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INSTITUTIONAL DISMISSAL: MEMORY AND JOURNEY OF INSTITUTIONALIZED YOUNG PEOPLE

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ABSTRACT

This paper intends to display the outcomes of a research named: Social and collective memory of the children and adolescents' institutionalization in the city of Vitória da Conquista, Bahia, and its effects on the Foster house (from 1997 to 2015), having as the leading analysis point the life journey of three young people who experienced during the childhood and adolescence the disruption of premature family ties and the institutionalization as a protective measure employed by the State: one of them was seven years old and the other two, nine and thirteen years old, through rebuilding experiences in a language charged with symbols, images and representations regarding themselves and others. Their experiences entail particular matters and by all means, they comply with the social memory of other children and adolescents who have been institutionalized. We have taken as theoretical background the studies concerning the individual and collective memory designed by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs.

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INTRODUCTION

The family is a significant micro system whose key role is to offer safety and protection to the children and adolescents' development. In the impossibility of meeting this role, the State should take it on with the application of the foreseen protective measures in the Statute of the Child and Adolescent, like in case of extreme need and impossibility of staying in the family, the placement in host institutions. In this condition, the institutions start to play the crucial part of supporting the child and adolescent's development. The Institutional sheltering on the other hand, is transient and exceptional, as guided by Art. 101 of the ECA (BRASIL, 1990). All institutions that compose the Childhood and adolescence protection network ought to pull together seeking to restore the right of interaction for the family and community life of the sheltered. But the institutions' reality is displayed as quite distant from this legal provision when we assess the fostering time, in other words, children and adolescents continue to be institutionalized until they meet the age of majority that is eighteen, leaving them with the coexistence experience of the institutional space.

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In the research performed, we interviewed three young people who experienced as a child and adolescent, the disruption of the premature family ties and the institutionalization as a protective measure employed by the State: One of them institutionalized with seven years old and the other two that were nine and thirteen years old. These three young people have various common traits: they are black, of low-income families originating from the same peripheral district Bruno Bacelar in the city of Vitória da Conquista who had their paths crossed at the same place, the Foster Home. Their recalling are not, at any angle, the experiences description of the ones who someday left behind their home, family, neighborhood and friends and went to live in another interaction environment, because they are not the same anymore. They remember it now as adults, carrying to the present the previous marks and providing us guidelines to comprehend the institutionalization and, as a consequence, the institutional dismissal. More than the social spaces, the institution arises on the respondents' speech like a revealing location of a social group where individual and social memories are generated which makes them a living thing and prone to changes. This way, when rebuilding their experiences, the respondents bring to light a cutout of a period regarding the institutionalization of children and adolescents in the city of Vitória da Conquista, at the same

time they expose the intimate settings of the poor family that loses their children to the state, because they could not provide and protect them. Taking as a basis the studies regarding the relationship between individual and collective memory carried out by the french sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, we take into account that the individual memories of these young people disclose a social memory of time and space experienced during childhood. Their experiences entail unique, individual and collective contents that store as well similarities with the social memory of other children and adolescents who have experienced the institutionalization at another instance of their lives.

Updating the past: experienced memory

Our intention, with this paper is to give a voice to these individuals. The reports' pace was orchestrated by them in consistency with their experiences' recalling, in a timeless flow. Santos (2013), returning to Halbwachs affirm that the time dimension should be understood in a multiple and complex form, not being able to be recognized with the sum or sorting of the events. This multiplicity concept is interesting because it expands the comprehension of the relation between past and present meaning that it does not have an only path and form. Regardless of the time discontinuity, the respondents' speeches almost always move around from the present time and soon after to be contextualized with the experienced time and a complex social network comprised by various groups - "today is like this, but back then it was very different," as one respondent illustrated while comparing the recent memory with past memory. We may say that the time perception, as stated by Halbwachs (1985) is linked to the social status that a person takes up in society and it is exactly this social space that has influence on updating the individual memory in other words, the individual memory cannot be regarded as detached from the social memory. From the state decision, two respondents had their life journey modified forever. They spoke about the necessity that they had to adjust to a different and unknown place for motives they did not get to know, as stated by one of the respondents, when he was institutionalized at the age of seven:

