Affective cartography of a boarding school: An exploratory study

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Abstract

This study presents and analyzes the students' understanding, based on pictures taken by themselves, of the positive and negative aspects of the boarding school. The pictures and their interpretations by the students allowed the elaboration of an affective cartography of the places valued positively and negatively by them. The concepts of "corner", "stain", "trajectory", and "porch" were used as analytical referential. It is concluded that there is a space appropriated by the students, which is different from the one established by the boarding school. Positive contexts tend to grant opportunities for development of competences, providing stimulating conditions of engagement and self-efficacy to the students, while negative contexts evoke negative approaching processes with people, things and symbols, which hinder reciprocity and engagement. It is suggested that in the negative sectors there are opportunities for policies aiming at integrating, sharing, and democratizing the management of aspects of the boarding school with the students.

Key-words: affective cartography, boarding school, pictures, photographs, environment.

Cartografía afectiva de un internado: un estudio exploratorio

Resumen

El presente estudio presenta y analiza la comprensión de un internado por los alumnos a partir de fotografías sacadas por ellos de los aspectos positivos y negativos del espacio. Las fotografías y

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sus interpretaciones por los alumnos permitieron la construcción de una cartografía afectiva de los lugares valorados positiva y negativamente por ellos. Se utilizaron como referencial analítico los conceptos de trozo, mancha, trayecto y pórtico. Se concluye haber un espacio elegido por los jóvenes distinto del establecido por la institución. Los contextos positivos ofrecen oportunidades para el desarrollo de habilidades, proveyendo condiciones estimulantes de involucración y auto-eficacia a los estudiantes, mientras sectores negativos remiten a procesos proximales con personas, cosas y símbolos desestimulantes y sin creatividad, dificultando la reciprocidad y la involucración. Se sugiere que en los conflictos generados en los sectores negativos se encuentran oportunidades para políticas que objetiven integrar, compartir y democratizar la gestión de algunos aspectos del internado con los estudiantes.

Palabras clave: cartografía afectiva, internado, fotografías, ambiente.

Introduction

This study is part of a wider research that attempted to understand the trajectories of students living in a boarding school, located in Cachoeira, Bahia, denominated Northeast Brazil College (IAENE), a college with 2,300 students, 400 of them living in the boarding school. The majority of these interns belongs to the Seventh-day Adventist church, and come from families in which at least one of the parents belongs to the Adventist church. The study aims at presenting and analyzing the affective cartography using pictures, taken by the students, which depict the positive and negative aspects of their living space.

The politics of scholarships for students maintained by the institution, is justified in view of the socio-economic condition of the population seeking boarding school. The majority of students come from northeast Brazil. Yet the situation of boarding school students coming from poor families is not considered so grave—if compared with the majority of Brazilian families—due to the scholarship program.

Abramovay et al. (2002) indicate that the difficulties of access to education, health, culture, leisurer and work, in Latin America and Caribbean, are factors of social vulnerability and violence among young people. These difficulties are directly related to the financial conditions of the families. According to Damasceno (2003), taking as reference the

official minimum wage (now about 200 dollars) the poverty of the Brazilian Northeast (60%) is larger than that of Brazil as a whole (34,5%). Although the state of Bahia, where the school under study is located, has less poverty than the northeast part of the country, in general Bahia still has a larger percentage of poor people (59,9%) than the one of the country as whole.

The institution where this study was conducted is the only boarding school in the area of Cachoeira city and its surroundings, where public schools of basic education without boarding prevail and whose conditions, in quality and quantity, for attendance to the population, in general, reflect the common characteristic of poverty of Brazilian Northeast. In this context, the boarding school emerges as an alternative free to parents without legal impediment, which may be explored by the state and open to private initiative.

Historically, however, the boarding school has been considered to assist populations of low income and to supply family deficiencies (Antoneli, 1997, p. 17) and to be one of the "social practices of modeling of the subjectivity" (Benelli, 2002, p. 19). However, the boarding school provides young people with an education carried out in an atmosphere that can grant opportunities for the development of affective bonds and personal maturing through the fellowship with different people and with situations that demand resolution of problems in which a feeling of cooperation can be developed, "solidarity, groupal identity, intimacy and autonomy to administer one's own life" (Morais, N. A.; Leitão, H. S.; Koller, S. H. & Campos, H. R., 2004, p. 387).

In spite of the appearance of boarding schools networks around the world (BSA, 2006), and the emergence, in the last years, of new and sizeable boarding schools in Brazil (Escola Adventista no Brasil, 2006), those institutions and their influence on adolescents as a modality of education are still themes little researched (Morais et al., 2004).

Reflecting on the boarding school as a "total institution", a context that is partly residence and partly formal institution (Goffman, 2005), governed by a specific philosophy, with norms and control of "institution of discipline" (Foucault, 2004), is to consider several implications for the development of the student.

Since it constitutes, according to Foucault (2004), a space where the power of discipline is exercised not only as a negative force, but also

productive, leading to the formation of a certain individual type, the question emerges regarding the nature and extension of the influence of the boarding school. Therefore it is questioned on how its routines and specific forms of control would act on the students.

The normalization is a traditional practice of the school, specially in boarding schools, because in them the students stay under the normatizing and normalizing control and discipline of the institution longer, what leads to the concept of "discipline institution" (Foucault, 2004).

Michel Foucault (2004) presents the discipline power as a diffuse technique present in all forms of domination, useful or not, exercised in the western society since the 18th century in all sectors, including school.

