

Religion in Organizations: A Study of a Social Organization in Portugal

Sandro Serpa

Department of Educational Sciences (DCE), Interdisciplinary Centre of Social Sciences,
University of the Azores, Ponta Delgada, Portugal

Abstract: Because the topic of religion has been neglected in the study of organizations this research examines the presence and relevance of religious elements in organizational analysis. This study conducts an interpretive diachronic analysis that encompasses the 150 years (1858-2008) of the existence of a shelter organization for children and young girls using documentation from its archives and from local newspapers to analyze the influences of religious elements on the goals structure and functioning of this organization. The results of this organizational case study indicate that the religious element which took various forms during this extended period of time was quite prevalent in this organization with religious experts assuming an increasingly central role with contributions from the state. This conclusion indicates that the religious dimension should be considered in attempts to truly understand any organization.

Key words: Organization, religion boarding school for children, youth, childhood home of saint anthony, Portugal

INTRODUCTION

The study of religion's influence on the functioning of organizations even if they are not specifically religious institutions has been neglected (Tracey, 2012). One reason for this omission may be that religion is often considered a private matter. In addition, there is a myth that religion's importance has declined in contemporary societies and that religion is not considered a proper object of study in organizational analysis.

Highlighting the enormous potential of an organizational study that integrates religious elements in its analysis Tracey (2012) indicated that even in nonreligious organizations.

Religion plays an important part in the organizational identity of many nonreligious organizations due to founder effects or the religious beliefs of organizational members. But the role of religion in shaping organizational identity in nonreligious organizations has so far largely been ignored by organization theorists.

A type of nonreligious organization albeit one that clearly appears to have been influenced by religious elements is the type of organization that shelters children and youth on the Iberian Peninsula specifically in Portugal. These organizations have arisen as a social response to issues raised by the existence of children and young people who for various reasons are in particularly vulnerable positions. The organizations in question have had various purposes and have assumed a variety of forms over time as they developed to specifically assist children and youth while conforming to the social

contexts in question. These organizations initially emerged from private incentives marked by a strong religious influence (particularly Christian charities and Houses of Mercy) but they have increasingly faced the intervention of initiatives based on State solidarity. According to Vilarinho (2000).

In Portugal starting in the late 19th and early 20th century the protection of and assistance to the child stopped having a charitable nature and gradually became a public duty. With the establishment of the 1st Republic the secularization of childcare was consolidated.

Although, state support of child-youth assistance is crucial the state has assumed a central role formalizing its participation through formal and/or legal procedures that have manifested in various manners. One role that the state has assumed involves overseeing the institutionalization of children and young people with the state becoming their legal guardian and caring for them for a variable period of time in collective boarding units. The social representation of disadvantaged children and youth changes over time thus affecting this situation (Vilarinho, 2000; Lopes, 2002).

One of the ways in which these vulnerable children and young people may be helped emerged in childcare and youth institutions. While seeking to provide shelter and social reintegration support and help to those in need these institutions also exercised functions of both social control and the promotion of social cohesion. According to Diogo "the research performed by these care institutions is to a large extent a process of constructing a social place for each young person or child in the

society to which he or she belongs". Certain public or private actions of some of these minors defy the established order and transform these youths into a social problem to be addressed preferably by prevention through the youths' focused integration (Vilarinho, 2000). Thus, the future of the child of the family and of society depends on this assistance and education because a poor education poses a clear risk of warping the personality in addition to being a social danger (Lopes, 2002).

Childhood Home of Saint Anthony (CHSA) is an institution of unified care for socially disadvantaged children and youths and is located in the city of Horta Faial Island in the Azores Portugal. CHSA has been functioning for >150 years and provides shelter and educational services to children and youths. A brief look at CHSA shows that its forerunner was asylum for Disadvantaged Children founded in 1858 whose goal was to help poor "exposed" females. In 1904, School of Saint Anthony was formalized as an academic component of asylum for Disadvantaged Children that functioned as a boarding school for girls. The care of the unprotected or "disadvantaged" girls was entrusted in 1932 to the Congregation of the Franciscan Hospitaller Sisters of the Immaculate Conception by an agreement with the directorate of the establishment which became directly responsible for the female home under the directorate's regulatory presidency a partnership that ended in 2007. In 1933 authorization was granted to open a day school and in 1947 College of Saint Anthony officially began operation with full-boarding semi-boarding and day students. In 1971, the asylum was renamed Childhood Home of Saint Anthony. In 1972 preparatory and secondary school education was suspended; the house focused instead on pre-school (started in 1966) and primary school education both mixed and open to the local community. Finally in 2008, a legal change in the statutes made care for boys possible. The original purpose of CHSA the boarding care of disadvantaged minor girls persisted over time complemented by the educational component. The institution also offered complementary services for children and young clientele which varied over time.

