

Special Issue Multi-locality studies:
Recent insights and future pathways

FUORI LUOGO

Journal of Sociology of Territory,
Tourism, Technology

Guest editors

Marco Alberio
Simone Caiello
Tino Schlinzig



Editor in chief: Fabio Corbisiero
Editorial manager: Carmine Urciuoli

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Emotions through Photos in Qualitative Interviews with Multi-locals as a methodological challenge?²

Introduction: Multi-locality and Emotions

Researchers have discussed methods and emotions widely so far. In the literature, however, the two topics are mostly considered separately. A study on multi-local lifestyles in rural areas of Germany gives reason to link the two fields. Multi-locality as a way of living in several places at the same time is understood as a phenomenon of late modern societies. In this context, multi-locals spread their everyday life over two or more locations, which are used more or less functionally in different periods of time (Rolshoven, 2006, p. 181). Multi-locality distinguishes from circular daily commuting and migration: Circular (daily rhythmic) commuting is where individuals commute from an origin to a destination and back (Weichhart, 2009, p. 6). Migration involves a complete shift of residence across municipal or state boundaries (Weichhart, 2009, p. 6). Multi-locality represents a new pattern of mobility that lies between migration and circulation. The motives and reasons for living in several locations are just as diverse as the lifestyle (ARL, 2016, p. 4). There are leisure-, work-, training-, family-, partnership-, or origin-related forms that may even overlap (Hesse & Scheiner, 2007, p. 143; Dittrich-Wesbuer *et al.*, 2014, p. 361; ARL, 2021, p. 3). Multi-local lifestyles are not only found in urban but also in rural areas (cf. Lange, 2018; Greinke, 2020).

Multi-locality studies are traced back to various interdisciplinary research fields, such as mobility, migration, transnationalism, tourism, and second home studies, or housing, household, and family studies. Meanwhile, the term "*Residential Multi-locality Studies*" bundles numerous research papers and projects (Wood *et al.*, 2015, p. 367). Especially in spatial science, the research field has gained importance and is investigated with numerous qualitative and quantitative methods (e.g., Di Marino & Lapintie, 2018; Plöger, 2020; Garde, 2021). There are although some studies dealing with visual methods in different disciplines on diverse topics, for example, work-life biographies and reflexive photography of multi-locals (Garde & Greinke, 2022), the exploration of the social role of images (Burri, 2012), reflexive photography as a method of self-reflection for visual learners (Amerson & Livingston, 2014), the impact of photography to inspire and cultivate sociological mindfulness (Hyde 2015), methodological issues using photo-elicitation (Church & Quilter, 2021), the benefits of photo-elicitation in housing studies (Soaita & McKee, 2021) or the use of reflexive photography to investigate design affordances for creativity in digital entertainment games (Hall *et al.*, 2021). However, emotions have played no or subordinate role in the studies.

In science, emotions have been studied since the nineteen seventies (Schramm & Wirth, 2006, p. 25). Disciplines here include, for example, psychology, biology, ethics, philosophy, sociology and many more (Rosenthal, 2021, p. 12). There is a long history of emotion research, which is why defining and delimiting the subject of emotion seems complicated (Kappas & Müller, 2006, p. 4; Mau, 2009, p. 7; Brandstätter *et al.*, 2018, p. 164). Emotions consider central phenomena of life (Meyer *et al.*, 2001, p. 11) and primarily associate with personally relevant experiences (Mau, 2009, p. 7). In this context, they are understood to be temporally dated and characterised by a certain quality and intensity. Mostly, they are object-directed and characterised by altered behaviours (Mau, 2009, p. 10ff.). They determine states of consciousness, thought and action processes (Brambilla & Flinz, 2019, p. 153). In the literature, authors mainly deal with affects, which are divided into moods and emotions (Rosenthal, 2021, p. 45). Moods are commonly temporally extended and less intense (Brandstätter *et al.*, 2018, p. 164). This paper focuses on emotions,

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which, in contrast to moods, are relatively short-lived and intense (Rosenthal, 2021, p. 45). They often refer to concrete objects or events (Rosenthal, 2021, p. 45). Deriving from the Latin *emovere*, the term emotion means “to move out, to set in motion” and thus drives behaviour (for example, rejecting or motivating) (Rosenthal, 2021, p. 45).

