of hegemonic, universal and humanitarian standards" (philanthropists, charities, charity) (Rocha & Ferreira, 1995: 61-62). The object of this concern of the State, in the face of social problems, was always the child / childhood, regardless of age, but taking into account social contexts and circumstances.

1.1.- 'Another Childhood' from the perspective of history from below
In the context of historiography and history from below, the initial meaning given by E. Thompson, Christopher Hill, N. Davis and Hobsbawm with their 'divergent views' of the social situation of different collectives or, of the New History (LeGoff, P. Nora) is where we list 'Another Childhood'. It is a sectorial story, in which the object of study is those childhoods that did not have a normal educational path (of schooling) or a normalized direction / path within the structure of the society of their time (socialization). One of the precursor references, even criticized, is that of P. Ariès (1973) relating social policies in the implementation and execution of these measures for children, due to the concern and recognition of society, in order to avoid their social exclusion or falling into situations of abandonment and social conflict. On the basis of 'historical time' and 'past / present' in social history, childhood must be understood in its conception and in the understanding of its social representations. This giving voice and turn to children / childhood in history, already in their time were listed in the mesh of the State and power, being collected and closed by the police and subjected to the hands of social justice, constitutes a great historiographic contribution. To evoke and echo hermeneutically that 'Another Childhood', which were childhoods in the emergency, outside the 'canons' of society, those who were seen from below, due to their situations and conditions of existence, which implies a historiographical prominence in the context History from below, Education or Childhood.

The turn of the century 19th to 20th saw twists in History (social / cultural and education), Sociology and Anthropology, Pedagogy (paedology, paedology, pedotechnics, psychometrics), Law (jurisdiction of minors - tutelary law for minors, juvenile criminology) and in Medicine (child psychiatry, paediatrics, childcare) about the emergence of these non-normalized childhoods in society (Sirota, 1998). It was thus that, in this context, sociology, anthropology, psychology and history were affirmed in relation to the other Human Sciences, which resulted in several approaches around the child / childhood. EC Martins (2006) analysing the children 'Without a Childhood', got involved in the pathways of these unprotected, abandoned, underprivileged and delinquent children (19th and 20th centuries), in need of protection, prevention and re-education, based on medical models - Pedagogical and / or psych pedagogical and legal-social and tutelary measures. When dedicating ourselves to 'Another Childhood' within the scope of History from below, we consider this as a History open to new areas of historical-descriptive (socio-educational) investigation, privileging unknown actors and / or protagonists or on the margins of society such as 'Another Childhood'. When we historically asked these children in their childhood and youth, they were socially recognized as 'not' normalized in the relations imposed by the society of the time and not schooled in the 'school canons' of their time. In this way, the name 'abnormal' childhood arose, referring to their anomalous situations and social conditions of normalization in society and school, in addition to belonging to social classes (or families) not privileged socio-culturally and economically (disadvantaged) and who were invisible in official history (Hobsbawm, 2002). History from below has a very broad object of study, from the educational / pedagogical /, legal-social, assistance and medical perspectives, psychological, sociological, anthropological, institutional or schooled, etc. (Sharpe, 1993). For this reason, when referring to studies on 'Another Childhood' in that History, we intend to generate feelings of identity (childhood-history) for those who produce and read History (Social and / or Education), knowing that these childhoods were transformed by history, but they also transformed it through their actions. History from below allows us to understand how these childhoods transformed society (reintegration into socio-educational and professional conditions useful to take advantage of themselves) (Sharpe, 1993).