It is within this context that the present study examines the religious element that pervaded the Childhood Home of Saint Anthony from 1858 (the date of the establishment of the asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta which in 1971 gave rise to CHSA) to 2008 (the date that covers the after math of the departure of the Congregation of the Franciscan Hospitaller Sisters of the Immaculate Conception in 2007 as well as the alteration of the statutes that allowed CHSA to care for male children and youths for the first time).

This research examines the influences of the religious elements on the goals structure and functioning of this organization based on the hypothesis that religion played a key role in shaping CHSA over its 150 years of functioning. This hypothesis is enhanced by the fact that CHSA is located in a region in which religion specifically the Catholic Church has exercised great influence.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

A diachronic organizational case study of an interpretive nature and with a strong inductive component was developed for this analysis related to the presence and influence of religion on CHSA a coordinated collective unit for the boarding care of young girls. The study is based on an analysis of internal documentation from the organization's archives as well as from local newspapers encompassing the period from 1858-2008.

Understanding the organization over the long term requires a thorough analysis of documents produced at the time. Thus data collection and analysis focus on the following critical documentation:

- Legal definitions (statutes internal regulations, etc.)
- Minutes of the directorate
- Correspondence of CHSA (sent and received)
- Other documentation regarding CHSA
- News of commemorations or information regarding CHSA
- Other writings of the time regarding CHSA

With the exception of the minutes and information in newspapers because of the large quantity of existing documentation and because much of the documentation contained little information relevant to the objectives of uncovering the presence of religious elements in the goals structure and values of CHSA the documents have been organized according to each document's relevance to the intended study to allow them to be examined in a more systematic manner.

CHSA was chosen because of the accessibility of its archives its relevance because of its long duration and the existence of archives that like the published researchs addressing CHSA we identified focus on the historical-descriptive-illustrative presentation of the institution.

This analysis assesses the influence of religious elements at the level of external and internal contexts of the organization through its facilities purposes external relations legal framework and organizational structure and the organization's underlying operating procedures.

RESULTS

Childhood Home of Saint Anthony (CHSA) is a shelter institution with boarding for disadvantaged and/or at risk minor girls (which since 2008 also provides care for boys). Throughout its history CHSA has offered other complementary services for many children and youths such as preschool kindergarten and more advanced schooling. These services have varied over time. CHSA has played a relevant role at the local level because of the children and youth who were sheltered there the variety of CHSA's services and regimens and the other users employees and associated members of CHSA including the external benefactors.

Shortly after the establishment of this institution the presence of religion was felt at various levels. The first sign of religion's presence was the actual location of the asylum a building that was originally the old convent of Saint Anthony with its church and surrounding fence.

Additionally the presence of religion is evident in CHSA's external relations. References to a Catholic apostolic and Roman education are observed in the institutional relations with the Bishop of Angra D. FreiEstevao de Jesus Maria. A religious education was proclaimed in the message to the bishop on April 25 1859 by the Administrative Committee.

Six disadvantaged girls are sheltered here today and receive not only the sustenance and clothing necessary for life but also an education appropriate for their gender which consists mainly of religious instruction and after that literary instruction [emphasis added] under the direction of a respectable internal female director (Participation of the Bishop D. FreiEstevao de Jesus Maria in the establishment of the asylum in asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1862).

The religious education provided to the residents was quite visible during the visit of the Bishop of Angra in 1875 (The Bishop of Angra) visited the school and th (The Bishop of Angra) visited the school and the entire establishment after mass attending the beginning of the residents' dinner. In the school house which was prepared for his reception the oldest resident recited a short prayer and the students were asked by their teacher about Christian doctrine to which they responded promptly.