The literature develops many classifications of emotions (Rosenthal, 2021, p. 46; Brandstätter *et al.*, 2018, p. 165). In most cases, the approaches include the four primary or basic emotions: Fear, Anger, Sadness, and Happiness. These primary emotions are assumed to be universal and can be shown and understood across cultures (Brandstätter *et al.*, 2018, p. 167). These can be simplified in the Circumplex Model of affective states, according to Rosenthal (2021, p. 47) (see Figure 1). The circular model describes combinations of two dimensions each: valence (pleasant-unpleasant) and excitement (activated-deactivated). Happiness, for example, is a pleasant-excited state, and sadness is an unpleasant state of low excitement (Rosenthal, 2021, p. 46). Fear and Anger are unpleasant-activated states.



Figure 1 Simplified illustration of the circumplex model for structuring affective states with the dimensions valence and excitement in four quadrants (basic emotions in bold) (source: according to Rosenthal, 2021, p. 47).

In emotion research, images or photos are mostly not reflected upon much. They are merely used as emotion triggers or toolboxes (Kappas & Müller, 2006, p. 7). However, it has long since ceased to be a hypothesis that images have a more emotional effect than the written or spoken word (Frevort & Schmidt, 2011, p. 21). Especially in (post)modern societies, images are ubiquitous and part of everyday life (Burri, 2012, p. 45) as we live in a “visual culture” (Jenks, 1995). Therefore, in sociology, there is the need to “not focus on images alone but take the social practices and contexts of image production, interpretation and use into account”, as studies mostly dealt with

topics like taking a picture and the content of the photograph (Burri, 2012, p. 45). The methodological questions are relevant, but it is important that images are made through social practices (Burri, 2012, p. 54). "A picture is worth a thousand words" (Amerson & Livingston, 2014, p. 208) as it shows or hides things through the image producers (Soaita & McKee, 2021, p. 282). They (only) show what is important to them (Soaita & McKee, 2021, p. 282). Besides, photos are used to explore the society (Becker, 1974, p. 3). Carlsson (1999) attributes five benefits of using photographs in research: first, photos can express what can not be put into words. Second, pictures stimulate conversations about what is visible. Third, images foster discussions about time and space. Fourth, photographs reflect the values of the photographer who decides what to photograph (and what not to photograph). Fifth, images facilitate the expression of feelings and emotions about a place. This paper aims to determine the pros and cons of reflexive photography for emotions in qualitative interviews. For this purpose, the four basic emotions, Fear, Anger, Happiness and Sadness, are examined in more detail with the help of the Circumplex Model, according to Rosenthal (2021, p. 47). The question is explored to what extent photos in interviews can evoke emotions in qualitative interviews? This paper fills a methodological research gap and addresses emotional moments in particular, which have often been concealed in previous research. The paper first explains the state of research on multi-locality and the theoretical background on emotions (Chapter 1) before explaining the methods of reflexive photography and qualitative interviews (Chapter 2). Afterwards, a discussion of the results of emotions in photos in interviews follows (Chapter 3). Finally, a conclusion and an outlook succeed (Chapter 4).

1. Methods: Reflexive photography and qualitative interviews

The paper is based on the analysis of work-related multi-local lifestyles in rural areas (Greinke, 2020). Starting with an intensive literature review (s.f. Brink, 2013, pp. 46ff) on multi-locality and emotions through photos to introduce both topics (see Chapter 1). Different approaches to the thematic fields are exploratory.

Following the literature analysis, problem-centred, guideline-based qualitative interviews (expert interviews c.f. Liebold & Trinczek, 2009; Mayer, 2013; Meuser & Nagel, 2002) with multi-locals in the case study district Diepholz in Lower Saxony (Germany) are conducted. The central research questions were, what are the characteristics of work-related multi-local lifestyles in rural areas, and how do people living in more than one place organise their living and working environment? The district Diepholz is suitable for analysing work-related multi-locality as many small, medium, and large-sized companies work internationally and globally. Therefore, (highly skilled) employees are expected in the rural district. In total, fifteen multi-locals were interviewed, lasting between 45 and 75 minutes. The interviewees were between 33 and 64 years old (median age: 50), 13 were male and two were female. Most of them were in management or in higher-level positions (e.g., project leaders) (Greinke, 2020). The interviews were structured as dialogues: With the help of a defined questionnaire, the interviewer structured the dialogue and added questions spontaneously (Helfferich, 2011, p. 36; Liebold & Trinczek, 2009, p. 35ff.). Leaps of thought and abrupt changes in topics get avoided by the "natural" flow of argumentation, and sufficient openness is made possible (Bogner *et al.*, 2014, p. 29; Helfferich, 2011, p. 180). Before the primary qualitative interview, the interviewees are asked in an initial telephone dialogue to make up to three photos of their everyday life in the chosen locations and to send them to the interviewee. While taking the photos, the interviewees should write down their impressions, reasons and reflections on the pictures (Dirksmeier, 2007a, p. 87). In addition to the telephone interview, the interviewees received a detailed instruction manual describing how to take the images and how to label them with the help of an example photo. The interviewer prepares prints of the pictures for the following interview.

