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Affective cartography: analyzing the mutual connections between place, imagination and maps in daily life

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between place, imagination and maps in daily life**

ABSTRACT

This study is an exploratory journey towards the concept designated *affective cartography*. Grounded on the assumption that people's imagination is filled with meaningful places, the research proposed to go one step further and investigate if these places are somehow organized as to form an imaginary geography, and whether this imaginary geography could be represented in a map.

Promoting an ongoing conversation between the world of the imagination and the real world that surround us, this study begins with an objective identification of the places that inhabit the mind and follows into the actual production of an emotional map. By intertwining these two worlds the expectation is to understand a little better how and in what ways the interaction between individuals and places develop. And by giving tangibility to a subjective matter the hope is to go deeper into the human capability to explore and produce space.

Maps were the instrument chosen to mediate this conversation. As an important human artifact, maps are able to promote knowledge but also to reproduce or reinforce historical or subjective bias. Here they will be used as a useful, despite subjective, device, responsible for translating the individual topography of the mind into a symbolic tangible object, embedded both socially and culturally.

Assuming that the map-making ability is universally given, just like imagination itself, this study worked with relative freedom in regards to the sample. Hence a qualitative research was conducted with Rotterdam (NL) residents during the month of April 2017.

The results demonstrate that the concept is a valid one and one with many possibilities for further development. The results contribute to the already existent production regarding the human relationship with places and spaces, by identifying patterns and categorizing the places that are somehow related to affection. In addition the investigation process has verified that maps are a fascinating artifact with many possibilities for scientific production, however with modest attention from the contemporary sociological viewpoint. The implications have shown that, despite not being so frequent in people's everyday lives, an *affective cartography* is possible and it can be a very fruitful route to human imagination.

KEYWORDS: affective cartography, human geography, topophilia, everyday life, mapmaking.

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Introduction

Most men and women perceive the material world that surrounds us as an authentic experience of reality. Of course the world is far too big for all of us to share the same reality, in the sense that the "real world" will be experienced completely differently, for example, by someone living in a large city in Japan and by someone living in a small and isolated town in Canada. Regardless of the physical differences or cultural aspects that can influence the way people deal with their surroundings, "cross-cultural similarities exist and they rest ultimately on the fact that man is the measure of all things" (Tuan, 1977, p. 34).

The universality of being surrounded by an external world is closely followed by the universality of another world: that which exists inside each of us. This "inner world" can also be understood as an "imaginary world" that, as described by Lennon, constitutes "a world in which the imagination is at work, creating/disclosing forms, expressive of possibilities for living affectively and effectively within it" (2015, p. 18).

The analogy between perception and imagination has been a central topic for many philosophers. For example, Hume and Kant stated that the imagination is fundamental to how human beings perceive and experience the world (Lennon, 2015). This "inner world" is then the result of human perception through the "mediation of bodily experience" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 21), implying a biological functioning of the body that unifies humans before geographical settings separate them. These two worlds constantly interlace and affect each other. The current study is keen on finding out more about some of these interactions.

Another line of investigation considered here encourages the assumption that for everyone everywhere: imagination is full of stories, stories always happen somewhere, and meaningful stories are attached to emotions (Reijnders, 2010, 2015b). **By that we can expect the imagination to be fulfilled with places.** This line of reasoning will ground the exploratory research presented by this thesis.

Based on different studies that examine the complex relationship developed among individuals and places, two elements were taken into consideration: the first one being the hypothesis that meaningful places exist in the mind and that people are emotionally attached to these mental places, and the second one being the hypothesis that these mental places are somehow related to each other – together forming a mental map or a so-called "**affective cartography**", in essence the ability to produce and organize an arena occupied by important places and motivated by emotions. The notion of an affective cartography has

been used in literature in reference to the idea of collaborative mapping applied to contemporary artworks (Iturrioz & Wachowick, 2010), which is not the main interest of the current study. Instead the expectations made here and the relevance of this research are more closely connected to historical human geography and contemporary sociological practices, scientific fields that this investigation hopes to contribute to. If it is a relatively established assumption that people retain in their imagination places that are relevant to them, the interest here is to take this discussion one step further and situate those places in a spatial scale. In that sense the ultimate ambition of this study will be to find out if – on an individual level - an imaginary geography exists and if and how these geographies can be represented in a visual map.

   The first step then is to find out which concrete places and spaces inhabit the imagination of a group of selected individuals. This is the first research question and answering it requires a series of in-depth interviews with several persons - encouraging them to revisit their memories and to trace their biographies searching for those spaces, the stories behind them and the feelings they involve.

   The stories that end up being relevant for the imagination not necessarily come from real life experiences; fiction and tradition might also play a significant role in the creation of an individual's "inner world". Finding out their role and significance in the process described above might turn out to be valuable, additional findings of this study.

   Acquiring a thorough understanding of each place appears to be a necessary procedure in order to reach the maps, the latter being in essence a representation of the connections between the specific locations. Hence the history of locations will also be traced. Since feelings are not static this might involve differences and transformations throughout time, whereby the original emotion attached to a certain past event might not hold the same association one experiences nowadays (Lennon, 2015). "It is by thoughtful reflection that the elusive moments of the past draw near to us in the present reality and gain a measure of permanence" (Tuan, 1977, p. 148). By discussing memories and transforming association over time the two abovementioned worlds will be brought into contact with each other. If up until now this study concentrated in unveiling the world that exists inside people's minds, **at this point the focus will be exploring how the memory of places relates to people's everyday lives and the way they access them on a daily basis.**

   We have little knowledge about how people make use of this imaginary world, especially in their everyday lives (Reijnders, 2015b). Searching for information that might

help to understand this can give us valuable information about human values, human behavior, and human practices. By tracing the components that characterize the meaningful places of men and women we can heighten awareness regarding patterns or singularities through which humans construct affection. By investigating the way people interact with those places, both in their imagination and in their daily lives, we can identify the manners of perceiving and also acting upon the external environment which we live in. If "mental worlds are refined out of sensory and kinesthetic experiences" (Tuan, 1977, p. 74) what do those experiences indicate about the way this mental world functions and about the human construction of meaning?

The second question of the research will **explore the network that links those spaces of the imagination and bring them together in one coherent visual dimension**. Here the workings of the human imagination – or what Kant has defined as *productive imagination* (Lennon, 2015) – will be spatially explored.

As Tuan noted more than forty years ago, "geographical knowledge … means a conscious and theoretical grasp of spatial relations among places" (Tuan, 1977, p. 80). As an old human resource of creativity, practicality and power, maps easily appear as a medium capable of visually connecting those places and attempting to access this geographical knowledge. They are also devices which can encompass many different comprehensions. **Emotional maps will be used for this study as a physical representation of this inner world.**

We all have our mental maps (Tuan, 1975). What constitutes them can vary enormously but in general they are tools that helps us organize things, like places and thoughts. However humans will presumably access this data when needed, for example by searching for the correct reference points and directions when asked to explain a route. This study assumes that once asked people will be able to visualize their inner world in a way that will help them to understand this particular geography. It might be an artificial artifact in the sense that it is possible that it didn't exist as a map before this question was brought to the table. Nevertheless maps themselves are historical artificial artifacts imbued with cultural characteristics and linked to hierarchies and perceptions of power. Aspects that likewise shall be observed and considered in the emotional maps, that supposedly will also represent physically and symbolically the subjective viewpoint of its creator.

By delving into the imagination, exploring meaningful locations and concretely turning them into emotional maps, we shall be able to identify the reasons behind people's

affection for places, the manners through which those bonds are constructed and the mind's logic responsible for organizing them spatially.

In the interest of exploring and presenting an affective cartography this study is structured in distinct chapters following this introduction: 2. a theoretical framework that presents the most relevant scientific approaches guiding both the investigation and the analytical phases of this research; 3. the methods and data applied in order to obtain the expected findings; 4. a chapter dedicated to presenting the most significant findings regarding the data collected and divided into: general observations from the previous discoveries, imagination and affection detailing the types of places and spaces identified by the study; and maps and everyday lives experiences connecting the two aspects of the research that pertain the real world; and 5. a conclusion directed at compiling the whole process of investigation done and justifying its contribution to the social sciences' academic production. Appendix C is also an essential part of this study since it presents the objective final result of an affective cartography: the emotional maps created for the research.

Theory and previous research

This study is divided into three main parts: Imagination, Places and Spaces, and Maps. This division was created and this order defined having in mind the intricacies of the topic studied and the need to take steps that would lead to the final point proposed: the existence (or not) of an affective cartography.

Hence this investigation bears the imagination as a starting point, since the mind is what "carries around a place of the imagination" (Reijnders, 2015a., p. 26). Despite this given universality that characterizes imagination - "Everyone is able to be elsewhere in his/her mind" (Reijnders, 2015a, p. 26) - it is still a "concept … viewed with suspicion" (p. 27). Hence a topic with much need for investigation and with many possibilities for social science research.

The power of the imagination wasn't always accepted though, and it had to overcome many historical resistances such as the Classical philosophical dichotomy between the imagination and logic with strong advantage for the second or imagination's association to something harmful to human progress during Rationalism and the Enlightenment (Reijnders, 2015a.). It was through the work of some thinkers and artists from the Romantic period that the imagination was partially redeemed, yet still not strictly attached to science (Reijnders, 2015a.). The proximity between the imagination and science happened punctually, for instance through the seminal work of John Caughey, and more recently indicates signs of growing concern from the latter in regards to the former in general and particularly in the existence and the effects of a presumed "imaginary world: a kind of mental shadow-world alongside everyday reality" (Reijnders, 2015a., p. 26).

Concerning this study, the theory selected for discussing this initial theme will be divided into two different angles: the first one will explore the historical philosophical approach given to the imagination, alongside the second one bound to a more contemporary connection from the imagination with both the individual subjectivity and the social world.

The second main section introduces the notion of locality in the imagination. Together with the idea of map – and affective cartography - rests the inquiry of what would most likely be the units forming it. Hence as "basic components of the lived world" (Tuan, 1977, p. 3), places and spaces were taken as the most consistent and probably expected elements for a possible map, including a mental one.

The careful examination of the locations that occupy the mind is theoretically grounded in the social science perspective regarding the concepts of space and place.

The third and last part of the study will focus on the notion of maps. Of course maps are objects with many uses and ramifications that vary according to their applications, but for this study specifically they will be seen as a human creation – both mental and physical – in which the locations examined in the previous section connect.

In this third part the historical scientific investigation of maps and cartography will be combined with a more active approach of social research, whereby subjects are actively producing material for the analysis, in this specific case: individual emotional maps. This co-creation of knowledge counterparts the more traditional posture used in the two previous themes, and combines the assumed creative characteristics of the imagination with the idea of maps as socially constructed artifacts.

Imagination and Philosophy

If an affective cartography indeed exists it is likely that it exists primarily in the mind, therefore in the imagination itself lies the original point at which to initiate this scientific research. According to Kant there is a distinction between types of imagination that can be identified as transcendental or empirical (Lennon, 2004).The first one has a "constructive role (and) determines the forms of experiences in line with a priori concepts, rules, schemata" (p. 108). As opposed to the "contingent and variable" (p. 108) second type of imagination "that can be explained by empirical laws of association" (p. 108) not previously determined.

The dual functioning of imagination characterized by "reproductive" and "productive" (Lennon, 2015) features proposed by Kant will be used in this study to both situate an already existent imagery of beloved places and assume that a creation of a map connecting these places is possible. For the first one Kant's theory grounds the notion of an existing mental collection of images whereby "the shape of the spatio-temporal world" (Lennon, 2015, p. 10) is provided.Afterwards it is the productive capacity of the imagination that will be explored "as the domain of creativity" (Lennon, 2015, p. 11), since it is, still according to Kant, this faculty the one required "for the creation of fictions or illusions" (p. 10). Which will be, later in this study, directly connected to the production of space theorized by Lefebvre.

As mentioned previously, the maps of interest to the study hold strict connection to emotions, therefore another aspect regarding the imagination mentioned in Lennon's work

(2004) will be taken into consideration: the link between the imagination and emotion. As a starting point to this connection the author mentions Hume's *Treatise* (1888) that states: "It is remarkable that the imagination and affections have a close union together, and that nothing that affects the former can be entirely indifferent to the latter" (Lennon, 2004, p. 109).

However in order to further explore the relation above mentioned Lennon supports her references based on psychoanalyst thinking that considers "images and patterns that make them up … (as) *vehicles* whereby … emotions become constituted" (Lennon, 2004, p. 109). Therefore through this bond, one of constitution instead of simple causality, we can assume the human imagery as one comprised of affection (Lennon, 2004). In her work Lennon further supplements the idea of affection with the support of phenomenology reinforcing the idea of the world as one "with affective texture" (Lennon, 2015, p. 15).

More than a simple representation of reality imagination is a "power that both exhibits and overcomes the limits of experience" (Makkreel, 1994, p. IX). Without focusing in drawing a strict line distinguishing what is "real" experience and what is imagination, this study will try to grasp the world which already exists in the imagination that is "an image of the world which captures the impact that the world has on us" (Lennon, 2015, p. 61).

Imagery, social context and the individual

Identifying the imagination as the starting point and delimiting the already existing imagery created by and located in it as the initial focus of the investigation constitutes the introductory phase of an ongoing immersion in the parallel world of the mind. An exception on the field (Reijnders, 2015a) Caughey (1984) defended the idea that people live simultaneously in two different worlds: one real and one imaginary. In *Imaginary Social Worlds* the anthropologist reflected upon the imagination in his contemporary American society and distinguished the world "contained within time and physical space" (Reijnders, 2015b, p. 3) from the "spiritual world built on memories, vision of the future, fantasies, daydreams and stories which play out *elsewhere*" (p. 3).

Nonetheless it is paramount to remember that the "whole fabric of our imagination is shaped by a socio-cultural context" (Reijnders, 2015b, p. 3) intrinsically tied to each individual. Meaning that alongside personal histories each of the unique imaginary constructions have their significations also attached to "the schemata of … culture that determine how these emotions take shape and result in certain scenarios, roles and

locations" (Reijnders, 2015b, p. 3). Thus the cultural schemata will be considered as a supplementary aspect whenever possible cultural distinctions seem relevant for the topic, in that sense contextualizing the subjects not only in relation to their inner worlds, but also making sense of the real world surrounding them.

The definition of spaces and the love for places

The permanent effect between these two worlds is strongly influential to the mind's capability of memorializing, and in this study will be directed towards one specific target: scenarios, landscapes and locations, the second main part of this research. On the attempt to unveil some of the complexities that involve the construction of the imagination and individual imageries the investigation will focus on the places and spaces that people hold in their minds.

To the belief on the existence and importance of Caughey's imaginary world other contemporary studies shall support the process of narrowing down the interest in the human imagery requested for this study. Two premises stated by Reijnders (2015b) will be considered and should contribute to the investigation: 1) the conclusion that "every human being has a small treasure trove of stories which they love and which are considered part of their identity" (p. 1); and 2) that "stories always literally take place somewhere" (p. 3).

In that sense the notions of space and place become essential for this study as well as delimiting them. The seminal work *The Production of Space* (1974), by Lefebvre, marked the science of space, and historically and philosophically scrutinized the notion of space and its complexities. Among many findings, the author starts by demonstrating the dissociation from the "strictly geometrical meaning" (p.1) of space towards the empowering conquer of "the realm of the absolute …(in which) space came to dominate, by containing them, all senses and all bodies" (p. 1).

Here the author's distinction between three fields of concern regarding space is also relevant: "first, the *physical* – nature, the Cosmos; secondly, the *mental*, including logical and forma abstractions; and, thirdly, the *social*" (p. 11). This dialectical "perceived-conceived-lived triad" (1974, p. 40) is described in "spatial terms: spatial practice, representations of space, representational spaces" (p. 33). The last being, at first, the one more directly related to this study especially in regards to its "affective kernel or centre" (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 42) based on "the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people" (p. 41). Despite its passive character, according to Lefebvre the representational spaces are the spaces for the users and it embraces the direct

experience of space "through its associated images and symbols", both – the direct experience and the associated images and symbols – being essential aspects of this investigation.

The variety of spaces just mentioned and "taken to refer to the universal, abstract, quantifiable quality of *spatial extension*" (Whitridge, 2004, p. 214) enabled the specialization of space (Lefebvre, 1974) and new definitions, including the "experiential dimension frequently designated "place" by others (Lefebvre quoted in Whitridge, 2004, p 214). On the other hand, places emerge as sites of the hybrid articulation of representations, practices, and things, as spatialized imaginaries" (Whitridge, 2004, p. 213).

Meanwhile seeking for their definitions, a third main concept regarding places and spaces will be introduced in this research: the notion of *topophilia* (Tuan, 2013). One of the questions pursued by the author is the way "economy, life style, and physical setting itself affect environmental attitudes and values" (p. 1). The human responses to physical settings focusing on three main themes: perception, attitude and value constitute the underlying goal of this text, in which *topophilia* is defined as the actual personal experience in which "the affective bond between people and place" (p. 4) is perceived.

When we refer to specific spaces (for instance the architectural or literary ones) we are many times relating them to a particular world (Lefebvre,1974). In order to better understand those worlds and the individual construction of their significance two parallel concepts will be additionally considered. The first one being the notion of the *lieux de mémoire* (Nora, 1984) in which there is a "need to identify certain places as holy, and to use these places as physical points of reference for a phenomenon whose essence is non-physical" (Reijnder, 2010, p. 40). The second one referring to the *lieux d'imagination* (Reijnders, 2010): "physical points of reference, such as objects or places, which, for specific groups in society, provide the opportunity to construct and subsequently cross the symbolic boundary between an 'imagined' and a 'real' world" (p. 40).

The elaborate study distinguishing the ideas of "spaces" and "places" made by Tuan (1977) will also be very much used throughout the study in order to orient the two notions and their relations. Regardless if the spaces retained in people's minds come from real or fictional experiences, the nature of these bonds will be approached in order to explore the sensory phenomena involved in the process of experiencing a place or a space. If it is a fact that space contains all senses and all bodies (Lefebvre, 1974), what feelings, emotions and senses are evoked once the memory of a place is stimulated?

Maps and imaginary geography

Once the emotions related to those places are identified this thesis will focus on the third and last main point of interest for this study: the connection between the spaces. For that, an attempt to transform the alleged imaginary geography of the mind into a physical spatial scale object will be made.

Originated as a decorative element that portrayed geography imprecisely, maps evolved and entered the realm of science indicating accuracy and rigor (Woodward, 1987) already in the eighteen century (Edney, 2005, p. 713). This strong connection with "a scientific epistemology" and "an objective form of knowledge" has been deconstructed in more recent years (Harley, 1989), and a new interpretation of cartography as an interdisciplinary field (Woodward, 1987) has been installed.

The "significance of culture, location, individual subjectivity and artistic imagination" (Cosgrove, 2005, p. 37) were elements that became more strongly attached to the representation of maps then. Simultaneously maps functioned as a "graphic element … particularly sensitive to regional and historical trends in style" (Woodward, 1987, p. 3), incorporating and molding the visual imagery of the viewer.

The use of maps is based on the idea that not only are they cultural objects, but mapping is also a social and cultural activity (Cosgrove, 2005). As human creations, maps are a "reflection partly of objective realities and partly of subjective elements" (Wright, 1942, 527) and therefore "willful distortions of reality" (Harley, Laxton & Andrews, 2001, p. 276).

Constituted technically by features such as color, symbols and lettering (Woodward, 1987), the idea here is that just like scientific and "official" maps incorporate contextual elements the visual representation of a so called "affective cartography" will as well express aspects of a culturally embedded uniqueness.

Affective cartography is a term that has not been academically established yet, but resonates with many different scholarly concepts that elaborate studies regarding components such as "mental landscapes" or "imaginative geographies". The term also clearly refers to the concepts already mentioned regarding spaces and places in which the mind gains topographic features, even though there is not necessarily a formal link between them as this study suggests.

In the *Introduction to a critique of urban geography*, Guy Debord (1955) recognizes the usefulness of the word *psychogeography* by incorporating its use to "the

materialist perspective that sees life and thought as conditioned by objective nature"(p. 23). Concerned with the problems he perceived in modern urbanism, games were proposed as a contribution to a needed "renovated cartography" (1955, p. 26). Moreover suggesting that psychogeographical maps should be based on or observed from the "precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environments, whether consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behavior of individuals" (p. 23).

Many others called upon maps as a form of artistic expression and as a representation of power. Just like the artistic maps, mental maps can also display instrumental purposes and reflect subjective hierarchies.

Some of the functions related to mental maps, according to Tuan (1975), are their use as a "mnemonic device" and as a "means to structure and store knowledge" (p. 210). If mental maps can make it easier to "focus and reorganize thoughts" (p. 209) they most likely will be a helpful tool for constructing or recognizing an affective mental cartography.

The author also sees mental maps as "imaginary worlds" (Tuan, 1975, p. 211) that "depend on the ability to create images rather than on the ability to recall them" (p. 211). Still according to the text "the power to envisage an imaginary world"(p. 212) is an activity that needs attention, for instance if we are tired or inattentive our cognitive ability still retains spatial capability in familiar space, but our minds get more exposed "to invasion by memory-images" (p. 212).

Bearing in mind that the depiction of a "three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional plane is dictated by how the map will be used" (Harley et al, 2001, p. 276), "map-making" will be taken here as the individual exercise of creating an intimate and meaningful representation of space. If on one hand the act of "place-making – the investment of particular locations with meaning" (Whitridge, 2004, p. 214) is assured, on the other the process of map-making will be evaluated.

Research question, sub questions and hypothesis

Once the theoretical scope and focus guiding this research were determined, it is noteworthy of clarification that the two-way flow in which bodies and geographies are mutually source and destination of influence, despite presenting challenging complexity, is fundamental to the study being proposed here. Thus both directions of the movement will be included in the analysis.

Another relevant aspect considered was the actual current space of the research. Comprehending the importance of space theoretically and the allocation of the investigation in the realm of the "real world" it was understood that a specific connection with this real world might contribute to the process. Therefore a physical spatial element was defined as a reference. For practical reasons and also as a possible unifying element of the investigation, the physical location limiting the search was selected: the city of Rotterdam and its citizens.

The combination of those elements resulted in the following two overarching research questions and two sub-questions:

1) What are the places and spaces that compose the imaginary geographies of Rotterdam residents?

   a) How does the process of meaning making regarding the significant spaces and places in the respondents' imaginations take place and what do those meanings indicate regarding the relationship among individuals and geographical locations?

   b) What effect do imaginary places and spaces attached to emotions have on respondent's daily lives?