Evidently, History from below causes a range of problems in its historiographical deepening, on the one hand due to the availability and reliability (credibility) of the documentary sources themselves, since they are scarce and dispersed and, moreover, they respond to the interests of those who sent them "[…] How much more historians go back in the reconstruction of the experience of low classes, so much more will be reduced in the scope of available fuels" (Burke, 2014: 42). The difficulty of conceptualizing the children actors or subjects of analysis, especially those we call 'Other Childhoods', leads us to the deeper interpretation of their situations of need and conditions of social conflict, in the context of History (Social and Education) (Sharpe, 1993). It

seems that this History from below on 'Another Childhood' is restricted to a 'closed history' (sectorial) limited to a temporal period and a local historicity (for example, childhood in the district nursing homes of each district of the country in the 19th and 20th centuries), with possibilities of visibility that turned it into protagonists of History and builders of its reality and, for this reason, generate several historiographic views in need of other historiographic approaches to be more integrative. Now this construction of identities, arising from this role of giving voice and time to that 'Another Childhood' implies an ambivalence of these children in their social conceptions.

Therefore, the objective of History from below is to interpret and provide a link with the present since the process of this understanding has to do with how we understand this past in historical time and in the conversion to the present (Hobsbawm, 2002). Even though there is a certain ambiguity in history from below in the context of Social History (critical tool), in the reconstruction of the historical context, the genealogy of the theoretical-conceptual model and the different subjectivities of childhoods, it opens up the possibility of carrying out a reading of commitment in the relational conception of the social (conditions and situations) (Sharpe, 1993) of these 'Other childhoods' in time, compared to the 'upper' childhoods (the normalized and schooled childhood of the favoured and elitist social classes) and vice versa. In fact, the distinction between 'top' and 'bottom' childhoods leads us to a type of specific social relationship understood as an analogy (hermeneutics) (Langmuir, 2006; Sirota, 1998).

In fact, History from below is situated in the theoretical-conceptual approach, in its own space / time, listed in the social (educational) processes, within the limits of the methodological focus, in the historical (and cultural) contextualization, which causes a multiplicity of categories of analysis, without ignoring the "[…] more broad consideration of the structure and social power" (Burke, 2014: 58). Historians since the 'New History' have converted objects of historical reflection on collectives with problems in their historical time, which were not taken into account in official education, but had educational assistance measures and processes of medical-pedagogical and re-educative treatment in detention centres (childhood tutoring, juvenile courts) or in other educational institutions, with the aim of giving them protection, assistance and (re) education, through surveillance or institutional internment (Martins, 2002).

1.2.- 'Another Childhood in the historiographic contexts of the third sector

Historically, the political, economic and social conjunctures that characterized Portugal in the transition from the 18th to the 19th centuries, led to the adoption of (new) assistance policies, in the wake of liberal ideals (emerging measures), the population mentality and Christian solidarity with emphasis on the action of mercies and other philanthropic and religious institutions. It was questioned in that century whether or not it would be up to the State to intervene in the social problems existing in collectives and families that suffered social scourges such as unemployment, misery and poverty, without decent housing, high illiteracy, without conditions of social hygiene, etc.), proposing a reorganization of the public charity service. There was a political convergence to the need for social reforms with state intervention in solving some of the most serious problems, such as pauperism, begging from misery, responsible for the demoralization of society (Report by the Kingdom's State Secretariat, of 27/12/1866 and published in annex to the Regulation of 1867, by Decree of 21 of November of 1867). Critics of the system that existed in the 1800s converged in their speeches that indiscriminate protective social charity produced addiction as well as misery and hence demoralization and even death (high rates of mortality, especially for children) and, thus, demanded another social and assistance system that advocated and ensured the restricted admission of children. This (new) model was based on the creation of asylums and other care institutions, on the basis of assistance and education for underprivileged children (Martins, 2006).

Historically, the extinction of the General District Boards (Decree of 06/08/1892) transferred these attributions to the District Commissions to the State and to the City Councils. Likewise, the obligation of the City Councils to create, in each seat of the Municipality, an Asylum-School, with their own workshops, to teach crafts to the exposed, deprived, abandoned or vague childhood, in accordance with the special needs of each sex (National Regulation of 5/01/1888). Subsequently, the Decree of 12/24/1892 regulates in practice some articles provided for in the previous diploma of 1892, determining that children over the age of 7, administratively dependent on the extinct General Boards or were interned in charitable establishments, would again go to municipal tutelage. In effect, the City Councils resumed the processes of these children ('Another Childhood'), with State subsidies proportional to the number of institutionalised. In fact, the institutionalization of House or Asylums for Disadvantaged Children was guided by what followed in nursing homes in the city of Lisbon. These assistance institutions proposed to accomplish the following objectives: to protect poor children and to take care of their indispensable clothing, during the internment period; gradually develop the faculties of the intern, protecting them from all dangers, through continuous vigilance and discipline; opening a class to teach the ABCs of elementary education (reading, writing and counting) with easy methods, including Christian doctrine, the lesson of things and other knowledge appropriate to their age and social position. Girls should