The interviews start with the photos of the method of reflexive photography (c.f. Dirksmeier, 2009, p. 164). Reflexive photography is a hybrid method from cross-cultural studies that combines interview and photography techniques into a coherent methodology (Brake, 2009, p. 378; Dirksmeier, 2007a, p. 87). It can be realised in two ways: first, the researchers produce the pictures or second, the participants make the photos (Schulze, 2007, p. 539). In this case study, the interviewer asked very openly why the interviewees chose the pictures. The interviewees explain their intentions, meanings, thoughts and influencing factors of the photos (Dirksmeier, 2007a, p. 87; Schulze, 2007, p. 540). In doing so, they reflect on the topics addressed and make everyday spatial ideas recognisable (Dirksmeier, 2013, p. 90f). Photographies can easily show visual information quickly and technically (Dirksmeier, 2009, p. 160). During reflexive photography as a method of qualitative socio-spatial-science, the interviewer and interviewee change their roles: interviewers are scientific observers (Brake, 2009, p. 384f; Dirksmeier, 2009, p. 168), and interviewees are experts of their photography's reporting their intentions and interpretations (Krisch, 2002, p. 133; Amerson & Livingston, 2014, p. 208). Moreover, with the help of this methodology, the visible information and textual-linguistic representations of the interviewees can be collected (Dirksmeier 2009: 165). Interviewees chose the motives independent and subjective (Krisch, 2002, p. 133; Amerson & Livingston, 2014, p. 208). The method is a „*starting mechanism*“ or narrative impulse for the interviews (Brake, 2009, p. 379; Dirksmeier, 2007a, p. 88). The photos incorporated as a symbol for the interviewees to represent the impact and meaning of things, people, environment, etc. (Schulze, 2007, p. 539). Therefore, the interviewer gets impressions from the lifeworld of the people. *“Photographic feedback creates a state of awareness and evokes emotional feelings that lead the interview into the heart of the research. Photographs sharpen the memory, give interviews immediate character and help to keep them focused”* (Schulze, 2007, p. 540). Therefore, the method is particularly well suited for spatially related questions (Dirksmeier, 2013, p. 87) because access to spaces is created that would not have been possible without photography (Johnsen *et al.*, 2008, p. 205). Living conditions, as well as feelings and thoughts, can be represented by this method (Keller, 2010, p. 37)

A qualitative approach is particularly well suited because the visual and the emotional are challenging to capture quantitatively (Kappas & Müller, 2006, p. 3). The interviews are documented using research-accompanying documentation in the form of interview protocols, which are filled out after the interview (Helfferich, 2011, p. 193). With the help of qualitative content analysis, the interviews will be scientifically analysed (according to Mayring, 2010). For this purpose, the interviews are recorded and transcribed according to consistent transcription rules (Meuser & Nagel, 2002, p. 83). The analysis is computer-assisted using a deductively and inductively developed code system (Liebold & Trinczek, 2009, p. 40ff; Mayring, 2000, p. 1). All interviews were conducted by the author in German, with any citations translated into English by the author.