2) To what extent are the affective places and spaces connected to one another, thus creating unique emotional maps?

The first question is a straightforward task that shall identify the locations that have special meaning in individual narratives and for this reason occupy the topography of their imaginations. Its division into two sub-questions intends to go further into the meanings aroused by the locations and their consequences for the respondents. In that sense question 1.a. examines the specific history of those locations, identifying how this significance relates to the personal histories of the respondents. Assuming that imaginary locations can be related to real, recollected, imagined or fictional experiences, it is an essential aspect of this research to grasp the complete process through which value was constructed. Sub-question 1.b. will bring the attention from the imagination to the "real world" and try to explore the ways people are affected by those memories during their ordinary routines.

For the first question the individual experiences are essential for the context of the places, but the imagination *per se* has already been developed. Leaving for the research the need to come by already existent information. As Lefebvre argues: "every space is already

in place before the appearance in it of actors" (1974, p. 57), even when place refers to someone's mind.

The production of a "symbolic nexus out of the interaction between bodily actions and terrestrial places" (Connerton, 2009, p. 11) orients this study and delineates the first hypothesis, in which RQ1 and sub-question 1.a. are grounded: the imagination is populated by mental emotional places. For that the importance of the body through means of individual experiences shall be taken into consideration and the idea of man as the measure of all things reinforced.

Research question 1 is also sub-divided into sub-question 1.b. that specifically pays attention to the presumed connections between the two worlds in which people, accordingly to Caughey, (1984) live in. The real one, in which we are physically situated and where we have appointments, daily jobs, and social tasks, also encompasses a real map, whereby we are spatially located and constantly in motion. The imaginary one is the subjective world, constructed individually through life, where physical and social constraints are not necessarily applicable.

The connections between individuals and spaces that more or less directly, more or less consciously, and more or less tangibly compose the mental world also suggest the existence of the mental map. Thus, despite clearly aimed at spaces and places, the notion of a mental map is already implicit in RQ1.

Although both questions refer to the same subject, the geography of the mind, there is a significant difference between the two questions in relation to the role of the individuals that will contribute to the study of this thesis. In order to answer the second question, an active position from individuals will be needed. In order to answer the second question an active position from individuals will be needed. In that sense, personal agency not only to access and recognize, but also to visually (re)create the imaginary world of the mental map (Tuan, 1975) imposes an extra challenge.

While the first question tries to understand the underlying process through which individuals perceive, bond, shield and embody places and spaces, the second research question tries to establish a connection between the places and spaces themselves. The broader usage of maps that followed the map-making process released from both scientific accuracy and representational feature was largely adopted by artists, that in many cases intentionally challenge its definitions and rules (Cosgrove, 2005), but also by common individuals that in their normal everyday lives relate to this type of cultural medium.

Perceived either as social cultural instrument or historically contextualized object, the cartographic responsibility to "investigate the nature of maps" (Wright, 1942, p. 345) will be applied here into specific realities of common people in order to help make visible and knowledgeable the abstract mental topographical arrangements. By appealing to tangible representations where routes, networks and co-relations between them can become visible the final goal is actually to achieve a very specific cultural object from a highly subjective matter.

RQ 2, regarding the visual representation of those maps, was considered a practical mechanism to transform affective cartography into a tangible object. All maps are human creations "drawn by human hands, controlled by operations in a human mind" (Wright, 1942, p. 527). Truth is that maps can neither "be wholly objective" (527) nor "wholly 'nonobjective'" (528). And they will always regard the subjectivity of its maker.

The second hypothesis then is that in this imaginary world an imaginary map exists, and that by challenging the imagination it can be physically attained. The levels and types of integration between individuals and their significant locations will be expanded to the maps. Both of them are understood here as steps to better understand the spatial use of the human imagination.

Agreeing with the notion that mental maps can be associated to human geographical behavior (Tuan, 1975), by alluding to them and making people build them up themselves a shift occurs from the passive imposition of space to the active "production of space" (Lefebvre, 1974). And since "already produced space can be decoded, can be read" (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 17) the analysis of the map representation will look for the "process of signification" implied in "such spaces" (p. 17).

The intention is to capture this subjectivity and use it as a document for the analysis of the topic. As a communication device (Crampton, 2008, p. 692) cartography implies an exchange between the imaginary and real world that individuals will idiosyncratically represent and give meaning to.

By all means individual narratives will assume the feature of singularity and uniqueness, but attention will also be put into the display of patterns and similarities between different stories and maps. For instance, the meaning of familiar and common places shared by almost all of us, like the house or the home, existing spatial boundaries or representative intersections significant for the design of this mental geography. In that sense, grasping not only for what makes us unique, but also what makes us more similar.

By exploring the subjective world of cartography the expectation then is to understand what influences and what triggers people's imaginations and how its use takes place in our daily lives.

In order to identify and understand the connections through which individuals retain close associations with places and spaces a qualitative research will be conducted. Considering the subjectivity that underlies people's imaginations and the necessity to dig into it, semi-structured in-depth interviews will focus on the specific stories of 10 individuals currently living in Rotterdam.

As seen previously this research is composed of different layers of investigation and in order to reach its final target – the affective cartography – a route has been established and will be followed. The first step will be to identify the locations deemed as significant for each individual participating on the study (Question 1). In order to further develop this understanding, a comprehensive perspective will first try to define what triggers these emotional bonds between individuals and locations and how this happens individually (Sub-question 1.a.). Since the connections can occur in many ways and for various reasons, the interviews should then focus on the manner through which people's imaginations capture, store and deal with this spatial memory. Subsequently the way people access those memories of places and spaces will be extended into their everyday lives (Sub-question 1.b.).

The interview will also focus on people's creation of tangible representations of this inner world that will be identified as maps (Question 2). Considering that one of the goals is to see what these graphic representations look like, interviewees will be asked to transform the third-dimensional world that exists inside their minds into a two-dimensional visual setting. However that does not mean that interviewees will be asked to reproduce maps as we are accustomed to recognizing them. Instead an open approach will be used in which no pre-determined rules as to how people should draw their maps will be established.

During the research process the following research methods will be used: qualitative interviewing, snowball sampling, document production (by the interviewees) and document analysis (Bryman, 2002).

Qualitative interviewing

As opposed to the strictness regarding concepts and indicators in quantitative research, a more experimental mode seems more appropriate to the intentions of this study. "Concepts should be employed in such a way that they give a very general sense of what to look for

and act as a means for uncovering the variety of forms that the phenomena to which they refer can assume" (Blumer quoted in Bryman, 2002, p. 388).

Bryman (2002) mentions that one of the characteristics present in qualitative research is a "varying degrees of explicitness" (p. 385) of the research question. In the case of the current study it is quite obvious that the two main overarching research questions involve many layers and different steps of the investigation. Because of the subjectivity implied and the attempt to come up with a tangible object as a representational symbol of a very peculiar individual and non-objective thing that is human imagination, qualitative interviewing will have to be carefully prepared, conducted and analyzed. For the elaboration of the interview guide examples of research about the sociology of perception and the sociology of emotions were used as references.

The interview paradigm used here is based on Kvale and Brinkmann's notion of "interviewing as a social production of knowledge" in which the interviews, viewed as a type of conversation (intersubjective and social), imply a co-construction of knowledge that involves interviewer and interviewee (2009, p. 18-19).

Assuming that the phenomenon studied is universal, the sample chosen used as focus simply the aspect of residency in Rotterdam. Demographic aspects, such and gender, age, nationality were taken into account with the intention of them being as diverse as possible. Having the diversity purpose in mind and by using the snowball method a less biased sample is expected, and according to this criteria a random sample of individuals living in Rotterdam was selected for the interviews.

The sample was constituted by ten respondents currently living in Rotterdam. From those, six respondents were male and four respondents were female, with ages ranging from 23 to 48 years of age. The time living in Rotterdam ranges from 3 months up to 41 years. Five of the respondents were born in the Netherlands, (two of them in Rotterdam), and the other five respondents have other nationalities (including Brazilian, Greek, Italian, Spanish, and Russian). The occupations and fields of work are varied, but eight out of ten respondents have a Higher Educational level (the full demographics can be seen in Appendix A – Overview of respondents).

One outlier must be included in the records and discussed in regards to the ethical perspective: Interviewee 1 has a psychosis, and despite being under medication and fulfilling all the requirements during the interviewing process it is noteworthy that the relation between reality and imagination can be less clear in this specific case. However the fact is noted as an outlier here only as a formal scientific procedure and was not

considered as being a reason to exclude the respondent from the research, , since this research is also interested in the capability of individuals to relate with fictional and imaginary worlds. In regards to the ethics involving the case it is important to highlight first that all the respondents were oriented to only answer the questions that they felt comfortable about. As for the psychosis the information was not known previously to the actual interview, but it was mentioned right at the beginning of the conversation as part of one of the stories and not as a restriction. He mentioned the issue openly and explicitly mentioned feeling comfortable about sharing those stories with me. His confidence was so spontaneous and kind that it seemed more problematic (or disrespectful) to not consider his data than to actually question him about such a personal issue. In a way all the respondents shared very private and personal stories in the end, and all demonstrated trusting my good faith about it.

In order to reach the 10-15 hours recommended to achieve meaningful sample in regards to theory (Coyne, 1997) 10 interviews were decided on considering a possible length ranging from 45 to 90 minutes each. In practice though, the interviews lasted longer, the shortest one taking 58 minutes and the longest one, 3 hours and 13 minutes. In total more than 18 hours of interviews were collected and transcribed verbatim (a full list of the interview's duration is informed in Appendix A).

Since the research implies the need to grasp an imaginary world that might not be at first so evidently established in people's minds, the interviewees were asked to suggest places where they felt comfortable for conducting the interviews. For that reason sometimes the conversations took place at the interviewee's houses, a few were conducted in cafés in the city of Rotterdam and others happened in libraries, such as the Central Library and Polak Building at Erasmus University. All respondents live in Rotterdam (the information regarding how long they have lived in the city can also be seen in Appendix A). The interviews occured between April 4th and April 12th.

Map-making

Essential for the investigation process, the map-making procedure intends to take this research one step beyond the more conventional practices of interviewing as an attempt to better visualize peoples' imaginary worlds spatially. It is assumed here as being an exploratory procedure and it is hoped that the proximity which results from in-depth interviews will benefit the creation of a tangible object out of what has been so far mostly studied as intangible – the human imagination.

The idea of asking respondents to actively draw their maps is a way of testing to what extent stories, locations and emotions are related and if map-making is indeed a universal capability. The possibility that the mental maps do not exist as maps will also be at stake, but encouraging interviewees to draw them is part of an experience in which maps are understood as the result of individual creation embedded in both culture and context (Cosgrove, 2005), and therefore with no right or wrong conditions as criterion.

Recognizing the mutual influence and a two-way flow in which both people and places have significant roles in the creation of this affective cartography, the first part of the interviews will touch on three different aspects: 1) the manner through which a person became aware of or familiar with a specific place, 2) the reason those places were consolidated as relevant spaces in people's memories, 3) the way people interact with and are affected by these places in their daily lives.

The idea of an inter-connection between the places will occur only after exploring the imagination of respondents and the memories and specificities that surround the places in the first place (Question 1, sub-questions 1.a, 1.b.). Considering that "drawing maps is indubitable evidence of the power to conceptualize spatial relations" (Tuan, 1977, p. 76-77), the last part of the interview will focus on the map and how the respondent sees it as the representation of its own imaginary geography. The expectation here is that while thinking more cognitively about the subject some aspects that used to be more abstract will be consolidated more clearly for the creator of the map.

Document analysis

Following the map-making process the emotional maps created will be used as documents to be analyzed during the interview and in the final analysis of the research. By stimulating people to make this imaginary world more clear and visible to others hopefully this visualization of the mind will also be clearer for the respondents themselves. Hence by means of this re-construction and active creation the maps might make clearer differences, similarities and connections (including paths, routs and networks) that organize the spaces of the mind and put them together somehow.

Considering the subtlety and the subjectivity of the topic, not only the inner topographies might differ (including what places constitute that world and how individuals visualize it), but it is also possible that expected differences (such as drawing style, level of details, and others) might bring unpredicted and relevant aspects to the research of how vividly imaginary worlds can be depicted once stimulated.

In as much as "cartography *per se* is … 'the study of maps, mapmakers, and map-making techniques in their human context through time'" (Woodward quoted in Edney, 2005, p. 719 all the subjective and implicit significances incorporated in the final map shall be considered relevant. Since there will be no rules or formal orientations as to how these visual representations should be made they can assume various forms and variations that at first will be analyzed together with the interviewees, and then as one of the elements for final considerations and findings.

All these levels of the research reinforce the "considerable variability in the collection of data among studies that are typically … qualitative" (Bryman, 2002, p. 383). It also might be relevant to consider at this point the concept of "reflexivity", since the analysis of the maps created during the interview is partly interpretative and entails some subjectivity as well. Therefore "the researcher's location in time and social space" (Bryman, 2002, p. 393) should be noted and considered likewise.

Operationalization

Once all the previous steps were determined and it was decided that the production of physical maps would be the method used to reach the presumed geography existent inside each respondent's mind, the main elements related to the notion of map were first identified and then, for practical reasons, disentangled. The first main theme of the research – Imagination – was considered under the perspective of Merleau-Ponty and his *Phenomenology of Perception* (1962) in which the perception is more closely connected with the individual's viewpoint than with a strict accordance to reality. Following that logic, no attempt to compare real and imaginary worlds was considered relevant for this study, instead an effort was made to deeply understand the places and spaces mentioned by interviewees as their favorite and special ones.

Together with this relative independence from the "real" world, initially the concept of space was explored, which ultimately led to the further distinction between space and place. Based on Lefebvre's (1991) theorization of space it became clear that the variety of existing spaces, the importance of the body in relation to space, and the various levels encompassed by each space were fundamental for this investigation. The theoretical linkage between geography and mind that characterizes the idea of affective maps was also based on the author's ideas regarding mental maps, and the suggested emancipation of the concept from limitations (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 3).

In opposition to the philosophical complexity of Lefebvre, Tuan's (1977) theory was used for defining the practical distinction made between space and place used for categorizing the data. According to the author, even though there is a strong blending when it comes to differentiating them, "'space' is more abstract than 'place'. The understanding of individual as both the "center of his world" (p. 41) and as beholder of an "experience… (that) is largely subconscious" (p. 118), two aspects included in the research, were also based on Tuan's ideas.

Therefore the theoretical studies done up to this point were the main fundaments of what was translated into Part 1 of the Interview Guide (Appendix B). The investigation of places and spaces then tried to combine perception as an unquestionable human act (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) and the different scales that range from the openness of space to the specificity of places (Tuan, 1977). By digging into the history of each place identified as relevant by respondents the distinctions between physical aspects (big, blue, city), perceived elements ("keeps me safe") and meaning or value (sacred, fun, secret) attached to them were considered.

The whole process of recreating the stories related to each place culminated in the second part of the interview in which respondents' were asked to draw the map and this was justified as a tool that would help them visualize not only the places and spaces indicated previously, but also the connections between them (when connections were considered applicable). In this part ideas from both Lefebvre and Tuan were also strongly valuable. The first one for defending that "the specific spatial competence and performance of every society member can only be evaluated empirically" (1991, p. 38), the second one for highlighting the value of drawing, in the specific case illustrated by the architect that "by making sketches … clarifies his own ideas and eventually arrives at the detailed plan" (1977, p. 105).

After the process of creating the map, Part 2 of the Interview Guide (Appendix B) was discussed with the interviewees trying to interpret the maps by means of a conversation that integrated both their own interpretations and my particular impressions of the drawings. A final part of the interview (also included in Part 2) covered the more general idea of the maps and their relation to respondents' everyday lives.

Methods of analysis

After all the interviews were done, including the map-making procedure, individual analyses were carried out identifying the main points mentioned by each interviewee.

Special attention was given to the definitions of places, the topics that seemed more relevant for analysis, and the specific comments regarding both the interviewing and map-making processes. After that a thematic analysis compared the topics that appeared more frequently during the interviews. From that a main list of aspects regarding places and spaces, according to the sample under analysis, was created orienting the initial organization of the data.

During the process of analysis, the clearly distinction made by Tuan's theory in regard to places and spaces, primarily in reference to scale, but also in level of proximity, became a method for formally classifying the sample of this study into places or spaces, following a more "pragmatic view of analytic procedures (Giarelli quoted in Dey, 2003, p. 7). This fist division initiated a process of categorization constituted by 2 levels and 3 stages in which a table of Types of places and spaces (Appendix E) was created. After finishing the first level of division, a second and more complex one defined five major types considered pertinent according to the cases presented during the interviews. The sample was then initially classified as: familiar, architectural, natural, imaginary or other. That was sufficient to categorize all the locations from the sample, but wasn't quite fair to the importance of some of the locations listed according to their meanings for the interviewees. So a second stage of categorization was done, and identified as the second stage in the second level of classification of types. The new categories included: archetypal sites, child's perspective, *lieux de mémoire*, and *lieux d'imagination*. Because of the complexity of this categorization process and for being individually justified by multiple theories it is more specifically detailed and justified in the Results chapter.

The part of the interview that was dedicated to the discussion of the maps began with three simple questions that were meant to serve as an easy, but effective, exercise: respondents were asked to choose, for each location on the map, one word (Question 6.j.), one emotion (Question 6.k.) and locate them in time (Question 6.l.). The exercise wasn't always successful, but in the end the information collected was organized in a table identified as Maps – aspects and temporality (Appendix D). Some of the characteristics of the places mentioned during the interviews were added to the table and in the end it became a useful resource during the analysis for quick visualization and comparison of data.

Besides the already mentioned literature that guided the elaboration of the Interview Guide other academic sources were incorporated for the analytical discussion that grounds the Results, namely the philosophical background and the affective

characteristics discussed by Lennon (2004, 2015), the contrasts and complementarities between memory and imagination developed by Reijnders (2010, 2015a, 2015b), Tuan's (1974, 1977) topophilic love for places and additionally, Gustafson's (2001) work, which historically discusses and personally researches the meaning of places.

Results

In order to define and organize the theoretical framework this study was divided into three bigger parts: the imagination, the notions of place and space, and the idea of the map. Nevertheless when the data gathered began to be analyzed it appeared that the initial structure considered wasn't the most adequate way for coherently presenting the findings. For that reason this chapter was organized and will be discussed following the structure explained in the next paragraph.

Still considering the three overarching theoretical themes but rearranging them into a different structure, the findings were divided into three larger parts: General observations; Imagination and affection; and Maps in the real world. The first part will present a panoramic view of the investigation done and introduce the list of places generated from the data and the categories used to organize them. The second part will individually discuss the types of places created based on the sample contextualizing the affective places that belong to the respondent's imaginations. After dedicating some attention to the inner world, the third part of the results will focus on the respondents' real world by putting together the maps created for this study analyzing some of the main characteristics of the affective cartography created.

Supposing that the previous chapter explained the way this research was operationalized more broadly, this new chapter will detail a few aspects from the categorization procedure and from the interviewing processes whenever necessary in order to better comprehend the uniqueness of each interviewee, their places and maps.

4.1. General observations

Based on the first impressions generated from the data these general observations intend to introduce the early findings this study came across. These more basic considerations will be commented in regards to the theory that grounded the next step of the research: the process of categorizing the data into types of places. This will also be explained and justified in this section, preparing the reader for the next one in which the types will be discussed specifically.

Having in mind the vast breadth intrinsic to the notions of place and space no formal restriction in regards to what these definitions should encompass was made during the interviews. Based on the idea that the different scales in which places exist (Tuan, 1977) can include "at one extreme a favorite armchair … (and) at the other extreme the

whole earth" (p. 149), respondents first activity was to spontaneously list the places considered significant in their lives. The theoretical broadness was confirmed by the interviewees' replies whereby a vast and extensive list of all the favorite/most important locations mentioned and discussed during the conversations was conceived (Table 4.1.).

A first look at the list of places that were named during the interviews clearly illustrates the differences in reference to the scale abovementioned. In the "smaller" extreme associated with a very particular place (or even an object, according to Tuan's theory and the specific example of the armchair given) the childhood bedroom would probably be the most solid example from the interviews, and it was mentioned twice by Interviewee 1 (identified as J.P., Dutch, male, 26 years old) and Interviewee 10 (Ro.S.; Dutch, female, 23 years old).

Even though I do feel at home at my place now, where I live now, but there is just something about my childhood bedroom… that feels the safest, I guess. (Ro.S., Interviewee 10)

If you talk about safe, I would hate that place. Because I've lost, and I've hated and I've been through so much shit in that place. … Because, you know, you grow over these things, and it doesn't matter anymore, and in terms of safe, I feel every place is safe as long as you are strong enough. … But that room… [pause], there is too many negative emotions in terms of relationship and stuff like that. So that's kind of attached to it. (J.P., Interviewee 1)

The two interviewees acknowledge that this place's memory is associated with both good and bad moments. However the association between the places and safety is contrasting in the two examples, challenging the idea that "place is security" (Tuan, 1977, p. 3). Theoretically associated with this side of the pole and easily expected for a room in which a child grows up, the cases studied demonstrate that safety is not an unquestionable aspect when it comes to places, evoking the notion of "'topophilia' (Tuan, 1990) in that the habitat would be an 'enclosure' for places of conflict" (González, 2005, p. 3-4). Thus one person might specifically associate this feeling as the main value attached to a room, meanwhile another might show a relationship with a similar location in which love and hate coexist and safety is not its core value.

On the other hand, coincidently, both rooms are the very few examples from the sample in which the respondents mentioned physical characteristics as being an important aspect related to the construction of meaning of places. J.P. already suggests it by identifying the place as his "child dark room" and during the interview made explicit the happiness related to this "first designed room", closer to his aesthetic taste that at the time consisted in a room "all red, white, and black, a lot of black…". For Ro.S. coloring the walls and decorating were essential for identifying herself with the place, "Yeah, actually when I started putting stuff on my walls, pictures, and my own drawings, this when it felt like my own room". The examples suggest a process of appropriation, in which "the object can be understood as an extension of self in space" (Nippert-Eng quoted in González, 2005, p. 6), and that the room itself is assumed as an object.

