Humanism in Geography: Methodology and Themes in Humanistic Geography

Humanistic geography developed due to a deep dissatisfaction with the mechanistic models of spatial science that had developed during the quantitative revolution. The cultural and historical geographers attacked the positivism from the early 1970s. In fact, it was a rejection of the geometric determinism in which men and women were made to respond automatically to the dictates of universal spatial structures and abstract spatial laws. The followers of spatial science (positivists) treated people as dots on a map, data on a graph, and number in an equation.

It was at the same time a claim for a human geography with the human being at its very centre, a people’s geography, about the real people and for the people’ to develop human being for all. One of the first geographers to attract a wide audience with his advocacy of a humanistic approach was Kirk (1951). But, it was Tuan (1976) who argued for humanistic geography. The term ‘humanistic geography’ was used for the first time by Yi-Fu-Tuan in 1976. The focus of humanistic geography is on people and their condition. For Tuan, humanistic geography was a perspective that disclosed the complexity and ambiguity of relations between people and place (man and environment).

- Humanistic geography gives central and active role to human awareness and human agency, human consciousness and human creativity. It is an attempt at understanding meaning, value and the human significance of life events. In the humanistic strand, the intent has been to understand and recognize the dignity and humanity of the individual.

- Humanists explain and interpret man and space relationship mainly with historical approach. Humanism does not treat humans as machines. It is a subjective approach which aims at verstehn, at an understanding of man in his environment. Humanism is a conviction that men and women can best improve the circumstances of their lives by thinking and acting for themselves, and especially by exercising their capacity for reason (Ralph, 1981).

- As stated above, humanism in geography developed as a criticism against positivism and quantitative revolution in geography. The basic objection of humanists against quantitative revolution is that its tools
and assumptions do not adequately explain human world and human issues, especially those relating to social institutions, attitudes, morals, customs, traditions and aesthetics.

- Humanistic geographers propose that reasoning in humanistic geography should conserve contact with the world of everyday experience and recognize, if not celebrate, the human potential for creativity. The followers of this approach consider geography as “the study of the earth as the home of man”.

- Humanistic geography is thus not an earth science in its ultimate aim. It belongs to the humanities and the social sciences to the extent that they all share the hope of providing an accurate picture of the human world. In humanities the scholars gain insight into the human world by focusing what man does supremely well in the arts and logical thought. In fact, in humanities, knowledge of human world is acquired by examining social institutions. These institutions can be viewed both as example of human inventiveness and as forces limiting the free activity of individuals.

- Humanistic geography achieves an understanding of the human world by studying people’s relation with nature, their geographical behaviour as well as their feelings and ideas in regard to space and place.

- Humanists reject the reduction of space and place to geometrical concepts of surface and point as perceived and preached by the positivists through the methodology of quantitative techniques. Place (landscape, region) is a key concept in humanistic geography. Much humanistic writing is devoted to illustrating and clarifying space. From a humanistic perspective, the meaning of a place (landscape, region) is inseparable from the consciousness of those (men) who inhabit it. The scope of place as a concept varies according to the extension of the thoughts, feelings and experiences that make the consciousness of inhabitants.

**HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE:**

Although humanism in geography is traced back to Vidal de Lablache’s writings, its real beginning is attributed to the Kantian philosophy. Kant asserted:

> History differs from geography only in consideration of time and space. The former (history) is a report of phenomena that follow one another and has reference to time. The latter (geography) is report of phenomena beside each other in space. History is a narrative, geography a description.

Geography and history fill up the entire circumference of our perception: geography that of space, history that of time.

The humanistic approach in geography became popular by French geographers, especially Febvre and Vidal de la Blache. The school of possibilism advocated the view that the physical environment provides
the opportunity for a range of possible human responses and that people have considerable discretion to choose between them. The possibilists emphasized that “nature is never more than an adviser” and that the milieu interne revealed the human being as “at once both active and passive”. Vidal de la Blache’s writings, however, bear many of the hallmarks of functionalism and pragmatism, and Vidal himself regarded human geography as a natural science. Sauer wrote of the phenomenology of landscape in 1925. In 1936, Wooldridge claimed that historical geography must seek to view the countryside through the eyes of the farmer. In 1947, John Wright introduced the term geosophy as part of his contention that geographical knowledge is part of the mental stock of all humans.