The religious component is also evident in the legal framework for the functioning of the asylum for Disadvantaged Children. An intense religious dimension is evident in the regulatory guidelines (1876 regulation in asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta) and is perceivable in the organizational structure.

CHSA's organizational structure formally established the existence of a "regent" some of whose duties were "to scrupulously observe the moral civil and religious behavior of all the staff of the asylum making known to the executive president or to the visitor any event that occurs under her immediate responsibility" (1876 regulation Article 26 no. 11). This 1876 regulation stipulated the manner in which the regent should act regarding the residents as well as the qualities she should exhibit including "moral civil and religious virtues" (Article 32).

A religious element present in this organization was the chaplain who had an extremely important role that permeated various dimensions of the confraternity and in the asylum. His duty was "the religious services in the establishment" (1876 regulation Article 150 no. 1). The chaplain's responsibilities were considerable including (according to the 1860 statutes in asylum for disadvantaged children of Horta 1876) saying mass in the Church of Saint Anthony on holy days and on festivity days (Article 42 no. 1) participating in the funerals of the brothers of the confraternity (Article 42 no. 3) and hearing the confessions of and administering the sacraments to the asylum's employees and residents (Article 42 no. 2). The chaplain's responsibilities were particularly focused on the "spiritual guidance of the residents" (1876 regulation Article 150 no. 1) through daily catechesis (Article 150 no. 2). He was required "to hear the confessions of and to administer the sacraments to the residents" (1860 statutes Article 42 no. 2) with careful attention to "employ great care in the confessions of the residents and especially on the occasion of their 1st communion" (1876 regulation Article 150 no. 3) and to "inform the executive president of any circumstance that he considers should be brought to the president's knowledge concerning the teaching and religious exercises of the residents" (Article 150 no. 4).

Concerning the functioning of the asylum and the guidelines for the education of the residents the 1876 regulation begins by establishing a schedule for the organization. The regent and the residents were required to follow the schedule indicated in the regulatory table of internal service of the asylum. The schedule included two periods of prayer (for a total of 1 h daily) and "on sundays and holy days the residents will have an h and a half for personal cleaning and dressing and after mass they will have an h of religious instruction". The regent had to be qualified to perform the duties of a teacher ("master") and to comply with the stipulations in the table of distribution of time for the exercises and commitments of the residents in the classes. With variations depending on the "class"

in question on a clearly religious level the regent's duties included "doctrine" "lessons of civility and morality" and "holy scriptures".

With regard to the curriculum and syllabi for the residents' education the 1876 regulation delimited three educational dimensions: physical education (which refers to domestic service in the asylum) moral and religious education and literary education. Concerning the residents' moral and religious education the regulation stipulated as practice the following.

Two daily prayers in the church choir offering specific prayers: "the prayers both in the morning before lunch and at night after supper will take place in the choir of the Church of Saint Anthony next to the asylum. The residents have to repeat at night a prayer to Our Lady and on Wednesdays and Saturdays the Litany of Our Lady concluding daily with prayer" (Article 146); the prayer expressly stated "fill our protectors with blessings and help us with the aid of Your Divine Grace strengthen our body and soul for tomorrow's research" Prayer no. 8).

Participation in church celebrations including the presence of the regent: "on Sundays and on holy days the regent will accompany the residents to mass (except in cases of legal impediment) as well as to all the festivities that are celebrated in the asylum's church or to whatever public acts they must attend always taking care that they are in good order paying attention and showing respect" (Article 147).

The need to learn and memorize the catechism lessons: "to this end in some instances the regent will make the residents repeat by heart the catechism lessons" (Article 149).

The importance of moral education is highlighted in the following article of the regulation: "the regent will be tireless in the measures that she must incessantly employ in the religious instruction of residents to make them learn Christian doctrine" (Article 148). The literary education of the residents had to focus on among other subjects "general principles of morality civility and Christian doctrine and elements of the sacred history of the old and new testaments" (Article 118).