Two other aspects are interesting to observe here: the notion of belongings as an important component for intimate places and that the ambience "room" presents clear similarities to the idea of house or home (further discussed in this chapter). This echo between home and room seems applicable here. In some cases, in an unexpected broadening of the sense of "feeling home" which is originally or more strongly related to a specific room, this might be extended to the house as whole.

An additional reflection regarding the abovementioned examples can allude to the transition from childhood to adult life that characterizes adolescence, the case for both respondents. Hence there might be some indication that the importance of the rooms that witnessed someone's teenage years and the fact that their owners were allowed to modify them might be in some level comparable to a rite of passage.

Recapturing the idea of the two poles in which space and place are distinguished, the extreme opposite in which "space is freedom" (Tuan, 1977, p. 3) and the stability of place is confronted with or complemented by the "openness … and threat of space", both nature and the idea of ideal urban areas are strongly present in the sample. Two out of three locations chosen by Interviewee 2 (L.S., Dutch, female, 35 years old) reassemble this idea: "close to water" and "city"; Interviewee 3 (Va.N., Greek, male, 27 years old) limited it a bit more geographically, but still demonstrates considerable amplitude on his answer: "Greek Island" and "European city"; and Interviewee 8 (Rz.S., Italian, male, 34 years old), probably the respondent with more theoretical background about the subject, presented a list with: "parks", "places where nature was dominated by men", and "museums".

Nonetheless it is worth mentioning that the exact word freedom was only mentioned in two cases during all the ten interviews conducted, and in both cases with

very specific distinctions. The first time the expression "freedom to be yourself" was mentioned by L.S. (Interviewee 2) as one of the values attached to the city, the word "anonymity" was also mentioned, apparently as a reinforcement of this clear-cut type of freedom. The second time the word was used was in reference to the home of Interviewee 7 (H.D., , male, 48 years old), and the expression "freedom of choice" was linked to the opportunity of being able to make choices in order to build up something close to his idea of an "ideal house". That does not mean that freedom as a broader concept was not part of the values that came up while discussing the favorite spaces of the respondents, the point made here is that even the most recognized blueprints defended by theorists about places and spaces are arguable, and should be considered with attention.

The information gathered during the research process indicated a vast and diverse list of meaningful places, and in order to make sense of it a more straightforward categorization of the places mentioned on this study was carried out (Appendix E – Types of places and spaces). Despite the chances of being a reductionist in a qualitative study, in which generalizations can be questionable, classifying the types of places was considered a useful means to answering RQ1 *What are the places and spaces that compose an imaginary geography for Rotterdam residents?*

The initial classification separated places and spaces according to what has been said so far in reference to scale, but fundamentally taking into consideration the idea that "when space feels thoroughly familiar to us, it has become place" (Tuan, 1977, p. 73). The differentiation indicated that 7 of the favorite locations mentioned are spaces (a more open and general definition), while 22 of them referred to places (a more precise and specific definition). Nevertheless even when it comes to selecting more general spaces, the individual narratives are strongly influential. A good illustration of that is the case of the Greek Islands that even though being renowned for being a paradisiacal place was mentioned specifically by a Greek respondent Va.N. (Interviewee 3).

The narrative proximity with the location does not exclude the possibility of getting attached to a place that you had little contact with, sometimes the attachment occurs even when you have no physical contact at all with a place, like the bond that is created with fictional places for instance, but the results from the sample study indicate that the most important places, in general, are locations visited often and well known by the respondents. Even if that frequent contact was limited to a specific period of time and doesn't happen so often anymore, which can be exemplified by the case of Interviewee 9 (A.K., Russian,

female, 29 years old) who included in her list two cities (Eindhoven and Weimar) in which she did part of her studies and where she lived temporarily.

The first part of the classification was restrictive, meaning that the location mentioned had to be either a place or a space. However, the second level of classification encompassed a more complex process of definition. Based on Gustafson's (2010) work, the already existing categorizations regarding places seemed either too abstract or too broad for the data from the sample. "Earlier theoretical conceptualization of place" (Gustafson, 2010, p. 14) distinguished places in components such as: physical setting, activities and meanings (Relph, 1976, in Gustafson, 2001) or grounded the idea of place as a result "from the relationship between actions, conceptions and physical attributes" (Canter, 1977a, in Gustafson, 2001, p. 7); while the author's own model combined: self, others and environment (Gustafson, 2010, p. 9-10). Although useful further for the analysis of the individual types, none of them was completely sufficient for embracing the categorizing process of places and spaces intended here. For that reason a specific categorization was created for this study. The categories were established using multiple sources (identified in the next section of this chapter) and the allocation of each location was made according to the individual narratives reported during the interview, in which the connection between respondent and specific place or space was detailed.

Hence the second level of classification was divided into two stages, the first more technical and the second more interpretative. The first stage managed to include 24 of the 29 locations listed in total in four main types of places and spaces: familiar places, architectural sites (cities), natural sites, and imaginary places. The five remaining locations were individually isolated by the story behind their importance to the respondent and even though creating new individual categories was a possibility, instead it appeared more justifiable to label them as "other sites" and discuss them as a group.

From the major groups: 1) all the nine locations associated with the familiar type belong to the prior category of place; 2) all the three locations that integrate the imaginary type are also places; 3) the architectural type, mostly in the sample cities, is divided into 8 places and 6 spaces; 4) from the ten locations identified in the natural type five are places and the other five are spaces. Whenever the category is fully constituted by places, it was identified as such. Whenever the category presents both places and spaces, it was defined as site. Since places and spaces combine different characteristics many of them exhibit features that identify them with more than one category.

Regardless of having distributed all the locations from the sample this initial stage wasn't satisfying enough to portray the meanings related to the importance of all the places from the list. Of course the "city" space (Interviewee 2, location 3) is clearly an architectural site, but when put into context that space deserves a more accurate understanding; or the "chessboard from Rotterdam's central Library" (Interviewee 10, location 2) which can be quickly squeezed into the category other sites, but which, again, is not faithfully represented according to the value implied when described by the respondent. Besides, some of the theory that encouraged this study was left aside in the first stage of the categorization into types. Thus one last stage was added to the table of types and four additional categories completed the classification process: archetypal sites, child's perspective, *lieux de mémoire*, and *lieux d'imagination*.

Differently from the first part in which location was understood as a place or a space, both stages from the second part of the classification procedure were not restrictive, in that sense, the city of Salvador for example, mentioned by Interviewee 6 (Vi.B., Brazilian, female, 44 years old), is evidently an architectural type, but it also relates to the respondent as a familiar place once a strong sense of belonging is present in the connection between interviewee and the city, and as an archetypal site, since the respondent mentions the place as her "hometown". This extra layer of identification is not applicable to the totality of the spaces and places cited, therefore the complete categorization table (Appendix E) indicates all the aspects related to each location and highlights the one understood as predominant based on the interviews and according to the declared meaning of the location for the respondent. The analysis of each type of place and space will be guided accordingly to the cases highlighted. Following this rule the most relevant cases will be examined and almost all of the locations listed will be included in the main discussion. Whenever one place presented strong different values in which each one corresponded to a specific type of location, it was decided considering what seemed more relevant for each story.

4.2. Imagination and affection

This section of the chapter will explore the imaginary world of respondents identifying the meaningful places and spaces that inhabit their minds and the emotions attached to them. Table 4.1 (p. 34) was based on the places mentioned during the interviews, being a compilation of all the affective locations from the sample.

Table 4.1. – List of places		
Interview 1	1	Child's black room
	2	Blue hallway in hospital
	3	Dog bushes in Saint Martin
	4	Hyacinth Lake (imaginary place)
Interview 2	1	Home
	2	Close to water (Outer Banks – USA**)
	3	City
Interview 3	1	Greek Island (Sifnos*)
	2	European city (Brussels – Belgium**)
	3	Istanbul
Interview 4	1	Fillols (Pyrenees /France)
	2	Verdi Movie theater (Barcelona)
	3	Apartment in Tokyo
Interview 5	1	Dream place (Philippines + France)
Interview 6	1	Salvador (Brazil)
	2	Rotterdam (Netherlands)
	3	Imaginary community
Interview 7	1	Worm (Rotterdam)
	2	House
Interview 8	1	Parks (Hemeraat Singel – Rotterdam*)
	2	Places where nature was dominated by men (Tiscali – Italy*)
	3	Museums (Pergamon Museum – Munich**)
Interview 9	1	Eindhoven (Netherlands)
	2	Hamburg (Germany)
	3	Schevening (Netherlands)
	4	Weimar (Germany)
Interview 10	1	Dad's vineyard in Italy
	2	Chess board in Rotterdam's Central Library
	3	Childhood bedroom

* Places mentioned as examples to help clarify a larger space
** Places mentioned just like the previous ones, but not discussed during the interviews as examples

Following the organization of places and spaces into this table, the first level of the categorization process started, one in which the places and spaces were distinguished from one another. The presentation of the places in the table will be made in the next section according to the second level of categorization explained above and discussed considering each type created in stages 1 and 2 of the process. The analysis' order was defined based on the relevance of the types created, respecting the stages of the categorization proposed.

Their relevance was determined taking into consideration the final number of places identified as predominant per category (Total highlighted _ per category - Appendix E).

4.2.1. Familiar places

The stories of seven (out of nine) **familiar places** from the sample hold a direct connection to the respondents' families. For example the wall paintings of the childhood bedrooms described earlier were closely followed by the respective parents reactions, both understanding, but not so thrilled about the activity, maybe suggesting that the idea of making a space your own place also encompasses the power of making decisions despite other people's opinions.

The significant number of mentions regarding both the word family explicitly and members of the family taking part in the stories considered relevant for contextualizing the places confirms the theme as a crucial topic. Under the same roof you can either "talk to your parents and … have nice conversations" according to Ro.S. (Interviewee 10) or it can just be the place where "everybody is sitting around the table, each doing one thing, and everybody is comfortable not saying anything", as H.D. (Interviewee 7) pinpoints. In any case, familiar places are the stage where the relationships between members of the family occur.

It is not only the way people interact or understand valuable interactions in familiar places that varies. For Interviewee 2, work can be home in a way:

> **... because the place where I work now … it's also a place where I like to be because I like to sit there and watch the water, and also because it feels like a home in a sense, because there are students and the colleagues, I feel like I'm part of the community. (L.S.)**

While simultaneously "feel at home" is an ongoing search:

> **… it's mostly the idea that it's not supposed to be forever, so that I can just be here for a while, and think about... just experience what it is like to live here, and if I don't like it I can always pack up and go somewhere else. Until I find whatever it is or wherever it is that I feel at home. And maybe the result (is) that I don't feel at home anywhere, or that I kind of feel at home everywhere. (L.S.)**

Seeking for this sense of belonging can be explained by the significance, physical and symbolic, of this place, and the different perceptions regarding the notion of home is a complexity closely connected to intimate places. For Vi.B. (Interviewee 6) "...place is where we feel at home", herself feeling at home both in Rotterdam, where she has lived for 20 years, and in her hometown, Salvador (Brazil).

As seen in the example of the working place, it is also possible to feel at home in your parents' house (Interviewee 10), or in the house of friends (Interviewees 2 and 6), or for example in your family summer vacation house (Interviewees 4, identified as F.S., Spanish, male, 36 years; and 10). The latter being exemplified below by the way Interviewee 10 describes her dad's vineyard in Italy:

Ahm... I guess it's a place... ah from my childhood, where... I wouldn't, I, I wouldn't... hum, it's really difficult, I would call it home, I guess, in a way. Even though I'm not there a lot of the time, I'm there once a year, but still when I think about it, I think of the summer, and I think of family, and I think of... warmth, I guess. I get a warm feeling thinking about it. (Ro.S.)

The summer vacation house appeared as a meaningful place for respondents, but it is also the best example from the sample for illustrating another particular occurence related to familiar places, which we shall see from the two following examples. The same vineyard from above is also a place accessed by Ro.S. during meditation practice when she has to focus on a place that reminds her of calmness. When questioned if she tries do think of the place in more routinely stressful situations she replied:

Ahm... I guess when I'm, actually when I'm, when I'm stressed I don't… I think that because it is so taken for granted I don't really think about it, actually. So when I'm stressed I, I try to create space in my mind... where I am calm, but I wouldn't say I think about Italy. Because I take it for granted. But I don't think about it. (Ro.S.)

In the case of F.S. (Interviewee 4) the question was about a possible anxiety accompanying the annual trip to his summer vacation house in the French Pyrenees. To which he answered:

F.S.: Ahm... no. I wanted to go there, but ah... yeah, I always wanted to go there. So ahm... I was going there for sure so I was not ah...

Interviewer: You didn't have to be preoccupied about it?

F.S.: Exactly. It was there.

Familiar places indeed usually are "there", familiar places tend to be "there" for a long time, and familiar places tend to last. The two respondents have these family houses where they have gone every year, during summer, since they were born. What the examples suggest, or confirm, is that people tend to take familiar places for granted. "Knowing a place … clearly takes time. It is a subconscious kind of knowing. In time we become familiar with a place, which means that we can take more and more of it for granted" (Tuan, 1977, p. 184).

The familiar places can fluctuate in form (the actual house or room where you live in, the apartment you used to live in abroad or the park that feels like an extension of your non-existent garden); in the expectations that they instigate (a place to return to, where you recharge your batteries, the location where you can actually rest and sleep well or the place where you have to – or can – do nothing); and in the level of socialization that it encompasses (big family gathering space, house where you live with your kid, place where you finally learned to live alone). L.S. (Interviewee 2) philosophically summarizes it as "I think home is the absence of the search", to which Ro.S. (Interviewee 10) complements and with which I conclude: "…(home is) where you can be… entirely yourself".

4.2.2. Architectural sites – cities

Tuan illustrates the **architectural sites** by mentioning, among others, the city, but the main definition given indicates this space as a "microcosm possessing a lucidity that natural features lack" (1977, p. 100). In other words the capability of men to construct and consciously transmute the physical space. The home itself is an architectural space, but given its already manifested distinctions this particular architectural space was considered independently from this category. The category itself was not intended to exclusively refer to cities either, but the sample has demonstrated that emotional attachment to places holds close connection with the city scale level that can distinguish both spaces and places.

Quantitatively speaking architectural spaces are the type of location that present the highest number of associations to the locations mentioned by respondents as their favorites. While familiar places are associated with nine locations, architectural spaces are

related to twelve. However, reinforcing that the locations will be examined in accordance to their respective primary type, not all twelve locations specified above will be presented here. The locations discussed under the architectural site are: 1, 2 and 4 given by A.K. (Interviewee 9), namely Eindhoven, Hamburg, and Weimar; alongside the space assigned as "European city" and mentioned by Va.N. (Interviewee 3, location 2). Despite being probably more related to the archetypal site, the latter indicates an obvious connection with the other places in this category, justifying the deliberate shift towards the type under which it will be presented. Hence it will serve almost like an idealized version of what the three other cities actually represent. Together with the "European city", detached as a sub-category inside the architectural spaces, another sub-category will be presented here, dedicated to the city of Rotterdam. Vi.B. (Interviewee 6) mentioned it specifically as her second favorite location and it is, of course, a European city in itself, but it will be considered here as the specific European city where all the respondents live in, so it will be particularly analyzed gathering information from all the interviews in which Rotterdam was explicitly cited.

- The European city

The relevance of the individual narrative and the subjectivity of the process of attaching meaning to a place is more evident in this sub-type than in any other presented in this study. Of course all places and spaces are permeated by specific complexities, however the idea of a **European city** brings together historical bias (such as the Eurocentric perspective), tricky and unstable political definitions (such as what exactly we understand by Europe), and a challenging balance between the notions of the ideal modern city and a redefined contemporary urban area.

Despite being born and raised in Athens Va.N.'s (Interviewee 3) envisions the European city as something distinct from what he has always experienced:

It was in England, in Manchester, when I first show [I believe he meant saw] an European city, it was very interesting for me, because I was coming from... a city very different. (Va.N.)

To what he later on complements:

The first time I've visited a European city. So, yeah, I, I saw how people were living, it was very interesting for me to see different way of life, maybe more cool. Eh... yeah, different faces, and more active, a living city, it's a, yeah, it's like the city has a vibes. I was, yeah, very interested to... to see the museums, and ah... the cultural things that the city has. (Va.N.)

The perception that so clearly separated for the respondent two cities that technically are both European was not motivated by any personal bond responsible for transforming his judgment regarding his own hometown. On the contrary, what Va.N. perceives about Athens somehow does not fully meet the image he constructed regarding the idealized European city. Urban matters such as organization, mobility, environmental issues, and cultural aspects and availability are the expected background, but in essence the European city incorporates two other vital expectations:

I think of it when I'm thinking about... my occupation, I would like to work in this European city, so... I think of it as a target as ah... professional life. (Va.N.)

… kind of an ideal city for a... doing a common life, living with your family and ah... sending your kids to the school, just... an ordinary nice ideal city. (Va.N.)

Still almost as relevant as the professional possibilities and the relatively simple way of life that the idealized city retains is the certainty that this is a space not only limited geographically, but above all limited in time. The ideal city is not forever, but for achieving a specific goal. For growing old Va.N. has his own personal paradise reserved: his ideal Greek Island.

Europe was also a target for A.K. (Interviewee 9) who aimed to get out of Russia specifically to come here, while it took Vi.B. (Interviewee 6) ten years of living in Rotterdam to realize that she had come to stay. Quality of life unites both of them in their appreciation of the European city, but again confirming the individuality of narratives, the Russian urban designer can vividly describe the "urban hardware" that pleases her about the places that she included on her list, while the Brazilian praises the notion of citizenship that can be translated into security for her. In the first case professional stance is clearly a concern that interferes in her choices regarding the construction of meaningful places. In

the second case social aspects regarding the interviewee's own country of birth are elements that contribute to making a place relevant, in that case by contrast, what one place lacks, the other offers.

The outsider's perspective tends to be more generous or more idealized, though. The only real advantage related to the European status mentioned by a Dutch respondent (Interviewee 2) belongs to a completely different realm:

Well, and there are a lot of places where you actually have to be accepted in order, because there is no trespassing in a lot of places, or you have to have a car with a chip, you know, or a badge to access a lot of places. So I think as Dutch people we are very lucky that our passports are among the best of the world so we can actually travel so much and we can go so many places. (L.S.)

Once again the multiplicity of perspectives is present, but when it comes to the idea of the city, and in this specific case the European city, the scope of individual perspectives are of a more complex nature than the one seen involving familiar places. The ramifications underlying political privileges, social problems or even the advantaged viewpoint of an urban specialist brings more subtle amplitude to the data gathered. Thus while considering the European city type of location it is helpful to have in mind that "codes will be seen as part of a practical relationship, as part of an interaction between 'subjects' and their space and surroundings" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 18). And that "codes" (and decoding) and "surroundings" deserve special consideration in contextualizing the emotional bond between people and this specific type of location.

- Rotterdam

Rotterdam was initially determined as a reference point for selecting respondents. Four respondents mentioned the city demonstrating different levels of attachment to it, another respondent mentioned one specific place in the city as a place that he likes visiting and one other respondent mentioned the city as a place where he still needs to "build good *mémoires*".

Vi.B. (Interviewee 6) demonstrated the strongest direct connection towards the city among the respondents by selecting Rotterdam as her second favorite place. Her case was already mentioned regarding the security issue associated with living in a European city, at least in comparison with places that present violence as a social problem, which is the case

of Vi.B's first favorite place and hometown Salvador, in Bahia (Brazil). In a sense we can argue that the quality of life associated with the general European city idea, security included, is only being applied here to the city where Vi.B lives. However she also mentions liking the city as a whole, as well as liking the Netherlands, and a few specific aspects and points that make the city a special place. But friends and family are the essential elements behind almost all the particular locations mentioned, not only in Rotterdam and not only for this respondent, probably indicating the most pertinent finding for all places and spaces mentioned in this study: places are meaningful because the people related to them are meaningful. As Interviewee 6 summarizes:

> **For me, I can't, it is not the place, it is not exactly the place. It's my, it's the affective bond with people that makes me have an affective bond with the place. (Vi.B.)**

Other respondents loosely mentioned parks and other spaces in the city during the interviews, and even though Rotterdam doesn't seem to raise strong passions one place in particular deserved special attention: the Centrale Bibliotheek Rotterdam. For many respondents one of the favorite spots in town:

> **Also because it is a place… where, it seems that the coldness [from people] is dropped a bit. It's a different place. It's a different place. … It is not that it is different form the city itself, but the city is gathered there. Different parts, aspects of the city are in there. In a way… in a relaxed way. (Vi.B.)**

The quote above touches upon a community feeling that is lacking in the rest of the city, according to the respondent (Interviewee 6), and considering the fond references to the city's Central Library the place could probably be considered an informal symbol of Rotterdam, if we had to pick one. The impressions regarding the Central Library range from "inspiring" to "special", and the place was mentioned by interviewees 1, 2, 6, 8 and 10. Included in Ro.S. (Interviewee 10) list, the "chess board in Rotterdam's Central Library" will be analyzed under the "child's perspective" type of location and presents one of the most symbolic stories about places from this study.

Despite not being a research connected to the city – or to any other place – in particular, determining one restriction or one rule that would apply for all subjects

interviewed appeared as a valid resolution for establishing a broader cohesion among the sample. This unifying element was the city of Rotterdam. The city was not mentioned directly in questions and whenever it appeared it was done in a spontaneous manner. Yet it is sure that there were a few expectations considering that all ten respondents are based in the city, so it was at the same time a means that presented itself for understanding people's attachment with the location they inhabit as well as an indicator of the city itself. Perhaps even providing a common denominator for further comparisons.

However the city's appearance was relatively modest, possibly reinforcing the idea that the "European city" as a general and impersonal space is more strongly constructed in people's minds than the specific locations that fulfill this overarching label.

4.2.3. Natural sites

If the architectural space can be delimited as an opposition to the natural space, it belongs to the **natural site** reclaiming the origin of men and its connection to nature. Three out of ten locations from the sample will be discussed here for presenting dominant features related to natural spaces: the dog bushes in Saint Martin (Interviewee 1, location 3); the space defined as "close to water" (Interviewee 2, location 2), and the Greek Island (Interviewee 3, location 1). Each presents very peculiar settings and again resembles the need for individual context in order to be fully understood.