In 1939, Hartshorne pleaded the cause of humanistic geography in his book, The Nature of Geography. He accepted that geography’s basic task was essentially Kantanian: Geography and history are alike in that they are integrating sciences concerned with studying the world. There is, therefore, a universal mutual relation between them, even though their bases of integration are in a sense opposite—geography in terms of earth space, history in terms of periods of time (Hartshorne, 1939).

Subsequently, it was Kirk (1951) and Tuan (1976) who laid a strong foundation of humanism in geography. The revival of humanism in geography in the 1970s owed much to a deep dissatisfaction with the more mechanistic models developed during the ‘quantitative revolution’. For this reasons, its early steps were made alongside ‘behavioural geography’; but the two soon parted company and humanistic geography came to recognize the essential subjectivity of both the investigator and the investigated.

Over the past decade humanistic geography has moved far from its previous position. It has advanced from its early attack on positivism to make an assault on structuralism (man is bound in socio-economic and political structures). Moreover, it has developed a more incisive and logical methodology for empirical investigation.

The anarchism of Kropotkin and Reclus and their writings were also the typical examples of humanism. The approaches of Fleure and Herbertson were also humanistic.

The methodology of humanists is characterized with:

- A self-conscious drive to connect with that special body of knowledge, reflection and substance about human experience and human expression, about what it means to be a human being on this earth, namely, the humanities.

- Its methods are essentially those of literary criticism, aesthetics and art history. It is essentially based on hermeneutics (the theory of interpretation and clarification of meanings).
- Its interest is the recovery of place and the iconography (the description and interpretation of landscape to disclose their symbolic meanings), of landscape.
- In other words, the interpretation of the landscape as a carrier and repository of symbolic meaning, widening the traditional definitions of iconography—the study, description, cataloguing and collective representation of portraiture as revealing of the prevailing aesthetic of an age—to include the landscape specifically.
- It lays emphasis on participant observation, interviewing, focus groups discussion, filmed approaches and logical inferences, rather than statistical and quantitative techniques for establishing correlation between people and place (environment).
- It is a philosophy which seeks to disclose the world as it shows before scientific inquiry, as that which is pre-given and presupposed by the sciences.
- Humanists argue that ‘objectification’ is never the simple exercise which conventional forms of science assume them to be.

Themes in Humanistic Geography:
Scientific approaches like positivism, empiricism, and quantification tend to minimize the role of human awareness and knowledge. Humanistic geography, by contrast, especially tries to understand how geographical activities and phenomena reveal the quality of human awareness. Humanistic geography does not consider human being as an ‘economic man.

The propounder of humanistic geography (Tuan) explored five themes of general interest to geographers, namely: (i) geographical knowledge (personal geographies), (ii) territory and place, (iii) crowding and privacy, (iv) livelihood and economics, and (v) religion.

Geographical Knowledge (Personal Geographies):

Man is the superior form of life and has special capacity for thought and reflection. The primary task of humanistic geographers, therefore, is the study of articulated ideas (geographical knowledge). In general, broadly conceived knowledge of geography is necessary to biological survival. All animals must have it, and even the migratory birds have a mental map.

The people (who are not trained in geography) have a broad range of ideas regarding space, location, place and resources. All human groups possess such ideas, though their degree of articulation varies widely from group to group. For example, some primitive people like the Polynesians of the Pacific Islands are able cartographers, where as materially more advanced people, lack the concept of map and map-making.
**Territory and Place:** Territory and place is also an important animal instinct. Some species of animals, like honeybee, tiger, lion, etc., defend their living space against intruders. They behave as they regard certain areas as their own; they appear to have a sense of territory. Human attitudes and attachment to territory and to place bear a clear resemblance to those of other animals. All animals, including human beings, occupy and use space.

A song-bird, perched high on a tree, is able to survey the entire area that it takes to be its own. Contrary to this mammal living close to the ground cannot survey a whole area. Their whole territory is not bounded space but a network of paths and places. Similarly, the food hunters and gatherers generally do not envisage the boundary of their territory. Territory for them is therefore not circumscribed area, but essentially a network of paths and places. By comparison the shifting cultivators and settled cultivators tend to have a strong sense of property and of the bounded space (territory).