At the beginning, the adjustment was too hard. I didn't know what was happening, I just knew that the guardian counselor took us there. Everything was new to me; Over time, my father stopped visiting me, he didn't come anymore, I got used to the foster home, with the affection and attention, things I didn't have at home. My father drank a lot, my mother walked away and left us. Then my sister and I came here and here I stayed. My mother was living with another person, I was only seven. My father drank a lot, and he became very aggressive. That day, I was at my neighbor's house when I was taken.

This narrative brings him back to a time in childhood, when the respondent had to adjust himself emotionally and socially to get by the life required on The Foster institution. He watched the change of a number of components that composed his life, until then in the family and social center, which led to changes in socio-affective relationships like the distancing of the parent and the community sources, which made him connect to the space and to the institution's professionals. Another matter raised by the respondent regards the lack of emotional preparation for the disconnection of the family and social context and the denial to inform the motives for

institutionalization. The recalling leads to the contents and practices of the "minor" legislations in which children and adolescents were perceived as State's custody objects that intervened in the subjects' lives under the prerogative of conduct's protection. The new legislation, the Child and Adolescent Statute, asserts conditions so that the fostering can happen: the first is the right to information by the sheltered which should exist from the moment that precedes the action until the integration at the institution even regarding the motives; The second one is that taking the child or adolescent out from the family center requires a prior preparation. Even in emergency cases, the professional involved has to explain that the decision was made to protect the minor, or else he can realize the action as an extra punishment; The third condition is that institutionalization ought to be the last resource employed by the social assistance network, after trying all the integration alternatives for the child or adolescent in the extended family, in other words, the one that is apart from the family center comprised by relatives who the child or adolescent has relationship with.

The second respondent experience was like this:

I didn't even know what was happening; then, that woman came and took us. I went to a totally different place, my father was alone, I left everything behind: my house and my things. From that moment on, everything changed in my life. I wanted to understand what I did wrong. Everything was too hard, only after some time I understood what happened.

The deprivation of family and community life in childhood or adolescence and an neglecting institutionalization can lead to a notably painful process of physical, psychological and social maturation because of the lack of safe references for building an identity, developing autonomy and creating future projects, followed by the reduction of self-esteem of the ones received in institutional spaces (JUSTO, 1997). Pereira (2003) notices that institutional spaces fostering may be followed by feelings of loss when facing separation from the family and community center. Many times the only indicative that the sheltered has are the ties built in the institution, because of the distancing from family and friends. A situation that can be worse if the staying period is extended. The respondent says how difficult it was to leave all family and social memory behind while having to build an uprooted and detached history of the past. In line with Halbwachs (1985), our memories are tied to a physical location and a reference group, this tie functions to reactivate our memory providing us with a sense of being a part of something and belonging somewhere. With this, the distancing from the physical space or group seems like losing a part of our affective identity and guide us to a state of strangeness or displacement. Of the multiple areas taken or permeated by the individual, the house has a key significance. In the child's case, the house gathers toys, photographs, family stories, places to play besides being a spot known by its privacy. The place's distancing can undermine and decompose the relations built not just in the family center, but with the objects and stories around them too. Bachelard (2008) states that the magnitude with which the house is treated is unrelated to its condition; small or big, modest or fancy, it derives from the implications that it causes on the ones who inhabit it, because it can add to all family memory, including conflicts and disagreements. Our third respondent says that the distancing from his family unit happened because

of his own will. It was the opposition attitude to the family model and parents that led him to seek his own self establishment elsewhere, unlike his usual coexistence. It was the opportunity to join in a social project at the Urban Social Center (CSU). He said that knowing the boys who lived on the street, their stories and wanting to be part of them made him break with his family context right away and embrace the group of boys who lived a different reality than him:

[...]It was the wish to know the life of the boys who lived on the street, the will to experience it all and I did. I met the group by means of a policy implemented here, the solidary sport, they (boys) were from the street, and we were from the suburbs. I became friends with them, I was curious.