The first case is the only place amidst the natural sites examined, it is vaguely determined, but still refers to a specific location instead of an open space, as Interviewee 1 describes it:

> **So that's where the dogs use to come around, like they gathered, like the street dogs, the household dogs, they gathered … There are like 10 dogs, and we would meet up, well "we", the dogs would meet up, and I would kind of just join. And I would have this place where after school, if I was alone or would have nothing to do, since my mother would be working, and she's a single parent, I would go there, and just hang out with a bunch of dogs. And it would be really cool, but there were times were I really like I was afraid, right? Because they were dogs, and there were some wild dogs, they were barking, they were growling, they would growl at me. … It was like already half year in, and I knew all the dogs, I felt like somewhat of connection. I guess I'm just**

a weird child, right? Because in the end it was just me and my imagination, and like this very chill land of dogs, basically. (J.P.)

The respondent got to know this place when he was a child and moved to the Caribbean because of his mother's work. Born in the Netherlands the new city introduced the child to a wild life that he had not known up to that point, however the story does not represent natural sites in its association with wilderness. Instead it depicts a place where a lonely child, dislocated from his natural environment, managed to balance adventure and a sensation of belonging, disregarding who or what was the object of connectedness.

Nature as wilderness by the way is not clearly present in the cases studied, but more indirectly suggested in relation to the idea that "wilderness may serve … as a place of refuge and contemplation" (Tuan, 1974, p. 110). Clearly perceived in one of the descriptions of places "close to water" that Interviewee 2 appreciates so much:

… I lived ah... on the shore, ahm... Outer Banks, in North Carolina, and hum there was one place that I really liked to sit, by my self or with a friend, just smoking cigarettes, on the water. It was also on the water, not a pier. Ahm so one of the places where I really felt I could calm down. I always, yeah, I always liked the water, like watching the water. Hum. Not necessarily the sea or the ocean, so much, I don't go to the beach, I just like quiet little places, ahm, lakes and rivers. But specially when there is no one around, so it doesn't have to be the most spectacular nature scenery, just a place where I can be where nobody bothers me, or where nobody asks me... to do something, or to prove something. (L.S.)

Here again the freedom to be oneself is described as fundamental for creating emotional attachment to the place, reinforcing the idea that feeling comfortable with yourself and others is a relevant issue when it comes to beloved places. In addition, the appreciation for water or being close to nature is also something which can be incorporated into a daily routine:

I think that's why I like living close to the water because I automatically spend a lot of time there, cause I don't have to make it an effort … so I think now that when I go from here to work I pass the water, and, ahm, if I just want to

go and have a cigarette I can walk for 2 minutes and go to over there, and sit by the water there, there are all kinds of places here. So the fact that it's so close at hand, makes it more ah... [says a word in Dutch], ah, I don't know the word. Natural? (L.S.)

Or as Interviewee 9 puts it, it can just be an achievable ambition:

Yeah, to the water, to the waterfront. Just, having, having the possibility to see this, and to feel this... yeah, it's like, sometimes, you know, you do have the small goals during your day, and then if you can go there and... so one of my goals sometimes was just to go and reach the water. (A.K.)

The third case among the natural sites to be discussed, the Greek Island, was mentioned as Location 1 by interviewee Va.N. (3) illustrating in the sample a historical human interest for islands:

… in those islands I remember myself always having good, always relaxing, I love the sea, I love this beautiful view when the sky meets the sea and you cannot even separate the sky from the sea. Eh... the traditional people, the simple life, and ah all my memories are related eh... to Greek island, because it's always summer when I'm visiting Greek island, so... all my good memories, even as a young eh... teenager who is just going for vacation, or... visiting eh with a girlfriend eh, this is my favorite and most important place always.

Persistent in the imagination of men and women, the island, unlike other natural settings, is not associated with abundance, but rather with isolation and the symbolic meaning that this implies (Tuan, 1977). In the case presented here the practical knowledge indicated above, typical for someone that frequently visits the place, is combined with a positive energy assigned to this memory and with some idealized images of this space:

… this island (Sifnos) gives you the opportunity and the inspiration to be in love. (Va.N.)

… when you are visiting [?] the island you are feeling that "what happens here remains here". … **Yeah, because yeah you felt like all the people... were in a boat... eh... they have left their problems back in Athens and they were ready to, to have this experience, and every, everything, any though was left in the boat back. When you were stepping inside this island you were in an adventure, in a new adventure, always. Hum. This was the feeling. (Va.N.)**

According to one of the descriptions given by Interviewee 3, the "fifty shades of blue" that characterize the physical beauty of the place are balanced with a physical isolation that contributes to create an atmosphere of awe and relaxation, but also promotes adventures that instigate the human spirit without putting the human body in danger.

4.2.4 Imaginary places

Up to this point the use of the expression "mental space" in which beloved places would be collected was taken as a capacity given to all human beings, since the "imagination is a universal given" (Reijnders, 2015a, p. 26) itself. In that sense an imaginary world from the mind would be a representation constructed somewhere in between a mnemonic technique and a distortion of reality (Reijnders, 2015a). This section will discuss a different type of place, it will detail the three cases in which **imaginary places** were actively – but not necessarily consciously - created by respondents and regarded as a meaningful place. Each case presents peculiarities and strong distinctions from the others. The differences start at the origin of each place and the way the respondents access them now. Because of their uniqueness the places will be considered separately.

The first case is J.P's (Interviewee 1) Location 4 and is called Lake of Hyacinth. Among all three this is the only imaginary place that holds almost no connection at all with reality, and was created by the respondent at the age of 16, as he describes it:

Yes, I wrote it, I thought it up, I thought what is the coolest shit I can think of, what is the world I would love to be, and I become this God with all other people becoming flowers, and beauty, and I could just like, I could just like help them... of their pains and sorrows. Because that's what I wanted, I would sit days and nights just in front of my computers, in that dark black room, just like typing, thinking, learning about the world. (J.P.)

Located in space, literally the universe, and named after the flower the Lake of Hyacinth was the one place depicted in J.P's map. A mixture of quantum physics, science fiction and a personal trauma, this story, considered very important for that specific period of his life, still affects him nowadays:

The Hyacinth is a flower … and it stands for reflecting on your past, and learning for your future. Of course is me with death, so that's very emotional actually. Kind of breaks me up a little bit, now that I remember that.

The place was created after the respondent started being medicated for a psychosis. Being on the medication also meant he had to stop seeing a girl that had grown up with him, and who at that point he identified as his girlfriend. As he describes it he had always been aware that she was a creation of his mind's condition, but for him the relationship with her had always been real. When suddenly she was gone he created this imaginary world in which only the two of them existed as colossal beings or gods, and where other people would be transformed into a kind of magical plant floating on a lake. In his representation of the place (Appendix C – Maps) she is in the picture but outside the world in which he stands alone. The imaginary location was eventually used for meditation purposes and as a tool for calming the respondent down in specific situations, but the place, described by him as perfect, holds a symbolic, almost religious, meaning that persists:

I believe that somewhere, far away, even in this galaxy, even in whatever, there should be a way to reach that person. If it is real, if it is not fiction, if it is not anything, there should be a way to reach her. And I don't know how to do that, I don't know where I can do that, I don't know where I can find that place, if it's a wormhole, if it's dimensional, if it's time travel, if it's physics or not, if it's whatever it is, I believe it's reachable. It should be reachable, if it exists, because that is... ah the way of the world, everything is consistent, and if something isn't consistent it's probably wrong and we don't know yet.

Created by Interviewee 5 (identified as S.S., Dutch, male, 41 years old) or by S.S's subconscious the second imaginary place is a dream place with no specific name but clearly a combination of two places that the respondent knows well and appreciates: the

Philippines and a specific ski area in France. The imaginary place in total presents six different areas and a very well defined complex geography:

> **Sometimes there is people with it, but the people change. But the people also change in your life, but the place, unbelievable, this place stays the same. And it's like you have different places in that place also, so I got one part, but some times I am dreaming from the other part, but I know that that's a part of that part. But you don't see the other part. (S.S.)**

The different parts that combined create one unique place have specific stories and different meanings to each point of this "big map". The dream place combines not only the physical locations, but also different times of the respondent's life - for the past 8 years he has gone surfing once a year in the Philippines and for over a decade he worked in a ski resort in France during the winters, despite not visiting the place anymore -, and two of the things the respondent mentions liking the most: sports and nature.

The imaginary version can be coherent to real life, for instance reflecting in quantity or complexity a chronological correspondence:

> **Even with the houses, the ski resort, and after that there is palm trees and a wave. And there is more mountains because I worked 12 years in the mountains, and there are different kinds of areas in the mountains. (S.S.)**

Or not:

> **Yeah, and I heard people talking about it, and I knew it was a boulevard of concrete, so I created in my mind already the place. Of course that when you go there the real is looking totally different, but in dream it's still like that. (S.S.)**

If the connection to the real experience varies accordingly to each point on the map, on the other hand, geographically it presents elements that rationally would not be in the same space, confirming the power of the imagination and the dreamy aspect of the final location created:

Ski lift [makes the sound of an engine like the one you can hear in a ski lift]. It's always there. I don't know why. There is a ski lift. And here the tropic starts. So it's really a dream place. It's not possible of course. And here, this is also funny, because here are the trees, they are up to the mountains, but not that kind of trees … how do you call those? You know the trees in cold places? ... Conifers. You know that? (S.S.)

Because there is no place on Earth where you …. Where you have snow and you go directly to the palm trees. (S.S.)

Like in most dreams inexplicable elements are present in this dream place, such as the never working ski lift or an area that the respondent claims that will change in the future because there is still something to discover there that he doesn't recognize yet. However in general the respondent is fully aware of this place and its geographical features. In the end the case is a good demonstration that the way the mind retains and transforms information can also vary punctually for each individual regarding each location, and that places, even the imaginary and subconsciously created ones, result from a process of constant construction.

The third and last case included in this category is also a mixture of two other existing places, but its origin and nature are very different from the dream place just presented. This place is Vi.B's (Interviewee 6) Location 3, identified by her as an "imaginary community".

The other two places cited by Vi.B. as her favorite locations are the two cities that she has lived in, the first one being her hometown Salvador, located in the North Eastern region of Brazil, and the second one being Rotterdam, where she's been living for the past 20 years. By now Vi.B. has spent almost the same amount of time in each city, and for different reasons she justifies feeling at home in both. During the interview the two places were always somehow positioned in connection to the other, sometimes as a direct comparison:

Here [Rotterdam] I feel safe. There [Salvador] I feel relaxed. (Vi.B.)

In others as complementing each other:

There is this let's say foreground, this sound foreground of… of the Brazilians, now that you've mentioned the value… I realized something, not realized, but it made me think that there is the silence behind it that comes from the Dutch, that they provided. (Vi.B.)

While actively reflecting upon the two places it becomes clear to the respondent what she likes and what she dislikes in each location, and that distinguishing them is only possible by acknowledging the two realities. The community is the third and last of her locations and it is exactly a combination of both universes, whereby the main qualities from each are gathered in one unique place as a solution for this personal quarrel, once "opposites are often mediated by a third term" (Tuan, 1977, p 16). This place is the space for exercising her ideal notion of community and utopian expectations about a group of people living together, in which a simple way of life and a richness that is not economical are main goals.

The respondent says that the place was created out of necessity, since neither Salvador nor Rotterdam constitutes her ideal place. She has considered the idea for many years now, but admits that the way she deals with the place has changed significantly:

It is funny, because… there was a time in which I hold to that very strongly, like a goal to be achieved. And… more and more… I am getting relaxed with the situation, with the fact that this might never really happen. And still like the idea, and nurture it, but in a different way. In a more okay way. It is distant, but it is close in a relaxed way, like if it doesn't come true it is also fine, because I am living each day, and I am enjoying each day anyway. (Vi.B.)

In a way, this place is more connected to reality than the other two examples already given, and the idea behind it might be more usual in a general sense. However the time dedicated by the respondent considering and even planning this place and the way she relates to it after so many years indicate that this is more than just someone eventually making conjectures about an ideal future to come.

4.2.5.   Other sites

The location type identified as "**other sites**" collects stories from four places and one space that do not exactly fit the previous categories discussed. From the five sites presenting

characteristics suitable to this category only three of them have their highlighted aspect under this type. Leaving for discussion here the following places: the blue hallway from a hospital (Interviewee 1, location 2), the Verdi movie theatre in Barcelona (Interviewee 4, location 2), and the Worm venue in Rotterdam (Interviewee 7, location 1).

The first one is initially surprising, since the main question put to the interviewees referred to their favorite places, a notion subsequently extended to the notion of meaningful places, therefore not restricting but slightly suggesting places viewed in a positive manner. Surpassing the first impression though, the actual description of the place leads towards a quite different understanding of it:

> **When I was younger, somewhere around the age of 13, 14, I've got taken out of school and put into ah... a hospital, clinic, infirmary something, it's basically to treat that mentally ill. … What happens is... one of those places at night, when again I had a psychotic time, one of those places became ah like really misty, like oddly misty, like you can't see the end of the hall, and everything is dark and blue. Right? And I remember like out of that dark and blue came her, like the girl that I grew up with, the illusion. [...] …what happened was that that hallway is, now again I can still picture it in my mind and it is insanely [emphasize each syllable] beautiful. … It was beautiful, it was absolutely gorgeous, and it felt soft as all hell. But the thing is that once that passed, and once that faded, the hallway was still lid by the moon, and it was, it was crazy blue, like crazy blue, and beautiful. … So, I will never forget that, that hallway. (J.P.)**

A meticulous story gives life to this specific place in the respondent's mind. Imagination and reality are blurred, just like the misty scenery described, but in this specific case being situated spatially in a hospital is more like a detail for an important scene. It is a relevant one since it contextualizes and lends drama to the whole thing, but the perception of the place is clearly more related to a momentary aesthetic thrill for the respondent than with the expected function of the institution itself.

The other two places once again strongly reinforce the importance of the individual narratives regarding the interviewees: the movie theatre in Spain was selected by a Spanish respondent that would go ritually every week with friends to this art movie theatre right after graduating, while the Rotterdam venue was mentioned by one of its creators, who

witnessed the formation of the place, it's consolidation as a culturally relevant space for the city and who now, after many years, has just left his position as Artistic Director there.

However, the two cases are maybe more relevant for indicating an absence that deserves attention than for the individual stories that they tell. Cultural, entertainment, amusement spaces are highly present and popular in our society. Likewise working spaces are the locations where, for most people, we spend almost all of our time, where relationships are created and maintained, and even where professional success can be achieved. Both relate to individual pleasures and an important part of life, the one that takes place in the social space or the space of society (Lefebvre, 1991). Our preconceived impressions of contemporary life united with an expected behavior from a highly educated sample might have anticipated patterns that a low appearance of specific places directly contradicts. Are these absences just a coincidence or do they indicate something else? Of course, conclusions here would be inaccurate and inconclusive, but maybe what is missing should be the real indicators for further researches.

4.2.6. Archetypal sites

Here begins the second level of classification in which four complementary types of places and spaces were needed for developing the discussion. The **archetypal site** is applicable for "places reduced to abstract, non-localized basic forms, such as 'the forest', 'the lake', 'the village', … but also more demarcated areas such as 'the house' or the 'outskirts of the village'" (Reijnders, 2015b., p. 8). From the examples mentioned above two will be approached here in their abstract versions: the "city" (Interviewee 2, location 3) and the "house" (Interviewee 7, location 2). Both of them were already discussed previously in versions more specifically constructed and spatially localized, reminding us that the same space can hold different meanings for different people, and what distinguishes them is mainly the context involving the relation between location and individual.

Since the individuality regarding each of these locations has been thoroughly elaborated before some main aspects that differentiate this abstract version of them will be highlighted in this section. One of its most noticeable characteristics refers to the idea of the location as a generic unity, with no clear definitions or limits defined, as Interviewee 2 suggests:

> **But I love that area, I love walking around there, I love being so close to the city, so when I would feel claustrophobic in my home I could just step outside**

the door and go into the city, and be anonymous, just be, and I like this very much. (L.S.)

Here the city is a space informally delimited in which the respondent can go in and out whenever it pleases her, although technically she already lives in the city. Interviewee 7 also mentions the city as a broad space not so clearly identifiable for others:

And I also feel in some way at home in the city. Ahm... sometimes maybe a bit too much, but I have ah... I like to be somewhere where there is not many people. So to say. [Pause] So I, when, let's say in a, in a, in a environment where is not too busy, not too, not too empty as well, but let's say I prefer emptiness over, over "crowdiness". [Pause] I have to say, that, if there is a line, then I'm not there. (H.D.)

A second aspect strongly present in archetypal site is the use of binary oppositions in order to define something, in this specific case places. Meaning that the space exists as an opposite from something else. As Interviewee 2 directly puts it:

Ah, after I came back from the US, so when I was 18. Then I went to Nijmegen to study. And I actually wanted to go as far away as possible [from home and her hometown village], and Nijmegen is kind of close to where I grew up, and it's a small city, so at first I wasn't really sure, but I, I liked it there. (L.S.)

Ahm, but I always thought like first I have to see where the University, yeah, where my study is best for me, and then I was looking for where can I find work that is best for me, and in Nijmegen it was really hard to find work, because the city is too small, the cultural scene is too small, you have to know people, you have to be liked by certain people, then it started to feel like a village. (L.S.)

This specific case demonstrates a city perceived as a symbolic representation of freedom and independency, in which cosmopolitanism can be translated into respect for diversity, lack of social judgment or expectation granted by anonymity. When this

anonymity, understood here as a positive thing, is broken the city's value is threatened by undesired aspects of a small village and social surveillance.

The city is a space that has been identified in relation to or in opposition to the countryside in a "rural-urban spectrum" (Tuan, 1977, p. 109), or in contrast to the village. On the other hand some may argument that the real opposition to the "totally man-made city" (p. 109) would be "raw nature or wilderness" (p. 109). The fact is that the straightforward clashes that result from those dichotomies are able to define places to some extent and directly interfere in the way people deal with spaces.

The house is also subject of binary opposition:

… yeah, can be, I really liked the outside, also, it was kind, visually, neighborhood was very quiet, but you walked 10 minutes and it was extremely noisy and ah... people everywhere. So can be like the contrast. Probably. So maybe I imagine myself arriving to the apartment after a tough day in the office, with a... run [?] by metros, you have this really crowded metro, so ah... yeah, can be the contrast of the... outside. (F.S.)

Despite being a very distinct place for Interviewee 4, what the respondent liked about the apartment in which he lived in Tokyo (Location 3) is a good illustration of the point being made here. The opposition in this case refers to the interior x the exterior dimension, but the house can also be seen from the perspective in which other instances are opposed, for example: house x city or private x public.

Above all the abstract idea of place creates sort of a lens through which general aspects (such as the ideas related to better jobs, diversity, cultural and entertainment offers, but also traffic, distance among people, violence, to name a few) appear to be perceived as stronger than the local specificities that might distinguish that place from others. Once again L.S. (Interviewee 2) mentions it clearly while talking about her places:

And I always had the idea that... any, cities are all interchangeable, so it doesn't really matter what city you live in, but it', yeah, it helps if you can find work there, and if you can afford to live there, because Amsterdam, for example, is almost impossible. (L.S.)

The three other spaces that are characterized by this abstract notion of space constitute the complete list of meaningful places presented by Rz.S. (Interviewee 8): "parks", "places where nature was dominated by men" and "museums". Each space was illustrated by one specific place, namely and respectively: Hemeraat Singel, in Rotterdam, Tiscali, in Italy, and Pergamon Museum, in Munich. However the identified locations are not necessarily the respondent's favorite places, instead they are good examples of the more conceptual definitions that characterize spaces as significant ones, from the respondent's point of view.

It might be relevant to mention that Rz.S. is an architectural researcher, which clearly influences his perception, more conceptually embedded, about the topic. The first two cases necessarily bring to the discussion the dichotomist relation involving humans x nature:

But it works like this, because it is so different then the city, that provokes in general many problems, and gives you many stress, a lot of stress, the park is a kind, are kind of islands in the city. I really feel like this. And also if you see them in a map, are always quite clear and you can really distinguish them. So you can really say that they are islands. And I don't think it's just my feeling, it's all... all the people should be like this, later I don't know, if all the people in the city will jump in these islands. (Rz.S.)

Yeah, suddenly, … like a thousand years, I don't know 60 thousand years ago, in one second... this roof of rocks collapse, so many tons of material went down, started to grow a little forest there, and, the wood started to be collected in a natural system, natural tank, how you say it, and so it creates this a... this miniature, this, how you say? this livable, this environment. A livable environment for you. This for me is amazing. (Rz.S.)

Rational fascination characterizes the impressions of the respondent towards all his meaningful places. Even the park that he visits frequently is perceived in regards to technical aspects, some distance and a critical perspective. The museum, his third place, was not thoroughly discussed during the interview, but was included in his map. Below are some of the examples of how he described them in the begging of the interview:

... because sometimes, not in general, but I like when they can really, they are really able to represent through their spaces other spaces. To say with ah Michel Foucault words. (Rz.S.)

Going in Pergamon Museum, this is the name of the museum, because there is the altar of Pergamon there, that was completely rebuilt, stolen and rebuilt directly there, and in this museum, it really works as a machine of time, how you define, because in the end it can also be considered as a... a... a *cinema ante litteram*, I don't know if you know this word. So a cinema when a cinema was not existing. (Rz.S.)

And the... yeah the way that this museums works is quite interesting. Ah... it's really a... a collage of different rooms that are... exactly different buildings, ah... in different, made in different periods of the, of the History. For example the entrance of the city Babylon, ah... and at the end you have a gate, and this gate, in 2 meters, directly brings you to the... Miletus Market, so that was build 600 years later. So... in 2 meters, in the same museum, you are in the entrance of another building, in another place of ah... the world. (Rz.S.)

The justification for his choices regarding relevant places are constantly permeated by technicalities, giving the impression that a respectful reverence is the closest point to affection from the interviewee in relation to the places.

4.2.7. Child's perspective

The two cases that exemplify the **child's perspective** type of place were given by Ro.S. (Interviewee 10) that throughout the interview indicated signs of strong familiar bonds and a very happy childhood. Since her Location 1, the "dad's vineyard in Italy", has been previously mentioned (the summer vacation house, being taken for granted that is related with familiar places, the "feeling home" sensation extended to other places), this section will focus on the respondent's Location 2: "chess board in Rotterdam's Central Library".