The regulated distribution of classes partially depended upon the level of knowledge of Christian doctrine and of sacred history (1876 regulation Article 123). Even the guidelines for the regent's teaching of reading writing and math were established in the regulation which stressed once again the centrality of the moral and religious dimension: "finally she will exercise them in the reading of brief maxims or moral and religious sentences from the elementary books adopted for this purpose" (Article 124); "moreover they will memorize and

recite those articles and excerpts that they deem most interesting especially those of the Christian doctrine" (Article 129).

The evaluation of the residents was another area thoroughly addressed by the 1876 regulation. The residents were evaluated daily and monthly by the regent in a written document that was pre-established in this formal document and were evaluated as great Asylum good Asylum fair Asylum or poor in subjects that included doctrine and Holy Scriptures.

All these procedures were intended to fulfill the asylum's function of "inspiring in them a religious feeling and the perfection of moral and social virtue thus satisfying their curiosity about the objects presented to them for their contemplation and directing them toward the occupations intended for them" (1876 regulation Article 130).

Religious education was in fact a cornerstone in the asylum's internal functioning: our parents' religious precepts are persistently followed and observed in the asylum the Hon. Director being the only teacher of all the subjects in the program's curriculum; she takes zealous care to teach not only the Christian maxims but also by her example to give the most fruitful lessons (Session of July 29 1894 in asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1897). Then in 1908 with regard to the residents' lives in the asylum it was decreed that.

The internal regimen of the asylum consists mainly of the physical education of the residents domestic and needle research services in their literary education and moral and religious education for which purpose the asylum's management is entrusted to an internal regent a graduate teacher who is the internal authority an immediate subordinate to the executive president and the Board of directors in full compliance with her duties as defined in the (1876) regulation (information on the asylum september 9 1908 in asylum for disadvantaged children of Horta 1913b).

When the republic was proclaimed on October 5 1910 secularization was formally established. In effect new external precepts of secularization were already visible in the asylum's external relations during this period as is evidenced in the following excerpt: "(I thank you for the invitation to attend the Saint Anthony festivity) but I cannot accept because the current legal precepts do not allow me to officially attend worship acts of any religion Health and Fraternity The Civil Governor" (From the Civil Governor of the District of Horta June 15 1911 in asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1917).

Nonetheless the 1876 regulation and the 1860 statutes remained in effect (Session of July 1 1911; Taking office in asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1912).

The secularization fomented by the external parties catalyzed a statutory reform. Thus in the special session of the General Assembly of “Confraternity of Saint Anthony of Padua and the asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta” of October 27 1912 (Asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1921) 53 “brothers” met to approve the new statutes: in accordance with the Law of Separation of religion and the state to be discussed and voted on, Then after discussion it was approved by a unanimous vote of the general Assembly the statute of this confraternity thus amended in accordance with the law which was approved on May 8 1913 by the Civil Governor of Horta (Asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1913a). The “enclosed copy of the minutes of the session of the 27th of the current month of the general assembly of this confraternity of Saint Anthony of Padua and the asylum for Disadvantaged Children as well as the statutes of the latter duly adjusted in accordance with the law asylum [emphasis added]” was sent to the administrator of the council of Horta on October 30 1912 (Asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1913b).

This appears to be a statutory change driven primarily by external issues in a constrained conversion. However, few the differences between the 1913 statutes and the 1860 statutes were quite significant. These new statutes (Asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1913c) maintained the confraternity’s purposes: “the worship of Saint Anthony and the support of the asylum for the disadvantaged children existing in the former convent of Saint Anthony” (1913 statutes chapter 1 concerning the name purposes and means of the confraternity Article 2) as well as most aspects of its administration and executive functioning. The mandates that directly address religious elements are identified as relevant changes: the explicit references on various occasions to the Law of April 20 1911; self-regulation regarding the application of the budget with spending for acts of worship (1913 statutes chapter 9 Article 51) and the administration of the confraternity which is quite similar to the 1860 statutes. A significant exception is the inclusion of a caveat: ministers of any religion or church may not be elected to the board of directors (chapter 3 Article 12^o no. 4) an example of the separation of church and state by formal control of the religious dimension in the statutes.

A novelty at the functional level of the asylum or perhaps an obvious return to the religious dimension may be observed in the proposed changes to a more religious overtone at the beginning of 1915.