learn sewing, home economics and the teaching appropriate to their gender, accustoming them to cleanliness, order, obedience and respect, including also religious and moral teaching, always following precepts and examples.

We historically list all these childhoods, originating from unfavourable family and social situations and in exclusion (social), in the third sector, as they were the product and / or effect of these unfavourable circumstances (social / cultural and economic), situations of poverty and misery, of social conflicts and lack of existing conditions in families or for lack of them. This (re) production of children living differentiated childhoods and with deviant behaviours was distinguished from others belonging to social classes and with more favourable socioeconomic conditions, as they did not have effective social and educational policies to overcome these situations and socio-educational conditions, unless institutional closure. They were immersed in the third sector of society and suffered from a lack of the implementation of social policies.

It is a fact that the 'third sector' has been the focus of discussion in recent times, particularly in the context of the economy and social policies (Salvatore, 2003). It is a concept that is not consensual among specialized authors on this topic and within the scope of Social History (Burke, 2014). The lack of a concrete definition makes the approach to the concept complex and, therefore, requires a careful analysis and a comprehensive perspective. It can mean a range of activities from "[…] civil society organizations, created by the initiative of citizens that aim to provide public services, whether in health, education, culture, human rights, housing, protection of the environment, local development, or personal development." (Salvatore, 2003: 27). There are, however, common elements in all definitions of the term, which allow us to conclude that this Third Sector stands out from the profitable sector, as it is composed of non-profit organizations, whose main mission is to help and intervene in the most disadvantaged and provide them with better living conditions, as was the case with movements and associations in favor of underprivileged children and institutions of a religious (mercy) and philanthropic (nursing home) nature. This sector had a valence of assistance and education services (very rudimentary), involved by the influence of hygienist (eugenics) of the time.

The influence of the Third Sector (social policies) was enormous in Portugal, especially in terms of assistance and medical-sanitary services, measures of social support and of the various institutions with the aim of responding to the increase in poverty and social misery and families, with special attention to children. It is evident that the expansion of the Third Sector is due to the lack of support and social policy measures on the part of the State and the inefficiency in solving existing problems and, therefore, organizations and associations arise in the scope of solidarity, mutuality and in social support. However, these organizations were influenced and conditioned by the policies of the time, but with the implementation of the 1st Republic (1910), public social assistance devices began to be outlined, with Decree nº 20285 of 7/09 / also standing out 1931, the creation of the General Assistance Directorate, in an attempt to inspect and protect public and private assistance establishments for minors.

2.- The emergence of ('Other) Childhood and its representation and social construction

In childhood debates, especially 'Another Childhood', it is possible to recognize a common thread. It is a question of conceiving childhood not as a natural chronological interval, but as a period of human existence constituted by a normative system, which attributes characteristics, forms, competences and functions, precise or fluid, listed in a normative system, which each social group adapts to its valuation system. The emergence and visibility of 'Another Childhood' has given rise to social reforms with respective policies, since the mid-19th century. The term "emergence of this childhood" has a double meaning. First of all, we associate the term emergency with the idea of a critical, limiting situation that requires urgent actions / interventions. If we invert the order of the terms, "childhood in the emergency", we are more focused on this meaning, which leads us to the idea of childhood as a problem to be faced urgently by social policies, in a confrontation of an emergency character, since the social visibility implied diverse debates and speeches (Sirota, 1998). In a second sense, we relate emergency to the idea of manifestation, perception and how to show that childhood in society (Langmuir, 2006). This emergence of 'Another Childhood' corresponded to a kind of appearance, appearance, creation and invention. By saying 'urgency' and 'invention' at the time, we are establishing an order of prioritizing understanding of emergency / urgent action aimed at this childhood, becoming conditioned, regulated, marked by innovation or effective intervention. Speaking of the 'urgency' of that childhood from the start, leads us to the terminology of governance in hospitalization and institutionalization and, still, to a legitimation of life conception, structured in stages, each with its temporal indicators, articulated, in turn. time, in a classificatory range that seeks to institute the recognition of attributes or concepts at each stage of life. We say classification referring to certain procedures (levels and typologies) that made appear, for example, specialized knowledge, agents, materials, methods and institutions.