Much more than animals, man develops emotional attachment to place as he satisfies his biological needs (drinks, eat and rest). Moreover, in comparison to animals he has a strong memory. He remembers the past and thinks of the future. It is because of these feelings that he attaches so much importance to events like birth and death.

Consequently, man becomes sentimental and attaches more importance to his birthplace. How mere space becomes an intensely human place is a task of human geographers to explore and explain according to the preachers of humanistic geography.

**Crowding and privacy:**
Crowding of a place leads to physical and psychological stress. It has been observed that the behaviour of animals at a crowded place becomes abnormal. Same is the case with man. Culture, social institutions and infrastructures, however, help in reducing these stresses. For example, people in crowded Hong Kong are no more prone to crime than people living in relatively spacious American, European and Australian cities. Contrary to this, in the Kalahari Desert, the Bushmen are crowded by choice, and biological indicators of stress are absent despite the high density at places where water is available.

Similarly, privacy and solitude also affect the thinking process and decision-making of a person regarding space. In solitude a person creates his own world. All people need privacy; the degree and kind may vary. Crowded conditions make it difficult to escape the human gaze, and thereby a developed sense of self. In solitude a person creates his own world; safe from another’s gaze he seems to sustain the existence of all that he sees.
Livelihood and Economics:
Man sustains himself by doing some economic and social activities. All human activities appear to be economic and functional in the sense that they support the social system outside of which people cannot live. Whether it is worship of the sacred cow or ritual human sacrifice, they may be shown to have important economic consequences, and hence they are not beyond the economic rationale.
While working for his livelihood, man differentiates between life-sustaining and life-destroying activities. Production of armaments, for example, is an economic activity that provides a livelihood for many workers, but its contribution to the survival of the species is in doubt. All people and professional planners plan their economic activities according to their knowledge and technology. To what extent do planners make use of economic theory and facts in reaching the decision? How good are the results? Such questions need to be asked by the humanistic geographers.

Religion:
Religion is present at varying degree in all cultures. It appears to be a universal trait. In religion human beings are clearly distinguished from other animals.
Religion (Latin religare) means to bind again, i.e., to bind oneself strongly to a set of beliefs, faith, or ethic. More broadly speaking, the religious person is one who seeks coherence and meaning in his world, and a religious culture is one that has a clearly structured world-view. Since everybody tries to understand cosmos in his own way, everybody is religious. In other words, if religion is broadly defined as the impulse for coherence and meaning, then all human beings are religious. In fact, at individual level, Albert Einstein also was a religious person. The strength of the impulse varies enormously from culture to culture and from person to person. A humanistic approach to religion would require that we should be aware of the differences in the human desire for coherence, and not how these are manifest in the organization of space and time in attitude to nature or physical environment.

The philosophical departures of Humanistic tradition includes:
Phenomenology is a philosophical approach that studies human consciousness and experience. Geographers began to adopt aspects of phenomenology in the 1960s and 1970s, partly to challenge the abstraction and generalization of prevailing spatial scientific approaches and partly to provide a more invigorated sense of human agency within geographical theory. Phenomenological approaches emphasize the significance of human subjectivity, the complexity of geographical knowledge production, and, in some quarters, the search for shared categories through which the world may be apprehended. In recent years
phenomenological approaches have been critiqued for an overemphasis on human subjectivity, while some have questioned the extent to which phenomenological philosophy challenges the positivism of spatial science.

**Existentialism** is a philosophy that emphasizes individual existence, freedom and choice. It is the view that humans define their own meaning in life, and try to make rational decisions despite existing in an irrational universe. It focuses on the question of human existence, and the feeling that there is no purpose or explanation at the core of existence. It holds that, as there is no God or any other transcendent force, the only way to counter this nothingness (and hence to find meaning in life) is by embracing existence.

**Idealism** is the metaphysical and epistemological doctrine that ideas or thoughts make up fundamental reality. Essentially, it is any philosophy which argues that the only thing actually knowable is consciousness (or the contents of consciousness), whereas we never can be sure that matter or anything in the outside world really exists. Thus, the only real things are mental entities, not physical things (which exist only in the sense that they are perceived).

Idealism is a form of Monism (as opposed to Dualism or Pluralism), and stands in direct contrast to other Monist beliefs such as Physicalism and Materialism (which hold that the only thing that can be truly proven to exist is physical matter). It is also contrasted with Realism (which holds that things have an absolute existence prior to, and independent of, our knowledge or perceptions).

