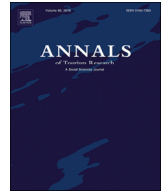
Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](#)

## Annals of Tourism Research

journal homepage: <https://www.journals.elsevier.com/annals-of-tourism-research>

## Residents with camera: Exploring tourism impacts through participant-generated images

Theres Winter<sup>a,b,\*</sup>, Emmanuel Akwasi Adu-Ampong<sup>c,d,e</sup><sup>a</sup> Centre for Sustainable Tourism (ZENAT), University for Sustainable Development Eberswalde, Schicklerstr. 5, 16225 Eberswalde, Germany<sup>b</sup> Sheffield Business School, Sheffield Hallam University, Stoddart Building, Sheffield SW1 1WB, UK<sup>c</sup> Cultural Geography Chair Group, Wageningen University and Research, Droevendaalsesteeg 3, 6708 PB Wageningen, the Netherlands<sup>d</sup> School of Tourism and Hospitality Management, College of Business and Economics, University of Johannesburg, Bunting Road Campus, Johannesburg, South Africa<sup>e</sup> Tourism RESET, research and outreach initiative

## ARTICLE INFO

## Article history:

Received 26 May 2020

Received in revised form 14 November 2020

Accepted 22 November 2020

Available online xxx

Associate editor: Donna Chambers

There are calls for increasing the uptake of visual methods in tourism research. This paper makes a distinct contribution to visual methodology by focusing on images generated by local residents. We examine the opportunities and challenges of utilising participant-generated photo-elicitation. Specifically, through participant-generated images, this research studies tourism impacts in the coastal destination of Imbassaí, in the state of Bahia in the Northeast of Brazil. The unusual experience of looking through a camera on their lives, enabled participants to reflect on and make sense of their social worlds in relation to tourism impacts. Photo-elicitation effectively engages participants and provides more nuanced insights into social phenomena. There are however organisational, ethical and practical challenges that need to be considered.

© 2020 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

## Introduction

Photography and the visual have long been key to understanding social life. Within tourism studies, the visual has been an enduring research interest but one that is yet to achieve critical mass (Balomenou & Garrod, 2019; Rakić and Chambers, 2012; Crang, 1997; Scarles, 2010; Urry, 1990). Existing interest has focused on researcher found-images (Matteucci, 2013; Scarles, 2012), tourist-generated images (Cederholm, 2004, 2012; Garrod, 2008; Schänzel & Smith, 2011; Stylianou-Lambert, 2012) and destination images (MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997; Molina & Esteban, 2006). There is increasing uptake of visual methodologies and methods in tourism studies (Balomenou & Garrod, 2019; Park & Kim, 2018). Yet, studies focusing on images generated by local residents as participants are limited. This paper makes a distinct contribution to visual methodology by focusing on images generated by local residents. We combine photo-elicitation with individual interviews to explore the perspectives of local residents on tourism development. This allowed us to access deeper and multi-faceted insights into the practices, thoughts and emotions of hosts than would be possible with interviews alone.

In response to the call for more innovative use of visual methods in tourism research, the aim of this paper is to reflect on the opportunities and challenges of using participant-generated photo-elicitation in uncovering how locals perceive tourism

\* Corresponding author at: Centre for Sustainable Tourism (ZENAT), University for Sustainable Development Eberswalde, Schicklerstr. 5, 16225 Eberswalde, Germany.

E-mail addresses: [theres.winter@zenat-tourismus.de](mailto:theres.winter@zenat-tourismus.de), (T. Winter), [emmanueladu-ampong@wur.nl](mailto:emmanueladu-ampong@wur.nl). (E.A. Adu-Ampong).

development impacts. Photo-elicitation is an approach to visual methods that integrates images in interviews and can involve both researcher-found images or participant-generated images. The latter approach offers an avenue to balance power differentials between the researcher and research participants. Participants decide on what they want to photograph and therefore are in control of what they want to discuss in the follow up interview. The pictures taken signify what they perceive to be most important to them within their locality. Participant-generated images therefore can help to visualise social phenomena and the perceived effects of tourism in a destination. This paper is based on a photo-elicitation process conducted in the coastal destination of Imbassaí, in the Northeast state of Bahia in Brazil, as part of a larger project exploring the relationship between tourism, poverty and inequality (Winter, 2019).

This paper begins with a discussion on visually and visual methodology before outlining the opportunities and challenges of photo-elicitation. The subsequent section focuses on the state of visual methods within tourism research, particularly that of photo-elicitation. We then elaborate on the research project and detail the photo-elicitation approach utilised. The substantive issue of resident perception of tourism impacts is reported under findings. We reflect on the challenges and opportunities of participant generated photo-elicitation approaches in the discussion section before offering concluding thoughts for the adoption of more visual methods within tourism studies.

## Visuality and visual methodology

The study of the visual and visuality have a long and complex genealogy (Jenks, 2015; Mirzoeff, 2006). The current increased uptake of visual methodologies across the social sciences is attributable to the visual culture inherent in modernist and postmodernist social life (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Visual methodologies utilise images generated, for example through photography, film, video, painting, drawing and advertising to advance knowledge. The diversity of visual methods “provide an alternative to the hegemony of a word-and-number based academy” and can “encourage deeper and more effective reflection on all things visual and visualisable” enabling enhanced insights into human experiences and understanding of their social worlds (Prosser & Loxley, 2008, p. 1). Visual data provides another dimension to oral and written data, and since images are often being used in conjunction with other forms of data (e.g. words) (Rose, 2016), multidimensional data is produced. Hence, visual methods provide not just new, but more comprehensive insights into social phenomena, which increases rigour and enhances validity (Glaw et al., 2017).

Prosser and Loxley (2008) distinguish between ‘researcher-created visual data’ and ‘respondent-generated visual data’. In the former, the researcher analyses social phenomena using visual elements that are produced by him/herself. The latter represents a shift towards more collaborative and participatory approaches in which the visual data is produced by those being researched (Robinson, 2011). Instead of being research subjects, respondents ‘participate’ in the research and can exert greater control. Thus, respondent-generated visual data avoids the intrusive nature associated with researcher-created images (Dodman, 2003). Participatory visual research is seen as more equitable in terms of the distribution of power between researcher and participant (Prosser & Loxley, 2008). Nonetheless, it is not power-neutral since the researcher holds control in setting the research questions and presenting the findings (McCarthy, 2013). Hence, the notion of reflexivity has become central in current debates (Clark & Morriss, 2017; Pink, 2001), with the argument that researchers need “to be highly reflexive in their use of the method, making clear their own role in the photo-elicitation work and carefully exploring the impact of the various contexts in which they work” (Rose, 2016, p. 327).

## The opportunities and challenges of using photo-elicitation

Falling under the umbrella of visual methodologies, photo-elicitation integrates images in interviews (Rose, 2016). To date, mostly photographs are utilised although other visual materials can be equally employed. Photos are seen as valuable because they carry a vast amount of information in a single image (Grady, 2004). Using imagery stimulates different brain processes than only verbal communication; hence, it generates different kinds of information that provide access to participants’ knowledge about social phenomena (Harper, 2002). Similarly, Collier (1957) and Bolton et al. (2001) support the notion that photographs can help participants to explain their experiences and feelings differently, and offer the potential to overcome the limitations of research methods that rely on oral or written data. Therefore, photo-elicitation is frequently considered as a method that provides greater validity and reliability (Clark-Ibáñez, 2007; Glaw et al., 2017). We find this to be the case in our current project. Moreover, other measures of research quality such as credibility, transferability and confirmability are equally enhanced through this method by addressing common drawbacks to conventional interviews.