The photographs from the method of reflexive photography are evaluated with the help of image interpretation (according to Brake, 2009; Breckner, 2012; Schulze, 2007). Here, the actual interpretation is left to the interviewees and misinterpretations by the interviewers are avoided. For this purpose, the pictures are first explained carefully, and the landscape, people and objects are described in detail. In addition, the perspective, (central-)motifs and special features are noted. The analysis focuses on the content of the pictures (Schulze, 2007, p. 542). Through the photographs, the interactions of the interviewees with their social and physical environment become clear (Schulze, 2007, p. 552). The pictures express the Schemata of perception, thinking, and action of the interviewees (Dirksmeier, 2007a, p. 80). This also allows the social everyday locations and ways of life to be visible and evaluated (Dirksmeier, 2013, p. 91; Johnsen *et al.*, 2008, p. 196; Krisch, 2002, p. 132). These findings are significant in the context of research on complex multi-local lifestyles. Using image interpretation, the photographs are divided into the four main categories, *“Mobility”*, *“Social Relations”*, *“Working World”*, and *“Living World”*, with the corresponding subcategories (see Table 1). Further categorisations were not used to leave the main interpretation of the images up to the interviewees and avoid misinterpretations or overin-

terpretations. With the help of the explanations during the interviews, the images can be sorted into categories almost uniquely (Greinke, 2020, p. 74ff). In addition, similarities and differences of the images at the respective locations are recorded, and the number of photographs in the categories is analysed.

Table 1 Category system of the evaluation of photographs (Source: own illustration)

Maincategories	Subcategories
Mobility	Vehicles
Social Relations	Family
	Animals
	Leisure time
	Friends - Tours
	Landscape/View
Working World	Companies
	Working place
	Colleagues
Living World	Accommodation - Outside
	Garden
	Accommodation - Inside

2. Results and discussion: Emotions from multi-locals through photos

Following the Circumplex Model (cf. chapter 1), the study examined the four basic emotions, Fear, Anger, Happiness and Sadness, in more detail. The results show that reflexive photography and image interpretation methods offer numerous opportunities and challenges. The photos of reflexive photography used in the interviews enabled a start- or narrative impulse for the interviews (Dirksmeier, 2007b, p. 88). They made it possible to make clear the interactions of the interviewees with their social and physical environment (Schulze, 2007, p.552). Schemata of perception, thoughts as well as actions of the interviewees are expressed through the photos (Dirksmeier, 2007a, p. 80). In addition, visible information and textual-linguistic representations of the interviewees can be collected (Dirksmeier, 2009, p. 165). The interviewees thought more deeply and reflectively (Dirksmeier, 2009, p. 168; Amerson & Livingston, 2014, p. 208). This allows everyday social spaces and ways of life to become visible and evaluated (Dirksmeier, 2013, p. 91; Johnsen *et al.*, 2008, p. 196; Krisch, 2002, p. 132). The researcher thus gains insight into the social and personal context of the persons (Latham, 2004 in Johnsen *et al.*, 2008, p. 195) and has the opportunity to recognise directly locations significant to the photographer as well as to describe their perception of the space (Johnsen *et al.*, 2008, p. 196).

Photos can be systematically distinguished into three modes in terms of emotions. Firstly, photos are pictorial motifs that show situations or people expressing emotions (for example, laughing, crying, anger, etc.). Secondly, photographs can elicit emotional responses when viewed (for example, exhilaration, longing, happiness, etc.). Thirdly, scientific and popular discourses discuss the relationship between emotions and photographs in the past (Brink, 2011, p. 105).

The Photos, as such, initially make visible exclusively what has been seen and not more. The viewer's assignment of meaning is not included in this. Only the words or texts with which they are explained or the contexts in which they are placed make clear how the interviewee wants the photos to be understood. These contextualisations can be provocative or approving (Brink, 2011, p. 106). The images become understandable, explainable, and narratable by connecting the photos to the descriptions of the interviewees and their lifeworld (Brink, 2011, p. 122). The pictures triggered (very) emotional moments in the interviews (Kappas & Müller, 2006, p. 3). They support what was said and, above all, they also "*set in motion*" (cf. Latin origin in chapter 1)

situations and feelings that would not have happened without the pictures in a one-to-one interview (cf. Spowart & Nairn, 2014, p. 337). Images can open immediate access to human feelings (Frevert & Schmidt, 2011, p. 22). Especially sensitive and private moments could be addressed more easily through photographs and therefore help to simplify interview situations (Garde & Greinke, 2022, p. 11). Among other things, pictures, in contrast to written texts, are more accessible, direct and faster to internalise (Frevert & Schmidt, 2011, p. 22). With the help of the pictures, a kind of basis of trust was established with the interviewer, which created access to the interviewees' minds and explanations. At the same time, the photographs also provided unpredictable, emotional situations that were not expected. It is striking in the interviews that the multi-locals begin with the photographer's description of positive aspects of the multi-local lifestyle and later discuss negative consequences only (cf. Greinke, 2020, p. 199).