Idealism is a label which covers a number of philosophical positions with quite different tendencies and implications, including Subjective Idealism, Objective Idealism, Transcendental Idealism and Absolute Idealism, as well as several more minor variants or related concepts (see the section on Other Types of Idealism below). Other labels which are essentially equivalent to Idealism include Mentalist and Immaterialism.

**Types of Idealism:**

**Epistemological Idealism** asserts that minds are aware of, or perceive, only their own ideas (representations or mental images), and not external objects, and therefore we cannot directly know things in themselves, or things as they really are. All we can ever have knowledge about is the world of phenomenal human experience, and there is no reason to suspect that reality actually mirrors our perceptions and thoughts. This is very similar to the doctrine of Phenomenalism.

**Actual Idealism** is a form of Idealism developed by the Italian philosopher Giovanni Gentile (1875 - 1944) that contrasted the Transcendental Idealism of Kant and the Absolute Idealism of Hegel. His system saw thought as all-embracing, and claimed that no-one could actually leave their sphere of thinking, or
exceed their own thought. His ideas were key to helping the Fascist party consolidate power in Italy, and gave Fascism much of its philosophical base.

**Practical Idealism** is a political philosophy which holds it to be an ethical imperative to implement ideals of virtue or good (it is therefore unrelated to Idealism in its other senses). Its earliest recorded use was by Mahatma Gandhi, although it is now often used in foreign policy and international relations, where it purports to be a pragmatic compromise between political realism (which stresses the promotion of a state’s narrow and amoral self-interest), and political idealism (which aims to use the state’s influence and power to promote higher liberal ideals like peace, justice and co-operation between nations).

This approach has, however, been criticized on more than one grounds as below.

In humanistic geography, as discussed above, central importance is given to the actor’s (man’s) definition and behaviour for examining the social world. The researcher needs to discover the actor’s definition of the situation, namely, his or her perception and interpretation of reality and how these relate to behaviour. In other words, the researcher must be able to see the world as the actor sees it.

- A general criticism of humanistic geography is that the investigator can never know for sure whether one has actually succeeded in providing true explanation. Undoubtedly, one can never know with certainty that a humanistic explanation is true; the same objection may be raised to positivists, quantitative and theoretical approaches. The theoretical physicist can never be certain of his theories. In fact, the history of natural science is largely a history of abandoned theories. Yet progress has been made, because with the failure of old theories, new more powerful ones have emerged.

- The second criticism of humanistic geography is that on methodological grounds it separates physical geography from human geography. In physical geography, the scientific techniques can be applied for theory and models building and hypotheses testing as it mainly deals with non-living objects. Contrary to this, in human geography, such quantitative techniques may not give the authentic and reliable results as the behaviour of man varies in space and time. The dichotomy of physical geography and human geography is thus harmful for the growth and development of the discipline. This dualism has eroded the geographical core of the subject—the unity of the subject.

- In humanistic geography which is largely based on participant observation, it is difficult to develop theory, abstraction, generalization and spatial geometry. Thus, it has no sound and valid methodological base as it involves more subjective than objective research.

- There is insignificant emphasis on applied research. For example, it does not give emphasis on applied research or policy related to the location of industry, locational analysis of land use and crop intensity.
The indifference towards applied research may destroy the base of the subject. The potential dangers are greater because other disciplines have been more effective at academic imperialism than geography. For example, applied research on the economics of location (economic geography) is in danger of being consumed within economics; research on climatic variability might be swallowed by atmospheric physics; research on slope and soil might be absorbed by engineering soil mechanics, and so on.

- Humanistic geography does not offer a viable alternative to, nor a pre-supposition less basis for, scientific geography. Rather, the humanist approach is best understood as a form of criticism (Entrikin, 1976).

- Humanist approach is ‘methodologically obscure’. The goals of understanding man’s meaningful experience seem to lead to a situation in which any method is acceptable. It is not a practical philosophy as it involves thinking rather than practical activity. Its methodology is eclectic and sources of interpretation are numerous and therefore it becomes difficult to ascertain the reality.

Most of the criticisms of humanistic geography are, however, ill-founded. Is it not a fact that all history is the history of human thought? The geographical reality of a place or region may be appreciably understood through participant observation and social interaction, by giving central and active role to human awareness, and human agency.