The spatiality is an important fact in the disciplinary society, because it determines the relationship with another and creates a new scheme of subjetivation based on re-elaboration of the same space (Skliar, 2002). The special control has been explored by the school establishing pre-determined areas as, for example, to leisure, reading, study and research. The goal would be potentialize the productivity and make effective the control of students dictating norms to be followed and which questioning are not acceptable.

In the boarding school happens the technique of the fence and the grid, a system anti-desertion, anti-laziness and anti-agglomeration (Foucault, 2004), allowing the identification of an individual isolated and isolatable. In the boarding schools spatial limits can be identified, watchfulness and localization of the individual determined times, according with the program of the institution.

Foucault (2004) shows that the exhaustive employment of time in the schools results in the control of activity through a rigorous time schedule. That system, historically, passes from the convent to the factories and, later, for all activities, including the school, creating a dominion of the individual through the time, increasing the "coercive tie" on the body by the ruling establishment. (Foucault, 2004, p. 131).

In the boarding school, invisible lines, besides the visible ones, demarcate the territory, indicating where one is allowed to be or not to be. There are days to leave the campus, written permissions stating the time of absence to be shown at the entrance, a student's signature in the permission slip, stating place, time of departure, purpose, time of return.

There are sirens to indicate when to get up, and to go to bed, and lights to announce the closing of certain activity in the courts. A quiet call to return to the dorms is performed by the dorm assistants under the command of the always-active deans. The activities occupy every moment of the students' day, so that in such a programmed life they don't have time out of their routine. Such a situation discourages the gathering and the idleness, except for the programmed moments of leisure and group activities provided or stimulated by the institution.

The surveillance, acted by the Panoptic of Bentham[3] (Foucault, 2004) manifests itself in human eyes scattered everywhere and, with the advent of technology, along with cameras strategically placed, the leaders get mixed with teachers, employees, and students acting as monitors, and students' associate deans and several other functions taking constant turns.

To be under surveillance not knowing the observer and not knowing whether he/she has stopped surveilling, shows a dominating power giving the individual a sensation of vulnerability and impotence. The constant and invisible surveillor intimidates, guaranteeing the order, avoiding revolts of any type and even preventing the students from cheating. The students thus would not be acting for themselves, nor exercising their own choices, but would be under the power that controls them and acts on them. Stopping the perception of that panoptic surveillance would, consequently, stop that posture and way of acting.

Because of the amount of individuals living, studying, working and residing there, the boarding school has to normatize and normalize. The non acceptance of these norms can produce fearsome sanctions for the students. This normalizing sanction added to the surveillance and combined with the exam, which is a specific procedure of the discipline (Foucault, 2004), characterizes the procedures of the boarding school. For each deviation there is prescribed corrective action according to a system of bonus-sanction that castigates and punishes for lowering and rewards for promotion and qualification (Foucault, 2004, p. 149-151).

The boarding school can also be a space of disciplinary domination through the instrument of the "exam," which is an instrument of renewal

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[3] It is a ring-shaped architectural structure, divided in aligned, isolated, visible cells, controlled from inside a tower in the center, in which anybody can see all the residents or prisioners. But these cannot know, because of the windows system of the tower, whether there is anybody watching them at all (FOUCAULT, 2004, p. 167).

of the teacher's power. In the context of the boarding school, this aspect inspects the kind of person a student is. The dean can write down their individuality, but is not written down by them, he/she controls them, but is not controlled by them and, imperceptibly, have them under his/her power. Each student is treated as a "case," being thus depersonalized. The individual is "a student", "a grade", "a repeater" in relation to other "cases." The individualization has to do with the deviations of the norm. It is not the individual, but the "individual difference" that it is pertinent (Foucault, 2004).

The dean appears as a maximum authority in the dorms, exerting almost absolute power over the daily affairs and decisions of the students, and acting under norms and practices approved by committees and in consensus with his superiors. This establishes a system of authority that the student cannot transpose, in case of which it could provoke the risk of eventual pressure or retaliation.

Researches have demonstrated that some characteristics such as routine, massification, and rigid discipline produces an affectionless, insensitive, and impersonal atmosphere resulting in damages for "the individual in several aspects, especially in the process of identity formation and the development of social and affective relationships" (Antoneli, 1997, p. 17).

Erving Goffman (2005) conducted studies about closed institutions, which he labeled, "total institutions," locus of residence and work where a great number of individuals with similar situation, separated from the broader society for a considerable period of time, live a closed life and formally administered " (p. 11), "a social hybrid", "a greenhouse to change people", "a natural experiment about what one can do to the self" (p. 22).

In the total institutions, among which the boarding school is included, student's participation in many of the activities is not voluntary and the authority line extends over the group even when the personal choice should prevail. Besides, there is restricted contact of the students with the outside world (Goffman, 2005) and the inside world also tends to produce a distancing of the external world in way that produces a "deculturation" or "detraining " to face the new demands of daily life. In this way, in institutions for juvenile offenders, where the separation is rigorous, Antoneli (1997) emphasizes the distance between the intern's

world and the civilian life, which makes difficult the former-intern's reinsertion in the society.

Goffman (2005) highlights the invasion of the private life of the individual, who often is obliged to live with whom he/she does not want and usually not having the right to choose roommates, keep some personal items and to choose what to eat. The loss of privacy manifests because the student usually cannot choose to be alone. Living in groups, the student is forced to be exposed in intimate situations to the friends, being without the possibilities of a private life. This produces "chronic anguish as for the disobedience to the rules and their consequences [...]" (Goffman, 2005, p. 45).