One curious fact about the relationship between this place and the respondent is that the location is strongly connected to two very distinct moments of her life, the first one around 6 years of age, and the second one nowadays:

**… I used to go with ah my grandfather and my sister to museums, every...
well, all the time actually, and, and... I remember, we always would make some
sort of pitch stop at the library, because my grandfather really liked to play
chess and look at people play chess there, and then... my sister and I don't
really like chess, but we would just watch him do his thing. (Ro.S.)**

**Yeah, for a while I didn't go there, but now I do, I think since September,
something like that, I go to the library, I would say once a week, and... yeah,
for me it's definitely still a place of knowledge, and I can definitely feel that,
because when I'm there, I'm, I'm actually working, I actually feel...
ah... motivated to work again. Ahm... yeah, so it's funny that... when I was
younger I saw this as a place of "oh, there is smart people working here" and
now I'm the smart person, I'm not that smart, but I'm a person also working
there, so I'm kind of the person that I used to look up to, when I was a kid.
(Ro.S.)**

This case indicates again the individual narrative and the construction of place
individually and in context, but what makes this story more relevant is the symbolic layer
underlying the relationship between respondent and place. The image of the grandfather as
a smart person and the constant presence at such a young age in a place associated with
knowledge instigated in the respondent a positive response to that environment. Not only
by currently visualizing in herself what already as a child she understood as a
knowledgeable person, but mainly for being actively affected by that surrounding, since
she clearly thinks she is or actually is more productive there than in other working places.

4.2.8 *Lieux de mémoire*

After quickly recognizing the city of Istanbul (Interviewee 3, location 3) initially as a place
and consecutively as an architectural site, according to the existing categories of this study,
an attentive look at the specific relationship that motivated the respondent to include the
city among his favorite locations reveals that there are underlying values implied in this
specific story that need consideration:

**Look, the word Istanbul means a lot for Greeks. It's our lost city. So it's
already, before I visited Istanbul it was a city that you could imagine, and a...**

being, wondering how it looks like. A city in Turkey which is Greek. Do you know the story? It was a great city. … And ah.. everybody in Greece hopes that one day it will become again Greek. So when I get there I felt "I'm going to see something Greek", but it was 100% something Turkish. I could never imagine again this city as a Greek one. Yeah, so... this city reminds me that there's a Greek eh..., it has a Greek soul, but it's a Turkish. And you can see how a city can become... Turkish when it's Greek. It was, it was my first ah... emotion. (Va.N.)

The respondent's memory about Istanbul brings together vivid sensations ("from the first minute that you arrive … you feel eh a different smell, even a different smell"), strong impressions ("this city was overcrowded, it was ah… the most overcrowded picture I have seen") and distinct emotions ("so Istanbul for me is ah… a place that is always in my heart").

Having visited the city for the first time at the age of 8 the type of location that refers to the "child's perspective" is present in the narrative and still seems active. However after that first visit the respondent has been to this place more than 10 times, and the child's impression apparently merged into something between a more realistic attitude: "I could not live there, to be honest, but I would always visit the city" and an everlasting devotion: "for me it's the most important … city of the world". In that sense, individual memory and collective history are strongly intertwined in the case presented in the sample, reinforcing the notion of an indirect memory whereby, for Greeks, Istanbul bears a symbolic aura that possibly corresponds to what Nora (1989) describes as a *lieux de mémoire*.

4.2.9 *Lieux d'imagination*

Scheveningen was chosen as the third favorite place to be discussed by Interviewee 9, who had in total a list of eight different meaningful/favorite locations. This specific beach area analyzed here is the only place on the respondent's list that is not a city and the only place discussed during the interview where A.K. has not lived. Scheveningen is also the only location mentioned throughout all the interviews that holds connection to a fictional space, therefore being the only representative of this category, identified as *lieux d'imagination* (Reijnders, 2010).

The respondent remembered Scheveningen after about 20 minutes of her interview while describing her appreciation for places where water is visible or touchable. But this is how she describes her first visit to the place and the reason behind it:

… you know the movie "Knockin' on Heaven's Door"? It's a German movie, it's a very good one. So, there, shortly, there are two guys who are sick and they are gonna die, and they meet in the hospital, they are two totally different people, and then they meet and one of them says like they are kind of making a conclusion out of their life, what they have done, what should they do more, and ah... one of the things was, ah one guy says that "oh, you have never been to the sea? But what then are you gonna talk about when you're in heaven, because in heaven they always talk about the sea. […] So at that time I thought, I was quite sure that the last scene of the movie they shot in Scheveningen. Later I figured out that no, they didn't, that's an island, but doesn't matter [laugh]. Because it's still the water, the sand and the dunes. Ahm... so we decided to go to Scheveningen. (A.K.)

Regardless of the accuracy of the respondent's information, by recognizing this place as "this is the place where…" (Reijnders, 2010, p.44) that specific movie was made, this site implies a very specific meaning and an impression that precedes real contact. By actually visiting the place, the two worlds (the real and the imaginary, this last one constructed from a fictional third world) come together. And by first acknowledging the lack of consistency in the connection between a movie and the real location, but after consciously overlooking that fact, a process of appropriation takes place reinforcing the emotional bond between individual and place.

4.3. Maps in the real world

The map-making process came out as a second and almost independent part of the interviews. Despite making clear at the beginning that the interview had a more "active" moment and taking care to start the interviews with all the drawing materials (colored pencils, pens, crayons, ruler, eraser and paper) in sight, the strategy was to create a route through the experience of each location individually before mentioning the map, and what the map should be about.

Talking about a topic (places and spaces) that is so broad, but at the same time so close to people is challenging, once the openness of the theme can create some uncertainty, but also be pleasurable, and both feelings were present in almost all interviews, some more strongly evident in the fun part, others more for their challenging aspects. Furthermore the feeling also resonated in the interviewees, in almost all cases, and after a first impact, it was relatively easy to get to the topic involving their favorite/meaningful places and spaces.

On the other hand the second part of the interview made explicit that maps as we are used to thinking of them (the geographical reference was mentioned by all ten respondents as one of the main associations to the idea of maps) are not straightforwardly connected to the places that we hold dear in our imaginations. That does not mean that the maps were not done, ten maps were drawn and ten times respondents used a specific and personal logic to organize and display their favorite places in a graphic piece named map. What that seems to suggest is that apparently the strongest imagery of maps is not specifically the most adequate form for expressing an affective cartography that depicts and connects individual's most relevant places and spaces.

In that sense the maps drawn for this research are an active way of putting into practice what Lefebvre's mentions as "an attempt to decode inner space and make the subjective objective" (1991, p. 18). The exercise of physically representing the topography of the mind relocates meaningful places in a world that no longer belongs to the imagination. In a way the process requests a new viewpoint for understanding these places and spaces, re-signifying them through means of objective tangibility. As tangible objects the emotional maps are transposed from the mind into the realm of the "real world" of respondents.

This last part of findings will be presented according to what was defined as the nature of an affective cartography. After a quick explanation of the definition orienting this new sub-division, now of the tangible maps, the analysis will go over the emotional maps created for this study presenting them in groups defined according to the logic behind the physical drawings conceived. The groups will be presented following a descending numeric order of maps in each group.

4.3.1. The nature of affective cartography

Maps can be understood in many ways and used for an infinity of purposes, but in general the most usual comprehension of the word relates maps to geographical objects that depict,

according to specific regulations, the world that surrounds human beings. It can have different scales (local, regional, global), it can be conceptual (with main elements intentionally changed, inverted or transformed) and it is normally subject to criticism for historical or subjective bias. In substance maps are perceived as historical objects, culturally constructed and capable of conveying functional information as well as ancillary connotation. While asking the interviewees to draw their maps no specific definitions or rules were set, the request was only for them to represent in a map the way they visualized their favorite places (discussed right before the drawing exercise) and try to connect them, in case connections seemed applicable, and assuming that all places listed coexist in one same space: their own imagination.

Just like in the stories from the interviews and the actual maps drawn, the reactions to the exercise proposed were seemingly different. From people that justified their drawings as a result of a lack of ideal conditions for making a "pure map" to people that voiced their dislike for that kind of exercise. On average they all found it to be a difficult task, but managed to do it and were able to later explain the choices made for their depictions.

Mostly the maps have more peculiarities that make them unique than elements that make them alike. Starting by the ability to draw, a matter that deserves some attention. Closely connected to the personal narratives of the respondents, the talent, the skill or the practice of drawing (or the lack of it) at first intimidated a few of the interviewees, but it did not affect the results, meaning that all respondents were entirely capable of providing excellent maps for the purpose of this study. However having this ability resulted in differences that went from the time dedicated to drawing the map (a couple of respondents took around 40 minutes) to the production of more elaborate maps that unquestionably resulted in maps which were more aesthetically appealing, but most of all resulted in maps that had more implicit meanings, therefore other possibilities for the research investigation.

The semi-structured interviews pre-defined a few themes that turned out to be quite helpful in understanding the maps together with their creators. Some of the themes that were considered during the talks were temporality, hierarchy, implicit meanings, origin of connections, and the place occupied for each respondent in the map. Instead of going over each map individually, which would be too extensive and not necessarily fruitful for reaching relevant findings, the use of the visual analysis of the map itself was chosen as a filter to group the images that presented the same some sort of visual rule. By organizing the data from what was visually offered beforehand it became easier to evaluate what was

the most memorable part of the individual maps. Hence the following paragraphs will bring three groups and one individual case divided into: Map as microcosm; Map as self; Map as route; and Map as exercise. The underlying value that justifies the group will be explained and the highlighted aspect of each case will be analyzed.

4.3.1.1. Map as microcosm

The logic determining these maps is the idea that the favorite places, even though independent from each other, belong to one unique space. Here the maps are types of microcosms that contain and integrate all elements that in reality exist separately. Completely integrated or spread around the globe, the essence here is that the map represented all locations visually as part of one single system. Maps 1, 5, 7 and 8 form the group, but this idea of unity is expressed in very authentic individual arrangements.

The story that **Map1** illustrates was already described above when discussing the first case from the Imaginary places (4.2.4.) and, as mentioned before, the Lake of Hyacinth depicted here was already an existing place created by J.P. (Interviewee 1). About what is seen in the drawing he explains:

> **I look at the Earth for a reason, everything in this picture is based on Earth, is based on space, which is relatable to Earth, and it's based on emotion and love, and things I have lost, and things I have gained. It's through which way you wanna look at it. … So basically everything here is basically what happened to me on Earth, is all emotion, all those places are all emotions, all those things are all moments, like they say like poetic, poetic people talking about fleeting moments, that's what those things were. And that's where the places were things were fleeting, those places can be permanent in my mind. So that's this picture, basically. This picture is hum one of the many ways... I made... my memories permanent. (J.P.)**

For Interviewee 1 all the other places mentioned during the conversation came to this final drawing, in those places he experienced many things but they are not as important as his imaginary place, whereby all others convey into one unique universe where memory and expectations are crystallized. This fictional world visually shows the relative unimportance given by the respondent to the places alone. Since places are important because people are important it seems logic that J.P.'s most important place of

all would be one where he and his love were created. Once the place was already constructed in his mind, and he is a talented artist, it was a relatively easy task to make this map.

Map 5 is also a depiction of an already existing world: S.S's dream place About 10 minutes into the interview, when the respondent was asked what places compose the geography of his dream place he suggested that he would have to draw it in order to explain it. This need to make it visible corresponds with the complexity and dimensions of the place. As a subconscious creation it is perceived by S.S. as "a big map", "a computer", "a 3D". With size and topography maybe comparable to a country, in the dream the interviewee can be at the beach, in the valley, in the snowy mountains, in the swamp, in the small town around the concrete boulevard, in the houses at the tropics or even at the broken ski lift. The whole place mixes existing locations (Philippines and France), but it is not simply a faithful representation of these places separately, also in the specific points of the map imaginary bonds were made, integrating locations that he really likes, others in which the real experience wasn't so impressive but are related to his first visit to the country, and other peculiar stories that his subconscious appropriated transforming it into one huge location. The place created by the respondent's mind has developed during the years and is still being constructed, but at the same time other specific points of the map are there for good, and therefore will never change. Integration here, also something already mentioned before, lacks the need for rational coherence or feasibility, as a dream – or as an imaginary place – it can include all the elements that are relevant for the person creating, dreaming or remembering this special place. And through its cartography all these elements are gathered. The interviewee had absolutely no problem drawing this place and he was doing it throughout the conversation, however this is one case where the details could be transformed into a more accurate drawing. For its complexity one of the most basic elements of maps was added here and labels identify the important locations.

The interview with respondent 6 considered his old working place which he helped create and his house in Rotterdam more elaborately, but there was also a third place: a house that he owns in Italy, that was not consistently discussed for lack of time but also for holding proximity with the ideal house expressed in his second location. There was also very little time for the map-making process, which might be one of the reasons for the final result and for not knowing how to connect those specific places. Nevertheless **Map 6** is primarily a reflection of what the respondent considers relevant for making a place likeable: comfort. And by "places of comfort" the interviewee means places where you

feel comfortable with yourself and with others, and that are more than just a mere representation of ordinary things, which abounds in the Netherlands and in Western cultures in general, according to H.D.

> **There is a few places that are, let's say wholes or civilizations, smell, sounds, whatever... maybe there is one here, maybe I'll find someone there, or... Because for me the Netherlands represents this kind of utilitarian thinking about, empty intellectual ah... empty... ah... let's say some kind [?] racist, maybe the whole Western culture is now, you know, it's maybe ... if I, when I was in Germany, last week, with my family, my parents as well, and I feel there is, it's more open, there is more room. But also, I think so, in Italy is... boring in a sense, you know, the music really sucks, TV really sucks, so there is a lot of things that really suck in Italy, except for the food, maybe, they are also a little bit of... so, let's say, maybe we do it on a world scale. Some places here, Brazil probably, Africa. ... There is some kind of spaces that I feel home, and then probably so here. … So there is places in the world where, where I don't feel the, the... too much of other people in the, in the dominant way of how ah… people will be standing in the line. (H.D.)**

These "comfort places" are also identified as safe havens and they can be found "even in the Netherlands" and all over the world (the drawing is divided into these two areas). The map is a conceptual version where these different spots are all located, but not connected. While some of them are known and recognizable, like the three places directly discussed during the talk, others are possibilities placed by chance around the globe indicating locations where it is likely that the respondent will find places that present similar characteristics.

Map 8 is also a conceptual creation but goes in a completely different direction, as interviewee 8 explains he made a map in which the three places mentioned by him were transformed into one unique combined geography:

> **It's one place. Everything is there. This is Hemeraat Singel, but is, we are already in that kind of *cratera*, hum? So, this is the ruins, because these things collapsed [interviewee refers to the left part of the map now]. And the ruins start here, and also collected by the people to make a bit more clean space**

here. Cause the park is a clean space, an artificial space, like also this *cratera*, and here there are all the ruins of the museum. So the statue, the columns [identified on the map by a light pink color], because the museum just take the ruins... (Rz. S.)

The logic behind the drawing goes beyond purely aesthetically merging the individual places, even though some elements were changed for attaining a graphic result, like the water from the Dutch park that makes a curve in the map, but is a straight line in reality. The understanding of each space is very relevant here, the archeological site (the Italian *cratera*) bases the whole map in accordance to the actual hierarchy in which nature is more relevant, and has always been there, than the human creations (park and museum). The duality between nature and humans that guided the respondent's original choice of places is translated to the map and here the natural logic prevails. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, this is one of the maps in which the quality of the drawing enriches the investigation, since the map is filled with hidden messages and meanings, for instance the three versions of the respondent that are spread out in each location (sitting on the park's bench, pointing at the edge of the ruins, and as a cube in the empty space of the *cratera*; all three identified by the color yellow).

4.3.1.2. Map as self

The main idea holding the maps in this group together is the individual responsible for creating it. Not exactly like the historical bias that prevailed reproducing a dominant culture's viewpoints of geography, but here the ethnocentrism is also present and clearly visible. The three maps that form this group (3, 4 and 10) are a literal interpretation for Tuan's idea that "every person is at the center of his world" (1977, p. 41). Of course in other maps the individuals are represented, just like we saw in Map 8, but here the figure of the mapmaker is the main element connecting the places.

In **Map 3** not only is the respondent represented in the picture, but his body has been separated from his head, the latter being the element that represents the social beings who are actually the ones moving around different places, according to the interviewee:

Ok, here we have me [a representation of a body, with no head, was drawn in the center lower part of the page], and then we have 3 faces [3 smiling faces that follow the representations of each place drawn], here is the Greek island

[left bottom part of the page], here you have an European city [right bottom part of the page], here I'll do something for Istanbul [right upper part of the page at the end he draw the symbol from the Turkish flag]. How can I visualize Istanbul? So the thing that combines everything it's me. So every time I did a smile face of me is a different place that I would like to be. (Va. N.)

Yeah, I mean, in our mind is our character mainly, the body follows a... our mind, that's why I divided in different faces. (Va. N.)

It's my routine, it's what, there, it has to be.... there are many faces, it's not only these three faces, we have many faces. If we continue the map it's with many faces, and every day I'm picking up one face. (Va. N.)

According to the respondent we are beings flowing around different places, "picking out our faces" daily in smiling versions of our personality. The body at the center represents his physical existence as the center of this universe, that is the universe of the individual, but not the universe of the places, like we have seen in the previous group. On the map the European city and Istanbul are equally important and therefore equally located dividing the right part of the drawing. The Greek Island, where the interviewee thinks he can live forever, where he wants to be whenever he daydreams, and a sort of idealized paradise is alone in the left side of the map, just a little closer to the body and with no comparable other place to compete with for visual space.

Map 4 is very similar to the previous one in relation to each mapmaker's ability to draw. The childlike aesthetic though is good enough for conveying meaning and in this case for the first time the imagination was clearly depicted. Here are some remarks regarding the idea of connecting them in a map:

Yeah, I do not know how to connect the three. They are so different. (F.S.)

The only thing they have in common it's they are in my mind, so it's me. (F.S.)

I don't know how to connect it, I basically, it's testing... it's a very subjective experience what I said, so I just speak this three and they are like nice, because one, they ah... are connected to different periods of my life, so when I was a kid

[first scene from the imagination], when I was, even if I still like Fillos, when I was a... pos-teenager, even if I still go, and ah... then... me when I wasn't at all adult [second scene from the imagination], like now, just like 8 months ago I was there, 9 months ago [third scene from the imagination], so ah... that's it. (F.S.)

While rationalizing his choices of places, the imagination appeared as a solution to join the three elements that would maybe never connect geographically. At the same time the perception that the places and the map were in the end basically himself made the respondent perceive a chronological connection between the three, which was represented by indicating in front of each scene, or each location, a person in scales that correspond to the phases of his life described above. Time indeed is a very strong element while discussing space that unfortunately there was no chance to further explore throughout this study.

The last map from this group presents a more elaborated version of the naïve drawings given in the last two cases. **Map 10** also depicts the imagination but by situating the beloved places inside the respondent's head that frames the whole drawing, as described:

And the reason why it's in my head it's because... yeah, like I said, I feel like, hum, when a lot of things are happening, yeah, this are just private memories, I guess, or things that are mine, and I feel like... even though stuff is happening and people are talking to me, that this is still here. Something like that. So... when I, when... I have stress or something, and I think about these it makes me calm, then I don't really think about what it's here, so it's, yeah, in my head, happening in my head. (Ro.S.)

The visuals in this drawing are actually quite elaborate, the colors are the first special element used and they stand for the way the memories of the places are visualized by the respondent: in a colorful and happy manner. The noise was also an important challenge that Ro.S. decided to represent as a messy composite, but observing the map it is possible to distinguish two types of noise: the first one also inhabits the mind and comes from the joyful sound that is present in the memories [on the right lower corner of the drawing], and the second one is external to her head [upper corners of the drawing] and it

is the representation of the noise from the real world, mentioned in the quote above. Two other points are interesting to notice: this is one of the only maps where someone else was specifically included, in the case her grandfather (the only other example for this is Map 1); and in the drawing there is no hierarchy but one of the places is slightly more present than the others, that would be her childhood bedroom [represented in the front part of the map] from where she sees the other two places [together in the upper part of the drawing].

4.3.1.3.Maps as route

Maps 6 and 9 form this third group. Both of them show each place listed during the interview individually but there is a significant link that connects them and is the most relevant element on the maps.

Map 6 is constituted by single elements that symbolically portray the two first places mentioned by the respondent and that are equally important to her: the crab on the left side of the map represents Salvador and the ship on the right represents Rotterdam. The place in the middle, a combination of the other two, is the representation of her imaginary community, and is positioned in the middle because "it had to be in the middle", according to Interviewee 6. Differently from the first locations this third element has more than one single element, it has a palm tree, a hut, the moon in different phases, the sun, an airplane (part of the importance of this place is the possibility to go anywhere from there), a bird, a guitar, and a mouth laughing with the sound of a laugh represented. The one word, one feeling, and one time that the exercise proposed were also included in the map by the respondent, the times being "once in a while" for the two first ones and "always" for the third, and the words being a combination of "part of the family + friends + easy going" for Salvador and "part of the family + friends + citizenship" for Rotterdam, and the word "all" for the imaginary community. The water is present in all three places and in a forth one implicit by an arrow and the symbol of the water drawn in dots in the very lower part of the map. This suggests the unknown future and a place for it. About the route she explains:

> **They are all important. But the most important at all is this path here, that goes in all directions. … And that wouldn't be a path without all the three. (Vi.B.)**

Map 9 is visually probably the one that more closely portrays the connection of places like a map, at least accordingly to previous expectations. Here each place is

beautifully depicted inside circles that are used by the respondent as a graphical element to group information, and from each circle lines link different places. The respondent explains the order and the logic behind it

Yes, exactly, so the size of circles ahm... they represent the meaning, the strengths of connection, of my personal connection to the place, or how often maybe I was there, but, no it's more like the personal meaning, the importance. And the lines that are connecting, yeah I explained already that there is, yeah it all started with Eindhoven and then it trips to Scheveningen, the first one was made from there, and then Eindhoven somehow, my decisions to continue in Europe were made in Eindhoven, and then it lead me to Weimar, and Weimar lead me to Hamburg. (A.K.)

The reasoning is so clear that it leaves little space for interpretation. Maybe the most significant aspect here is that in order to faithfully represent the connections the city of Weimar, listed, but not discussed during the interview, had to be included in the map. The representation of hierarchy through the size of each circle is also interesting to reinforce. The stories alone might not be always capable of showing something like a scale of importance or a ranking between places, it is true that you can always ask about it, but in this case the map demonstrates how vividly symbolic aspects can be conveyed into visual elements in documents.