The reports and experiences arise from the social group he chose to identify - the boys that lived on the street. The individual memory is linked to the collective memory of the group of boys who lived on the street in the same period in the city of Vitória da Conquista. His individual memory is rooted in autonomy and curiosity, which means the chance of being free on the street, and doing whatever he wished to and at the moment he wanted. It was the possibility of another sort of socialization, where there was no kind of requirement that pleased and gave him autonomy and acknowledgements an active individual in this process and to some extent the sense of being a part of a particular group. As said by him, it was the same freedom of choice that made them engaged in the Nocturne Fostering Home, that meaning the non-requirement of any formal obligation, furthermore, it was not needed to break up with his reference group. Freedom led him to the streets and took him out of that spot as well:

[...] There was the social educators who talked about the Foster House, it was Rogério. I went there, it was good, we had protection, I could come back home, I did it but I had to listen to those stories, then I would vanish and go out. In the foster house, it was more flexible, I identified myself, I didn't have to account for what I did.

The respondents' reports lead us to the thoughts of Lira (2003) concerning street education. In line with the author, after setting the ties with children and adolescents who live in homeless situations, although still fragile, the social educator should establish a reliable relationship. In this case, it is required to get to know each student and respect the individualities and particularities and in this regard, it is necessary to display the positive figure of the adult who is ready to help him develop a life project. With seminars, informal conversation, games, music, guidance on several topics, presenting alternatives and possibilities for interacting in other spaces with the purpose to evoke a way to see and evaluate their own life stories and social settings in the position of subjects with rights. It appears that it was exactly the informality apparently modest that involved the respondent and gave him a chance of a new life perspective.

Our first respondent said that he did not have the option to leave the Foster House when he wanted. He even tried to do so, but he could not do it:

The group call me out, and I went but I didn't get it. I was on top of the wall, then the security guard came talked to me and I didn't want to run away anymore. My sister

always ran away, she lived on the streets for a while, today she is with my father, and she is pregnant.

The respondent describes an institutional memory bounded by space and control restrictions of individual freedom. Overall, institutional settings are characterized by adopting rigid schedules, written guidelines, almost no freedom to come and go, and total vigilance with the purpose of preventing the residents' escape. Meanwhile, in spite of all this, he acknowledges the fact that he was not able to leave the institution as a positive and right event and the gratitude for the advices that the security guard gave him to stay. With this, the street was not a place of interest anymore and he did not refer to this space because he did not have with it any kind of socialization unlike other people usually have. His individual memory comes from the comparison that he makes regarding the experiences of his sister's life story (second interviewed) when choosing the street as an interaction space and the consequences entailed by this option. The Foster Home, for our second respondent, was a "bridge" to the street. While the third respondent lived on the street and slept in The Foster Home; Our second respondent, during the fostering system and motivated by one group made her choose to live on the streets, she just left there when she was removed. In accordance to her:

There I met the boys, then it was just "messaging around". We used to run away from there, we went to the streets. There, I got to know everything drugs, friendship, my son. In the streets things work like this, there is a lot of good and bad things. At that time, the robbery and death things didn't exist, it was just "messaging around".

The second and third respondents came across with the group's affective identity and what it could offer: freedom, that meaning the opportunity of knowing the unknown. Gregori (2000) claims that the rupture of family bonds allows the child and adolescent to formulate other emotional ties. Many times depending of the situation identification, it can happen without any kind of selection or screening and one of the groups that most attracts these subjects is the "street people". The motives are connected with shared experiences, which add to the consolidation of solidarity ties. Most of them are children and adolescents who were abandoned by their parents, or that were victims of sexual abuse and exploitation or who were obliged to go to the streets to survive through informal work or by begging. The life in a group allows them to do things that would be unlikely for them do alone or in the company of their family members. Little by little the family ties become weak, and a "new family" starts to show up through the bonds of partnership, where happiness, sadness, adventure, dating, sex, alcohol, drugs are exposed and experienced in the collective experience. All experiences make these discoveries remarkable, and the daily street life compelling for the child and adolescent.