According to Goffman (2005), in each total institution one can see, in miniature, the development of something close to a functional version of the moral "life" (p. 80). This conception would lead to a development of institutional actions to harmonize the behavior of the students to the moralist conception of the total institution, transforming the individual to the image and similarity of the institutional ideals.

The Ecology of the Development

According to Bronfenbrenner (1996, p.14), Kurt Lewin's sistemic equation: $B=f(P \ E)$ has been studied without due emphasis on the interaction between the person and the environment. Bronfenbrenner understands the development as the result of contextual aspects instead of exclusively individual processes, according to Kurt Lewin's proposal, in "a narrow interconnection and isomorphism between the person's structure and situation" (p. 9-10). The phenomenological environment has priority in relation to the real environment in the orientation of the behavior. In this sense, understanding the behavior cannot happen only on the basis of objective properties of an environment, without reference to its meaning for the people in the environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1996, p. 20).

The emphasis on the phenomenological vision is made explicit in the preference of Bronfenbrenner (1996) for the term "experienced." In this sense, understanding the way the individual perceives the environment provides the researcher with explanations of how and why he/she acts in a certain way in this environment.

The ecological conception provides an appropriate instrument for understanding the meaning of the boarding school for the students, and

also, for the relationship between the boarding school and the life outside it, due to the effects of the interaction among the several levels that compose the environment. The environment is understood as a dynamic system in which the individual exert influence and is influenced by present and absent, near and distant factors. However, the most "immediate and potent" events and those that exert a more powerful influence on the person in development are those that "other people accomplish with her or in her presence" (Bronfenbrenner, 1996, p. 7).

Changes in the person's position and/or roles in the environment can happen in any level and demand mutual accommodations between the organism and its environment: these are the ecological transitions. Those transitions are the development in itself (Bronfenbrenner, 1996, p. 23).

The concept of ecological development of Urie Bronfenbrenner (1996) is presented from the perspective of a structured environment in four overlapping and mutually articulated levels in which the individual appears simultaneously as agent and patient; producer and product in constant interaction with the environment: microsystem in which a face-to-face and didactic relationship develops; mesosystem, a system of microsystems that includes the interrelations among two or more environments; exosystem, environment that does not involve the person as an active participant; macrosystem: consistence in form and content in inferior levels.

The didactic relationship is lived at the boarding school in several situations, especially in the relationships of the bedroom, daily meals, in the classroom. Also in the continuous interaction in the courtship relations, proper of the age, in chatting in the open spaces, in the sporting practices and in the several artistic and social activities, which produce friendships and durable relationships, at least during the period that are in the institution.

The ecological analysis appears to be appropriate to an institution in which every sector and department works in a planned way, aiming at the students' formation in consonance with its own philosophy. Thus, in the attempt to reproduce society, the following elements are found: the home (dorms); the school (in a building located inside the boarding school campus); the church (also inside of the boarding school and whose activities are part of the education program of the institution); the leisure

areas, sports and arts providing a conjunctural harmony towards the confessional education that contrasts with the external environment.

The boarding school appears, from this perspective, as a "transforming experiment" that challenges the forms of social organization, belief systems, and lifestyles predominant in a given culture or subculture" (Bronfenbrenner, 1996, p. 32).

Affective cartography

The term affective cartography refers to a virtual archaeology of the present that, "by giving voice to silenced semantics, make it possible the foundation of environmental interventions in the aspirations for transformation located on the people's life-experience in that environment". (Tassara & Rabinovich, 2001, p. 213).

The study of the subjectivity can be made through autobiographical narratives conveyed by images (Tassara & Rabinovich, 2001, p. 226). "Based on the expression of the subjectivities living in that space, one should seek to learn what, of the collective memory, projects itself on the dynamic form of the interrelationships between the subjectivities and the urban environments, in space and time. Such projections can be considered as expressing through imagistic figurations (landscapes) reflecting the experience of individual in the concrete space-time reality". (Tassara & Rabinovich, 2001, p. 213).

In the study of a neighborhood in São Paulo, the rootedness and the attachment could be seen as ways of relationship between the delimitation between the private and the public, the self and the not-self, the here and the there, the me and the not-me, and the sociability networks that interconnect them. The differentiations that the forms of occupation determine about the different appropriations of the territory have shown the formation networks linked to the "corner", "stain" or house (Tassara & Rabinovich, 2001, p. 203/204).

Magnani (1993), in his study about cities, devised the categories of "corners", stains, trajectories and porches, in the face of practices of sociability in the context of São Paulo city. " Such categories constitute an attempt to identify "corners", characters and behaviors (...) of the urban practices. His purpose is to notice regularities, patterns and meanings (...)." (p. 48).

The category "corner" is formed by a territory clearly demarcated over which a certain net of relationships is extended, creating a code capable to separate, order, and classify, who was or not of the "corner". The network of people's relationships, combining relationship connections, participation bonds in activities, neighborhood, origin, allows one to say "who is and who is not" of the "corner". Magnani identifies that space as "intermediate" between the private (the house) and the public, where a basic sociability develops, wider than that of family ties (1993, p. 134). To belong to the "corner" means to have a concrete, visible and stable reference and to be recognized in any circumstance.

The term "stain" designates a contiguous area of urban space endowed with equipments that mark their limits and make viable an activity or predominant practice, in "places that function as point of reference for a diversified number of visitors. Its base is wider, allowing circulation of people coming from several origins" (Magnani, 1993, p. 50).