Although photos are commonly used in interviews to prompt discussions, it is less common that these photos are generated by the study’s participants (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016). This is particularly considered useful for researching aspects of people’s everyday life that are taken-for-granted or that are challenging to communicate in conventional interviews (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007). By engaging participants in the photo-elicitation project and asking them to visualise aspects of their everyday life in photographs and then discuss these photographs in interviews, participants go through a process of reflecting on taken-for-granted aspects. The process gives participants “distance from what they are usually immersed in and allows them to articulate thoughts and feelings that usually remain implicit” (Rose, 2016, p. 316). This encourages participants’ reflexivity (MacKay & Couldwell, 2004) and can ultimately contribute to knowledge co-creation and empowerment for participants.

Asking participants to engage in photo-elicitation projects facilitate easier access to vulnerable and marginalised groups since it gives them a sense of ownership and control (Frith & Harcourt, 2007; Schänzel & Smith, 2011). Regularly, participants of photo-elicitation studies describe the experience as fun and engaging (Glaw et al., 2017; Meo, 2010; Radley et al., 2005). Elicitation based on participant-generated photos can therefore reduce power differentials (Epstein et al., 2006), which can encourage more affective and emotional communication that can contribute to gaining deeper and richer information about people's social world (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007).

By taking a photo of an object that represents a certain aspect of life, participants place value on that aspect imputing psychological and emotional nuances in that process (Hatten et al., 2013). Therefore, we need to consider the photograph as a result of an inherently subjective process, representing the participant's own subjective understanding of the reality of the world. Bourdieu and Whiteside (1996) argue that social class influences people's understanding of the world and consequently, what they choose to photograph. The observable differences in participants' photos depending on social class (Dodman, 2003) aligns with the notion that photo-elicitation seeks "to explore and account for social difference and hierarchy" (Rose, 2016, p. 308).

A photographic representation can convey different meanings (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007). The meaning is produced in a dialectical relationship between the photo and the photographer, and between the photographer and the viewer (Hodgetts, Radley, et al., 2007). Due to narrative memory recall processes the meanings of photos changes over time and visualised aspects do not represent the sole meaning (Harrison, 2004; Edwards & Hart, 2004). In fact, the whole process of 'photo-making' in which participants make sense of their lives is crucial for enhanced understanding of their social worlds (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007). This requires directing conversations beyond the photos, which involves 'looking at' and 'looking behind' the image (Barthes, 1981; Wright, 1999).

Often, participants start by discussing the materials depicted in photos and then move onto issues that are well beyond the depiction (Hatten et al., 2013). Furthermore, looking behind the images extends to photographs that are not taken (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007). The process of 'making a photo' does not always result in a photo since participants are bound by limitations of the photo-elicitation project (e.g. time, access) (Klitzing, 2004). Nonetheless, considering that the whole process of photo-making encourages participants to reflect on issues, discussing "what could not be photographed is as important as what is photographed" (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007, p. 267). This is crucial for developing a full understanding of people's social world.

## Visuals, photographs and photo-elicitation in tourism research

With its long history of development, photography is one of the most popular means for visualising tourism. Thus, photography and the tourism economy are an inextricable linked phenomenon that "are not separate processes but each derives from and enhances the other, as an 'ensemble'" (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 153). Firstly, commercial photography 'made places' in ways that stimulate tourists' interest to visit. Secondly, taking photos is an essential part of the tourist experience and performance to capture the image of what is worthwhile seeing and to bring the image home as a memory trace and evidence of visitation (Scarles, 2010; Schänzel & Smith, 2011). Thus, photography has influenced the shape of the tourism economy and continues to do so, particularly in the current age of digitalisation. Despite the inextricable link between photography and tourism, the use of photographs in tourism research has been limited (Balomenou & Garrod, 2019). It has been argued that this is due to the longstanding scepticism towards photographs as empirical data in other social sciences disciplines, including tourism studies (Chambers, 2012). This scepticism is however giving way to an increase in research on visual methodologies in the social sciences.

Balomenou and Garrod (2019, p. 212) argue that "photographs may not only be suitable as data in tourism research but may be superior to data generated through other research techniques". An illustrative example is Cederholm (2004, 2012) where the use of photo-elicitation method positively altered the theoretical framing of a study on backpacker tourists. From being a technique for triggering subjective reflections and emotions, photo-elicitation evolved to become central to the analysis of the contradictory experiences and framing of backpacker tourism. Similarly, Schänzel and Smith (2011, p. 84) in a photo-elicitation project with children on family holidays note that the method, "empowered children and gave voice to all family members" by providing a creative outlet for recollecting experiences.

In a recent review, Park and Kim (2018) identify two main research contexts in which tourism photography is commonly utilised: a) visual representation in the construction of destination images and b) the meaning of tourist photography as part of tourists' experiences. They note that there is room to adopt more innovative approaches to the use of photographs in tourism research beyond these two contexts. Moreover, Balomenou and Garrod (2019) building on these two major contexts define three sub-groups in relation to the methods employed: (1) researcher-based content analysis of researcher-found photographs, (2) photo-elicitation based on researcher-found photographs and (3) photo-elicitation based on participant-generated photographs. While sub-groups (1) and (2) both contain researcher-found photographs e.g. from websites, brochures to explore either a destination image or tourist experiences, the second sub-group utilises these found images to elicit perspectives from participants (e.g. tourists, tourism stakeholders). Studies that engage participants actively in the research process to take photographs, and that use these participant-generated photographs to elicit information, fall under the third sub-group. To date, only a small number of studies make use of this method and even fewer are focused on resident-generated images.

In the context of the above discussion, the originality of our contribution lies in the utilisation of photo-elicitation based on resident-generated photographs in examining locals' perceptions of tourism's impact in Iambassaí, Brazil. Our methodological approach also contributes to the literature on residents' perception of tourism impacts where quantitative approaches dominate

(Gursoy & Nunkoo, 2019; Teye et al., 2002; Yankholmes, 2013). In Brazil, Scalabrini and Remoaldo (2020) uses quantitative survey to study residents' perceptions of tourism development in Joinville, Santa Catarina, similar to Flecha et al. (2010) who explore the economic impacts of tourism in Ouro Preto City in Minas Gerais State. Alves and de Hilal (2009) and Puppim de Oliveira (2005) in their study of tourism in the state of Bahia respectively adopt in-depth interviews to assess residents' views on tourism development impacts and documentary analysis to trace the role of local residents and external actors in using tourism development as a catalyst for establishing protected areas as environmental safeguards. This current study is therefore one of the first in applying photo-elicitation to study residents' perception of tourism in impacts in the Brazilian context.

The next section of the paper describes the research project before specifying the details of the photo-elicitation approach implemented for this research. These sections are necessarily detailed because we aim to provide a methodological reflection that will allow other researchers to be able to emulate, adapt and further innovate in utilising this approach in tourism research.