4.3.1.4. Map as exercise

Map 2 holds some similarity with the third group since it includes all the three places mentioned in some sort of spatial arrangement, but here they are more like isolated blocs than elements that actually combine. This was the case in which the respondent demonstrated some personal restrictions with the interviewing process and more specifically with the map-making activity. Despite that, this process of thinking about how the places connect was capable of making her think about the places differently and even making some discoveries about them, as she describes:

Yeah, just realized that also a reason why I like living here is because it's just 2 minutes walking from the railway station, and I like being close to the railway station because then you can also get anywhere. And I also like having a bike,

and having everything in biking distance. I like having things in walking distance, biking distance, railway... distance. So that you're just free to move around. Ahm. And one of the things that, when I think about the city, I think about the area around the railway station. Hum... where when people come to Rotterdam, Central Station, they come there, so there's where you meet them. (L. S.)

Instead of visually connecting the places in the drawing, like the maps from the previous group, in this case the interviewee included elements in the map (bike and railway station) that represent her capability to move through the spaces. According to her this ease of dislocating around them is something that she appreciates and contributes to her liking the places themselves. However the inclusion of these transportation elements in the map also implies that in order for those places to connect the respondent's presence is also needed, since the bike or the train need someone using them for this integration between the spaces to take place. In that sense it is almost like if this map is situated in between the groups "Map as route" and "Map as self", in the former all the places are represented but not connected, and in the latter what connects the places is the creator of the map, but she is not explicitly depicted on the drawing.

Conclusion

The research conducted for this study aimed to explore the concept designated as *affective cartography*. Its main intention was to verify the existence of a presumed imaginary geography, and to test if this mind topography, once confirmed, could be represented visually on a map.

Two main hypotheses were used, the first one, relatively more accepted scientifically, assumed that the imagination is filled with meaningful places; the second one, less empirically tested, predicted that these imaginary meaningful places were somehow connected with each other, hence forming a mental map. The last hypothesis though, also suggested that once existing in the mind the map could be transposed to a physical map, giving this affective cartography tangibility and going one step further in scientific production by giving spatiality to the mind.

Inasmuch as the concept is, in itself, established under complex and subjective assumptions, the search for an affective cartography was constructed through a lengthy course in which different themes paved the way towards the final notion. The three main themes designated as different layers guiding the investigation process were: imagination, spaces and places, and maps. This triad was used to support the research design and the subsequent investigation procedures, whereby the following research methods were used: qualitative interviewing, snowball sampling, document production and analysis.

In total 10 interviews were conducted with men and women, ranging from 23 to 48 years of age, of different nationalities, levels of education and occupations, currently living in Rotterdam. In-depth semi-structured qualitative interviewing generated more than 18 hours and 10 maps of data. Being a Rotterdam resident was the only restriction in the sample, that was selected through snowball sampling allied with an intention to diversify the profile of respondents as much as possible, once the phenomena under investigation is presumed to be extensive to all human beings, likewise the imagination itself is "universally given" (Reijnders, 2015a, p. 26). In-depth interviews were treated as the most applicable way for reaching such an idiosyncratic and personal topic.

For analyzing the data gathered a categorization process was created and divided into two levels of classification, the first one objectively distinguishing "places" from "spaces", and the second one identifying the locations according to 9 types of places and spaces, created based on the findings. The maps made by the interviewees during the interviews were considered documents and were also analyzed by groups in the findings.

The interviewees' emotional maps – the ultimate results of an affective cartography – were presented in four groups established based on the nature or the logic behind each map's visual composition.

Throughout the investigation development the following research questions and sub-questions were made and will be now finally answered:

3) What are the places and spaces that compose the imaginary geographies of Rotterdam residents?

    c) How does the process of meaning making regarding the significant spaces and places in the respondents' imaginations take place and what do those meanings indicate regarding the relationship among individuals and geographical locations?

    d) What effect do imaginary places and spaces attached to emotions have on respondent's daily lives?

4) To what extent are the affective places and spaces connected to one another, thus creating unique emotional maps?

The first part of the questioning divides into three steps the spaces and places theme: RQ1 more concretely aims for something like an inventory of places and spaces that inhabit the imagination of respondents from the sample; sub-question 1.a. focuses on a more subtle aspect of the investigation whereby the individual perception and the construction of meaning are approached, this step is also trying to grasp how these findings, so closely related to the human subjectivity, can help understand the complex relationships created between humans and their surroundings; and finally sub-question 1.b. shifts the attention from the mind to the real world by investigating the ways individuals access or are affected by their memories of meaningful locations in daily experiences.

The second overarching RQ2 is also related to the real world and explores man's ability to produce space by creating or translating the geography of the imagination into physical maps. Hence actively experimenting the concept of affective cartography.

Regarding the first step mentioned above, by now it should reasonable to affirm that spaces and places are a complex subject that has as many layers of investigation as possibilities for interpreting it. In this study the categorization of places and spaces into types was the way chosen to get to those answers. The issue of which locations indeed exist in people's minds and have some sort of affective connotation for Rotterdam

residents (RQ1), was objectively answered in Table 4.1.. After collecting 29 specific places and spaces, a complete list of locations was organized based on a categorizing process created to support this research and make the data more useful for analysis. This new list subdivided the 22 places and 7 spaces into 9 different classification types, creating a better visualization of the sample and supporting the finding's report.

The 9 types of places and spaces observed in the imaginary geography of Rotterdam residents were subdivided into two levels, the first one constituted by 5 main categories, and the second one into 4 sub-categories. Listed in the order in which they were discussed in this research the five main categories are: familiar places, architectural sites, natural sites, imaginary places, and other sites. The second level of categorization (more subtle than the previous one) being constituted by the four sub-categories of places and spaces: archetypal sites, child's perspective, *lieux de mémoire*, and *lieux d'imagination*.

The first conclusion regarding RQ1 is that both places (more specifically determined and more closely connect to the respondent) and spaces (more broadly determined and less intimately connected to respondent), distinguished here in accordance to Tuan's (1977) theory, are present in the imaginary geography. The significant advantage perceived regarding the former one though, indicates that this geography of the mind tends to be filled mainly by places that present strong attachment and proximity to the respondents.

The second conclusion indicates that basically three types of places compose the geography of the mind: familiar places, architectural sites, and natural sites. Despite being numerically relatively similar (respectively 9, 12 and 10 locations) the data was also interpreted according to the meaning that the individual stories suggested, so the relevance of each type was based not on the simple qualitative information of mentions, but in the number of stories that were actually highlighted per type (Appendix E). Based on that and on the fact that important places are almost never perceived in isolation, familiar places was considered the most relevant type of place according to the sample analyzed.

The third conclusion is that architectural sites and natural sites apparently share a second position in relevance, almost equally distributed considering the meaning of the stories. While the first one is represented by an almost ideal version of the European city, most likely confirming a bias sample in which a predominant Western viewpoint is being reproduced, the second one appears scattered in activities from everyday life, like a physical escape for a cigarette in front of a river in the city or daydreaming mental escape during boring routine activities.

The forth conclusion is that the sample indicates two sub-categories present in the geographical imagination that are worth mentioning: the archetypal site and the child's perspective. The more abstract perception of places that characterize the former is given here mainly as unfolding versions of the concepts that also appear in more delimited places, such as the house and the city, individually the two more commonly observed locations in the sample. On the other hand, the latter indicates that it is possible that the impressions regarding places that occur at an early age appear to have significant emotional value, thus sticking to the beloved memories.

The fifth and last conclusion regarding the places and spaces that compose the imaginary geography of Rotterdam residents is that the other cases might have appeared in the sample, but by analyzing what composes the affective mind it becomes also visible what has been left out of it. In that case some missing or barely represented places and spaces should be noticed: the ones related to fiction, such as books and movies; the ones related to traditional stories or collective memories with historical relevance for both individuals and groups of individuals (patriotic feelings included); the ones related to professional achievement; the ones that take place in the social space, formally or informally organized, like entertainment areas and cultural institutions; and last, but not least, places related to love, sex and passionate relationships.

Sub-RQ 1.a. tries to understand the meaning making process through which places and spaces become significant for people and what conclusions regarding this special bond between people and places can be taken from the investigation of this process. Here the categorization of types is also useful and some of the explanations given for RQ1 slightly touches upon this meaning making process. Nevertheless in general the meaning making process is individual, in the sense that it happens differently from person to person, but also from person to location. Reinforcing that "many acts of remembering are site-specific, but not all site-specific in the same way" (Connerton, 2009, p. 1).

Regardless of the extreme individuality guiding the meaning making process, the sample gave some indications that can be more broadly applied. The afore-mentioned straight connectedness between meaningful places and spaces and meaningful relationships with others is probably the most relevant aspect of the whole process. A second element observed is that the importance of place is a construction, and one that is non-static. It means that in order to become relevant an internal process has to occur in which gradually the importance gains relevance. That process of course reinforces the "constructed nature of the memory" (Reijnders, 2010, p. 40) itself, but also a prior internal duet between body

and mind, or as Merleau-Ponty puts it "perceptions is built up with states of consciousness as a house is built with bricks, and a mental chemistry is invoked which fuses these materials into a compact whole" (1962, p. 21). As shown by the sample this construction of the importance of places can vary enormously, involving from a relation that precedes physical contact between person and location to one that is only realized after the actual contact has officially ended. And it is non-static not only because it is gradually constructed, but also because a place can have different meanings for the same person, for instance in different stages of life, just for an example. However the data from the sample also reveals that in almost all of the cases studied here, meaningful places develop mainly from locations that are frequently accessed, well known and that have long lasting relations with the respondents.

One last general conclusion that can be made for the meaning making process of places suggests that it doesn't have to be a completely recognizable process, not even for the respondent. "In summary, we may say that deeply-loved places are not necessarily visible, either to ourselves or to others" (Tuan, 1977, p. 178). Meaning that not all the layers and symbolic meanings that permeate this relationship are rationally perceived or logically justified. For instance one might live in an apartment that technically or physically is much better than another, but still the last one might be identified as meaningful while the first one is not. Of course, in many cases the choice can be related to an externality clearly more significant, but that can also not happen.

In regards to the second part of sub-question 1.a. what the meaning making process indicates about the relations among individuals and geographical location, a few considerations will be listed:

- In a way the results from the study ratify that "there is no place like home" (Tuan, 1977, p.3), especially when it comes to places that trigger emotions. The high presence of this special place in the sample not only confirms the notion of the space that "provides more than shelter …(and) a material order constructed out of walls and boundaries" (Connerton, 2009, p. 13), but mainly reinforces that its significance is more related to the identification of the home as "our corner of the world" (Bachelard, 1958, p. 4);
- Home is permeated by the sensation of "feeling home", but feeling home is not restricted to one specific location undoubtedly recognized as home, the feeling can be connected to different places and different situations. Mainly what is present,

and therefore might be understood as what is expected from this place, is that feeling home implies an individual comfort, also physically but mainly with oneself and with others;

- The comforting feeling mentioned in relation to feeling home brings an implicit kind of social liberation, an aspect that also appeared in as relevant to other favorite locations. More concretely that means that quite often meaningful places were related to spaces where social expectations or explicit and implicit social rules were absent;

- Cities are also a topic that deserves attention, present in the sample as architectural and archetypal sites, quantitatively it was the most mentioned type of place. Considering the sample and the urban setting underlying the conditions of the research it is possible that it results from the prevailing Western culture way of living, but it is also interesting to perceive how strongly the notion of city is constructed in the human imagery;

- "Three other natural settings have, at different times and places, appealed strongly to the human imagination. These are the seashore, the valley, and the island" (Tuan, 1974, p 115). Despite a relatively modest appearance and with distinctions regarding its relevance all natural settings indicated by Tuan's theory appeared in the sample;

- Resulting from fictional, subconscious or rational creations, imaginary places are inclined to idealize places. Complementarity and contrast are relevant notions for those places that tend to gather characteristics from different sources and combine them, sometimes even aiming for something impossible in real life. In a way the cases from the sample confirm one of Kant's ideas about image formation, that according to him "seems to involve a largely causal conception of mind that is neither wholly dependent on, nor fully independent of, the material world" (Makkreel, 1994, p. 15).

The last item referring to places and spaces brings the meaningful locations back to the realm of reality questioning through Sub-RQ 1.b. how they affect people in their everyday lives.

What the data indicates about the presence of emotional places and spaces and an affective map on daily experiences is that the most common presences of those places in

people's routines refer primarily to daydreaming. Still it doesn't happen that often and was mentioned mainly in cases related to natural spaces.

A second use of those places indicates a more active access to them. According to the sample some of the beloved places have been used for meditation techniques in which you intentionally think of somewhere else for calming down or relaxing, but that does not mean that they use the same places with the same purpose in daily or more stressful situations of their routine.

Quick escapes also appear to be one of the ways that people access those places and spaces in their daily lives. As mentioned previously that could include having a cigarette or a quick conversation with a friend in a place close to the water or just including a stop at the park on your way to work, for example.

Essentially those places are present in respondent's memories and they still access them with some regularity, but the relation with everyday lives appears to be more loose than expected. This might be due to the proximity between individuals and their favorite places which could ultimately lead to the impression of favorite places as something taken for granted (Tuan, 1977). Another possible explanation is that because favorite places are also frequently visited for the respondents their actual presence in these places might make the real places more present on a daily basis than the memory of them.

RQ2 moved away from the inner world and meaningful places and spaces and their isolated existence. By going through each story of the locations during the interviews the preparation for the maps was also being constructed. Believing that "historical narratives are given precision when they are organized spatially" (Connerton, 2009, p. 7) the challenge at this point was to represent the places graphically while trying to connect them.

The reaction of many respondents indicates that there is a level of difficulty inherent to the shift from user to producers of space (Lefebvre, 1991), at least under the spectrum investigated here. However it is possible to confirm both hypotheses made by this study once the final results were considered. In that sense an imaginary geography composed by meaningful places exists and can be represented in a map. If the terms geography and maps are the most adequate, that remains open for further discussion, but from the perspective of this study it might seems more legitimate to say that maybe the right adjustment would be to give more freedom and more space to the idea of maps and the possibilities of mental maps.

In essence this study involves the subjectivity inherent to the human perception and construction of meaning in relation to places and spaces that, on an individual level,

encompasses the experiences lived by the body (physically and rationally), in a specific surrounding, and entangled by a setting of social and cultural constructions. Dealing with so many dimensions and specificities lead to a division of the topic into themes that were separated for practical reasons, but in practice are not isolated from each other. The thematic division also meant scattering the theory grounding it. Therefore after presenting the main conclusion that emerged from the data, this study will return to theory to also theoretically analyze how the implications found here can contribute to scientific production regarding the human geography. The next paragraphs will present the final remarks according to the authors used that more significantly commute with the concept of affective cartography. The order in which they will be presented still reflects the main thematic division of this study.

Starting with the imagination, the first author to be considered is Lennon (2004, 2015) whose historical approach of Classic philosophy mentions Hume's early connection between imagination and affection, which supports the first hypothesis of this study (confirmed by the sample). Going beyond the initial ideas that considered imagination philosophically, for the author this affection is expressed through images (2015) that create the "imaginaries of our perceived world" that are "co-constituted with our response to it" (p. 53). This active creation of the imaginary with individual responses to their surroundings has also been sufficiently noticed, for instance if we consider that the same type of place can have different values for different people or that a same person can experience different feelings for a same place. If the images are responsible for constituting emotions though, it is not possible to evaluate, since this was not the scope of the research, but it has been perceived throughout the interviews that many people refer to their memory of places as the visualization of an image.

Another aspect explored here from Lennon's theory is Kant's distinction between "reproductive" and "productive" imagination. Both of them are needed for perception to be possible, according to Kant, and both of them were useful for the research: one for accessing the already existent imagination and the other for creating the maps. The reproductive imagination is needed exactly for providing what Lennon calls the "absent present" (2015) so that the productive imagination can unify "intuitions into the form of images" (p. 27). This complementary synthesizing activity of the imagination can be applied to the process whereby the understanding of the mental map and its transposition into the physical one demanded a new perception of those places.

Finalizing the more philosophical part of this conclusion, the next authors that will be discussed are the ones more diffusively used throughout the whole research, mainly because of the validity of their theories for the concept being developed. Since they are extensively used, the next discussions will try to present what in their theories is more relevant here and what was not confirmed or presents a different perspective in this research.

The first one is Reijnders (2010, 2015a, 2015b) whose theory is located somewhere in between the Imagination and the Space and places themes of this study. Under the first the author reinforces Caughey's (1984) significance of the "inner world" (it's relevance for this study being related to the importance of the imagination already mentioned in Lennon). Under the second one, this "inner world" assumes a sociological viewpoint considering both the everyday lives spectrum and the influence of a cultural schemata. As already demonstrated the everyday lives of the respondents are permeated by their meaningful places, but the effects of these locations on a daily basis are modest. The cultural context is also something that has presented little importance for the results as an aspect creating differences among the sample; on the contrary, the results demonstrate relative similarities that resemble a certain bias on reproducing an urban Western viewpoint.

The second aspect absorbed by Reijnders' theory is the one that identified: that "every human being has a small treasure trove of stories which they love" (2015b, p. 1), that "stories always literally *take place* somewhere" (2015b, p.3), and that specific places have meaning that are attached to emotions (2010). Those ideas based the image of an imagination filled with meaningful places. On practice though, the three ideas were proven individually but the assumption that the emotions are necessarily transferred to the places was not. In general people do associate their feelings to the places, but these feelings are intermediated in many times by the people that are attached to those places, something like: I like that place, but I like the place because of the people associated to that place. For that reason some places are very significant for some time but stop being meaningful for the person once they have stopped working and feeling part of that community or ended a relationship and no longer visit specific locations, just to give some examples. There was even one respondent that said that places are not important at all, only as places. In that sense it is important to have in mind that the importance of places is not an unquestionable idea.

Lefebvre and *The Production of Space* (1974) were fundamental for this research. Despite promoting a complex discussion regarding the notion of space many of his ideas supported the empirical research process, and ideas like the specialization of space and the coding/decoding procedure applied to the already produced space were extremely relevant. However one specific element which is essential for his theory needs more attentive consideration: the social space or the space of the society. Dividing the theory into three fields of interest: the *physical*, the *mental*, and the *social* (p. 11), the first two were clearly represented during the investigation process, while the social space scarcely appeared among the meaningful places listed. Of course by principle almost all places are social, from the house to the city space, but while considering the stories told regarding space the favorite ones would very closely relate to the liberation of the social dimension that occupies the social space.

The last of the authors discussed under the Space/Place perspective, Tuan (1974, 1977) was the most influential of all the scholars used in this study. From the adaptation of his distinction among place and space to categorize and make sense of the data to his more philosophical ideas like the notion that "places and spaces are permeated by complexities for being in essence a result of the combination between "perception, attitude, and value … (namely) all three levels of being" (Tuan, 1974, p. 245). In essence this research confirmed the prevailing relevance of his work, specially his seminal work about topophilia, for the study of (love for) space and places.

The theme relative to Maps can be divided into two. The first one confirms the validity of the traditional works regarding cartography, some of them produced in the fist half of the 20th century, to understand maps as a historical artifact, influenced by social and cultural aspect, realized from the human perspective and having the ethnocentric viewpoint as guide, and largely associated with geography. The creation of maps for this study reproduced most of the objective and subjective aspects of this human device, and from all those items mentioned only its geographical character will need further elaboration, which will be soon touched upon. And the second aspect this study revealed concerning the maps is the lack of contemporary studies that encompasses a broader perception of maps, something that is already present in practice when we consider the openness circumscribing the word "map". During the interviews, maps where generally associated with geographical definitions, but produced as an object more closely associated to an illustration.

Traditionally also considered a tool for "bringing history alive" (Harley et al, 2001, p. 277), the emotional maps created from the perspective of an affective cartography have demonstrated that maps can indeed be an instrument for making contact with history and also the stories that are relevant for people. Individual narratives were represented from the very first list of meaningful places to the final versions of the drawings of this study. By not necessarily portraying an imagery of the most common idea of map (the geographical one), the individual and the collective results that come out of this study are a promising projection that the creations of an affective cartography are not merely copies of what maps ordinarily represent while searching for orientation or measuring the time to get somewhere.

That does not mean that this is a flawless research or that affective cartography is an unequivocal concept, on the contrary, many adjustments and improvements could be made. To begin with maybe considering the limitations of this study to connect an affective cartography with the everyday life as an indication that it might not be the best bridge between the two. Some other adjustments are more practical and easy to achieve, like the development of the interviewing process into a more objective and efficient procedure. On the other hand some issues are more culturally embedded and therefore more complex to change, such as the previous expectations relating the traditional map as the most logic reference for the responses. Another issue that should be mentioned is the excessive attention given to places and spaces, despite main interest for the maps. The complexity of the study demanded a path to get to the maps, but maybe further research can identify or test more direct ways of approaching the cartographic sphere of emotions.

In the end, it seems that maps are a very fascinating artifact for scientific production and that appear to be not so consistently a target from the contemporary sociological perspective.

Moreover the notion of affective cartography has proven to be one line of study with plenty of possibilities to explore. Meaning that not only can an affective cartography exist, but it has shown to be relevant for the purposes of this research while going a little further into the knowledge of human geography. From a personal perspective I think it is even more significant exactly because it relates more to a very personal visualization of places than to a mere reproduction of a version of maps that appears to be used more and more inattentively. One of the interviewees said "basically all maps are places to get you somewhere" (J.P. Interviewee 1), this research has demonstrated that affective cartography can definitely be an authentic way to get to the imagination.

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Appendix A – Overview of respondents

Interview	Initials used	Age	Nationality	Gender	Scholarity	Time living Rotterdam	Occupation	Time interview
1	J.P.	26	Dutch	Male	VMBO	15 years	Unemployed	1'46''
2	L.S.	35	Dutch	Female	Higher education	13 years	PhD Candidate - Musician	1'18''
3	Va.N.	27	Greek	Male	Higher education	1,5 year	Master Student - International Policy	1'12''
4	F.S.	36	Spanish	Male	Higher education	8 months	Marketing	58''
5	S.S.	41	Dutch	Male	MBO	Born	Cook	1'56''
6	Vi.B.	44	Brazilian	Female	Higher education	20 years	Chemical Engineering	3'13''
7	H.D.	48	Dutch	Male	Higher education	29 years	Dramaturge	1'51''
8	Rz.S.	34	Italian	Male	Higher education	6 years	Architect researcher	2'23''
9	A.K.	29	Russian	Female	Higher education	3 months	Urban designer	2'12''
10	Ro.S.	23	Dutch	Female	Higher education	Born	PhD Candidate - Sociology	1'33''
								18'36''

23 years	5 Dutch	6 Males	8 Higher ed.	3 months
48 years	5 other nationalities	4 Females	2 - no	41 years

Appendix B - Interview Guide

Affective cartography
Interview nø
Name:

Part 1 – Places and Spaces

(RQ1)

Briefly introduce topic and search first for the places of the imagination

1. Which places are important in your life? And why?

2. You have mentioned so far _____ places. Maybe it would be interesting for us to focus specifically in 4 or 5, and explore these ones more deeply.