Now, when analyzing the *"emergence of / in childhood (s)"* we refer to extreme experiences and ways of life that implied conceptions, approaches and visions that naturalized childhood (s) in their life paths. In this argument, the idea of childhood (s) cannot be thought outside the institutions associated with it, such as home /

family, school and / or educational establishments. In fact, the institutionalization of childhood (s) is anchored with the model, measures and projects of governance of the population and, in particular, children and adolescents. In this wandering analysis, medical-assistentialist scientific discourses (social medicine), hygienist, paediatrics, psychology and paedology, pedagogy, psychiatry (mental) and juvenile criminology stand out regarding the representation of these stages of childhood life, including the referring concepts to 'Another Childhood', according to very diverse orders of knowledge. In other words, the analysis of childhood images (s) implies profound differentiations, in relation to the practices and experiences, in view of the social situations and conditions to which they were subjected.

Historically, the theoretical discussions of childhood (Ariès, 1973; DeMause, 1982) and their 'social representation' (Moscovici, 1996) lead us to resort, in the first case to DeMause (1982) who claimed this stage of 'Childhood' for (socio) historical studies, explaining their changes in the historical-psychogenetic perspective of parent-child / child relationships. In this sense, DeMause (1982) evokes: infanticide as an image of antiquity, then abandonment (4th-13th centuries); the ambivalent parent-child relationships, with the entry of the 'infant' into affective life (14th-17th centuries); in the seventeenth century the relationship of 'intrusion' with the dangerous projection of the child, passing to the bond of socialization (nineteenth and mid-twentieth century) in these parent-child relationships; and the help / support relationship, from the mid-twentieth century, in which the child knows the family's need at every moment of their participation in the development of life. It is, therefore, an approximation to the 'canon' of relations between adults-children through history.

In the context of modern sociology, N. Elias (1998: 440-449) addresses childhood in history, demonstrating the transformations in 'parent-child' relationships, which are the result of the civilization process that society, in each era, submitted it. This relationship based on a set of specific and socially conditioned 'canons' determined that moment of childhood as isolated from adults. Likewise, the sociologist criticizes both the romantic perspective and the experiential appreciation of childhood by Ph. Ariès (1973) and the psychogenetic perspective of DeMause (1982), since they did not take into account neither the socio-genetic conditions nor the identification of structures in historical processes. (Elias, 1998).

Still in the context of (contemporary) sociology, we refer to L. Gaitán (2006) when treating the visibility of children as social actors, subjects of rights, in such a way that childhood is seen as part of the social structure and children as social actors. In other words, the child's world and childhood are constructions of adults (society), from which asymmetric relationships are generated between them, but they do not recognize child / childhood as human potential. Therefore, childhood came to be understood as a constructed conceptual abstraction, with historical, sociocultural and educational specificities, which were developed as stages, highlighting the role of the family as the primary socializing agent (the secondary is the school), in its responsibility with children (Chartier, 2002). For this reason, childhood deserved scientific studies, evolutionary and socialization theories, since it is an educational stage of inculcating values and socially accepted forms of conduct. These theories strengthened ideas about children as dependent, mouldable and controllable beings (Corsaro, 1977).