### The research project context

Brazil is a long-standing top tourist destination. Traditionally, tourism was concentrated on a few urban areas such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. However, with the implementation of PRODETUR-NE (Programa de Desenvolvimento do Turismo), an extensive mass tourism-related investment programme, tourism expanded to the country's Northeast with its pristine coastline and warm climate (Puppim de Oliveira, 2003; Siegel & Alwang, 2005). Through PRODETUR-NE, the Brazilian government aimed for socio-economic development of the Northeast – one of the poorest regions in Brazil (Lohmann & Dredge, 2012). Therefore, a key objective of PRODETUR-NE was to reduce poverty through tourism employment and realising wider economic, social and environmental benefits in terms of transport, sanitation, education and conservation (Siegel & Alwang, 2005). The area of Costa dos Coqueiros, where Imbassaí is located, received US\$3.2 billion to develop infrastructure (Silva, Christiane and Carvalho, 2009 in. Pegas, 2016).

On many counts, the implementation of PRODETUR-NE has resulted in a number of positive benefits to Brazil's Northeast. Today, 60% of the 195 coastal destinations with sun, sea and sand image are located in the Northeast (Pegas et al., 2015) and the Northeast has become the favourite tourist destination among Brazilian travellers (OECD, 2018). In 2014, the state of Bahia received 14.5 million tourists with 95% of them being domestic travellers (Observatorio do Turismo da Bahia, 2017). Being one of the most important economic sectors, tourism describes an important source of income for coastal communities in the Northeast, particularly in the municipality of Mata de São João (in the state of Bahia), where the majority of the population work in tourism. Despite the positive impacts of tourism, concerns over the effectiveness of PRODETUR-NE have been raised as people face social segregation and economic hardship combined with wider environmental and socio-cultural costs (Pegas, 2016; Puppim de Oliveira, 2003). In fact, poverty and inequality continue to persist in the North and Northeastern regions of Brazil (Marteleto, 2012; Pereira, 2016; UNDP, 2014).

It is in this context that this project set out to explore how residents perceive the impacts of tourism on their lives in Imbassaí, which is a coastal destination in the municipality of Mata de São João in the state of Bahia in the Northeast of Brazil (see Fig. 1). Imbassaí mainly attracts domestic sun, sea and sand travellers who either stay in a large-scale hotel and resort or in typical Brazilian pousadas, which are mostly in foreign ownership (Winter, 2019). International travellers, mainly from Germany, Switzerland and Argentina, tend to visit the destination for a longer period than domestic travellers. However, the number of international arrivals has decreased in recent years due to increasing prices and less frequent flights between Bahia's capital city Salvador and international cities against the backdrop of Brazil's image loss as a favourable and safe tourist destination. Bahia's latest tourism strategy 2007–2016 (Estratégia Turística da Bahia) (SETUR, 2011) expressed the importance of tourism as an economic sector for the state and its communities. This project sought to understand whether residents with cameras will come to a similar conclusion about the importance of tourism to their wellbeing through the pictures they take.

### Research approach

The data collection for this photo-elicitation process was conducted as part of a larger project focused on exploring the relationship between tourism, poverty and inequality through an analysis of tourism-related income, consumption patterns and further valuable opportunities provided by tourism, from a political economy perspective (Winter, 2019). The research project was situated in a critical paradigm in which perceptions of poverty dimensions and inequality were considered to be socially constructed and accessible through participants' multiple perspectives and interpretations. The researcher was not considered as passive and neutral but one who actively engaged in the process. Hence, there was ongoing critical reflection of the researcher's positionality and biography (Adu-Ampong & Adams, 2019).

To explore perspectives of local residents on tourism development, photo-elicitation was combined with individual interviews. This complementary method was chosen as it enabled access to participants' unique social worlds and individual perspectives (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Unlike focus groups for instance that generate a common 'agreed and unified', interviews were considered as most appropriate as they facilitated gathering multiple perspectives to construct a rich nuanced picture. Data collection took place from mid-June to mid-August 2017. This time period was chosen due to the limited amount of tourism activities and hence the availability of research participants with the time to fully engage in the research project. The process of conducting a photo-elicitation project is complex and time-consuming. Consequently, a well thought-out and sequential approach is required to make the process feasible and enable transferability. Inspired by Rose (2016) and Guillemin and Drew (2010), a six stages approach in Table 1 was developed.





Fig. 1. Study location in Bahia, Northeast of Brazil.  
Source: Winter (2019), adapted from Menegaz (2007) to indicate location of Imbassaí.

Stage 1: planning the practicalities

A key challenge to using photo-elicitation is the recruitment of participants. Garrod (2008) observes that a sample size of 50 is common for visual research using participant-generated images. Hence, a target sample of 55 potential participants representing different sectors in the tourism value chain and different socio-economic groups was developed. The underlying technique was ‘quota sampling’ that was based on an analysis of the local tourism value chain, which was conducted as part of the wider research project. Participants were recruited in three ways: firstly, participants of the tourism value chain survey, micro-entrepreneurs and tourism business owners/managers were approached; secondly, tourism business owners/managers asked

**Table 1**  
Stages of the photo-elicitation research process.  
Source: Winter (2019), based on Rose (2016) and Guillemain and Drew (2010).

| Stage                                      | Activity  |
|--|---|
| I) Planning the practicalities             | (a) Determine the sample and sample size<br>(b) Organise cameras<br>(c) Plan ‘initial briefing’ and ‘interviews’ (e.g. location, length)<br>(d) Plan analysis of interviews and photos<br>(e) Consider ethics |
| II) Carrying out the ‘initial briefing’    | (f) Explain the research aim and process (supported by information-sheet)<br>(g) Ask for consent i.e. signature on consent form   |
| III) Printing the photos                   | (h) Develop the photos<br>(i) Return the photos   |
| IV) Conducting the interview               | (j) Explore meaning of the photos taken by the participant<br>(k) Discuss further themes according to interview guidelines  |
| V) Analysing the interview and photographs | (l) Transcribe interviews<br>(m) Code and analyse transcripts and photographs   |
| VI) Presenting the results                 | (n) Decide on how photos will be used (considering anonymity of participants, copyrights)   |

their staff if they had interest in participating in this project; thirdly, people 'on the street' were approached in order to mirror perspectives of people who did not seem to be directly integrated in the tourism value chain.

Eleven individuals declined, and seven dropped-out mainly due to time constraints. In the end, 24 participants engaged fully in the photo-elicitation project and represent the sample used for this research paper (see Table 2). One interview could not be conducted because the participant had to travel on short notice. The final response rate of 44% while relatively low in comparison to other visual studies is in line with the general literature. It has been acknowledged that the response rate in studies in a more open environment, such as the current one, might be lower than in a closed environment in which participants pass through distinct entry and exit points (Garrod, 2008). As the response rate was anticipated to be a challenge, interviews were conducted with individuals who were not fully comfortable with and had time-constraints to participate in photo-elicitation. In this way, the study did not miss out on the perspectives of these individuals. Although the stimuli of discussing photos generated by participants was not given, interviews proved valuable in this study as they provided complementary in-depth knowledge and offered the flexibility of discovering new themes (Robson, 2011). Overall, 13 participants engaged in interviews in addition to the 24 participants engaged in photo-elicitation.