**THE CONCEPT OF SPACE AND PLACE**

The concepts of place and space have varied throughout the recent history of geography, specifically with phenomenology and humanistic geography. Entrikin (1991*) has illustrated quite well the idea grounded in the humanistic discipline by dividing place into objective and subjective. The subjective dimension embraces individualistic meanings attached to place basically in the representational level whereas the objective denotes to the ‘naturalistic qualities of place’.

However, this approach has been criticized for various reasons. Firstly, authors following the non-representational approach have been debating the understanding of subjective character only on the mental level, leaving aside sensual and physical performances in place. Secondly, in his basic assumption when assuming that the observer and the observed are somehow detached. The phenomenological approach, according to him, rather seeks ways to understand how the two polar opposites can be brought together rather than to comprehend that place is a unity containing within itself different aspects. However, in our opinion this binary approach in humanistic discipline is mainly used to lead attention to meanings which had been neglected prior to this approach. Still, the way meanings are brought to the analysis needs further attention.
Lefebvre (1991) challenged the binary notion by introducing the third term. Lefebvre, argue that space is understood as physical and social landscape which is imbued with meaning in everyday place-bound social practices and emerges through processes that operate over varying spatial and temporal scales. Three different scales are distinguished. Firstly, perceived space, which includes both the emotional and behavioral bubbles which invisibly surround people’s bodies as well as complex spatial organization of practices that shape action spaces in households, buildings, neighborhoods, villages, cities, regions, nations, the world economy and global geopolitics. Secondly, conceived space refers to our knowledge of spaces which is primarily produced by discourses of power and ideology constructed by professionals such as planners, engineers, researchers etc. Eventually, third space is the space where all the spaces are and where the subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete etc. meet. This encompasses at the same time the space of users in everyday life, the mental space, the space influenced by wider social, economic and political processes etc.

The postmodern approach has even more emphasized the inseparable character of place. Despite their focus being on socio-spatial relations in their TPNS (territory, place, network, scale) model, the model presents how place has also been approached in different times. Although the presence of place in the framework may be misleading, in this context it actually denotes more the specific location. There are different approaches used simultaneously when investigating place – place should be viewed as specific location, as a wider territory, as consisting of networks and finally extending over different scales.

Place for us is socially constructed and operating, including interaction between people and groups, institutionalized land uses, political and economic decisions, and the language of representation. This definition already stresses that place should be looked at interdisciplinary, however, authors claim that there are some shortages in the current research. Firstly, the literature of place making mainly deals with wider scales and especially authors investigating global influences on places rarely engage with the topics of place meaning or identity. Global processes are viewed only as having material influences on places and not having to do anything with ever changing place meanings.

Auburn and Barnes (2006) have suggested dividing the meaning-making process into four categories: personal, local, national and supranational. To clarify the following the article authors have used this categorization, although we suggest that these categories are more constructed than natural. All these different scales finally mix through individual consciousness. The meanings which a person attaches to places are similarly influenced by personal experiences and global politics.
Finally, the connection between the place meanings and identity also needs to be reviewed. Place identity, when using the simplest clarification, characterizes people as meaning characterizes places. People’s identities are created through defining themselves in relation to places. As meaning-making, also this process takes place in a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, memories, ideas, feelings, values, goals and behavioral tendencies and skills relevant to this environment.

**Supranational place making, place meanings**

Recently a lot of literature focuses on globalization and the global scale of places. Globalization, may well have eliminated space but not place, which means that no longer locational advantage is important but instead place based characters, in determining the relative attractiveness of place for capital. He even goes as far as stating that actually global economy creates more inequalities and differences between places, by preferring some and neglecting other places. Also, that globalization develops porosity of place – communication with other places, that is vital for the survival of regions and communities.

Globalization influences the meanings of states. For instance, the so-called Third World states have become the depository, container or low-cost production sites in Western paradigm, some places have acquired the meaning of demand nodes etc. Globalization changes the meanings of places on the individual level as well, for example, people’s evaluation of global businesses depends on how they (state, region) see the globalization, whether as destructive force to regionality, or as force which gives prosperity to everyone etc.