The marks of those two forms of appropriation and use of space - "corner" and stain - in the landscape of the city - are different. In the space, where the determining component is the symbolic one, the space is restricted and may be changed. The stain, on the other hand, presents a more stable implantation in the landscape and in the imaginary. The practices it offers result of a multiplicity of relationships among equipments, constructions, and access roads, with larger continuity, what turns it into a point of reference.

The term trajectory is applied to flows in the space dictated by a logic of systems of compatibilities. The trajectory idea allows one to think in choices inside the "stains" as well as the opening of those stains and "corners" towards other points of the urban space and to other logics. The trajectory notion opens the public space and sphere of the public. The trajectories lead from one point to the other through porches: spaces, marks and blank in the urban landscape that configure passages. The result of these appropriation ways is a "very unique drawing overlapping with the official drawing of the city ". (p. 53).

Conceiving the boarding school as a total institution, based on the development concept as a transitional process among people, objects and environment that occurs simultaneous in several levels organized systemically, the challenge of this study was to understand some of their repercussions in the life of boarding school students.

So, this study aimed at understanding the experiences of students in their own point of view, in search for meaning of the space and routine of the institution to their lives. This research approached the students' experience and how they interpret, accept or reject the dynamics of the boarding school and its spaces.

Method

Subjects

In this study, the interpretation by the actors of their situation in the boarding school came from seven girls and five boys, totaling twelve students. Four of them, whose pictures were taken, were sponsored or had a special plan of working in the institution to pay for their tuition. The majority of them were seventh-day Adventists, coming from families in which at least one of the parents belonged to the Adventist church.

Generally, the students who participated in this study came from families whose income varied from two to ten minimum wages (about 200 to 2.000 dollars a month). In this way, the choice of students for this research tried to be consistent with the socio-economic status of the students attending boarding school. Thirty percent of the students came from families with low purchasing power, making it difficult to fully pay the monthly tuition of the boarding school (about 700 dollars a month) along with other expenses.

Instrument: The use of pictures as collection method

The understanding of the visual systems as discursive strategies and the conditions of their interpretation have become more and more important in the understanding of social and political systems and private situations that exhibit or demand imagistic support for their description and analysis. Besides, neither the interviewee nor the researcher needs to be versed in the matter, not even literate, to register his/her point of view about a certain social situation (Samain, 1995).

The imagistic resource by means of pictures had here the registration function and autographic in a search for the other's optic. Objects, such as the picture, mediate a peculiar communication between two looks and they offer different meanings that can be shared. The way of looking, particularly when interpreted by the author of the picture, provides one

with an interiority of the subject, saying something of him/her and of his/her relationship with the culture and social strata of which he/she is a part. In the complementary approach between image and interview, it is possible to apprehend the senses or meanings of certain social facts and to unmask their conceptual complexity, as one understands how the actors interpret their practices and values. (Silva, Bastos & Rabinovich, 2003).

Procedure

The students were invited to participate in the study by means of announcements with explanations about the research. Each student was requested to take ten pictures which gave a total amount of 120. Twelve students of the boarding school of Northeast Brazil College, seven girls and five boys, corresponding to 15 to 20% more of female students. In each group a student of another religious denomination was maintained. In order to take their ten individual pictures each student received two disposable cameras with capacity for thirty-seven pictures along with a digital camera. The students were allowed to photograph together.

Each student was interviewed individually in order (1) to identify the pictures they liked and the ones they did not like; (2) to give a title to each picture; (3) to identify what called their attention in the image; (4) to say the reason of having photographed that object or scene; (5) to give a grade from one to five to each picture, establishing a rejection and acceptance index for each scene of the boarding school: the lower the grade, the greater the rejection of photographed aspect and the higher the point, the greater the acceptance.

Analysis

The pictures and the interpretation given to them, individually or in group, described and classified the boarding school according to the experience of each one of the students, providing elements to elaborate an affective cartography of the institution under study. This mapping would point to positive and negative pathways of the students according to the interpretation they did of the context and their relationship with it.

In this sense, the pictures indicated places with their affective meaning and relationships of power, in a punctual and selective approach, both spatial and symbolic of the boarding school, which

favored the elaboration of the institutional profile from the point of view of the students.

Picture 1. Picture taken by student with his interpretation.
Title: If a tree could speak...
What call your attention? The tree.
Why? Because since I've arrived here my friend and I have talked near this tree, and it knows all my secrets.
**Score: 5**

Results

From the means and quality of the relationships, the affective cartography (drawing 1) of the researched boarding school was elaborated. In the cartography the places considered positive coincide with those the students identified as they liked and gave grades that summed up reached a total of more than fifty percent. The places they said they did not like coincide with the ones that received grades below fifty percent and were considered negative. Some of those places, such as the dorms, for instance, were identified sometimes as positive, sometimes as negative. Therefore, in some cases the places were analyzed together and then dismembered for the purpose of analysis.

Analysis of the pictures shows the boarding school as a meaningful space for the adolescents (yellow area in drawing 1) inside of a white space of little or no relevance for the students of the basic education. The "yellow area" or "stain" is composed of points: the "corners" or microsystems frequented by the students, identified in two categories: the ones that they like and those that they dislike.