#### *Stage II: carrying out the initial briefing*

The initial briefing was carried out with each research participant individually at their workplace. At this stage, the research aim and the process including ethical implications were explained, and the information sheet and consent form were handed out. In visual research, it is important to consider copyright and right of use of images. In general, a person who takes the image is the owner and therefore a research needs their consent to reuse the photos in publications and presentations (Rose, 2016). Participants signed the consent form to give consent to their participation and to the use of information provided and photographs taken, once anonymised, for research outputs.

Participants were given a broad question for taking photos: 'how does tourism influence your everyday life?'. A broad question was chosen instead of specific ones, so that participants were not overly influenced by the researcher. This broad approach has been commonly applied in extant photo-elicitation studies. Brickell (2012, p. 102), for example, tasked participants "to take photographs of anything related to tourism, which they considered positive or negative". To improve understanding of participants, initial examples were given such as: 'You receive income from tourism. You could take a photo of what you buy from your income'. Some participants shared initial ideas, for example one participant said she was worried about the increasing violence in the destination and asked if she could take a photo that relates to this. All initial ideas of participants were supported while emphasising that they should not take any risks while taking photos. It has been noted that participants need assurance, particularly if they have no experiences with photography, that all photos taken are useful for the study. Providing assurance to participants to take photos of what is important for them is crucial for avoiding power dynamics, that would influence them in taking pictures of what they believe the researcher finds interesting (Frith & Harcourt, 2007).

A disposable camera, bought in the UK, was then given to participants. In some instances where it was requested, participants were given guidance on how to use the camera (Guillemin & Drew, 2010). The main reason for providing participants with a disposable film camera was to ensure that all participants were using the same equipment (independent of their socio-economic status). Furthermore, it was intended to provide a tool which is different from what they normally use (i.e. mobile phone) to give a clearer focus to the activity and to allow for participants to "reflect on everyday activities in a way that is not usually done" (Rose, 2016, p. 316). However, at a later stage some participants also used their own mobile phone cameras due to quality issues of photos taken with disposable cameras (see also Klitzing, 2004). Participants who utilised the provided disposable camera mostly used the full number of images (=27) while participants who used their own camera provided five photos on average.

#### *Stage III: printing photos*

Participants were given a flexible period of 1–3 weeks of time for taking the photos after which the cameras were collected for film development. A flexible time approach for the taking of pictures provides participants sufficient time for reflection and completion of the task (Guillemin & Drew, 2010). The photos were developed in a shopping centre in Bahia's capital Salvador and returned to the participants in Imbassaí. Some participants looked at the photos straight away and wanted to continue with the interview. For others, the interview was scheduled for a later time as participants wanted to take some time to reflect on the process and the photos.

#### *Stage IV: conducting the interviews*

Interviews were carried out in a workplace to avoid intrusion and ensure the researcher's safety. The length of interviews varied greatly with an average of 50 min (see Table 2). Given that by themselves the photos are not meaningful, this stage of conducting interviews in a photo-elicitation project "is vital in clarifying what photos taken by the interviews mean to them" (Rose, 2016, p. 321). To start the interviews, participants were asked to talk about themselves as a gentle introduction to the interview conversation, before asking them questions related to the process of taking photos i.e. how they took the photos (e.g. planned or spontaneous) and how they felt about the whole process. Thereafter, the photos taken by participants were used as a "departure point to understand participants' perceptions" (Hatten et al., 2013, p. 3).

**Table 2**  
Overview of participants. Source: Authors.

| Participant | Sector                 | Photos with...           | Interview date [2017] | Interview length [min]   |     |
|-------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----|
| 1           | Expat                  | //                       | Disposable camera     | 29-Jul                   | 36  |
| 2           | Micro-entrepreneur     | Shopping                 | Disposable camera     | 3-Aug                    | 36  |
| 3           | Business owner/manager | Accommodation            | Disposable camera     | 27-Jul                   | 47  |
| 4           | Micro-entrepreneur     | Food & drinks            | Disposable camera     | 12-Aug                   | 26  |
| 5           | Micro-entrepreneur     | Food & drinks            | Disposable camera     | 29-Jul                   | 52  |
| 6           | Employee               | Food & drinks            | Disposable camera     | 11-Aug                   | 25  |
| 7           | Employee               | Food & drinks            | Disposable camera     | 1-Aug                    | 35  |
| 8           | Business owner/manager | Accommodation            | Disposable camera     | 28-Jul                   | 27  |
| 9           | Business owner/manager | Food & drinks            | Disposable camera     | 12-Aug                   | 12  |
| 10          | Business owner/manager | Entertainment/activities | Disposable camera     | 31-Jul                   | 55  |
| 11          | Micro-entrepreneur     | Food & drinks            | Disposable camera     | 11-Aug                   | 67  |
| 12          | Business owner/manager | Accommodation            | Phone camera          | 1-Aug                    | 68  |
| 13          | Business owner/manager | Accommodation            | Phone camera          | 11-Jul                   | 53  |
| 14          | Employee               | Accommodation            | Phone camera          | 11-Jul                   | 20  |
| 15          | Business owner/manager | Accommodation            | Phone camera          | 6-Jul                    | 53  |
| 16          | Employee               | Accommodation            | Disposable camera     | 2-Aug                    | 235 |
| 17          | Employee               | Accommodation            | Disposable camera     | 1-Aug                    | 50  |
| 18          | Employee               | Food & drinks            | Disposable camera     | 29-Jul                   | 20  |
| 19          | Employee               | Food & drinks            | Disposable camera     | 10-Aug                   | 43  |
| 20          | Employee               | Accommodation            | Phone camera          | 7-Jul                    | 40  |
| 21          | Micro-entrepreneur     | Shopping                 | Disposable camera     | n/a [had to travel]      | n/a |
| 22          | Deliveryman            | //                       | Phone camera          | 11-Aug                   | 67  |
| 23          | Bin man                | //                       | Disposable camera     | 17-Aug                   | 10  |
| 24          | Employee               | Food & drinks            | Disposable camera     | 11-Aug                   | 67  |
|             |                        |                          |                       | Average interview length | 50  |

Participants were asked to choose photos which were most important to them to have a focused discussion. Similar to the act of taking a photo, selecting a photo for discussion involves bias on the part of participants (Prosser, 1992) with little influence from the researcher. Participants reflect to make a choice of what they want to communicate. To counter some of the bias, more photos were frequently included in the discussion as there was sufficient time. Hence, participants had to discuss photos that were not their first choice. The photos were numbered in order of discussion, which helped combining recording, transcripts of interviews and photos for analysing the data (Clark-Ibáñez, 2007).

The photos were discussed by initiating questions related to the photos such as 'what does the photo show?', 'why did you take it?'. The emerging topics were pursued and developed in the discussion to explore the meaning of the photo within the context of the research question. The underlying assumption was that the photo was a representation of 'something' and the researcher can only develop understanding of the representation by talking to the person who took the photo (Rose, 2016). As such, the participant was tasked to provide an interpretation of the phenomenon being studied. After discussing the photos that were taken and that could not be taken, the interview focus moved to more specific topics, if participants were interested in a further discussion. To ensure reliability of participants' responses, their answers were triangulated. For example, some participants communicated their perceptions of the interest of the municipal administration in pursuing a strategy of tourism development or the level of safety and security in the destination. These perceptions were used in other interviews to investigate other perspectives as to what extent these might correspond or differ.