The executive president presented the advantages to the asylum if a mass would be celebrated on Sundays and holy days in its Church for many reasons that he stated

and the board agreed thus authorizing him to procure a chaplain and to resolve this issue in the best way he thought without prejudice to the asylum. This service should begin if possible on the first of February (Session of January 6 1915 in asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1921).

However, external contingencies also effected changes in the asylum’s religious elements. The earthquake of July 31 1926 had a profound effect on the asylum’s functioning bringing down the old convent (which was the asylum’s home) and the nearby Church of Saint Anthony both of which had been clear symbols of the asylum.

Thus, a period began that promoted an adaptive articulation between an interior domain with a clear religious influence and an officially secular external domain. Benefactors expected some notice of religious references; these were translated into a secular language for exterior official entities but contained religious references in the correspondence to benefactors.

Beginning in 1931-32 direct management of the boarding services of the new services of the day school and much later of the college was assigned to two collectives the administrative committees/board of directors and religious sisters. This form of management involves a shared division of labor in which the board of directors oversees the main administrative issues and direct relationships with the public and the religious sisters govern the internal functioning of the organization.

The joining of congregation of the franciscan hospitaller sisters of the Immaculate Conception to the asylum in 1931 resulted from the difficulties between the director of the asylum and the administrative committee which led to the resignation of the director and to the instating of a religious sister from the hospital of Horta. In the following year the executive president made the following assessment of the services provided to the asylum by the sisters of charity.

The research of salvaging the internal administration of this house and of the exemplary moral education of the students exercised under the direction of the reverend mother superior of the Walter Bensaude Hospital since, she was assigned by the board of directors was appreciated by the president with words of praise. The president noting that the religious personnel available to the reverend superior were insufficient to ensure the a proper education of the residents proposed that the board officially asks for some specialized religious sisters in accordance with the needs of the house to complement the research already initiated. The board praised the proposal. And in the same vein the request made by the mother superior for the creation of an oratory in an

appropriate section of the house for the religious services of the students because the old Church was destroyed by an earthquake was reviewed. For these reasons, it was decided to write the reverend excellency and governor of the diocese requesting the desired grace (Ordinary Session of March 4 1932 in asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1932).

A contract to be signed by the board of directors and the religious congregation was a condition for the maintenance and increase in the number of religious sisters among the asylum's personnel. These conditions were accepted by the administrative committee despite the fact that the conditions included a large transfer of power. The committee granted the religious sisters a great degree of autonomy in the direct control of the asylum's internal functioning. However because of some financial difficulties the board proposed a delay in the chapel research although "it cannot be delayed indefinitely as it is an integral component of the Institution's life both in the Christian education of the asylum boarders and of the college students asylum and also from a public perspective" (emphasis added) (Minutes of the special session of March 31 1959 in asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1964).

The support of the Catholic Church much sought by the majority of administrative boards during this period is visible in the commemoration of the centenary of the establishment of "asylum for disadvantaged children of Horta a charitable institution that has fulfilled its noble purpose of sheltering unprotected children and preparing them for life under the auspices of Christian morals" (The Telegraph 1958). This approbation is equally visible in the souvenir of the commemorations of the 1st Centenary of the asylum for disadvantaged children of Horta which was sent to the guests and included the following statement: "the asylum for the disadvantaged children's boarders always ask in their prayers for God's mercy for their friends and benefactors" (Asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1958).

The last set of minutes in the book Minutes of asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta. From 14-10-1956-6-12-1964 (Asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Horta 1964) ends with a reference to the relevance of the religious sisters' research in promoting an education with a solid "moral foundation".

As we begin the new year may God bestow upon this house of charity His effluvia of grace so that the children sheltered here continue to receive the education provided to them by the caring sisters and director and under the protection of its patron Saint Anthony may they acquire a solid moral foundation to always guide them in their future life (Minutes of the Ordinary Session of December

6 1964). This citation includes >1 reference to the importance of an education founded on the precepts of catholicism which the board of directors desired for this institution.