The positive environment of the boarding school

The positive trajectory of the students, through the pictures, is delimited by the "corners": square, church, bedrooms of the dorms, library, computer labs, school of music, academy and girls' dorm.
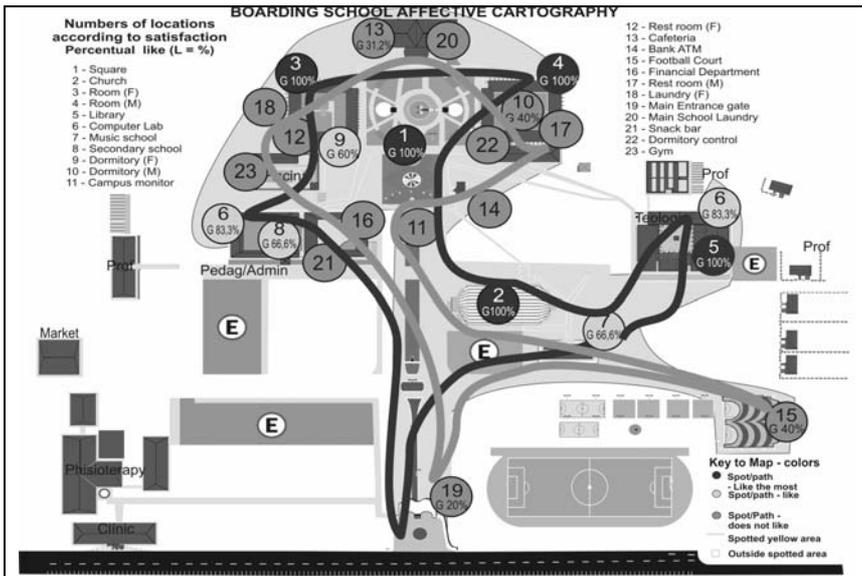
The campus square of the boarding school

The campus square is perceived in the interviews by its aesthetics, place of contact with nature, well-being, sociability, refuge, courtship, reflection and home memories. It is mentioned seventeen times by ten students, thus obtaining the highest grade. All of the interviewees said to like the central square of the boarding school, where students gather to sit down after meals, being the place by which they go to any other point

on campus, from the dorms located in opposite sides towards its center. Table 1 summarizes the pictures of the campus square.

Table 1. Pictures of the campus square

	Place	Square	
	N° of pictures taken	08	05
	N° of students	05	05
	Sex	F	M
Summary of the pictures	Main meaning associated to:	reflexion, privacy, sociability, courtship, homesickness	reflexion, privacy, relaxation, sociability, homesickness
	Total score obtained of places they like	37,0	40,0
	Maximum score possible for the number of pictures	41,5	45,0

Although the students' interviews refer to the "square rules", the most criticized of them is also the most defended "because those which abuse". It is the one that limits the courtship, ruling it to be without caresses or kisses. Dean's offices are nearby and their assistants seem to be always attentive to what happens in the square. Although they have to interfere occasionally, and even with the cameras strategically located, the square is highly esteemed by the students.

The campus square is the only place where there are seats that facilitate gatherings of people. A place where one can recognize and be recognized, fostering a sense of belonging. One of the possibilities for the success of the square seems to be in the agglomeration and its relation to the contingent of dean's assistants. In this sense, the process of anti agglomeration technique executed by disciplinary institutions pointed by Foucault (2004) becomes less severe. Together, the students deflect the attention of the monitors and seem indifferent to the presence of the cameras which, if they wanted, they would circumvent by positioning themselves in the "right" angle or taking advantage of the natural barrier of the crowd.

In gathering and agglomerating, the students maintain significant and regular interactions. They sit down comfortably and, paradoxically in spite of the surveillance, they declare to find privacy.

The boarding school church

The church occupies a central position in relation to the other buildings of the boarding school. Eleven of the twelve students photographed it and gave it almost the highest grade, along with positive observations. Table 2 presents a synthesis of the church pictures.

Table 2. Pictures of the church

	Place	Church	
	Nº of pictures taken	07	04
	Nº of students	07	04
	Sex	F	M
Summary of the pictures	Main meaning	Beauty, organization, confort, friendship, singing, communion and God's worship	Near God, confort with God, spiritual messages and programas,. Campus sipirituality
	Total score obtained of places they like	33,5	20,0
	Maximum score possible for the number of pictures	35,0	20,0

The church is especially described because of the religious experience it proportionates. The appropriation of its space (Pol, 1996) is possibly due to its content and symbolic value. A diversified public appropriates of the place and in it, mixed to the on campus and off campus community members, students find conditions that compensate the absences of other places.

In the church, the monitors are absent and deans and directors practically do not interfere. Choral, orchestras, readings, interviews and presentations that the interns can participate, provide students with several opportunities. Lectures and practices of the church aim at convincing and attracting the audience, thus reducing the mechanisms of discipline. Most of the students in the boarding school under study came from families with ties with the church, which would favor a meaningful appropriation of the space because of its spiritual meaning. The church functions as a space of more open relationships than the other spaces of the boarding school.

The rooms of the dorms and the girl's dorm

The bedrooms are mentioned eight times by five of the twelve students, receiving almost the maximum grade, always with positive references. The interviews point to privacy, friendship, sharing, coexistence and cumplicity. The element of devotion also appears in the context of privacy. In the room the students seem to find their "own place", appropriating the room for its content, the things, the beds, the telephone, the comfort. This appropriation is indicated by the decoration and personalizing of the environment (Rabinovich & Pasternak, 2004). That possibility to consider the place as their own and to organize it with the roommates stresses the importance of the space as an opportunity to establish relationships and, at the same time, to preserve their privacy. Table 3 presents a synthesis of the pictures.