#### Stage V: analysing the interviews and photographs

The three main steps used at this stage involved, (1) transcribing and familiarising, (2) coding and (3) theming. The interview transcripts included a reference to photos enabling identification of participants' explanations of why they took the photo and what the photo meant to them. Accordingly, interpretation and analysis of photos was done by participants - not by the researcher. The photos and interview transcripts were considered as one set of data – thus, requiring simultaneous analysis (Guillemín & Drew, 2010). In transcribing each interview, key topics were highlighted and several comments related to potential codes and themes, to the use of language, and to general experiences were made. Therefore, during the process of transcribing, familiarisation with the data took place, which is crucial for the whole analysis (Robson, 2011). After completing the stage of transcribing, all interview transcripts were uploaded to the NVivo software for analysis. The process of coding in NVivo involved two main cycles: the first cycle was aimed at getting a better overview of the data through the use of holistic coding, while the second cycle intended to develop more specific codes by applying descriptive coding (Saldaña, 2016). In line with the objectives of the broader research project, key themes that emerged from the analysis can be seen in Table 3.

#### Stage VI: presenting the findings

This process is outlined and elaborated upon in the next section on findings and discussion.

**Table 3**  
Themes and sub-themes.

| Themes and sub-themes                       | Textual data | Visual data  |
|---|--------------|--|
| (I) General insight                         | ✓            |  |
| (II) Tourism development                    | ✓            | ✓ Local environment e.g. photo of the beach  |
| (III) Tourism, poverty and inequality       | ✓            |  |
| (1) Job and income                          | ✓            | ✓ Work environment e.g. photos of a reception, pool area                                     |
| (2) Consumption                             | ✓            | ✓ Photos of a house, bike  |
| (3) Valuable opportunities                  | ✓            |  |
| (A) Individual opportunities and challenges | ✓            | ✓ Leisure time e.g. photo of a hammock, lifestyle e.g. photo of a sign “preserve the nature” |
| (B) Societal benefits and costs             | ✓            |  |
| (i) Infrastructure                          | ✓            | ✓ Photos of roads, paving, community space   |
| (ii) Nature and environment                 | ✓            | ✓ Photos of green areas, damage of environment e.g. photos of sewage water, constructions    |
| (iii) Living space                          | ✓            | ✓ Limitation of living space e.g. high living cost (photo of a sign “house to rent”)         |
| (iii) Access to goods and services          | ✓            | ✓ Education e.g. photos of schools, Health-care e.g. photos of the ambulance                 |
| (iii) Knowledge and culture                 | ✓            | ✓ Photos taken at/and of a local festival celebration  |
| (iii) Safety and security                   | ✓            |  |
| (IV) Tourism and power                      | ✓            |  |

### Residents' photographic representation of tourism impacts

This section presents the findings on residents' photographic representation of tourism impacts, focusing on: individual benefits through working in tourism and societal benefits and challenges due to tourism development.

#### *Individual benefits through working in tourism*

Tourism is the most important economic sector in the region and provides opportunities for employment and income generation. Some participants, mainly micro-entrepreneurs, emphasised the importance of tourism-related income through their photos. They explained that through employment in tourism, they could afford food and shelter. Hence tourism employment supported them in satisfying their primary material needs. One participant who was a beach-hawker, for example took a photo of his house (Fig. 2) and stated that he did not need much more than a home that provided shelter to his family. Participants from lower socio-economic backgrounds depicted how tourism contributed to achieving primary needs in their photographs. Moreover, they also portrayed and assigned importance to wider commodities such as a bike and a car. One participant, for example took a photo of his bike (Fig. 3) and explained that he uses it every day to go to tourist places to sell his crafts. In this way, the bike acquired through tourism income made his way to work much easier and faster.

Participants who were employed on minimum salary in the tourism industry strongly referred to the intensity of work and the need to re-energise through engagement in leisure activities on their day off work. Leisure activities were portrayed in photos in different ways: spending a day at the beach and having a barbecue was visualised through a photo of the beach, engaging in sport activities by showing a photo of a surfboard and relaxation through a photo of a hammock (Fig. 4). Regarding the latter, the participant who was employed at minimum salary as a receptionist in a hotel commented;

This photo shows me in a hammock on my day off. I was relaxing at a place at the beach here in Imbassaí. It is important for me to have moments to relax, because my work can be challenging and tough.

In taking photos of leisure activities, participants placed emphasis on how these were opportunities provided by tourism. This was because without tourism income, they would not have the means to engage in leisure activities. Furthermore, participants from higher socio-economic backgrounds depicted the green environment in their photos to point out the value of living and working in such an environment. One participant who was a business owner explained that; “I took these photos (Fig. 5), these photos of green areas, which I like very much. In a big city, you do not find such green areas. I enjoy going for a walk and have time to think”.

Another business owner also focused on the natural environment (Fig. 6) to emphasise the tourism entrepreneurship lifestyle offered in Imbassaí with the comment that;

I like it very much here. Here is my project of life... I live in front of the beach, have land to plant and I can raise my daughters in a healthy environment. My workplace is wonderful, where I get to see and meet tourists, where I have the opportunity to work.

The possibility of having such a lifestyle and living in a natural environment meant not only freedom and quality of life, but also achievement. Another participant also portrayed achievement through taking a photo of positive guest reviews (Fig. 7). In this way, participants from a higher socio-economic background tended to capture photographic elements that showed how tourism contributed to achieving their non-material needs. This was in contrast with participants from lower and middle socio-economic backgrounds who took pictures that emphasised the material needs satisfied through tourism employment and income.





**Fig. 2.** House building made possible through tourism employment.  
Source: Participant 2, 2017, permission to reproduce image granted.

#### *Societal benefits and challenges due to tourism development*

Wider societal benefits and challenges due to tourism development were strongly emphasised by residents through photography. Many participants emphasised the importance of infrastructure development due to tourism. One participant who was employed in a pousada (bed and breakfast) explained;

These photos (Fig. 8) show infrastructure. Why should we talk about infrastructure? We talk about infrastructure, because tourism made it possible for us to have infrastructure in our city, in our village. If tourism was not here, I don't think it would have been done.

Other participants highlighted the importance of road infrastructure in connecting Imbassaí with other major cities and neighbourhoods. Due to increasing rental prices and cost of living many people could not afford to live in Imbassaí any longer



**Fig. 3.** Bike purchased through tourism income.  
Source: Participant 2, 2017, permission to reproduce image granted.



**Fig. 4.** Leisure time made possible through tourism employment.  
Source: Participant 20, 2017, permission to reproduce image granted.