Regarding the term *'representation'*, sociologically it presents different discussions, from classical sociology to Durkheim's perspective, in particular, on the concept of 'social representations' (link between collective representations and insertion in society) and *'collective conscience'* (beliefs, common feelings, values). That is, Durkheim explains that the categories of human knowledge are acquired by the individual's socialization and learning process. R. Chartier (2002) based on DeMause and Durkheim, considers collective representations as perceptions that give meaning to our reality and the way we relate to the social world, that is, representation is associated with cognitive and psychic processes of perception and objectification of reality. It is curious that M. Weber debates social representations within the scope of social action, in which the actor guides their behaviour to the behaviour of the 'Other (s), associating them with the' sense of '(ideal, mental and representation) (Gaitán, 2006: 17-25). S. Moscovici (1986: 473-479) includes content (informational, images, attitudes, etc.) in the *'social representation',* in such a way that he considers it to be a *'representation of something'* or someone and, therefore, social representation constitutes a universe of opinions composed of a *'figurative scheme',* which integrates a coherent image of the multiplicity of information and the different individual and collective experiences. Hence it integrates a process of *'objectification'* (selective organization and construction of knowledge - structural scheme) and *'anchoring'* (incorporation of new social representations into life).

In the context of the History of Childhood and Education (Social), the representation of childhood had a process that goes from the type of bourgeois childhood (Becchi & Julia, 1998) to another childhood (poor, orphan, bitch, abandoned or underprivileged) that it occupies spaces and live different experiences throughout history. The use of childhood in history implies a hegemonic discourse where childhood presents experiences and situations of vulnerability, for example: children in need of protection, help or care, due to age; the children who passed through the protection spaces (childhood tutoring or tutelary courts, the Refuges attached to the Tutorials, in hospices, nursing homes, correction houses, reformatories, etc.). Now these representations make

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us deduce that there are several childhoods, from a traumatized, offending and victimized childhood, which implies a history of the social representation of adults about childhood. All this social construction is explained by the historical context and based on arguments related to the different representations of childhood. The discourses of childhood and education historians themselves address this specific niche of studies on 'Another Childhood', even though their tendency is to make (school) history of normal schooled children (Donzelot, 1979). The historiography on childhood, from Ph. Ariès who interpreted it in the narrative context of his experiences to the institutional (school, educational) scope, where this representation reveals perceptions, since these institutions are composed of individuals with the purpose of internalizing socio-educational values and, therefore, the process of regeneration and / or re-education is justified. In other words, institutional thinking allows for the social classification of interns (Chartier, 2002). Children, historically located in time and space, are subject to the contemporary form of scientific rationality that reproduced at the expense of their differences and anomalies, beyond the context of localized social life. The normality of children started to be analysed in terms of the norms postulated by developmental psychology in school or preschool institutions (school normalization). Some assumptions of socialization theory and developmental psychology influenced everyday conceptualization and common sense about childhood. In this sense, we remember the paradigms defined by Parsons and Piaget that involved and monopolized the child in the domain of social theory (Gaitán, 2006). These forms gave rise to the diversity of perspectives, perceptions and representations of the child / childhood, according to the different theoretical social (and cultural) worlds where they lived, since, as Denzin (1997: 189) says, *"Childhood is usually seen as a period of carefree and disorganized happiness"*.

3.- The social construction of 'Other' childhood in the medical and legal-social perspective

Medical knowledge complained, denounced and envisaged social and assistance protection for children / childhood (and the mother) with measures and institutional solutions to keep them. The consolidation of new scientific knowledge about its study allowed the emergence of social (political) reforms to intervene, protect and prevent situations of social deviation, marginalization, moral danger, delinquency or criminal offenses. Hygienist attempted, on the basis of assistance, the discipline of child and youth practices and the forging of the body and its hygiene, in an interrelation between the biological, sociocultural and educational condition. On the other hand, there is prevention and protection on the basis of legal and social measures and measures for the 'Another Childhood' held by the police and judicial authorities and, subsequently, the Childhood Tutors (juvenile courts), from surveillance, freedom measures conditional on admission to special establishments with the medical-pedagogical treatment model.