Table 3. Pictures of the bedroom

	Place	Dormitory bedrooms	
	Nº of pictures taken	04	04
	Nº of students	04	01
	Sex	F	M
Summary of the pictures	Main meaning	My corner; brings peace, bed, nap. I feel well with people I love and makes me happy. Confort – I feel well, feels good to look outside the room.	My corner, my things, friends, to speak by phone, not to be disturbed, personal devotion.
	Total score obtained of places they like	19,0	19,0
	Maximum score possible for the number of pictures	20,0	20,0

As for the dorms, while the men's was identified negatively, the girls' was evaluated positively. The girls related their dorm with beauty, happiness, safety and good moments, what did not occur with the boys. That attitude is due to three factors: physical conditions of improvement of the facilities of the feminine bedrooms, extensions in the rooms for internal and external calls and availability of wireless internet; sunbathing and swimming pool in the central courtyard of the building (absent in the men's dorm); more flexible style in the administration. The girls dean team seems to use negotiation with the students as instrument of

decision making in conflicts resolution and to give opportunity so that they interfere more in the decisions regarding the composition of the rooms.

Picture 2. Picture taken by the student with her interpretation.
Title: My dormitory (like)
What call your attention? The Swimming pool
Why? I like the whole dormitory. I live in it.
I love my bedroom. I like the services in the chapel.
Score: 4.

The study areas: library, computer labs and music

The library with its building and modern facilities was photographed eleven times by eleven students, reflecting the importance of knowledge acquisition and of academic development. On the other hand, in the library, the direct surveillance with interpellations, in spite of the installed cameras, is practically absent. The students of the academy can be together or, if they prefer, they mix with college students in their readings, researches and companionship. The place is also valued for dating. Students feel good for the opportunity of sitting together to study and to date. Table 4 synthesizes the pictures of the library and of the computer lab.

The computer lab is valued for the opportunity of contact with technology, as a study tool and occasion of access to the internet. Basically the same can be said regarding the surveillance, privacy and sociability. Through the computers, students access the external world quickly and even in real time, they communicate with friends and family, they do research and enjoy the available entertainment in the internet.

The school of music obtained six pictures by six students. Its valorization, with a grade of seventeen and a half over a maximum of thirty, can be linked to the desire of participating in the events of the church, since it opens special opportunities for those with some musical ability. Of relatively limited access, because the cost of the classes; availability of students and teachers, instruments and space, the school of music has a reduced participation of students. The possibilities might be pointing to an educational potential to enlarge students' participation in the music activities.

Table 4. Pictures of library and computer lab

	Place	Library	
Summary of the pictures	Nº of pictures taken	06	05
	Nº of students	06	05
	Sex	F	M
	Main meaning	Comfortable to study, tranquility, culture.	To study, knowledge, academic goals.
	Total score obtained of places they like	25,0	22,5
	Maximum score possible for the number of pictures	30,0	25,0
	Place	Lab	
Summary of the pictures	Nº of pictures taken	04	02
	Nº of students	04	02
	Sex	F	M
	Main meaning	Availibility of computers and internet dislike the blocking of some sites.	Place of study and communication. He would like freedom to search any site.
	Total score obtained of places they like	14,0	10,0
	Maximum score possible for the number of pictures	20,0	10,0

Negative environments of the boarding school

The negative environments can be divided in two types: the sector of waters and the actions devoted to the care of the students, such as control and student's service. This classification includes common characteristics to places in the students' answers. While in the positive environment, we start from the places to understand their meanings, in analyzing the negative environment, we start from generalization of categories that embrace several rejected spaces from the predominance of their common characteristics.

The category waters: kitchen, cafeteria, canteen, bathrooms, laundries.

The water sector, which deals with cleaning of the environment, personal hygiene, laundry, and food preparation present difficulties according to the students. The cafeteria appears in the students' interviews for its beauty, aesthetics and pleasant environment. Sixteen pictures were taken from it by ten students, five of which referred positively to the kitchen and the cafeteria. Three out of five positive pictures, however, dealt with the social relationship and the other two dealt with the students' satisfaction with the work that they performed in the sector.

Eleven pictures of the cafeteria registered the position disliking the sector: four pointed to general aspects of the kitchen and cafeteria, such as cleaning and presence of the garbage in the proximities, the other seven pictures referred directly to the food. The quantitative evaluation of the kitchen and cafeteria received grade twenty out of a maximum of eighty, indicating a significant negative evaluation of this area.

Although the majority of the students belong to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, half of the interviews indicated difficulties with the acceptance of the ovo-lacto-vegetarian meals offered by the cafeteria and canteens of the institution. The interviews admitted the healthy and nutritious aspects of the food served at the school's cafeteria; however, the questions about the flavor, preparation and innovation of the menu seem to indicate the students' dissatisfaction. Related subjects to leftovers disposed of in the cafeteria are seemingly connected to the students' complaints about type of food and the preparation of it in the

industrial kitchen, which possibly interferes with the flavor that departs from the flavor of home-made meals.

The students' position points to new proposals for providing meals, as they assert that "at home we eat what we like." This indicates the possibility of students and their families contributing for new ways of preparing the meals, which, at the same time, is in agreement with the boarding school values. This connection in the food area between boarding school students and their families could establish a partial and even symbolic rescue of the connection student-family and boarding school.

In the waters sector one finds the bathrooms and collective laundries in the dorms. Although the new rooms have bathrooms, it is the collective ones which generate conflicts in the relationships among the students and complaints in the boarding school. Recognizing the regular cleaning of the bathrooms, the students claim that their own collectivity has not been keeping the bathrooms in a clean condition. Another aspect pointed out is the precarious privacy of the collective bathrooms, separated by partitions, a critical aspect for the student's intimacy (Goffman, 2005). Similar complaints appear at the laundry of the girls' dorm, considered inadequate by its users. As for the industrial laundry that serves the students, the complaint refers to the timing of taking the clothes to be washed.