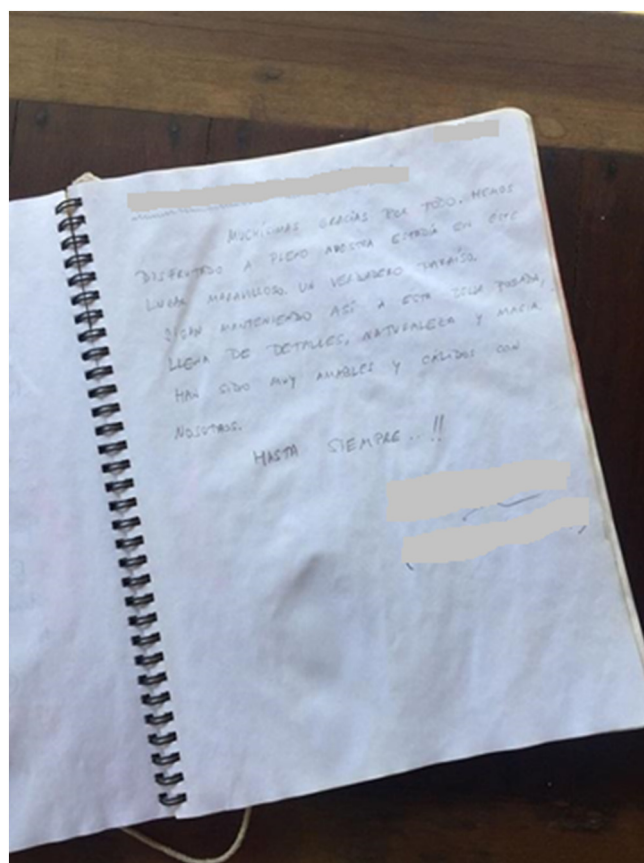
**Fig. 5.** Green area. (For interpretation of the references to color in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)  
Source: Participant 3, 2017, permission to reproduce image granted.



**Fig. 6.** Lifestyle - in line with nature.  
Source: Participant 10, 2017, permission to reproduce image granted.

and were forced to move into a neighbourhood area. One participant, who was a micro-entrepreneur, took a photo (Fig. 9) of a new road that connects Imbassaí with Barro Branco - a neighbourhood of Imbassaí. For this participant, the photo of the road held more meaning to him as it meant easier access to work.

In contrast, another participant who was not dependent on generating income from tourism also took a photo of the road and elaborated that;



**Fig. 7.** Positive reviews from tourists.  
Source: Participant 12, 2017, permission to reproduce image granted.





**Fig. 8.** Infrastructure.

Source: Participant 16, 2017, permission to reproduce image granted.

They built a highway. Totally useless! Wasted money. And total environmental destruction. They smashed down all old trees and build a massive highway no one needs [...] People wanted a road, but a simple one, not a massive highway. It's idiocy.

He added that “with tourism, vegetation was destroyed, and environmental areas were deforested”. Thus, it emerged that similar visual materials can have different meanings depending on the photo-taker's social world. Infrastructure development and environmental destruction were frequently linked by participants and emphasised through a range of photos. Often participants provided photos that visualised an inadequate sewage system and illegal constructions that caused environmental damage (Fig. 10). An inefficient sewage system caused further damage for people's health since sewage water entered the main river which locals used for drinking and bathing purposes. Some participants took a photo of a sign which confirmed that the water was clean (Fig. 11), although locals knew that it was not.

These photos frequently led to discussions about the inefficiency of the public administration in controlling and setting up sufficient measures to protect the environment. One participant, for example, stressed that “...the municipal government does not consider the environment. They earn much from tourism, but they do not use taxes to preserve the place. So, it's big... and it threatens all of us. It's oversight of the public administration”. This then often resulted in further discussions about corruption



**Fig. 9.** New road.

Source: Participant 5, 2017, permission to reproduce image granted.

with many participants arguing that public administration and corruption work 'hand-in-hand' with the consequence that issues were 'ignored' by politicians.

Many participants pointed out that improved access to goods and services is a result of tourism development. For example to symbolise improved access to healthcare, participants frequently took a photo of an ambulance (Fig. 12). The photo often prompted wider discussion of the health-care system and, particularly its limitations. Participants indicated that health-care centres in tourist destinations were acceptable, although they only provided basic treatment. In contrast, more rural areas lacked sufficient medical treatment. Similarly, an image of a school signified improved access to education. At the same time, this opened up discussion about the quality of education accentuated by regional differences in the accessibility of high-quality education for different socio-economic groups and the wider implications.

### Opportunities and challenges of using participant-generated photo-elicitation

This study has offered comprehensive insights into the benefits and costs of tourism development for the individual and for the society in Imbassaí. The use of participant-generated images provided the opportunity of discovering nuances of people's understanding and perception of tourism impacts. It emerged from the photographic data that wider societal benefits and costs of tourism development (e.g. infrastructure development, environmental destruction, access to health care and education) were of high importance for participants as they predominantly took photos of these wider societal aspects. This is a significant finding compared to the static outcomes of most quantitative studies on tourism impacts in which perceptions are measured simply as either positive or negative (Teye et al., 2002).

It has been argued that photo-elicitation projects facilitate access to vulnerable and marginalised groups (Frith & Harcourt, 2007; Klitzing, 2004). In fact, participants from lower socio-economic groups were more open to participation than people from more affluent backgrounds - after contact and trust was established. Jobbins (2004) emphasises the importance of building social relationships and developing trust between the researcher and research participants. We argue that trust plays a crucial role in a photo-elicitation project as participants facilitate access to their intimate social worlds through taking photos. Without having an established trustworthy relationship, it is difficult to engage participants fully in the research. The literature acknowledges that "initial trust" needs to be established (Rose, 2016, p. 320) but we have concerns that this can be achieved in the initial briefing session. Consequently, we would advise that photo-elicitation comes later in the fieldwork process after the researcher has built up some connections at site.

All participants commented that they enjoy the experience of photo-making and described it as a 'fun-exercise'. This has been frequently pointed out in the literature and is considered to result in greater engagement and openness of participants (Glaw et al., 2017; Meo, 2010). The underlying idea is that photo-elicitation based on participant-generated images reduces power differentials (Epstein et al., 2006). At the same time though, we need to keep in mind that the method of photo-elicitation is not power-neutral since the researcher still holds the power in setting the research questions and presenting the findings (McCarthy, 2013). In the initial briefing between the researcher and participants the research focus was clearly set out and instructions for taking photos were given. Depending on the depth of instructions, the researcher exerts a certain degree of power, which he/she needs to be aware of. If the instructions are very specific, it might have the implication that the participants





**Fig. 10.** Environmental damage.

Source: Participant 15, 2017, permission to reproduce image granted.

take photos of what the researcher wants to see – which runs counter to the notion of reducing power differentials. Like other photo-elicitation studies (Brickell, 2012; Clark-Ibáñez, 2007), a broad question 'how does tourism influence your everyday life?' was given to participants, so that they were not directed by the researchers' assumptions of how tourism influences their lives.

At first sight, the photographic material appeared to be general, which was considered a consequence of having broad instructions. However, the richness of meaning of these photographic materials emerged when moving beyond the depictions to 'looking behind' the photographs and engaging in further discussions that were prompted through the photographic material. Thus, we support the notion that the method of photo-elicitation can provide comprehensive and different insights into social phenomena as participants are required to engage differently with their social worlds (Bolton et al., 2001; Harper, 2002).

The decision of what to communicate through a photograph is the outcome of an inherently subjective process of reflecting upon taken-for-granted aspects of participants' social worlds (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007; Rose, 2016). Several participants emphasised that through the use of a camera, they re-evaluated aspects of their life and looked at these differently. One participant explained that when considering 'what photo to take', she looked around herself – at the river, at the natural surroundings – and she came to realise the beauty of nature, which made her become more appreciative of her living and working environment. Similarly, another participant stated that, although life in Imbassá brought certain limitations, for example



**Fig. 11.** Sign “water quality”.

Source: Participant 17, 2017, permission to reproduce image granted.

lack of cultural attractions and events, she had the privilege of living ‘close to nature’, which she emphasised through various photos (Fig. 5).