3. Go over each location described (Sub-question 1.a)
   a. First contact
   b. Moment it became a significant place
   c. What exactly is this place (origin - fiction, dream, imagination, real – and physical characteristics)
   d. How exactly is its visualization/perception [architectural elements, specific attributes (old X new), other externalities (static x dynamic / city x landscape, or specific objects, atmosphere), other people present (isolation x crowd), is the person itself represented in this image, relation with senses (originally and in the memorial recollection)]
   e. What is the value attached to it (sacred, spiritual, fun, secret)
   f. How is its meaning perceived (symbolic elements and possible interpretations/ "keep me safe")

4. Situate the locations on everyday life
   g. In what ways the places/spaces mentioned relate to their normal everyday lives
   h. In what frequency
   i. Is this "access" related to specific situations, places, others

Part 2 – Maps
(RQ2)

5. Imagining that our minds have a particular combination of these places how would you visually express these places/spaces on a map?

6. Go over each location drawn:

   j.   If you had to choose one word for this location which word would it be

   k.   If you had to choose one emotion for this location which emotion would it be

   l.   If you had to locate this space/place in time would it be in the past, present, future, none or other (which other)

7. Go over specific connections/routes/relations (emotional, physical, other connections)

   m. Is there a hierarchy implicit in the map

   n.   Is there a specific order, logic, or rules to it

   o.   Do the physical composition of the map suggest any implicit meaning or value

   p.   Do you see yourself in the map? Where?

   q.   Do you visualize others in the map?

8. Go over the concept of maps

   r.   Can you think of different types of maps? Which ones?

   s.   When you think about maps to what do you relate them with? (artistic objects, tools, illustrations, obsolete objects)

   t.   Do you see in the map drawn any reference to your everyday life?
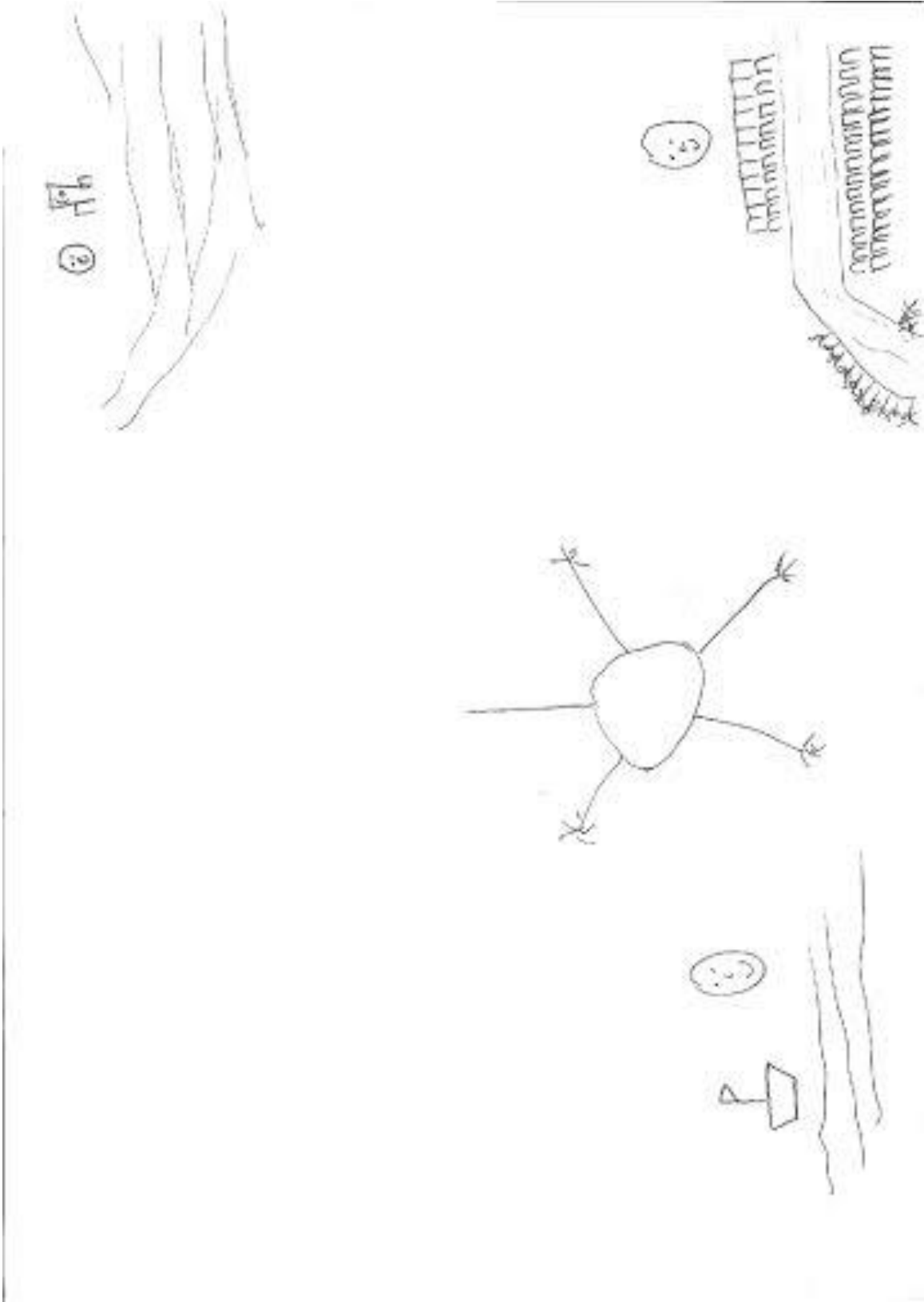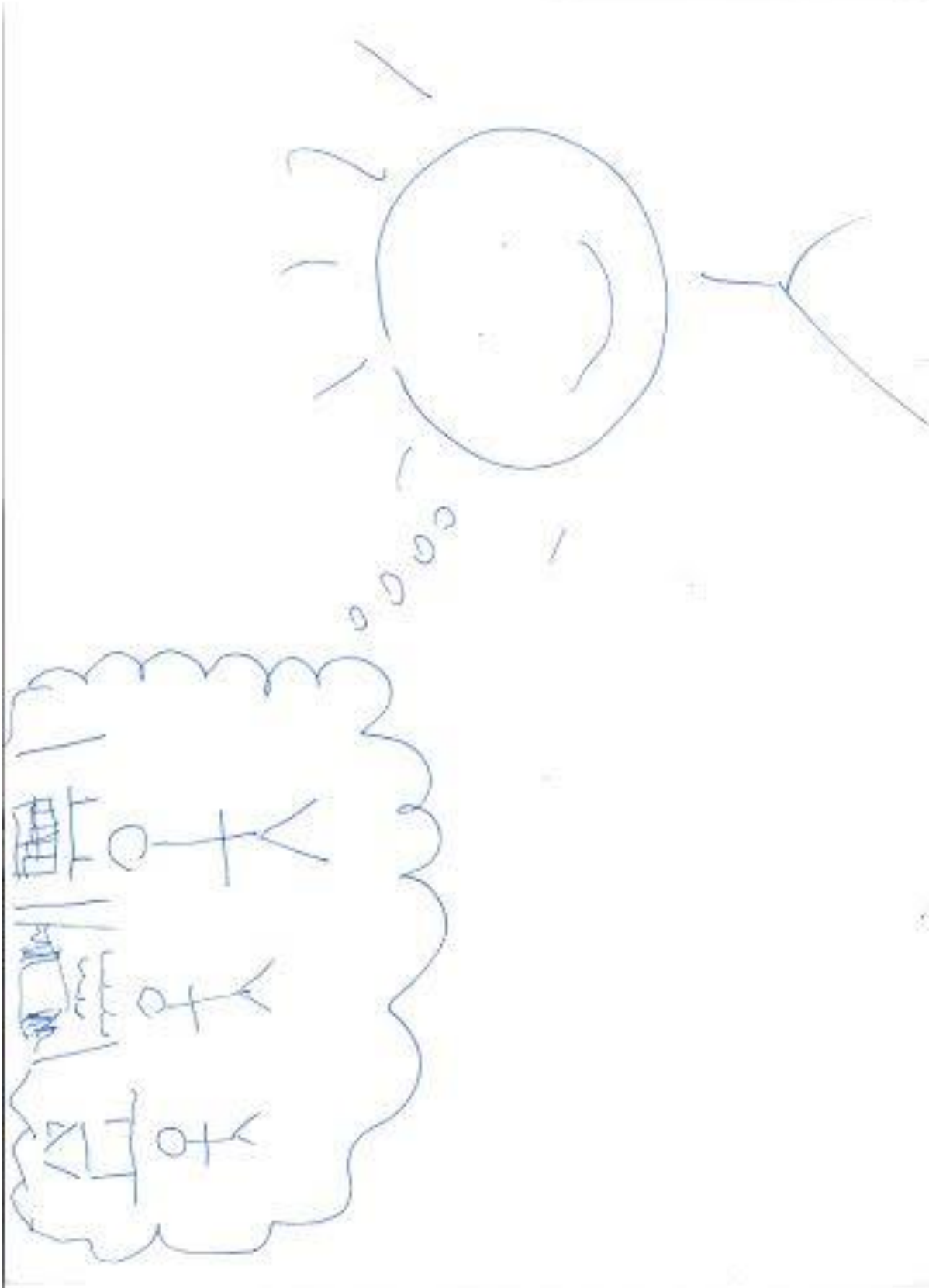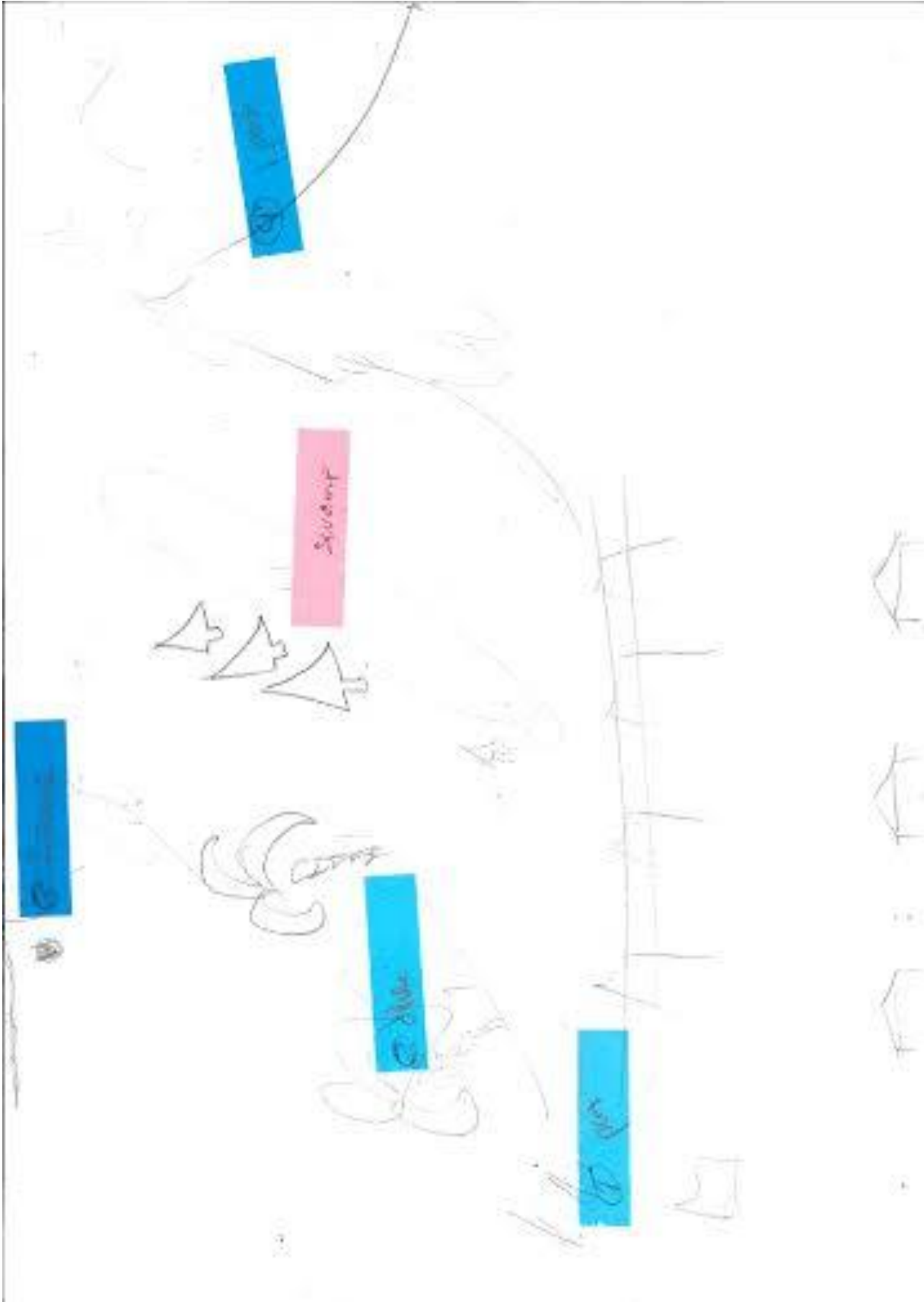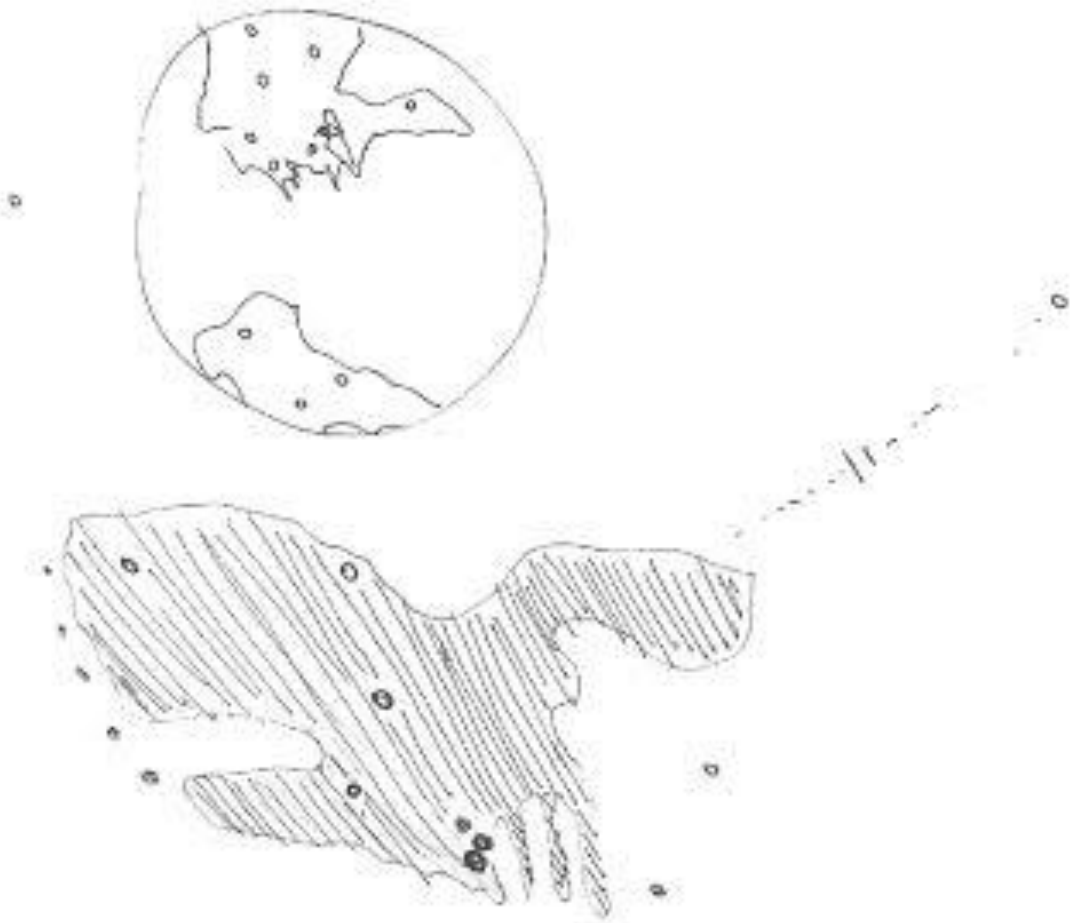
Appendix C –Maps

MAP 1
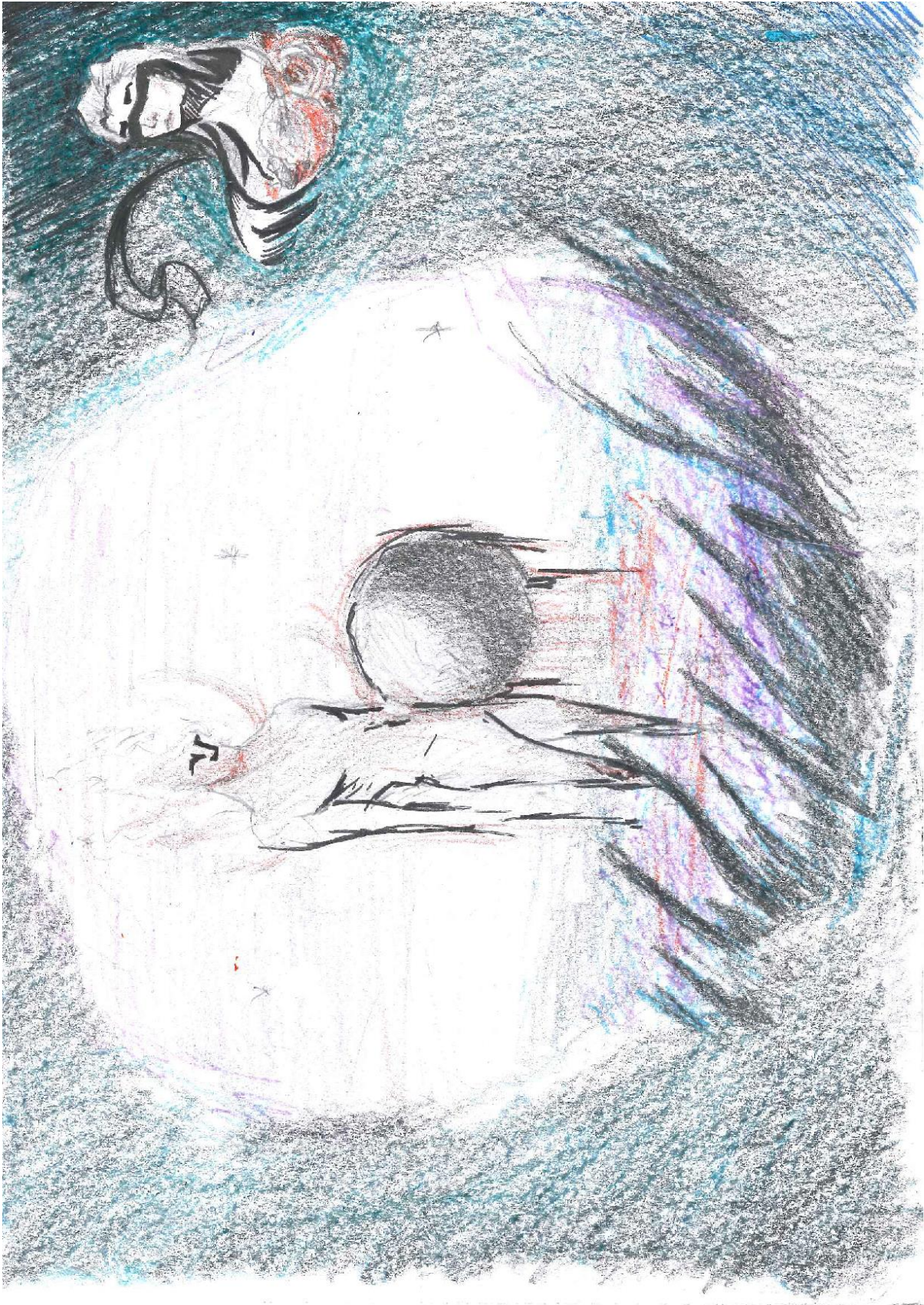
MAP 2
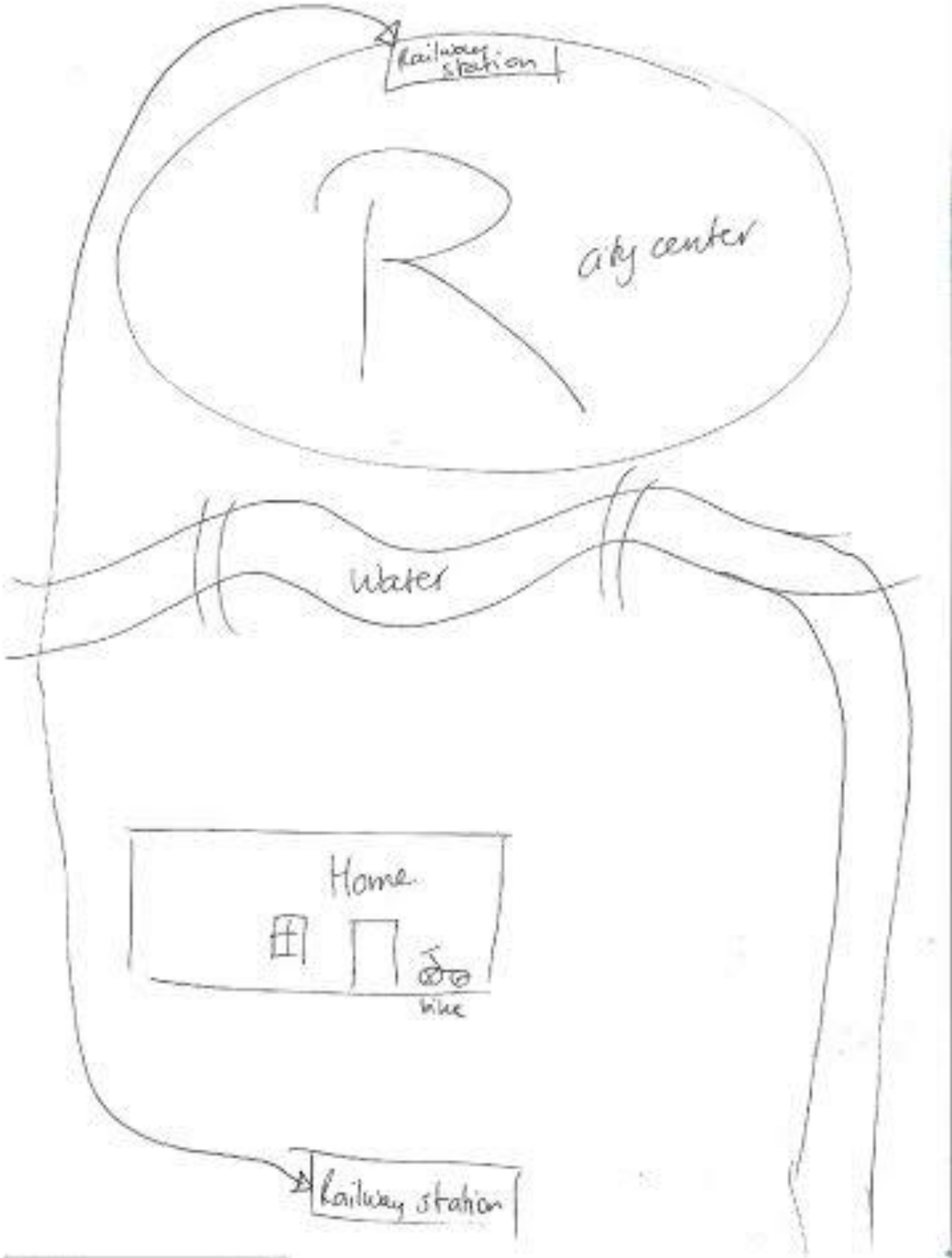
MAP 3