Gradually, the state assumed an increasingly important role. Indeed in the 1970s a strong relationship was visible among the board of directors the religious sisterhood and the state. The board of directors oversaw the relationship with the state and the religious sisterhood while also overseeing the general functioning of the organization the religious sisterhood oversaw the internal functioning of the organization and the state controlled finances and normatively regulated the institution's functioning.

In this post, 1970s period additional lay staff members were gradually hired. The institution's boards of directors sought the continuity of the central presence of the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters delegating power to the sisters and establishing good relations with the State which placed increasing demands on the institution and made the asylum financially dependent on the state.

The "Statutes of the Childhood Home of Saint Anthony" (hereafter designated as the 1971 Statutes) begin by instituting a great shift changing the name of the institute from Confraternity of Saint Anthony of Padua and asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Hortato Childhood Home of Saint Anthony. These new statutes reveal that in both CHSA's purpose and its anticipated mode of operation religious references ceased to appear and there was an increased direct presence of the state:

- Artical 2: In accordance with its purposes it is proposed to maintain a boarding school for female minors which will be governed by internal regulations drawn up by the Board of Directors and the Ministry of Health and Welfare
- Artical 3: In the education provided to minors the institution will ensure them a moral education and skills development through intellectual appreciation and adequate professional training that will enable them to earn their own livelihoods
- Artical 4: The assistance will be free or paid for according to the economic situation of the assisted students and calculated by a welfare investigation which should always be conducted (1971 Statutes Chapter I)

These 1971 statutes reveal a clear subordination to the state in several specific areas. Article 24 of these statutes says "'Childhood Home of Saint Anthony' in the exercise of its activities submits itself to the technical standards that were determined for them from above". The

state even ensured the payment of salaries and respective discounts beginning in 1980 as well as users' subsidies.

During this period, the presence of the religious sisterhood even with the hiring of various laypeople continued to be prominent in its authority and its autonomy. An increase in the hiring of laypeople for pre-school and school services as auxiliary workers and as administrative staff is particularly visible in the second half of the 1980s.

In this context the sisterhood increasingly focused on the boarding school but maintained power and an important role in CHSA's overall functioning. An illustration of the roles of the sisters and the state occurred in the celebration of CHSA's 125th anniversary when the President himself left the following recorded in the minutes.

With special reference to the fruitful actions of the Franciscan Hospitaller Sisters who with kindness and competence cared for and guided with equal attention all the children who passed through here fostering vocations and perfecting skills toward providing a better future for our children. I believe therefore in the success of the apostolate of these sisters that have provided so many services to our civilization identifying their love of children with their love of God in a broadening of the virtues of the human heart making the sisters creditors of our greatest respect and appreciation. I want to present a very warm greeting and a thank you very much on behalf of the current Board of Directors to the sisters who are now serving this Institution and to their Provincial Mother (Minutes no. 12 Minutes of the special session of December 14 1983 in Childhood Home of Saint Anthony 1990).

More recently beginning in 1993 there was an increasingly normative regulation of the complexity of the organizational structure by the Board of Directors with support from experts and the state. The institution relied increasingly on lay experts asylum who were academically qualified to manage CHSA's personnel structure. These experts worked in locations that were being remodeled after the 1998 earthquake with support from the state. Thus, the boarding school continued to operate in three family-style houses which allowed for the improvement of the existing appropriate level of space and specialized monitoring of the boarders. Generally, the documents reveal a justificatory-normative language.

A comparison of the 1996 statutes (Childhood Home of Saint Anthony 1996) and the 1971 statutes (Childhood Home of Saint Anthony 1971) reveals that the more recent statutes are much more comprehensive and detailed with regard to for example the definition the procedures and the functions of the management bodies and of each

member of the Board of Directors (Childhood Home of Saint Anthony 1996). The 1996 statutes stated "the organization and operation of the various sectors of activities shall abide by internal regulations drawn by the board of directors" (Article 5 Chapter I) clearly emphasizing a regulation that had previously appeared in a much more nuanced manner in 1971. Likewise the state's contribution to various services provided to users was anticipated in the statutes: "the tables of users' co-payment will be developed in accordance with the applicable legal standards and with the cooperation agreements that are established with the competent official services" (Article 6 Chapter I) emphasizing the legal and state components. The staff itself was approved by the state which continued to pay staff salaries and was responsible for employment permits and even internal employee management. Various external entities were involved in the processes of admission residence visits to CHSA and the departure of students from CHSA (either temporarily or permanently) such as the courts the commission for the protection of children and youths the institute for social action persons with parental guardianship and CHSA officials such as the general sister in charge the dean or the psychologist who informed the board of directors in writing either through reports or through advice so that the board could make a decision and if appropriate refer issues to a competent external entity.