Tasking participants to reflect on how tourism influences their lives, to identify and take photographic representations describes an uncommon way for participants to engage with their social world (Rose, 2016). It appears that due to this unusual experience of looking through a camera on their lives, they make sense of and establish meaning of certain aspects of life as an outsider. We may argue that here participants take an ‘outsider’ researcher position (Adu-Ampong & Adams, 2019), however momentarily, which enables them to explore aspects of their lives in-depth and gain valuable insights that are arguably different to understanding obtained just through verbal communication in an interview setting. The process of photo-elicitation does not only contribute to an enhanced knowledge and understanding within the boundaries of the research project but also benefits participants in as much as they reach greater awareness of their social worlds. This is because participants engage in multiple



**Fig. 12.** SAMU – ambulance.

Source: Participant 1, 2017, permission to reproduce image granted.

levels of reflexivity (MacKay & Couldwell, 2004), first in deciding which photos to take and then offering an interpretation of their meaning at the interview stage.

'What was shown in photos' encompassed, for example a house, a bike, a hammock, green trees – photographic elements representing how tourism influenced the lives of participants individually. At first sight, the photographs did not seem to depict any form of social difference and hierarchy; however, when 'looking behind' the photographs through interviews, social class and difference became evident. Participants from a lower socio-economic background tended to choose elements showing how tourism improved their material conditions/physiological needs – starting from achieving basic needs (e.g. shelter) to being able to afford wider commodities (e.g. bike). In contrast, photos of participants from a higher socio-economic background, for example placed stronger emphasis on demonstrating elements that portrayed freedom of living in a natural environment and quality of life (e.g. green trees) and achievement (e.g. guest book with positive reviews). Hence, they tended to focus on how tourism contributed to non-material conditions/psychological needs.

In support of Bourdieu and Whiteside's (1996) and Dodman's (2003) argument, we assert that the visualised material elements provide indication of the socio-economic position of the participant. People from lower socio-economic groups face the challenge of affording material necessities; hence, this is very much part of their social worlds, which is portrayed in the photos captured. In contrast, people from higher income groups do not face this struggle as they have material resources available to them and can afford to focus on achieving psychological well-being. Thus, while social difference and hierarchy is difficult to depict in single photos, these emerge when contrasting the visualised material in photos generated by participants.

'What people want to communicate through a photograph differs' – it may even differ if people choose the same visual element. In various cases, participants in this study chose the same visual element; however, they attached different meanings to the photographic representation. As pointed out in the previous section, a new road that connected Imbassaí with a neighbourhood was frequently portrayed in photographs. While one participant emphasised the benefits of the new road in providing easier and faster access to work, another participant took a relatively negative view on the road, as being too big, too expensive and too environmentally damaging. The latter participant did not have to commute and was not dependent on gaining income from tourism. The new road did not provide any direct benefits to him which potentially influenced his view. This indicates that the meaning of a photograph may change depending on the circumstances of the photographer and his/her relationship with the visualised material. It reflects the notion that photos represent the decision of what participants want to communicate (Hatten et al., 2013).

The timing of photo-taking and the interpretation and analysis of photographic materials using a complementary method requires consideration (Balomenou & Garrod, 2019). In this study, participants were tasked with taking photos for a flexible period of time, and after developing and returning the photos, interviews were scheduled. Hence, real-time narrative was not gathered; however, data was collected with a time lapse. Although a delay in collecting data might impact the richness of information, this was not the case in this study. In fact, we argue that the time lapse provides essential time for reflecting on the photo-taking exercise and we consider this time as an integral part of the whole process of photo-making. The quality of photos appeared to be relatively poor due to the use of disposable cameras; however, participants did not have an issue with the quality of their photos. Instead, most participants were happy with their photographic output and showed their photos to other community members who applauded them for these. In this way, photo-elicitation might be useful in developing and strengthening participants' self-confidence (Schänzel & Smith, 2011).

Often, photographs were a point of departure for having rich conversations about how tourism influences people's lives. In this way, photographs prompted wider discussions about abstract concepts, for example about social inequality in terms of accessing public services such as education and healthcare and power relations, particularly corruption. Obviously, these concepts have a high level of abstraction, which are difficult to access in a conventional interview setting (Frith & Harcourt, 2007). At the same time, they tend to be unphotographable (Klitzing, 2004). Nonetheless, social inequality plays a key role of people's lives in the Northeast of Brazil and hence, in the lives of participants. Through the process of photo-making participants were asked to reflect on their daily lives and how tourism influences their lives, which arguably, involved social hierarchy and power. One participant, for example provided insights about his work life and shared a specific experience that signified the social divisions in Imbassaí:

It's like the situation here [at his workplace]. Recently there was a party, it was the birthday of my boss. A few businesspeople came and not one of these business people was black. But: we are in Bahia, the black country. [...] In general, the bourgeoisie in Imbassaí are white Brazilian businessmen living in Imbassaí and the proletariat are the locals who work in the businesses and were forced to live outside Imbassaí.

We argue that, although these abstract concepts were not visualised in photos, the whole process of photo-making facilitated participants' reflexivity and sense-making of their social worlds. This enabled access to and discovery of these abstract aspects in interaction between the researcher and participants. It was indeed these abstract aspects that participants aimed to photograph but did not manage. For example, while one participant had the initial idea of portraying increasing violence due to tourism development in a photo, she did not pursue this as she did not know how to communicate 'violence' through a photo. In this way, participants seemed to be confronted with the task of visualising something that appears unphotographable. By considering how to visualise an abstract concept, participants engage in a reflective process, which supports them in gaining awareness and in articulating the issue. In this context, we need to mention that careful thought needs to go into selecting interview location as individuals' workplaces can present limitations as some participants felt uncomfortable with sharing sensitive details, such as power relations at the work environment.



## Conclusions

It is no stretch to argue that tourism and its images are by definition visual. Images, pictures, postcards, paintings, artworks and other visualisations have long been used to represent tourism destinations as well as the tourism experience (Urry, 1990). Given this central role of the visual in tourism, it is a wonder why visual methodologies are yet to achieve critical mass in tourism research. In this research, participant-generated photo-elicitation has been used in the study of residents' perception of tourism impact in Imbassaí, a coastal destination in the state of Bahia in the Northeast of Brazil. We identify some challenges in adopting this method including the need to establish trust between researcher and participants. Moreover, researchers need to reflexively engage in reducing power differentials and relinquishing power control in terms of the specificity of instructions given to participants. As photo-elicitation is not power-neutral, the researcher needs to be aware that the more specific the briefing, the higher the chance of participants taking photos of what the researcher wants to see.

The findings from this research highlights the opportunities offered by using this approach including addressing the power differentials between the researcher and research participants, helping to visualise social relations and emphasising how tourism impacts are perceived differently depending on participants' socioeconomic backgrounds. By accessing the stories behind photos, social inequality can be captured as participants reflect on their lived social worlds as an 'outsider'. Participant-generated photo elicitation therefore can provide "the opportunity to gain not just more but different insights into social phenomena" (Bolton et al., 2001, p. 503) in contrast to other research methods. While these findings are in line with previous studies, this research makes an original contribution to the literature in the detailed focus on outlining a step-by-step process of photo-elicitation method using participant-generated images.