3.1- Contributions of social medicine and hygiene to children

The scientific and instrumental sense of (social) medicine was based on an experimental and laboratory rationality, which we intended to know the causes of (positivist influence) and overcome the effects, in order to find the remedy to the disease, not only corporal, but also social, in such a way that it is confronted with unsuspected human and social realities (Sarmento, 2000). From the middle of the 19th century some sciences evolved that conferred, in particular the case of medicine, an autonomy and legitimacy in the salvation of the bodies, the nation and the race. These medical sciences on the basis of the identification of new objects - epidemic diseases (tuberculosis, diphtheria, diarrhoea / enteritis, chickenpox, lung infections, etc.) intended to fill the high infant and youth mortality, revealing the social and cultural nature of these causes and the threat and perversity of its antisocial effects (syphilis, alcoholism, rickets). This whole scenario of social scourges, which reached Portugal, forced a change, erected by hygienist, on the basis of public and private regulation that articulated morality, regeneration and social order, in order to avoid the loss of life or the weakening of 'race' (eugenicist). The hygienist doctor intervened on external causes, in a public concern for the hygiene and sanitary control of the people and, in particular, the children of poor, unprotected, unemployed and socially excluded families. It was these families and their socio-economic, cultural, moral and housing situations and conditions that attributed the phenomena of morbidity, mortality, birth and vital behaviours, immorality, etc. with consequence in children / young people (Rocha; Ferreira, 1995).

The hygienist movement contributed to pressure the State in the need to teach, assist and correct those children ('Another Childhood'), since the existing institutions (welfare and educational institutions) offered elementary, manual, practical and artisanal education. This assistance provided to underprivileged children was marked by moral and religious prejudices of the time. The hygienist doctors had as an ideological justification the genetic factor and eugenic marriage, as principles for the health of their children. This prophylactic and eugenic mentality guided prevention, within the perspective of progress and social development. In this sense, assistance applied to the underprivileged went beyond simple charitable and pious assistance, as it referred to the defence of society and social control by the State. Effectively, hygiene linked health education with bathing (body), physical and bodily conditions, food, prevention, prophylaxis and social therapy. The contagion and disinfection situations took on an important meaning in Portuguese society, such as urban health, the sanitary

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conditions of the working classes, which were visible in urban or suburban neighbourhoods. The creation of hygiene institutes in Portugal comes with the Decrees of 12/28/1899 and 12/24/1901, regulating the Instituto de Hygiene Ricardo Jorge in its "[…] role of social hygiene in working-class neighbourhoods, away from bourgeois areas, revealing an action of social differentiation (statutory, physical, morphological, demographic, health) in the prevention of epidemics and pests" (Rocha & Ferreira, 1995: 75). In fact, politicians, writers, educators and doctors were impressed by the discovery of ghettos, situations and conditions of many families and children (narrations in the press at the time), these victims of that social location. In this way, public health has become a social issue, which could not be left to the exclusive care of philanthropists, but rather the need for medical, sanitary and social awareness. School hygiene was also a hygienist measure that expanded to all school conditions, for a normal educational and school process for children.

3.2.- The image of the offending childhood and the legal-social responses

The social representation of 'Another Childhood', especially some childhoods (helpless, abandoned, delinquent or offender) was due to its various situations and conditions of social conflict, mentioned by the social reformers, politicians, educators, writers and press of the time (O Século , A Batalha, A Gazeta, O Notícias, The Capital, Diário de Lisboa, O Comércio do Porto, etc.) when referring to the aspects of the body and faces, the deplorable and immune clothing, the state of health and the ways of loitering, begging and delinquency in urban centres (Martins, 2006). The scientific concern for the study of the child, insisted that each child had a different childhood, especially those from poor, miserable families, without resources and in a situation of social exclusion and, therefore, these antisocial and behavioural problems of childhood were recognized, for a wing in need of intervention in the assistance and educational scope and for other corrective or re-educative treatment.

