

Image-based qualitative interviews: on the example of photo elicitation

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We experience spaces with all our available senses: We see the vastness of the horizon, hear the noise of traffic, smell the street market, taste the salty sea air, and feel the wooden boards beneath our feet. When we imagine these spaces, images appear in front of our mind's eye: images of the crowds rushing through the streets, the colorful market stalls, the white-capped waves, and the room in the old apartment building. The immanent presence of the visual when imagining spaces encourages the use of images in spatial research. Accordingly, visualizations are used to collect data, as a means of analysis, and to illustrate results. They have established themselves in spatial research, where their use goes emphatically beyond mere illustrations.

Since the *visual turn* at the beginning of the 1990s, academics have shown a strong tendency toward images. With regard to geography, Gillian Rose (2003: 212) noted that there had been little reflection on a corresponding theoretical-methodological framework. Several authors have since taken up this critique as food for thought in spatial research (Dirksmeier 2007; Schlottmann/Miggelbrink 2009, 2015). In particular, Rose emphasizes the “need for careful, empirical research that explores the dynamics of image, audience and space in ways that remain alert to the power relations that inhere in all of these” (Rose 2003: 219). This article considers this and illustrates the—empirically founded—possibilities, methodological challenges, and limitations of using visualizations in qualitative, interview-based data collection for space-related research questions. For this purpose, we use the example of the photo-elicitation method for studying spatial imaginaries.

After a theoretical review of the relationship between image and space, we present various potential applications of image-based qualitative interviews, while describing and reflecting on the use of images based on empirical experiences with the method of photo-elicitation. Finally, we consider the potential offered by image-based interviews for the spatial sciences.

1 Image and space

As photographer Nilüfer Demir took a photo of the drowned three-year-old boy Alan Kurdi on the beach of Bodrum (Turkey) in the early morning hours of 2 September 2015, she changed the world. The photograph transformed the media representation and the social and political discourse on what became known as the summer of migration. It became a powerful discursive turning point in the debate on refugees and asylum. This single image had a greater impact than all the previous video, television, radio and social media coverage. Abstract notions of the dramatic situation at the far-away gates of Europe became palpable with this single photograph, bringing the horrific reality of this humanitarian disaster close to home.

Why can images have such a profound affect? How are they used as a means of communication? Moreover, in terms of their role in research: How can images be employed purposefully as tools for empirical social research in the spatial sciences?

Images—including their many variations (photographs, drawings, maps, graphics)—have been widely used in spatial research, especially geography, for a long time (Rose 2003: 212 et seq.). Traditionally, images have proved useful in two respects: first as a means of increasing clarity for didactic reasons. For example, public relations work and knowledge sharing rely heavily on visualizations (Tolia-Kelly 2012: 136). Second, images are used analytically to explore space-related research questions, such as the analysis of aerial and satellite images in cartography and geographic information processing. Although images are an integral part of spatial research, an in-depth theoretical debate about their status only emerged in the 1990s (Rose 2010; Dirksmeier 2015; Schlottmann/Miggelbrink 2015).

For our interest in the significance and use of images in qualitative spatial research, the recently developed *hauntological approach* proposed by Elisabeth Roberts (2012) is particularly relevant. The human geographer argues that the often contradictory positions regarding the status of images in the literature do not do justice to their complexity. In many cases, images are understood unilaterally, either as representational systems of signs or as material artifacts, as depictions of reality or as virtual portrayals. However, Roberts sees no need to choose just one of these theoretical perspectives. She observes that doing so results in false opposites, emphasizing the potential of this intermediate status of an image (ibid.: 386). According to her, photographs cannot be reduced to mere symbols and must therefore be read as visual text in line with Ernst Cassirer or interpreted iconographically as a sign system in line with Erwin Panofsky (Dirksmeier 2015: 198 et seq.). Beyond their semiotic nature, images boast a surplus of importance, acting both emotionally and affectively, depending on the intentions of the author (e.g., the photographer Nilüfer Demir). Images are performative (Butler 2007): Each time they are observed, they reveal a new facet, and they become part of an assemblage of sign systems, material objects, emotions, and much more (Roberts 2012: 397).

While a great amount of skepticism remains beyond the spatial sciences regarding the sensory and the visual inherent to images—because truth allegedly cannot be found in words or text (see Bredekamp 2010)—using images has become everyday practice in geography, urban planning, and architecture. Especially in the spatial sciences, the objects of investigation (such as places, landscapes, cities) are complex entities that are

constructed both materially and socially, thus acting as semiotic sign systems, aesthetic apparitions, and material infrastructures (Helbrecht/Dirksmeier 2012; Pohl/Helbrecht 2022). Therefore, it is not only logical but also productive to consider the diversity and simultaneity of images in empirical spatial research. As such, it is no coincidence that the photo-elicitation method—on which we focus on below—was developed in the course of a spatial science study (Harper 2002). The anthropologist John Collier proposed this approach in the 1950s as part of a study on the living conditions of different social groups as his research team faced the challenge of agreeing on how to categorize quality of life (ibid.).