The care category: service and control

Service is the target of the students' complaints in the restaurant and in the canteen, punctuating the desire to be better assisted in the issue of attention, organization and cleaning inside the kitchen and cafeteria.

Among the places identified by the students as problematic in the category of service are the academy, students' finances, the sports court and the ATM machine. The control is represented by the deans in the men's dorm, campus monitors and the main entrance. Service appears in the interview as negative because of its space, content and relationships.

The ATM machine was the object of six pictures by five students and obtained a grade of twelve and a half out of thirty, indicating a negative space. The network of relationships built in these spaces tends to occur with certain regularity in situations of conflict or dissatisfaction. Students inevitably need the ATM machine in order to make payments and

withdraw money to supply their needs. This situation imposes the coexistence inside a space from which students do not want to relinquish, recognized as indispensable, the content of which tends to promote verbal aggressions and aggressive attitudes against the equipment. The negativity of the contents and relationships can be simultaneous to the positivity of the spaces considered essential and these spaces, in their turn, depend on the quality of the service to the needs and expectations of the users and of the quality of the network of relationships established there. These relationships, in their turn, undergo the influence of the spaces and contents in a circle of actions and reactions.

Service in the sports court appears in five pictures of five students, twice as positive and three times as negative. The space is understood negatively, related to obligation and without attractiveness; however, the problem is in the service and in the use policy. The sports court appears in talks in the campus as a niche of the gifted ones or sport lovers---a specialized place of a narrow base where a few can succeed if they do not fulfill the requirements.

The negativity of the sports court seems to be related to the time issue, with limited schedules incompatible with the routine of most students, with lack of opportunities for all. Besides, there are reports of conflict relationships that tend to occur with those responsible for the use of the space and the liberation of equipment. And finally, the negativity can be reinforced by the lack of attractive programs with the community in mind.

Another aspect is the relationship between the sport court as space of the "required physical education." This label applied to the area seems to reduce the possibility of stimulating the students to attend the court as a leisure space. Besides, although attended by a significant group in sporting events, the students' interviews allows one to glimpse the need to make the physical activity into something more than competitive, athletic or a mandatory sport that tends to frustrate the beginners and contribute to the culture of violence. Instead of this, the expectations point to inclusive, cooperative activities of wider base. These activities are to be aggregative for all and to contain elements to stimulate participation and be desired by students.

Milani, Jesus & Bastos (2006) consider the violence among adolescents in the school as a situation socially built. They propose a

"culture of peace ", in opposition to the culture of competition, supremacy and consequently violence, with the emphasis in actions that resignify the physical space, promote the sociability, provide students with a sense of belonging and rescue their self-esteem through a cooperative and inclusive didactic, respecting the otherness and diversity.

The controls, other aspect of the students' care, occur in a diffuse way inside the boarding school; however, deans, campus monitors and the main entrance seem identified as physical references of discipline, rules and limits for the students.

Picture 3. Picture with people taken by student with his interpretation given by the intern.
Title: Blockade (dislike)
What call your attention? The main entrance.
Why? Because impede me in days that I need to go out.
Score: 3 (I give this score because at the same time they protect the school)

Control as restriction is lacking in the girls' dorm according to students' pictures, but it occurs in the men's dorm for three reasons: access restriction to the opposite sex; obligation to attend daily meetings and the restriction of leaving the campus only with the deans permission. Although the students admit the value of the rules and limits for religious or disciplinary reasons, the complaint against the controlled leaves

becomes strong when the students reach the age of eighteen and the parents continue to request the school the control by the dean.

Obtaining permission to leave the campus depends on disciplinary issues and attendance to the meetings, configuring a relationship of reward and punishment. In this aspect, according to Goffman (2005) to transform the relationship in a situation of reward and punishments diminish the students who see themselves deprived of the capacity of deciding and acting sovereignty. In a bioecological approach, the restrictions applied by parents to students with the capacity of going and coming may force the student back to a stage of learning and development already overcomed (Cecconello & Koller, 2004). Thus the interaction of the student with stimulating and challenging situations, progressively more complex, considering the individual characteristics and the proportionate conditions for the context and time can be much more effective.

The issue of disciplinary control in the boarding school results from the Adventist macrosystem, which operates its school units according to the confessional philosophy and values of the denomination. In that way, some rules of the church are transferred to the school space along with other regulations and disciplinary measures. The context of the boarding school, with its unified mesosystem, tends to sustain the control through the philosophy conveyed by institutional discourse and practices.

Finally, attention is turned to the main entrance of the boarding school. The entrance assists to two sectors: the deans office that deals with the students and the campus safety sector, responsible for the protection of people and property of the institution. In the perception of the students, although the entrance appears as necessary to the protection, it stands out the sense of closing and exit. The door works as a porch that, although as passage apparently not dangerous, hides in its shadows veiled threats implicated in a freedom that can exist only if it is watched.

The pictures revealed the students perception of the meaning of points, territories and trajectories connected by networks of positive and negative relationships. The positive spaces seem to be those that offered to the students opportunities to exercise aspects such as religiosity, privacy, sociability, academic development, participation and a sense of belonging. The negative spaces indicate insufficient aspects to

contemplate the individuality, privacy and personal well-being, deal with conflicts and aggressiveness, and also limitations, some recognized as necessary other controversial. In general, the boarding school points to countless possibilities in its context for the trajectory of the students.