Some categories and conceptions of childhood, which were on the margins of society, wandering the streets with antisocial and criminal behaviours or in situations of crime are part of our designation 'Another Childhood' (abandoned, vagrant, undisciplined, offenders and occasional, statutory delinquents) or persistent / recidivist). This type of childhood was not governed by the imposed social norms, nor did they attend school (schooling), dedicating themselves to surviving on the streets in situations of social deviation and marginalization, committing crimes or delinquent and falling into the loop of justice, largely due to conditions of social conflict in which they found themselves. The situations of these childhoods constituted a social problem, which implied reforms with legal and social provisions and measures for protection, regeneration, educational assistance and re-education (Martins, 2002). The post-philanthropic movement imposed a new conception of the stray and delinquent child not as guilty, but as a victim of structural factors. This new chain of great juridical-social or juridical-penal preponderance at the end of the 19th century, due to the influence of some sciences (criminology and correctional pedagogy) considered the minor (legal term) transgressor and with criminal acts / behaviours as a victim. In effect, the minor responsible was found guilty, while, in the case of the victimized child, the family and the environment were designated as responsible (Oliveira, 1929). Thus, it was admitted taking charge of the minor and educating them (the State) and their 'bad family' to be the object of a social and educational pedagogy (reconversion).

Evidently, the phenomenon of vagrancy, marginalization, delinquency and juvenile crime, due to its social visibility, was the reason for two intervention models: penitentiary model - correction houses (19th century) are based on the idea of the child as guilty and of conceptualization as an adult in miniature; protection model underlying the dimension of a child as a victim in need of protection (guardianship of minors starting in 1911). From then on, interventions and legal-social and assistance measures changed, with childhood becoming less and less seen as guilty and in need of punishment, and more and more as being in a state 'at risk or in moral danger', as victim, it being necessary to protect them, either from their family or from the environment or context in which they live - State (childhood tutoring / juvenile courts). The institutionalization of asylums or in correction houses aimed at normalizing these children / young people, on the basis of moral regeneration, re-education through work and the promotion of adequate physical, mental health and social adaptation, in order to prevent the deviation of their behaviour (Oliveira, 1929).

In fact, at the beginning of the twentieth century, a specific right for the delinquent, abandoned, unsuitable, vagabond, undisciplined and 'in moral danger' child (Child Protection Act in 1911 and subsequent legislation of 1919 and 1925) with the intervention mechanisms of the Central Childhood Tutoring, with its Refuges attached (diagnosis and temporary educational intervention) (Martins, 2006). The tutors or courts of minors, acted with their own characteristics forming part of the mechanisms of the new tutelary law and the specificity of justice for minors, under the age of 16, where the central figure of the judge-president was accompanied by the doctor and teacher. Thus, the dichotomous fields of jurisprudence (legal sciences), child and youth psychiatry and pedagogy are associated with repercussions in the field of developmental psychology (Martins, 2006). Thus, educational assistance and prevention are placed alongside child protection for screening individual, social and family risk factors. This new jurisprudence for minors proposed medical-pedagogical and

psychiatric examinations (surpassing the old anthropometric examinations of the end of the 19th century) before defining the status of delinquent, undisciplined or in moral danger. This period corresponds to the appearance of contributions from psychiatric (anthropological) criminology and the appearance of paedology.

Therefore, when the legal status of the guilty child appears to that of the victim child, the idea of 'educational assistance' in incarceration was born, with (re) educational programs aimed at advising / regenerating the child through work. The school and medical-pedagogical areas joined in the rehabilitation of the minor. This conception of a minor victim was swept away in the early twentieth century, due to the dominance of child and adolescent psychiatry in the field of behavioural deviation (the new notion of 'deviation'), becoming less 'unsuitable'. This was re-educated and adapted thanks to its insertion in the school, family and professional field. Thus, the institutionalization (interned, semi-interned or semi-free) of the abandoned, delinquent or morally endangered child should be appropriate to their (intellectual) capacities, to their psychology and to the needs of society (learning a trade) (Oliveira, 1929). The institutional environment in the family played a fundamental role in social reintegration. Hence, the medical-pedagogical and psycho-educational pedagogies associated with extensive re-education were associated with the readaptation of (disturbed) families and their responsibility to the minor.