2 Image-based interviews in spatial research

There is a wide methodological range of image-based interviews, which can be used in spatial research to address multiple research questions (Schlottmann/Miggelbrink 2015). This includes methods that emphasize non-verbal elements, such as auto-photography, which is often seen as the epistemological counterpart to the narrative interview (Adair/Worth 1972). Our contribution, by contrast, illustrates the use of image-based methods *in combination* with interviews. In essence, it is possible to differentiate between two relevant methodological approaches for spatial research: reflexive photography and photo-elicitation (Dirksmeier 2009: 166).

Reflexive photography is particularly useful for studying subjective conceptions of everyday spaces, as well as for exploring sensitive spaces and those that are difficult to access (e.g., private premises such as the home or semi-public spaces such as clubs). This method involves the respondents themselves acting as photographers, sent into the field with a camera and given a task that is as open-ended as possible. Auyero and Swistun (2009), for example, use this approach to study the perspectives of children on their environment in a highly polluted informal settlement in Argentina. In reflexive photography, the captured photographs serve as a basis for discussion in the subsequent interview. The interviewees are experts on their own photographs by explaining to the researchers what can be seen on the images and why they decided on what is depicted and the specific perspective (Hurworth 2012). This approach requires a high degree of commitment on the part of the interviewees, who must be willing to take photos independently and make them available for the subsequent interview.

Another approach that combines images and language is the *photo-elicitation* method. In this case, researchers use selected images to tease out aspects from the interviewees that often remain latent when using purely cognitive-linguistic impulses. In what follows, we focus on outlining this method by illustrating and reflecting on its empirical application based on a research project on “geographic imaginations”¹.

1 As part of the Collaborative Research Centre 1265 *Re-Figuration of Spaces* funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), the project *Geographic Imaginations: People's Sense of Security and Insecurity in a Cross-Generational Comparison* explores which subjective conceptions of space are relevant in terms of how different age groups perceive space. We would like to thank Yannick Ecker, Henning Füller, and Ylva Kürten for collaborating on this project in the early stages.

3 The photo-elicitation method: Preparation, implementation, analysis

In photo-elicitation, the images used for the interview are chosen or created by the researchers in advance. The images serve as a visual guide for the interview, operationalizing space-related research questions. Therefore, careful reflection on the selected images and the positionality of the researcher, which influence the research endeavor, is of utmost importance (Rose 2003). Creating an analysis matrix for the images helps the researcher by divulging a description of the motif, the image composition, the image genre, and the assumptions with regard to the intended markers, or planned impulses. For the research project on geographic imaginations, photos were selected that represent the various scales and types of space and at the same time connected the markers of security and insecurity. In addition, the study focused on using images that allowed as much room for interpretation as possible in order to avoid the reproduction of conventional discourses and everyday dichotomies (such as secure/insecure, positive/negative, close/far). When selecting images, aspects related to the content, as well as ethical and practical implications, should be taken into account. For example, researchers must consider the right of publicity of the depicted individuals. This applies both to photos taken themselves and to those provided by third-parties. For the latter, the copyright of the image is relevant, especially when publishing a study.

The interview structure takes different forms and is determined by the specific research objective: For example, images can take up only a small part of the interview, or they can be used to introduce various thematic blocks during the conversation. The images can be combined with general questions (“What do you see in this photograph?”, “What feelings do you associate with the image?”, “How does the image relate to your everyday life?”) or with specific thematic questions. In the interviews for the project on geographic imaginations, images were shown one after the other to set the tone and thus elicit new associations. In parallel, a thematic interview guide was used. We referred back to this when the corresponding topic was made relevant in the statement of the interviewed person or when it was difficult to create a reference to the image. This approach helped to keep the interviews as open as possible and to give the participants room for free associations. Often photos are used in an effort to reduce the intrinsic power asymmetries between the researchers and the respondents in the interview situation. The use of images can be empowering or even liberating for the interviewees since they support a significantly open dialogue and structure during the interview (Richard/Lahman 2015).