Conclusion

The affective cartography made it possible to identify the space organization lived by the students and the networks of relationships, allowing one to understand what happens at the boarding school under their optics.

The territory is traced by the network of relationships among people who are identified, for instance, by participation bonds in activities and neighborhood. In that network, it may be said "who is and who is not" of the "corner". Being an intermediate space between the private and the public, for the students, far from relatives and original relationships, the appropriation of the space of the boarding school is fundamental to feel "part of ", a consequence of having a concrete, visible and stable reference. The territoriality of the students is a description, from the points and relationships implicated in them, of the feeling to be identified and to identify in a process different from that imposed by the institution.

The appropriation of the space can occur through a symbolic or through the space component. In the boarding school, the appropriation of the space from the symbolic can be seen in the groups of people united by common interests: the music people, the computer technicians, those of the sports, of the choral, the band, the pathfinders (type of scouts of the church), the roommates, among other, each one with his/her space and nets of relationships, with codes, and identities.

The appropriation of the space components is neither limited to a select group nor depends on specialization because it is found among the places that work as point of reference for a diversified number of attendees. In the boarding school, they are places where practically all can be and that make it possible the participation and interaction of all in some practice. That appropriation of the space is stressed by the pictures, allowing to trace what Magnani (1993) calls "stains", delimited by equipments and objects identifying leisure, work, and interpersonal relationships.

In the boarding school, still in the context of the stains, are the several identities assumed in each space attended regularly by the student. It is possible to identify, in the changes of environment and/or roles, the ecological transition that demands mutual accommodations between the organism and their surroundings. It is from that ecological transition that one can detect the factual occurrence of human development.

The opportunities for development found in the boarding school, in the "territorial stains " that, for their turn, are composed by the attended areas, brings, to the notion of trajectories and doors, that open the outside "corner", to the public. Thus, the territories and the relationships justify each other and propose identities for their participants, to the extent that the spaces are appropriated and the people feel like belonging to it. One can understand the cartography from the pictures as a cartography of the affections, of the identifications, of the relationships, of the paths inside and outside the boarding school, a potential history of life. A cartography can be drawn with outlines and different meanings in each social space.

Those spaces are marked by positive and negative affections. The demarcation of the physical space as the adolescent's habitat in the institution reflects the students' mesosystem and its several microsystems. Inside that context, the student is confronted with the choice possibility and the compulsory nature of attending the microsystem of the institution. That tension seems to appear as one they are obliged to be at places which do not please them because of the routine and of the services offered there.

The campus square, the church, the rooms and study sections, as the library and the computer laboratory appear, starting from the meanings that they are attributed them by the students, as spaces that work as columns of support of the boarding school, compensating deficiencies of other places. Those "supporting" spaces would compensate absences and conflicts in other, suggesting, starting from them, ruled strategies in the freedom, dialogue, trust, acceptance, participation and planning, to be applied to the spaces considered negative in the students' perception.

In the affective cartography, there appear likewise the points, territory and trajectories perceived as negative by the students, indicating aspects related to meaning that are contrary to the students' developmental needs. The points of the negative environment form a trajectory and

describe a territory of conflict relationships, obligation, lack of incentive, participation and creativity. In this sense the context would be proposing paths of anger, accommodation and, as it difficults the appropriation, removal of the sociability.

The sector related to the use of waters: food, laundry, hygiene, are to a certain extent related to conflicts and complaints in the boarding school in activities and places that could be stimulating in which one could find and manifest reciprocity instead of negative attitudes such as distancing and isolation. Moreover, being in a way forced, by necessity, bound to those "environments" or negative contexts, the approaching processes with the people and objects related to them tend to favor the manifestation of dysfunctions in behavior, depending on the student's characteristics and active behavioral dispositions.

The proximal processes can have the effect of favoring the manifestation of competences to manage one's own behavior, or to reveal difficulties in maintaining control in different situations and domains of development. Thus, while the positive contexts tend to work as opportunities for development of competences, providing stimulating conditions of engagement and self-efficacy in the students, the negative sectors evoke approaching processes maintained with people, things and symbols which are deprived of incentive, creativity, reciprocity and engagement.

In the conflicts generated in the negative sections, however, there are opportunities for policies that seek to integrate, share and democratize the management of aspects of the boarding school with the students, a significant action for the development of the capacity of being a participant subject in their space, and opportunity for the student's effective development.

Summarizing, these are the main conclusions of this study:

1. The territory inhabited by the students does not coincide with the one proposed by the institution, indicating choices made by the student.
2. Agglomeration and crowding paradoxically contribute to privacy. E.g. square.
3. The points valued positively may have a compensatory function before the negative ones. E.g. church, computer labs, library.

4. Appropriation bestows a positive value to the environment. E.g. The appropriation conferes a positive value to the environment, while the opposite is also true. E.g. rooms, waters sector.

5. Differences in the management of people interfere in the environment valuation. E.g. girls' and men's dorm.

6. Inclusive and cooperative activities of a broad basis favor the use of the equipment in a way that is contrary to violence. E.g. school of music; sports court; ATM machine.

7. It is possible to implement the opening of the relation inside/outside, school/family, student/society in an incremented dialogic relationship. E.g. food service.

8. Negative contents and relations intensify negative relations and contents in a vicious circle. E.g. ATM machine, entrance.

9. Restrictions to abilities already acquired by the students may generate an immaturity institutionally fostered. E.g. control, entrance, dating.

10. An unified mesosystem tends to sustain control through the philosophy---microsystem---supported by institutional discourse and practices.

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