2.1 Emotion Fear

The definition of fear seems simple but is widely debated in the literature, mostly as emotions are conscious and subjective states (Mobbs *et al.*, 2019, p. 1205). Mobbs *et al.* (2019) asked different scientists to define fear. From Kerry Ressler's perspective, *"'Fear' is the combination of defensive responses—physiological, behavioral and (perhaps in the case of humans) the conscious experience and interpretations of these responses—that are stimulated by specific stimuli. In the case of experimental systems these stimuli are external cues, but presumably in humans can have internal representations as well (thoughts and memories that can be fear-inducing cues themselves)"* (Mobbs *et al.*, 2019, p. 1208f.).

During the interviews, fear as emotion plays a rather subordinate role. On the one hand, this causes because most interviewees reported rather positively about their way of life in several places. On the other hand, the interview situation with a somewhat foreign researcher is probably relatively unusual for talking about fears.

Nevertheless, some of the multi-locals emphasised that they felt job-related anxieties while showing pictures from the company site or their desk. This was supposed, for example, when talking about changing jobs. The interviewee looked at a picture from the current job position and spoke about a planned job or company change. On the one hand, this situation made the interviewee feel positive because he was looking forward to the new experience. On the other hand, anxiety was noticeable because unpredictable situations could come his way. Thus, the image of the current job triggered an emotion related to actions in the future. For example, a 55-year-old female multi-local anxiously described: *"No one ever gives you a hug or makes a nice gesture or anything. My youngest daughter wants to get married next year, and I am afraid I will miss out on too much. And I do not want that. I would like to be where I feel comfortable, where I am at home."* In this situation, the picture of her home normally activates positive feelings, provoking bad vibes, mingled emotions and anxieties.

Another interviewee said, while looking at a photo of his primary residence (see Figure 2) and, at the same time, that of his family, that he was afraid that his daughter and his wife would fall ill again or further. The family has already had some strokes of fate; thus, the picture of the residence triggered fearful feelings, which even moved the person to tears. Fear is, therefore, present in the photos, even if the images do not immediately look like it. In the interviewees, however, the pictures can evoke anxiety because the interviewees associate the photos with emotional moments that appear through viewing them. For the interviewer, most of the photos just looked like nice pictures of houses, gardens, families and so on, but through the emotions and explanations of the interviewees, the feeling of fear got clear.



Figure 2 Photo of the primary residence triggers fear (original picture from interviewee)

2.2 Emotion Anger

Anger defines a state of emotion, which consists of varying intensities. They can be mild irritations but although intense fury. Mostly anger appears in response to provocation, mistreatment or exploitation. It contains complex variables (e.g. physiological, cognitive and emotional) (Iyer *et al.*, 2010, p. 120). In literature, there are three dimensions of anger: firstly, the affective dimension, including the feeling of anger. Secondly, the cognitive dimension includes clinical attitudes, and thirdly, the behavioural dimension includes verbal and physical aggression (Iyer *et al.*, 2010, p. 121).

Like the emotion of fear, anger was a less discussed emotion during the interviews. Nevertheless, interviewees reported negative experiences in their current employment. They vented their anger and emotionally reported prohibitions at work or a lack of opportunities. For example, a multi-local explains that there are no options of professional training on the company's site, and employees are not allowed to take opportunities elsewhere. The pictures of the location of the job (see Figure 3) sometimes triggered gestures and facial expressions that illustrated anger. Locations can consequently evoke emotions or give rise to new ones (Brambilla & Flinz, 2019, p. 161). Locations have a tremendous significance for memories and are very strongly associated with verbalising emotions (Brambilla & Flinz, 2019, p. 172).

In addition, the voice of the people became partly more energetic. Accordingly, the photos also triggered physical reactions that clarified emotions. Consequently, anger as an emotion is not as present as other emotions in the interviews. Still, in some cases, it triggers clear verbal and physical reactions that need to be recaptured during the conversation to focus on the main topic of the research again. Therefore, especially the affective dimension and the behavioural dimension of anger (c.f. Iyer *et al.*, 2010, p. 121) became apparent through the feeling of anger as well as verbal and physical aggression during the interviews while looking at the photos.