At the beginning of the data collection phase, a pretest is carried out to trial the selection and order of the images used, as well as the inherent content of the topics. In our interviews, for example, the participants reacted to the photos—which we printed out in DIN A4 format and laminated for the interview—as follows:



Fig. 1: Photo: Bedroom. | ©Fabrizio Bruno, 2018 (<http://fabriziobruno.org>)

“Well, that is—I’d say the first thing that comes to mind is my time as a student. [...] And something where I certainly would no longer feel comfortable today. So, if we are talking about feeling comfortable and such, that’s how it was in those days. And then it was alright if you—it just looks a little scruffy. Right? And a little bit like after, how should I say it, after a hard night. That’s basically what it reminds me of. And then—but it’s also a little too cold because of the floor here. Right?” (Interview B31, 19, own translation)



Fig. 2: Photo: Children's Day in Altlandsberg | ©B-Musik, 2014

“That could be somewhere in Brandenburg. But it could also, man, I’ve seen so many of these churches, I have no idea. But it’s horrible, it’s not for me. I wouldn’t go inside. Definitely not, I’d walk past it, as quickly as possible.” (Interview B3, 13, own translation)



Fig. 3: Photo: Installation by artist JR. | ©Guillermo Arias/AFP/Getty Images, 2017

“I feel very close to the child. [...] Basically, my father came to Germany in 89 and applied for asylum [...] And I still remember the airport. Yeah, it was the Hannover Airport. The passport control, where we were really scared, where we had to wait. Those are the memories, the border, crossing the border.” (Interview B40, 75 et seq., own translation)

When analyzing the interview material, it is possible to follow different approaches: The transcript of an audio recording can be analyzed entirely in text format as a basis for the data. In this case, the preliminary considerations of the researchers regarding the image selection for space-related research questions are relevant as they are taken into account and verbalized when analyzing the interview material: for example, by means of coding. We chose this approach for the research project on geographic imaginations where we were especially interested in the emotional and affective dimensions of spatial imaginations, which were triggered by the image. The text-based analysis can be enhanced by incorporating the images themselves into the interpretation of the interviews. For this approach, the statements of the interviewees and the preconceptions of the researchers are correlated with the images. The differences in the perception of the images and in the associations they elicit make it possible to illustrate their surplus of importance, in addition to their semiotic nature. Empirical spatial research in particular can benefit from

this possibility as the space—as well as the image—is underpinned by a performativity and diversity that can be approximated in terms of their multidimensionality.

In our research project on geographic imaginations, for example, we used the photo of a bedroom (Fig. 1) to show a room that could represent a feeling of comfort and security, while at the same time evoking associations with a precarious and potentially insecure living situation. This ambivalence in reference to the image becomes clear in the interview passage: The evoked memory of the time as a student is characterized by positive feelings of freedom and adventure, whereas from the current positioning of the interviewee it elicits a feeling of unease. In many interviews, the photo serves as a starting point to talk about what is required for a home to achieve subjective well-being. Analyzing these conceptions makes it possible, for example, to assess psycho-spatial arrangements of home when establishing subjective security or insecurity (Pohl et al. 2020; Genz/Helbrecht 2023).

4 Methodological reflections on photo-elicitation

Which methodological possibilities, challenges, and limitations result from the use of image-based interviews in spatial research? A special quality shown by the use of photo-elicitation in our empirical research project on geographic imaginations is the possibility to study affective dimensions of spatial knowledge. We understand affects as a type of emotionality in reference to other people and things and to anything related to those people or things (Woodward/Lea 2010; Dirksmeier/Helbrecht 2013). Photos are also intended to archive affects, offering the possibility to save and recall affects (Latham/McCormack 2009; Waterton/Watson 2014). In photo-elicitation, the interviewee is not the photographer. Instead, they encounter a selection of images during the interview without knowing their intention.

The previously mentioned interview passages demonstrate that the interviewees place themselves in the images and relate them to their own experiences and socio-spatial conceptions. The emotional reference to the image and the depicted space is formative. The visual imagery, which stimulates the conversation, has a “more immediate, more physical, more directly sensory” (Bosch/Mautz 2012: 1, own translation) effect than a purely verbal address. Affective aspects of the frequently implicit spatial knowledge can be uncovered by means of photo-elicitation and made a topic of conversation. Additionally, recognizing the subjective character of the perception (Bachleitner/Weichbold 2015) and the focus on *embodied knowledge* encourages a critical research approach that opposes a universal claim to knowledge and is therefore harbored in a feminist production of knowledge (Longhurst 2009).