MAP 4

MAP 5

MAP 6

MAP 7
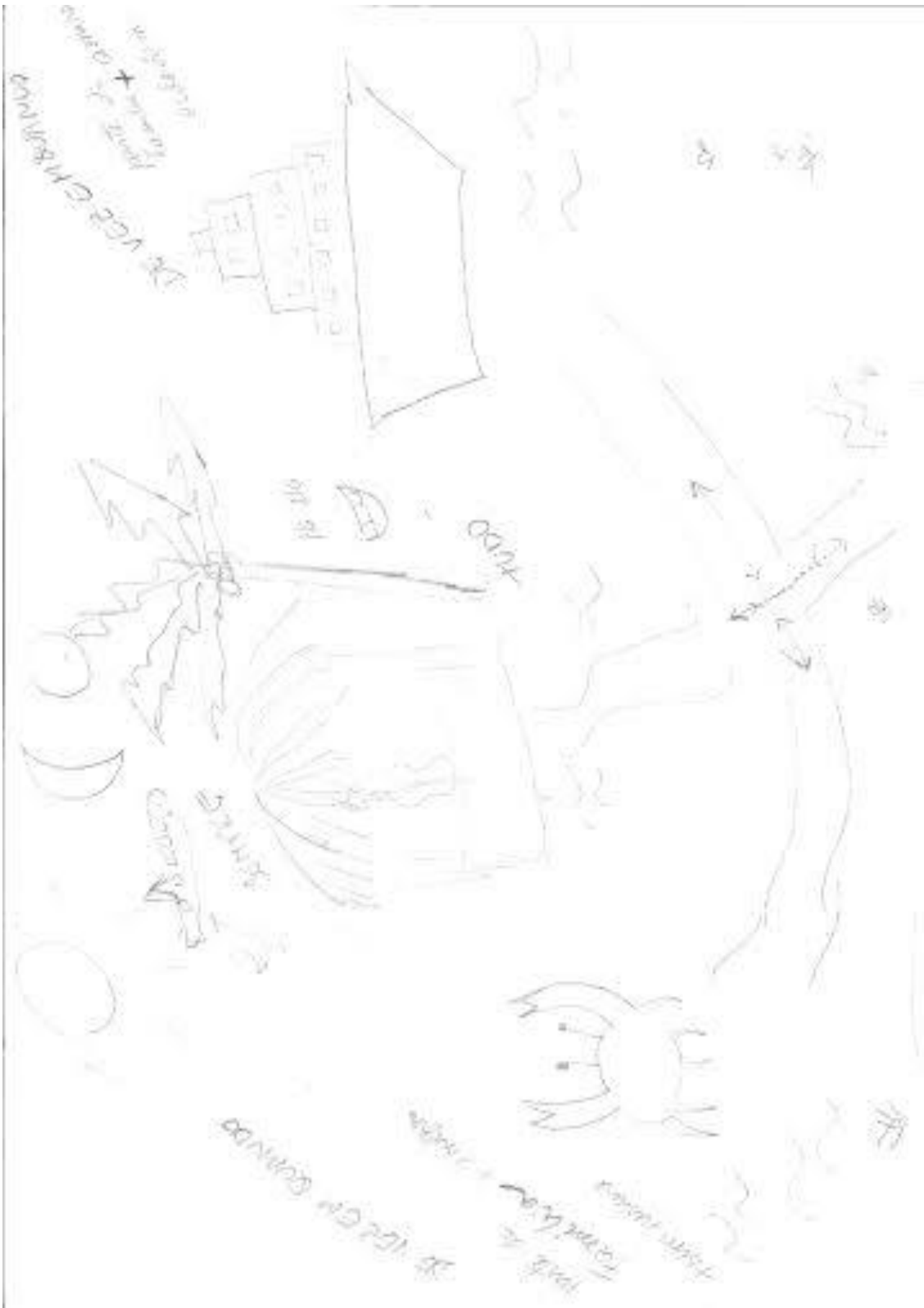
MAP 8
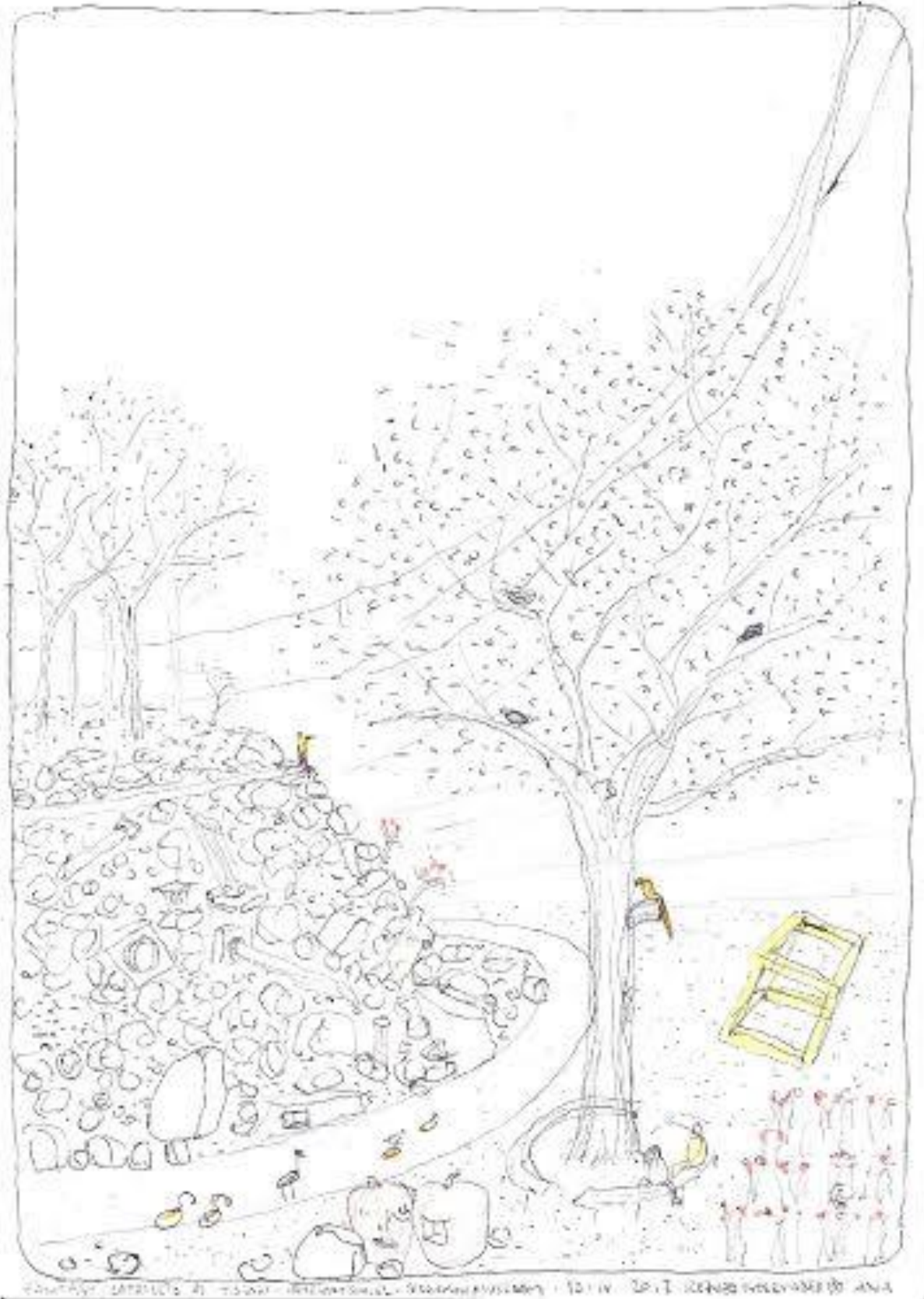
MAP 9
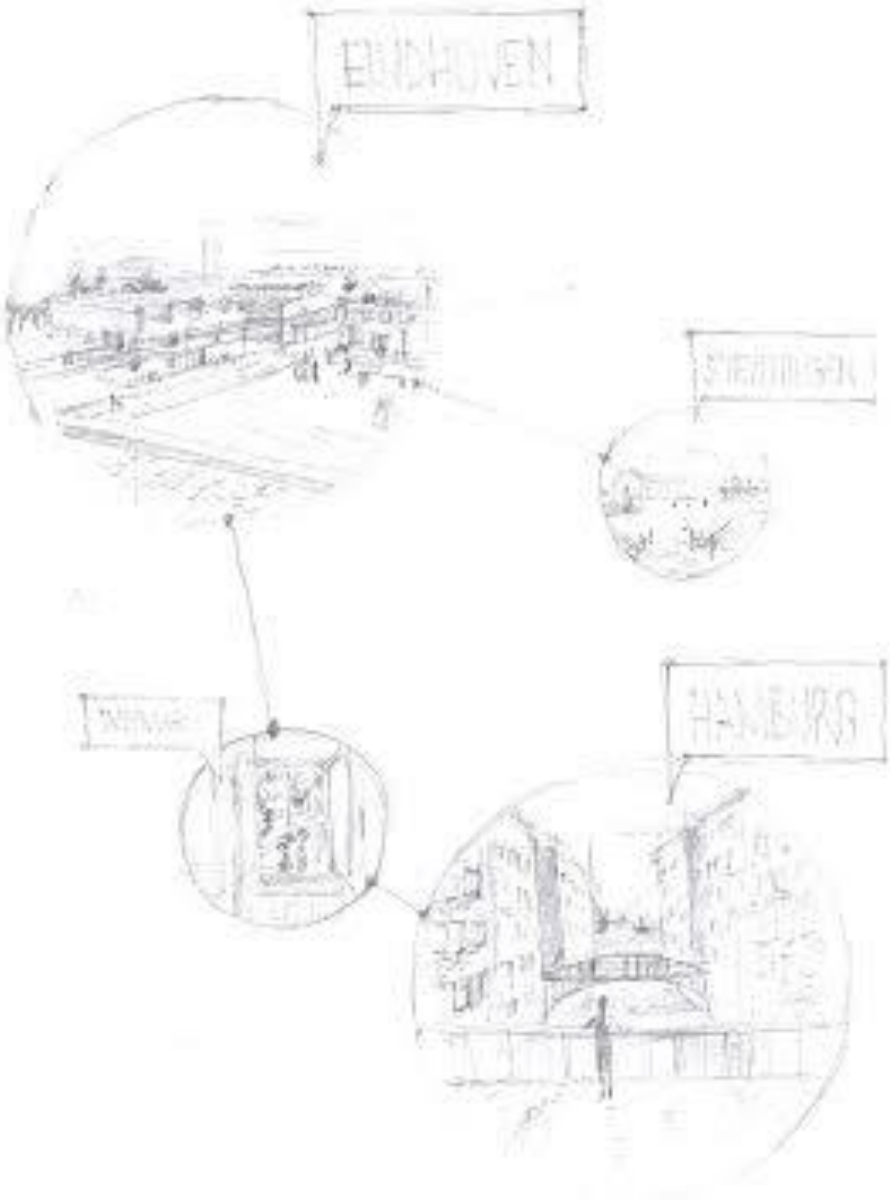
MAP 10
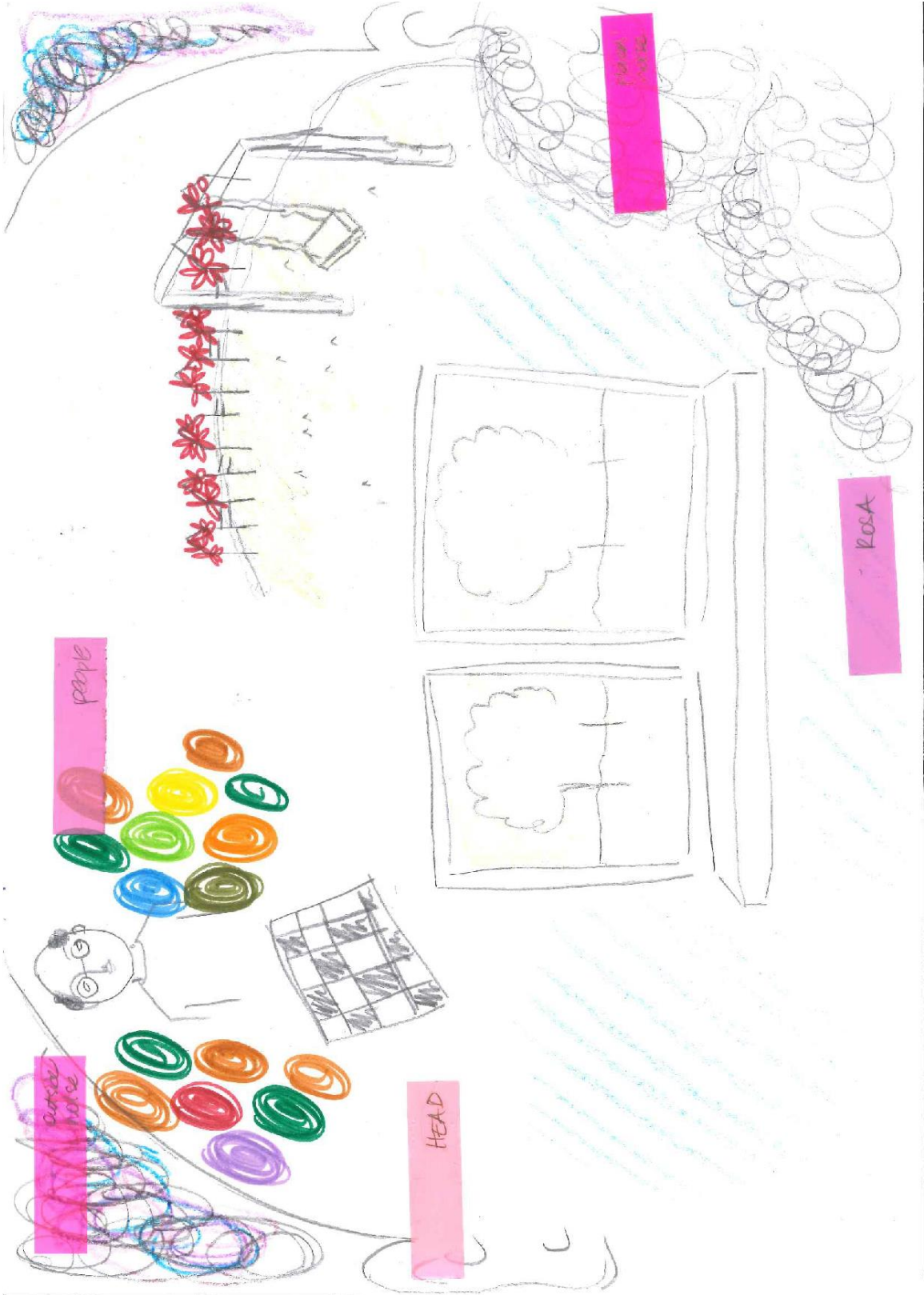
Appendix D – Aspects and temporality

List of places			word	feeling	time	meaning_value
Interview 1	1	child's black room	x	x	x	
	2	blue hallway (hospital)	x	x	x	
	3	dog bushes Saint Martin	x	x	x	
	4	Lake of Hyacinth	end	bittersweet	constant	closer to a safe place
Interview 2	1	home	recharging	x	present	
	2	close to water	peace	x	present	relaxing, healing
	3	city	anonymity	x	present	freedom to be yourself and opportunity (
Interview 3	1	Greek Island	love	love	all three	adventurous, but not risky
	2	European city	carrear	adrenaline going up	future (temporary)	success
	3	Istanbul	nostalgy	melancholic	past and present	enterteinment, strong social life
Interview 4	1	Fillols (Pyrenees)	family	nostalgy, warmth	past	attachment, relaxation
	2	Movie theater Verdi (Barcelona)	learning about the world and discovering things	excitment, fun	past	shared excitment, fun, learning new things, being part of something (community)
	3	Apartment in Tokyo	learning to live with myself	reflexion, rlaxating	present	sense of wellness, safe, comfortable
Interview 5	1	Dream place (Philippines + France)	gate, safe; town, mystery; mountain, nature and quietness			
Interview 6	1	Salvador	part of family + friends - sem frescura (not fussy?)	happy	once in a while	
	2	Rotterdam	part of family + friends - citizenship	happy	once in a while	
	3	Imaginary community	everything	happy	always	combination of both
Interview 7	1	Worm	x	x	x	inspiration
	2	House	x	x	x	freedom (of choices, to be yourself), comfortable x uncomfortable
Interview 8	1	Parks (Hemeraat Singel - Rotterdam	x	x	x	relaxing, meditation, island inside the city, miniature of nature, extension of home
	2	Places where nature was dominated by men (Tiscali - Italy)	x	x	x	exist for a reason, action of the human, risky x safe, unexpected experience, respect to it, belly of the world
	3	Museums (Pergamon Museum - Munich)	x	x	x	machine of time, cinema ante litteram
Interview 9	1	Eindhoven (Netherlands)	calmness	x	past	recovery place
	2	Hamburg (Germany)	fascination	x	past	
	3	Shevening (Netherlands)	excitment	x	past	
	4	Weimar	thoughtfulness	x	past	
Interview 10	1	Dad's vineyard in Italy	childhood	x	past (mostly)	happy childhood, calmness
	2	Chess board in Rotterdam's Central Library	inspiring	x	past, a little present	place of knowledge, different people come together, vibrant
	3	Childhood bedroom (NL)	peacefull	x	present, future	be yourself

APPENDIX E - TYPE OF PLACES AND SPACES

RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF LOCAT.	LOCATIONS	SPACE	PLACE	FAM. PLAC.	ARCH. SITES - CITY	NAT. SITES	IMAG. PLAC.	OTHER SITES	CHILD PERS.	L. MEMOIRE	L. IMAGINATION	ARCHETYPAL SITE	remarks
			LEVEL 1		LEVEL 2 - STAGE 1					LEVEL 2 - STAGE 2				
Interview 1	1	child's black room		x	x					x				other: institutional place - health
	2	blue hallway (hospital)		x					x	x				
	3	dog bushes Saint Martin		x										*fictional story writen by respondent about the place
	4	Lake of Hyacinth		x			x	x					x	arch: HOME
Interview 2	1	home	x		x					x				
	2	close to water	x			x	x							
	3	city	x			x							x	arch: CITY
Interview 3	1	Greek Island		x			x						x	arch: ISLAND
	2	European city		x		x								
	3	Istanbul		x		x	x				x		x	
Interview 4	1	Fillols (Pyrenees)		x	x		x			x				
	2	Movie theater Verdi (Barcelona)		x					x					other: institutional place - culture
	3	Apartment in Tokyo		x	x					x				
Interview 5	1	Dream place (Philippines + France)	x				x	x				?	x	other: can the dreams be compared to fiction? / arch: HOMETOWN
Interview 6	1	Salvador		x	x	x	x						x	
	2	Rotterdam		x	x	x								
	3	Imaginary community		x				x					x	arch: IDEAL COMMUNITY / other: working place
Interview 7	1	Worm		x					x		x			other: working place
	2	House		x	x								x	arch: HOME
Interview 8	1	Parks (Hemeraat Singel - Rotterdam)	x			x	x						x	arch: NATURE X HUMANS
	2	Places where nature was dominated by men (Tiscali - Italy)	x			x	x						x	arch: NATURE X HUMANS
	3	Museums (Pergamon Museum - Munich)	x						x				x	other: institutional place - culture
Interview 9	1	Eindhoven (Netherlands)		x		x								
	2	Hamburg (Germany)		x		x								
	3	Scheveningen (Netherlands)		x		x	x							
	4	Weimar (Germany)		x		x						x		
Interview 10	1	Dad's vineyard in Italy		x	x					x				
	2	Chess board in Rotterdam's Central Library		x					x				x	other: working place
	3	Childhood bedroom (NL)		x	x					x				
total highlighted _ per category			7	22	9	12	10	3	5	7	2	1	11	
					7	4	3	3	3	2	1	1	5	
					9 (p) 0 (s)	8 (p) 4 (s)	5 (p) 5 (s)	3 (p) 0 (s)	4 (p) 1 (s)	7 (p) 0 (s)	1 (p) 0 (s)	1 (p) 0 (s)	5 (p) 6 (s)	
total final			29		39					17				

99