Figure 3 Photo of the workplace triggers anger (original anonymised picture from interviewee)

2.3 Emotion Sadness

Sadness can be experienced when one has *“the perception that a goal has been lost”* (Lench *et al.*, 2016, p. 13). Most of the time, this emotion is documented in nonsocial situations with failure experiences, but there are although theories that focus on social aspects (Lench *et al.*, 2016, p. 13): The images often triggered the emotion of sadness in the interviews. These negatively charged situations were challenging for the interviewees and the interviewer because they were often unpredictable and spontaneous. The interviewees mostly got into an insecure and sad mood, which they would have preferred to avoid in front of a somewhat foreign researcher. This situation was also not easy for the interviewer because they were not trained for emotional situations. Therefore, the interviewer had to react as empathetically as possible not to disturb the interview process and primarily to protect the sensitive privacy of the interviewees. Besides, *“it is important to plan how to engage with emotionality, especially when working with [...] sensitive topics”* (Rolland *et al.*, 2019, p. 286). Interviewers should thus pay attention to the well-being of the interviewee and perceive changes in body language and voice as signals of distress, which should be avoided (Rolland *et al.*, 2019, p. 286).

For example, while looking at a photo of a hiking group, one interviewee reported that someone had died unexpectedly shortly before the interview. The 55-year-old female multi-local explained close to tears: *“I have a relatively small family. [...] and in this respect [the group in the photo] is my family. And that is why it is affecting me so strongly now. [takes a break to breathe heavily] And I also question my situation here massively. Because I think life is over faster than you can look. And if you do not spend such things where you feel comfortable. Not with the family. Then you miss something. Or you lose a lot.”* If the interviewee had known before the conversa-

tion that the person would die, the photo would not have been sent to the interviewer to avoid the sad situation. This loss made the interviewee very sad, so she could not hold back the tears. She recounted the shared experiences in the picture and the deep friendship. Without the interviewee's narration, such insights would not have emerged. The picture looked happy but triggered quite the opposite and deep emotions. Unlike in other research, the interviewees mainly address the issues directly and do not use some metaphor for their descriptions (cf. Brambilla & Flinz, 2019, p. 166).

Furthermore, the photographs of the primary residences (see Figure 4) often triggered sad emotions in the interviews. The interviewees mostly pointed to photographed houses and explained that their family and/or friends live there, whom they rarely(er) get to see due to their living in several places. They were often on the road or at the second location. Therefore, they pointed out that contact with friends and family is less. This made almost all interviewees very sad. Even without the photos, this sadness might have been revealed in the conversation. However, the impression was that the pictures intensified the emotions of the interviewees because they created closeness to the respective location and deepened the reflective thinking.



Figure 4 Picture of friends in garden causes sadness (original anonymised picture from interviewee)

2.4 Emotion Happiness

The emotion happiness *"is often taken to mean something very close to an extended feeling of pleasure or an extended good mood or pleasant affect"* (Michalos, 2017, p. 285). However, there are many variations of understanding happiness across language, culture and implications (Oishi *et al.*, 2013, p. 574).

The positive emotion of happiness was frequently evident in the interviews. The interviewees mainly explained their positive experiences with joyful expressions and sometimes talked in depth about the events that were visible in the pictures. For example, interviewees showed new born babies or grandchildren.

Often friends and family were thematised. For example, (grand-)children or friends were shown in the pictures. The interviewees spoke intensively about their experiences directly associated with the photos and about other (related) events. For example, they talked extensively about celebrations such as birthdays or childbirths. The interviewees mostly smiled, and their explanations were highly detailed and very profound. Without the interviewer asking questions, they speak openly and happily. For example, a 53-year-old male multi-local explained very happily and smiling while showing a picture of a church: *"So I have been in the church community since I was a kid. I do not know if you know that. It is the New Apostolic Church. And I have been a pastor there since I was a teenager, so I have done everything there is to do. That is a great support for me, the Christian faith. That is in municipality A (anonymised). I have only had one picture now. However, I am also active here in municipality B (anonymised). And I am also a pastor, a priest. So what a catholic pastor does, I do in my free time. Holding services, funerals, baptisms, everything, you know. Voluntary pastoral visits. That is one area, because I have always done a lot with children and wanted to have children myself. So I was active in children's and youth work. And that was a picture of the church building."*