In spite of this situation the celebration of the Holy Spirit and Saint Anthony festivities continued to take place. The Holy Spirit festivity was held with "the usual Mass and coronation followed by lunch with the traditional soups of the Holy Spirit" (Minutes no. 25 May 10 1995 in Childhood Home of Saint Anthony 2004) that is with procession and mass followed by lunch in the college gymnasium with the participation of numerous CHSA children and their families and various local authorities.

In 2002, three family-type residences were inaugurated to function as family homes for those who desired that type of living arrangement. A religious sister acted as the boarding student's mother emphasizing the fact that "these residences do not belong to a handful of sisters but to all those from Faial". Again the provision of funding indicates strong support on the part of the state.

The religious sisters were responsible for the operation of the boarding school in an increasingly secular organizational structure. However as a consequence of various contingencies and after an exchange of messages with the Board of directors the religious sisters left CHSA in August 2007. The board of directors of the institution were already presenting in

September 2007 a “proposal to constitute the congregation as an honorary member” in the general assembly.

This departure of the religious sisters prompted an extensive restructuring in the staff of the boarding school and staff schedules creating the need to hire more lay workers and more technicians (experts asylum). Thus, the value of technicians increased in this organization with support from the institute of social action.

DISCUSSION

The results show that there has been a strong religious component direct or indirect throughout most of CHSA’s existence. This religious component progressively decreased as more lay staff were hired and ended only with the departure of the religious sisters in 2007.

The religious element namely the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church was present from the establishment of the asylum for Disadvantaged Children. This presence of the Catholic Church occurred in different forms: first through the influence and the practice of the ecclesiastical members as in the request for approval of the validity of the Confraternity of Saint Anthony of Padua to manage the asylum for Disadvantaged Children of Hortamade by the administrative committee and recognized by the diocesan bishop in a pastoral letter; second in the education and functioning of the asylum with for example the involvement of various priests who conducted religious services at CHSA (chaplain) or participated as members of the CHSA’s boards of directors and 3rd through the presence of the Congregation of the Franciscan Hospitaller Sisters of the Immaculate Conception which directly supervised the residents.

The increasing specialization of CHSA’s workers was encapsulated in the ideas of Rocha asylum who noted the need for increased professional qualifications for those who research in this type of institution. This study was developed nearly simultaneously with the identical need stated by CHSA’s board of directors a tendency also observed by Martinez in a study that extended to Western Europe.

These reconfigurations have ensued in the context of changes in the social and political representation of socially disadvantaged children and young people and consequently in their respective solutions which contributed to the reduction of the presence and influence of religious elements in CHSA. Thus, the state began to assume a growing centrality (providing funding

regulatory oversight and technical guidance) as a factor that influenced both the continuity and the elimination of religious elements in CHSA.

It is in the articulation of these influences that the specific modalities of child-youth assistance provided to minors may be understood. Currently care organizations attempt to promote a stay of the shortest possible duration for the institutionalized child and to design these organizations’ operations to emulate the family structure as much as possible. Of the most common trends in Western Europe in the last 10-20 years Martinez stressed individualized preventive intervention in an extended family-type context (seven to 10 elements) in house-like residential units if possible an increasingly shorter stay for children or youth and even employees who are increasingly skilled.

This study indicates that, the religious dimension despite having assumed various forms over time has been present throughout an extensive portion of CHSA’s history and thus must be considered in an attempt to understand the history of CHSA.

CONCLUSION

This case study refers to a localized analysis and thus allows no direct or immediate extrapolation of these findings to other studies. Nevertheless the religious dimension cannot be omitted in organizational analysis because of its heuristic capacity confirming that “there is therefore great value in connecting organizational research with a deeper appreciation and concern for religion”.

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