One example of supranational place making is also the discourse of researchers and planners. Probably the most obvious example is high-modernism ideas about city planning which influenced the destiny of various cities. Not only did the discourse intend to change the physical form of cities but also the practices that were performed by individuals by introducing zoning policies. Today those discourses continue to influence the meanings attached to places in various scales also through the regimes of so called ideal landscapes. Researchers are starting to more and more intervene in planning policies and there exist a wide literature on place making which is used by community making throughout the world.

Supranational place making also comprises the meanings that unite different groups based on age, gender, religion. For example home has been throughout the history associated with women. These meanings can differ between various regions as well, catholic church has totally different meanings in Warsaw or in Israel but also in Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland.

Finally, the contribution of Relph (1976*) should also be reviewed as he has introduced the term mass-identity which according to him refers to the meanings created by opinion-makers and provided
ready made through media. Mass identities are not only based on symbols and significances, but also on stereotypes.

**National place making**

Friedmann has very thoroughly discussed how place making appears in the level of state. State creates the images of places by constraining everyday life by deciding what activities are allowed at certain times of the day or night, who may or may not be seen on the street, what forms of public behavior are permitted and which are not, what kind of traffic may circulate, what sort of structures may be built and for what purposes. State is empowered to regulate everyday life in the public spaces of the city but, not only, the state also regulates our private life by punishing us for playing loud music at night etc. State’s presence is at the same time visible and invisible through various institutions like the police, social workers, surveillance cameras, systems of licensing and permits, standards for constructions etc.

Different plans create spaces endowed with meaning by stating what their purpose is and how they should be used. It also brings out the conflict between the state and the individual, although the state has somehow regulated the use of its spaces the actual activity of individuals does not always stay in these borders and places often have alternative uses. State planning policies can also act in more hidden ways.

The state policy also influences national and other scales of place making. For instance if the state has been following neo-liberal policies the communities are been assumed to take care of the local facilities. This kind of policy also creates more segregation which influences the spatial character of the cities. As a result different districts obtain various meanings.

**Local place making**

Regional identity is created in distinctive manner, regions try to distinguish themselves by natural, cultural elements and inhabitants. In some way global economy is reinforcing distinction because it now more than ever values distinctive characters of place instead of position. These distinctions are also used in discourses of science, politics, cultural activism. However such narratives are not only used for economic etc. purposes but it also lets people create the sense of self by acknowledging who and what they are and sometimes adopting ready-made identities.

These ready-made identities are often created through historical association. Usually common history has not been directly experienced and is thus carried on by stories and creating narratives themselves (These narratives can also act in the state level). Narratives are reinforced through traditional activities. The more actively an individual is involved in traditional activities the stronger is the bond between the individual
and places. Another bounding character that influences people’s identity is common culture. Culture involves common socialization process which takes place through sharing similar experiences, signs and symbols. Community making has complicated the relationship with place meanings. On one hand those sharing similar experiences and having common purposes unite under citizen movements, on the other hand this activity transforms previous meanings. Neighborhood organizations use various narratives such as previously discussed historical and cultural but also physical natural and experimental. Place frames are constantly in transition and are remade by creating common ground for collective action and shaping people’s ideas about places. New meanings are being created by bringing out common experiences, interests and values. Often however what is more stressed upon are the characters that distinguish people from others.

**Individual place making**

A lot of attention has been given to the meanings people attach to places in individual level and how it contributes to their identity. One of the reasons, in fact, why people give meanings to places is the need to discover and evolve their identity. Through some place people can experience reflection, introspection, self-understanding etc. Individual’s identity may form in contribution to many places and their meanings.

Sometimes places act as important markers in people’s lives. Places can acquire meaning through significant experiences (trauma, loss) and through the experiences of change and transition (moving).

Places can become meaningful to people because of the relations they have had with other people for instance people living there – friends, acquaintances, relatives (Gustafson, 2001*). Relationships with other people are a part of collective self defining as also individual place making through special relationships with only one or few persons. The connection, however, is two folded – places can become meaningful through social relationships but special places help to create meaningful relationships as well.

Places have a great role in reminding us of our past. The connection to history that places form extends as already mentioned over all the categories of place making. On the individual level they act for us as connections with special times or occasions in our life. Places can also act contrary and reflect continuity in our lives. But in other circumstances places are valued for some decisions and changes that are connected to these and for interrupting continuity.

Places are also used for awaking certain feelings like comfort, security, belonging, being anchored, self-expression, and freedom to be oneself.