In addition, many interviewees explained happy emotions while talking about photos of their pets or hobbies (see Figure 5). They showed many pictures of animals or their sports equipment (for example, bicycles). Some of the photos were very recently taken, and others showed happy situations from the past. For example, running races were reported while a Team T-shirt from their company was shown in a picture. The person spoke very openly and exuberantly about experiences with the company team. Furthermore, a 32-year-old female multi-local pointed enthusiastically: *"I am actually always doing something. I ca not go straight from work to the hotel. And it is the same at home. That is why I also photographed the sports mat"*. In addition, people talked about long walks with dogs and running training in the mountains or close to the water. The photos supported the emotional, positively charged stories and made it possible for the interviewees to tell more and more stories. Especially in the case of pleasant events, the explanations often became intense, which may be because many authors regard the pursuit of pleasant emotions as a *"basic motor of human behaviour"* (Rosenthal, 2021, p. 46).

The fact that positive and happy emotions, in particular, were the focus of the interviewees is also clear from the number of photos taken. Most of the pictures were taken in the main categories of *"Social Relations"* (56 pictures) and of *"Living World"* (61 pictures). The photographs mostly show people, animals or landscapes (Greinke, 2020, p. 119). While in the categories *"Mobility"* and *"Working World"*, 12 and 21 pictures each were taken. Personal relationships and happy emotions are consequently brought into focus in the interviews and the selection of photos. For example, at their primary locations, the interviewees take more shots (31 pictures) than at their secondary locations (19 pictures), which is why it can be concluded that social relationships, in particular, are more pronounced at primary locations than at the other locations (Greinke, 2020, p. 119). Photographs in the category *"Living World"* are also very private. For example, the photos show direct insights into the living rooms of the interviewees (Greinke, 2020, p. 121).



Figure 5 Photo of pets creates happiness (original picture from interviewee)

3. Conclusion and outlook: Emotions as methodological opportunity or challenge?

The photographs illustrate conditions and make clear that emotions are not bound to territorial borders (cf. Greinke, 2020, p. 197). Although emotions are often more strongly tied to primary locations because family and friends live there, there are also positive and negative emotions belonging to the other locations of multi-locals. Multi-locals can learn to feel connected according to Nadler's (2014, p. 381ff.) heuristic appropriation concept "*Plug&Play Places*". Consequently, they can make emotions "*pluggable*" and "*playable*" in former and new locations because they have learned the necessary mentalities for transfer (Nadler, 2014, p. 387).

This paper fills a methodological research gap and addresses emotional moments in particular, which have often been concealed in previous research. Using Rosenthal's (2021, p. 47) circumplex model, the four basic emotions, Fear, Anger, Happiness and Sadness, triggered by reflexive photography in qualitative interviews were examined in more detail. It became clear that some emotions were addressed more often in interviews than others: interviewees always started expressing positive emotions, followed by negative ones. The photos triggered emotional moments that probably would not have come up in "conventional" one-to-one interviews. At the same time, the interviews are crucial because, without the spoken words, explanations, mimics and gestures, the meaning of the photos would have remained hidden or even mis- or overinterpreted. Consequently, the method of reflexive photography in qualitative interviews offers numerous challenges but, above all, many opportunities to discover emotions and gain insights into multi-local lifestyles.

The pictures from the reflexive photography offer a great added value to the results of the analyses. The photos can operate as mediators and triggers of emotions. Without the photographs, many topics would probably not have come up at all (Greinke & Choffat, 2022). In addition, many positive and negative emotions would have been absent or significantly lower in the interviews. Consequently, combining interviews with participatory visual methods, especially reflexive photography, makes sense and opens up new insights. The method is thus particularly well suited for spatial-related questions (Dirksmeier, 2013, p. 87) because access to locations is created that would not have been possible without the photos (Johnsen *et al.*, 2008, p. 205). Living conditions, as well as feelings and thoughts, can be represented through this method (Keller, 2010, p. 37). Nevertheless, there is a challenge for researchers to leave the main interpretation of the images to the interviewees and not to misinterpret images (Garde & Greinke, 2022, p. 4).

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