The common, individual and collective journey of three young people who faced early rupture of family and community ties. Despite the adversities, our respondents acknowledge the importance and support of the Foster House to what they are nowadays as our third respondent describes:

I can't talk about my life without talking about the foster house. There was where it all began. At that time, it was a shelter for me, it was a safe place for the ones who live on the street, [because] at night the street is complicated, it is

dangerous. Then I could go there, but in the morning I could go back. Today, I comprehend that the Foster House was the fundamental component of this puzzle that is my life. [...] I went to the “Conquista Criança”, but I opted to sleep there at the House. I didn't want to come back to the family, it took time, they even tried, but I said the day, on Mother's Day, [...] then I came back and lived in the back of my grandmother's house. Now I have my house, I live there by myself and I continue to work here. This weekend was my grandmother's birthday. We celebrated. I always go there on weekends. We are always in touch.

By remembering the Foster Home, the respondent relives facts, events, characters, past conflicting sensations stored intimately, but that appear to have reached a balance point in the present. The family memory, which was blurred, comes back with other mediation points – the interaction with her grandmother and the celebration dates held in familiar places. Even so, he preserves his individuality by living alone at his new home. He recognizes the significance of the professionals' mediation in the Foster house concerning the approximation with the family center for his emotional and social stabilization.

The recognition of the Foster House positive part was also emphasized in the description of the first respondent:

The foster home was everything to me, it was safety, protection, care, every time I can I go there, if it wasn't for the Foster Home I wouldn't be here talking to you, there I got a job, my house, I live there alone at the “Campinhos” [...] there are ten years I last saw my mother, I don't have ties with her anymore, my father sometimes I go there, my sister is stubborn, she lived in the street until just recently, she learned to use thinner.

The respondent invokes the family memory tagged by separation and rupture of emotional bonds with loved ones: estrangement from the mother figure, the shallow bond with his father and the conflict with his sister. Likewise, the speech of our second respondent regarding the Foster Home is:

At the foster house, I received care, attention, food on the right time, clean bed to sleep, I got friends, learned to respect the other, and embrace. I had great friends, a lot of them died. I learned to take care of the house, how to make a cake. Every time I could, I'd go to the kitchen, and they use to let me do the things. I had so many chances and I didn't take advantage of them; I went to school, and I didn't learn anything. I was only interested in messing around, it was the group, the street, I would always come and go, and I always ran away, until I stayed there with the group. I went to the “Conquista Criança”, I learned how to paint, to practice capoeira. I made new friends, I met new people.

The respondent's individual memory is also intersected by a time that has passed, without being suitably exploited. She speaks about the present, when remembering the past and what could happen today, how it brings along her disappointments, regrets and uncertainty about the future. At the same manner, she acknowledges the care received at the Foster Home, she emphasizes the opportunities she wasted and that would provide her with a better life these days. She calls for emotional support at this specific moment because she is expecting

another child. Her recent memory is associated with the street group, it is from the streets that come the reference she had as friends, the ones she met and one day lost. Contrary to her brother, her institutional dismissal happened on its own, because she chose the streets. The brother opted for staying in the institutional space until he reached the majority age of eighteen. The legislation asserts that the dismissal, in the case of Foster Institutions, must happen with the age of majority. This circumstance only takes place when the adolescent, during the period of institutionalization, did not have the family and community ties rebuilt or if he/she was not directed to a substitute family. The Pedagogical Plan from the Foster Home provides the facing of these situations with the autonomy reinforcement of the sheltered so that in conjunction with the institution's team perform this transition to the new reality without extreme adjustment conflicts. If that does not happen, in line with Constantino (2000), when being dismissed, the young person could feel lost as if he/she was at the same moment being part of “two worlds” or of neither of them; or they can assume a negative self-image which is corroborated by society producing curiosity and speculation about these people's lives:

That's why I said that all my life was in the documentary produced by UESB, Captains of the street. The reason was that I didn't want to talk, I've already talked a lot about myself, I did so many interviews, for the radio, for researchers, there are so many boys like me that made it, but I don't want to talk anymore, today I spoke more than other times, I trusted you and I talked about things that I've never did before. I didn't want to be known by it, fearing that people would point on the street for what you said and be seen only for the time I lived on the street. It's not only that; And today? And what did I accomplish? And what did work? It seems that it doesn't interest people. They come here to see the dark side of the thing, that's it that interests them, they take what we say and put together with what has already happened, we can say that the things that were “released” by other people and they put it there, all that was said. And now? When I say what I did it, people don't believe it. They look for what didn't work out, it's more interesting, even people from the university are like that, they write for themselves. What about the others? We had others like me, we have teacher, businessman, people who are and who lived the same situation like me. Some already exploited my image, they succeeded from my story, people did not believe that public policy can display good outcomes. If you say so, they ask why are there children on the Traffic signs. Why are there children on the Rio/Bahia highway? This is another thing. Some religious groups believe in you, but only to promote themselves. Once I went to a lecture. I got dressed, I wore a suit, It talked about me, the CD I recorded, the book, [but] they thought I was oriented to act like this by the government. They didn't believe in me, you know? But if you go there and dress up in a manner, then yes, everybody believes, if you say you've been through it and that was hard, then they believe it.

As we noticed, our respondent does not want to be labelled by a built social memory that is kept up about the abandoned child and adolescent, a “poor thing”, worthy of state and social interventions and worries. In addition, he does not want to be taken as “dangerous” and likely to disrupt the social peace, as it is typically wondered about the child or adolescent that lived

on the street or was institutionalized. He wishes to be perceived as someone who achieved autonomy and therefore the citizenship. This way, he faces rooted social values and convictions that social change is not possible through the State's public policies that work in practice. His narrative suggests that quite often the own researcher might be the anchor of a social memory that victimize the condition of the one being left out, taking him as someone with no chance of rising or social change. As a result, it is showed that his individual and social memory is exploited, and that the hardest facts of his life are emphasized while his achievements and breakthroughs do not even turn up in particular academic works of which he proposed to collaborate. He talks about a selected memory, a cutout with the goal of meeting personal interests that ends up not leading to the discussions regarding the successes and mistakes of public policies for children and adolescents in a vulnerable position, which increases the impossibilities to reach the social equity of this group. The respondent's worries address the reflections made by Rizzini (2011) regarding the research on the historical roots of childcare, performed to write the book *The Lost Century* in 1990:

I realized that there wasn't any record of the voices of the children and young people back then. [...] Not from them, not from their families or of others dear to them, not even a trace. At the time, I thought that these records were not listed because they were not authorized to have access. They belonged to the neglected group (of less value to society); they were poor, and perceived as small people in front of the great ones who commanded them. They lived at the slums, the lugubrious areas of the city, and were taken as vicious, less capable, less worthy. I keep asking myself how many of these images are still operating among us and what is the reason we can't do better (RIZZINI, 2011, p. 17).

These allegations allow us to deduce how the social memory regarding the abandoned child and adolescent was arranged from the perspective of a place denial and the way this memory keeps acting. It is against this social memory that our respondent reacts. He shows us another group –the one with children and adolescents who lived in vulnerable social settings and that managed to give new meaning to their lives and reinforce citizenship. This is the respondents' memory that he claims for himself and others as recognition and as an achieved right. Pollak (1992) declares that the identity feeling with the formative features of memory cooperates to provide group cohesion, belonging, time continuity and the coherence that is accomplished by a person when rebuilding oneself. The author brings into the assessment a political dimension of memory, asserting that a group's memory is frequently comprised by "true battles" in the dispute over which memory will prevail over a certain episode. Nevertheless, we have to pay attention to the selection criteria with the purpose of preventing injustice, violence and arbitrary acts.