In short, the new reformist conceptions about minors in the twentieth century, influenced by some sciences with their theories and approaches and conceptions about 'Another Childhood', helped to remove children / young people from less positive and criminally condemnable acts. Portugal has had several government initiatives to protect childhood (s), for example: Casa Pia de Lisboa (1780) for homeless children and underprivileged children; the Casas da Roda with the purpose of welcoming abandoned children; reception hospices (exposed, abandoned children); nursing homes for underprivileged children (1834); the Detention and Correction Houses of Lisbon (1871) and Porto (1879); Correctional Agricultural Colony of Vila Fernando (1889); reform schools (1911), reformatories (1919); re-education institutes, etc.

Retaining (in) conclusive ideas

When Modernity inaugurates the education of children in other spaces and contexts, adding to that education an institutional and normalizing character, educational and assistance institutions for children justify their actions based on scientific-pedagogical principles aimed at their insertion and social control (Cordero, 2012). Whether the school at the origin of its universalization (nineteenth century), like other philanthropic or religious institutions, proclaimed the objectives of preserving 'new citizens' by removing children from social scourges or marginalization. The ideals of the 'salvation of the child' spread in the political and economic spheres of the 18th-20th centuries, justifying themselves in studies and discourses in the medical sciences (hygienist), legal and pedagogical (paedology, psychology), in order to protect and prevent. At the beginning of the Century of the Child, the creation of state bodies for children expresses some concrete actions, despite the widespread dissemination of hygienist ideas and social prophylaxis in the fight against poverty, social diseases or illiteracy. All these socio-educational interventions (public and private), social assistance and hygiene are characterized by an individual, positivist and even idealistic scientific justification aimed at imputing guilt, sometimes from the individual, sometimes from the family and / or society, establishing for the 'Another Childhood' social and educational policies, which were a solution to their social problems. In fact, it is the same society that values the family, as the nucleus for the development of the capitalist (industrial) economic model, which sees as a result social inequalities and the unsustainable situation of its living conditions and, therefore, proposes programs (social prophylaxis, social hygiene, health, maternal and child care) and creates institutions that exercise a parallel and even substitute action to educate the child (tutelary right), to submit them to the social, moral, civic and hygiene-sanitary standards considered necessary.

We have seen that the theme around 'Another Childhood', arising from social situations and conditions generated 'Third Sector' of society, falls within the historiographic objectives of history seen from below, allowing the analysis of social representations around its conception. The studies carried out in Social History (Education) and / or History (Social) of Childhood in its different scientific areas (anthropological, sociological, historical, pedagogical / paedology), approach methodologically questions of conceptualization and representations, idealized or conceived from time and historical time. The historiographical attention to disadvantaged, exposed / abandoned, marginalized and idle children and the respective institutions that have been created since the 18th century, as well as to criminality, child and youth work and the degeneration of race (eugenicist) allow us to approach historic-graphically the problem of these childhoods, which we include in the designation of 'Another Childhood'. The documentary sources, the legislation and the press / periodicals of the time underline the interpretation and analysis of this reality of representations and concepts transmitted socially and historically.

In fact, children were an important part of the State (social reforms) and society, which gave them a social role, endowed with a socio-cultural (socio-historical) meaning, which was not homogeneous, but which has changed over time and therefore, we realize that both childhood and adolescence are now understood as

categories historically constructed, thus having multiple emergencies. This idea corroborates with the paradigms of postmodernity, landmarks of our contemporaneity. For Dahlberg; Moss; Pence (2003), the new conceptions of child / childhood point to the acceptance of a multiplicity and a becoming that does not close in on itself. The project defended and supported by Modernity comprised the fully realized, mature, independent, autonomous, free and rational human being. The search for reason constituted a path in the search for the very essence of the human.

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