In contrast, a practice-based and theoretical perspective requires the direct and immediate examination of the performativity of daily practices, meaning spatial practices and performances, in order to discover *embodied knowledge* (Bondi 2005: 445). However, it is clear that any type of interview technique—be it with or without photos—has distinct limitations. Critics often note, that although affective dimensions of spatial knowledge are investigated by means of image-based methods in spatial research, the photo-based interview with visuals of spatial arrangements cannot replace the experience of

being affected by the space itself. Nevertheless, in practice, it is not always possible to conduct interviews on site. In particular, large-scale research questions in the context of globalization, nation-building, etc. can often be addressed empirically only in interview situations with images of (remote) spaces. In this case, the surplus of importance of the images contributes considerably to making the multidimensionality of spaces physically tangible and perceptible by means of image-based stimuli. Visual research also refers to the *agency* of the image in this context (Rose 2016: 21). In combination with subjective perception, memory, personal classification, and feelings, images resonate greatly with the performativity of spaces (Helbrecht/Dirksmeier 2013).

When using image-based interviews in different social or geographical contexts, the preverbal content of an image represents a particular challenge and opportunity. Subjective stocks of knowledge, diverse dependencies, and sentiments are always incorporated into the selection of images (Bachleitner/Weichbold 2015; Berger 1972: 8). A relationship is always established between what is depicted and oneself. This applies both to the individual who selects or creates the image and to those who behold the image: “[A]lthough every image embodies a way of seeing, our perception or appreciation of an image depends also upon our own way of seeing” (Berger 1972: 10). Because the visual can never entirely be covered by the verbal, attempting to translate perceptions, imaginations, and memories into language always produces a *murmur* (ibid.; Dirksmeier 2015: 206). Especially in the case of spatial research questions, comparative studies are often carried out at different locations. In the project on geographic imaginations, the preverbal level was translated for various spatial contexts—in our case, for Berlin, Vancouver, and Singapore—by replacing some of the images with specific local references. Previously explained conceptions of the images and consultation with people from the respective local contexts were indispensable for producing an appropriate translation. Aside from the narrowness of the communication, the visibility of photography in the interview can also serve as a linguistic bridge (Collier 1957: 858) when it reveals unconscious ascriptions of meaning.

The use of image-based interviews ultimately facilitates a low power imbalance by inviting the interview participants to reflect on their own (spatial) experiences in an open conversational situation (Clark-Ibáñez 2004; Pyry 2015). The method therefore affords the interviewees significant scope in the process (Bignante 2010: 13). Moreover, inquiries into hegemonic discourses fade into the background due to the focus on subjective ascriptions of meaning (Clark-Ibáñez 2004). However, this participatory and emancipatory effect does not fully eliminate hierarchies between the people participating in the interview. Because the images are selected by the researchers in the case of photo-elicitation—in contrast to reflexive photography—there is considerable power and decision-making on side of the researchers (Bachleitner/Weichbold 2015). In the spatio-temporal analysis of the geographical imaginations in our project, for example, we surmised that historical photographs would have elicited more stories from further into the past than our interviews would have. After all, visualizations represent a powerful tool for world production (Schlottmann/Miggelbrink 2015), and applying them to spatial research offers great potential, while also requiring careful reflection.

5 Potential of image-based interviews for spatial research

Images shape our thinking and influence our feelings as well as spatial actions. Seeing and understanding are subjective. Image-based interviews for studying spatial knowledge help to understand the complexity of these profoundly spatio-performative perception processes and experiences and to invoke them in open conversation. This article has illustrated methodological approaches and analytical methods based on empirical experiences, as well as the potential and challenges of photo-elicitation for space-related research questions.

Due to the hauntological characteristics, the use of images in the tradition of visual geography offers multidimensional approaches to uncover the performative, sensory, affective, and highly complex surpluses of importance of spatial images (Helbrecht/Dirksmeier 2013). The elicitation of spatial knowledge as *embodied knowledge* and the potential access to subjective spatial imaginations and experiences as a result—the specification of which remains latent due to cognitive impulses—represents a strength of the photo-elicitation method presented here.

An open, dialogical principle in image-based interviews offers the opportunity for active involvement and emancipatory participation in order to counteract inherent power relations in the interview. Allowing the interviewees to create the image material themselves can further minimize power imbalances. In contrast, a critically reflexive image selection by the researchers focused on the object of investigation—as we were able to demonstrate based on our example of a research project on geographic imaginations of security and insecurity—can effectively reveal performative and emotional-affective dimensions of implicit spatial knowledge. Both approaches require researchers to reflect carefully.

This contribution ties into interdisciplinary, methodological research questions in spatial research. Image-based interview techniques provide a solution for measuring the diversity and simultaneity of systematically subjective spatial knowledge. The applications for and reflections on a visual-participatory approach to exploring space presented here offer a compatible method for other disciplines: The surplus of meaning in the image constitutes methodological potential. It can be used purposefully to illustrate ambivalences, dichotomies, and intricacies—that is to say, the complex multi-dimensionality of spaces—as well as the intrinsic, established spatial knowledge and thus the overlying contours of a global refiguration of spaces.

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