Coming back from the institutional dismissal, there is other matter regarding the affective bond of the former resident in the institutional space. It can be that during the institutionalization period, family and community bonds are not recovered and during the absence period, feelings of distress, fear and insecurity emerge in the face of the new life or light up old abandonment feelings.

[...]Over the first few days I left there, I miss it a lot... That noise of kids running from one side to the other! At home it was silent, so every time I could after work, I'd go there; Then, I took too long to show up, when I got there everything was changed, the team, the security guard, everything was different, everyone knew me before. It was to weird, it was like arriving in a neighbor's house that you know and finding other people living there.

The shifting of his identification space –The Foster House - and facing the reality in a new space - a new residence - made certain concerns of the respondent come back, like the feeling of rootlessness and abandonment. At the transition moment, not just exiting the place, but entering the adult world, when here required affective and emotional support; At other moment, when he returned to his interaction place, his safety spot was not comprised any more by the people who one day took part on his experiences. This way, the new reality can be displayed as lacking protection and with props that are not linked anywhere, leaving open areas as pieces of an affective and episodic memory. All the same, recalling the past surrounded by adversities, our respondent talks about of current memory rooted in personal and professional accomplishments like the service of baker's assistant, after signing the work permit, the home ownership and the possible conclusion of the third year of high school, which happen at the end of 2016. Past memory, articulated and upgraded with the present memory and, why not saying with the future. As a life project, he means to be linked to childhood and adolescence areas, as he intends to join the selection to be a tutor counselor. He said that he really likes children and that he wants to use the twenty years' experience to help other boys. Our third respondent was not detached from the Childhood Municipal Policy. He went from a resident to an arts instructor at *Conquista Criança*. He is 31 years old, He told that his first job was in the senior group and that it was the coordinator of the "Conquista Criança" that got him the spot, later a new opportunity appeared for him to return and he is there until today, but is looking for assurance, because he is hired:

I am studying for the exam of the INSS, I want to be a security, I want to change as well, it is not that I want to break up with the *Conquista Criança*, I want to change. I function like it, I like to change the things, to know new opportunities, I worked with theater music, I created a CD, I published a book with poetry, I give lectures [...] now I look back, I can't believe that I went through all of it, I see the documentary and realize how I've changed, I can't even imagine living on the streets anymore, that has no longer to do with me. I changed, I'm always changing [...] I talk to the boys that are on the street that I was like them, but they don't believe [...] I live there at the *Campinhos*, in the government houses, over there we have everything too, they don't know about me, a lot of drugs, they think I'm just a "Conquista's Criança" educator.

The respondent's recollection, at the same moment they enhance the changes and renovation, they go on in the present, in social picture tied to previous experiences. Re- signified experiences that function like a model for others to be able to reorganize in a positive manner social vulnerabilities. It addresses a transformation for oneself and the other that is near by an internal and external interaction, our respondent wanted to emphasize with an individual accomplishment as an interaction outcome with the social setting that it displays in

constant transformation process. Our second respondent is 17 years old and, until not long ago she used to live on the streets; she has a son and is expecting another, nowadays she lives with her father. Our last meeting happened at her house located at Bruno Baccelar, a place that she and her brother left to live in the Foster Home. Her house is small and very modest, on a very crowded and muddy street. At the time of our encounter, she was very emotional and she agreed to return to her personal experiences instantaneously; Her face revealed urgent need to talk about herself. The memories triggered the tears rolling down her cheeks; It looked as if the facts had just happened, because she was loaded with intense emotions. Her memory continued to be plotted in the street, and that was the place she went right away:

I had so many friends, I learned a lot, using drugs and survive. Before, on the streets, everything was good, people helped us, they used to give food, money, attention, even the police was different. They used to talk to us, guide us, they indicate the place for us to eat, they used to advise us to go back home, but we didn't listen, I personally just wanted to mess around, to have fun and nothing more. Then the pregnancy came, I had to come back home, after the fights with my father came, I went to the streets again with my son but I had to come back, I am pregnant again. I also can't stay with my son, they are going to take him away from me, and this I don't want to. Our mom left us, me, my brother and my sister and she went to live with someone else, I was so little, my sister was adopted by someone that I don't know, we've lost touch. My mother lived here in the neighborhood, and then she moved. We don't have contact with her anymore, we don't have ties anymore. Her partner doesn't let her to get close to us, he hits her, I don't want this to my son, I want a better life to him. Today I have my friends, they are the ones who listen to me and they are the ones I can count on to let off steam about my life. They are cool.

She has lost touch with the Foster Home and other public policies because she says she is seeking for the "family allowance" but she could not get it because of her father's income, he is retired. The practical issues are still tormenting and of hard elaboration to be performed on her own. Her friend stated that she is a person who suffered a lot that she went through and still is on her own, unaided and that all the experiences made her insecure. She told us that she wishes her children a brighter future, but she does not know where to begin. On her eyes, there is some fear just as if she has not had the chance to be a child and a teenager neither the right to be a mother. Her words are laden with images expressing the feelings: fear, insecurity, loss, rupture of family ties and emotional ties, of the reference space, which she declares as not being the same anymore, of the friends' death, and the uncertainty regarding their children's future. Halbwachs (1985) uses the relation between word and memory to display the social character of the individual memory. As stated by him, men living in society use words from which they comprehend the significance: it is the status of collective thinking. We tell our memories before evoking; It is the language and all the system of solidary social conventions that enable us, at any time, to rebuild our past (HALBWACHS, 1985, p. 279). When talking about her past, our respondent introduce her memories in the social place she takes up in the present, in other words, her father's house, the house she has left a lot of times, the house of a girl who was abandoned by

her mother, and her absent sister. She did not mention her father as a support, but she indicated her friends.

Final Considerations

Three young people enabled, through their experiences rebuilding in a language charged by symbols, images and representations regarding themselves and others, the evocation of individual and social memory on the institutionalization of children and adolescents in the city of Vitória da Conquista. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that Halbwachs (1985) restates that not just the social thinking is substantially memory, but the set of collective memories that can only be rebuilt in accordance with present notions. Notions, it can be said that these young people built concerning their life stories, sustained by a social memory anchored in the social representation of the institutionalized child and adolescent, of the homeless boy and girl, the ones abandoned by their families and the drug users as "underprivileged", that being the ones with less social value, taken as poor, dangerous, criminals - expressions created in the past, charged with symbols, but still alive at the current moment. Nevertheless, far from replicating antiquated notions like the ones built in past times concerning the abandoned child and adolescent - the minor -, in social settings where charity and philanthropy were reference for the knowledge and social control rules production, the current time displays a social memory or better expressed multiple memories, that are refreshed and updated in memory frames cited in the commitment taken to the humanistic paradigm of integral protection, such as the children and adolescents human rights, that is as noticed still damaged by a minor legislative memory.

Similarly to local peculiarities, we can say that the actions and political interests of the city government, social movements and the subjects that rely on care contributed to the non-reproduction of a unambiguous national memory regarding the child and adolescent. There remains a local social memory that preserves within itself the significant impact of that context and of a legal and social past that keeps imprinting its convictions. It is true that the children and adolescents' institutionalization culture in Brazil resists on being modified; On one hand, because rooted practices withstand change, and these are processed in a slow way. On the other, because the Brazilian state holds upto implement public policies expected in the new legal commands. Therefore, institutionalized subjects will keep enduring the somatic, emotional, intellectual and social losses of the extended institutionalization through deep and painful marks that can reflect in adulthood, with harmful effects on its development.

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