## Statement of contribution

### 1. What is the contribution to knowledge, theory, policy or practice offered by the paper?

The paper makes a unique contribution to the knowledge, theory and practice of applying visual methodologies in tourism research – which, to date, have received limited attention by tourism scholars. Specifically, it offers a detailed overview of the process of designing and applying photo-elicitation using participant-generated images. The paper assesses the opportunities and challenges associated with this method within tourism studies and in a wider social science context. Through the presentation and analysis of photos taken by participants, the paper also provides comprehensive insights into residents' perspectives of tourism development impacts in the unique context of the Northeast of Brazil – a region characterised by a massive increase in tourism numbers combined with persistent poverty and inequality.

### 2. How does the paper offer a social science perspective/approach?

Visual methodologies have increasingly been applied across a diversity of social science disciplines; yet there is limited application of these within tourism research. In particular, the method of photo-elicitation based on participant-generated images to explore the impacts of tourism development has received minor recognition. This paper draws connections from a variety of social science disciplines such as sociology and visual studies to advance the application of photo-elicitation using participant-generated image in the tourism discipline. In doing so, it provides a detailed discussion about the application of photo-elicitation using participant-generated images in the field of tourism studies from a broad social science perspective.

## Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

## References

- Adu-Ampong, E. A., & Adams, E. A. (2019). "But you are also Ghanaian, you should know": Negotiating the insider–outsider research positionality in the fieldwork encounter. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 26(6), 583–592.
- Alves, S., & de Hilal, A. V. G. (2009). Tourism development: Sustainable or sustained? Intercultural reflections on the case of Praia do Forte-Bahia, Brazil. *PASOS Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 7(3), 503–514.
- Balomenou, N., & Garrod, B. (2016). A review of participant generated image methods in the social sciences. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 10(4), 335–351.
- Balomenou, N., & Garrod, B. (2019). Photographs in tourism research: Prejudice, power, performance and participant-generated images. *Tourism Management*, 70, 201–217.
- Barthes, R. (1981). *Camera lucida: Reflections on photography*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Bolton, A., Pole, C., & Mizen, P. (2001). Picture this: Researching child workers. *Sociology*, 35(2), 501–518.
- Bourdieu, P., & Whitehead, S. (1996). *Photography: A middle-brow art*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
- Brickell, K. (2012). Visual critiques of tourist development: Host-employed photography in Vietnam. *Tourism Geographies*, 14(1), 98–116.
- Cederholm, E. A. (2004). The use of photo-elicitation in tourism research—Framing the backpacker experience. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 4(3), 225–241.
- Cederholm, E. A. (2012). Photo-elicitation and the construction of tourist experiences: Photographs as mediators in interviews. In T. Rakić, & D. Chambers (Eds.), *An introduction to visual research methods in tourism* (pp. 92–108). London: Routledge.
- Chambers, D. (2012). The [in]discipline of visual tourism research. In T. Rakić, & D. Chambers (Eds.), *An introduction to visual research methods in tourism* (pp. 35–50). London and New York: Routledge.
- Clark, A., & Morriss, L. (2017). The use of visual methodologies in social work research over the last decade: A narrative review and some questions for the future. *Qualitative Social Work*, 16(1), 29–43 2017.

- Clark-Ibáñez, M. (2007). Inner-city children in sharper focus. *Sociology of childhood and photo elicitation interviews*. In G. C. Stanczak (Ed.), *Visual research methods. Image, society and representation* (pp. 167–196). London: Sage.
- Collier, J. J. (1957). Photography in anthropology: A report on two experiments. *American Anthropologist*, 59(5), 843–859.
- Crang, M. (1997). Picturing practices: Research through the tourist gaze. *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(3), 359–373.
- Dodman, D. R. (2003). Shooting in the city: An autophotographic exploration of the urban environment in Kingston, Jamaica. *Area*, 35(3), 293–304.
- Edwards, E., & Hart, J. (2004). *Photographs objects histories: On the materiality of images*. London: Routledge.
- Epstein, I., Stevens, B., McKeever, P., & Baruchel, S. (2006). Photo elicitation interview (PEI): Using photos to elicit children's perspectives. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(3), 1–11.
- Flecha, Â. C., Fusco, J. P. A., Damiani, W. B., & Amaral, H. F. (2010). The economic impacts of tourism in Ouro Preto, MG, Brazil. *Brazilian Journal of Operations and Production Management*, 7(2), 29–46.
- Frith, H., & Harcourt, D. (2007). Using photographs to capture women's experiences of chemotherapy: Reflecting on the method. *Qualitative Health Research*, 17(10), 1340–1350.
- Garrod, B. (2008). Exploring place perception - A photo-based analysis. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(2), 381–401.
- Glaw, X., Inder, K., Kable, A., & Hazelton, M. (2017). Visual methodologies in qualitative research: Autophotography and photo elicitation applied to mental health research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16(1), 1–8.
- Grady, J. (2004). Working with visual evidence: An invitation and some practical advice. In C. Knowles, & P. Sweetman (Eds.), *Picturing the social landscape: Visual methods and the sociological imagination* (pp. 18–32). London: Routledge.
- Guillemin, M., & Drew, S. (2010). Questions of process in participant-generated visual methodologies. *Journal of Visual Studies*, 25(2), 175–188.
- Gursoy, D., & Nunkoo, R. (Eds.). (2019). *The Routledge handbook of tourism impacts: Theoretical and applied perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, 17(1), 13–26.
- Harrison, B. (2004). Snap happy: Toward a sociology of "everyday" photography. In C. J. Pole (Ed.), *Seeing is believing? Approaches to visual research* (pp. 23–39). London: Elsevier.
- Hatten, K., Forin, T., & Adams, R. (2013). A picture elicits a thousand meanings: Photo elicitation as a method for investigating cross-disciplinary identity development. *120th ASEE Annual Conference & Exposition*. Atlanta: American Society for Engineering Education.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2011). *The practice of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., & Radley, A. (2007). Considering photographs never taken during photo-production projects. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 4(4), 263–280.
- Hodgetts, D., Radley, A., Chamberlain, K., & Hodgetts, A. (2007). Health inequalities and homelessness, considering material, spatial and relational dimensions. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 12(5), 709–725.
- Jenks, C. (Ed.). (2015). *Visual culture*. London: Routledge.
- Jobbins, G. (2004). Translators, trust and truth: Cross-cultural issues in sustainable tourism research. In J. Phillimore, & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative methods in tourism research* (pp. 311–323). London: Routledge.
- Klitzing, S. (2004). Women living in a homeless shelter: Stress, coping and leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 36(4), 483–512.
- Lohmann, G., & Dredge, D. (2012). *Tourism in Brazil, environment, management and segments*. London: Routledge.
- MacKay, K. J., & Couldwell, C. M. (2004). Using visitor-employed photography to investigate destination image. *Journal of Travel Research*, 42(4), 390–396.
- MacKay, K. J., & Fensmaier, D. R. (1997). Pictorial element of destination in image formation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(3), 537–565.
- Marteletto, L. (2012). Educational inequality by race in Brazil, 1982–2007: Structural changes and shifts in racial classification. *Demography*, 49(1), 337–358.
- Matteucci, X. (2013). Photo elicitation: Exploring tourist experiences with researcher found images. *Tourism Management*, 35, 190–197.
- McCarthy, L. (2013). "It's coming from the heart": Exploring a student's experiences of "home" using participatory visual methodologies. *Graduate Journal of Social Science*, 10(2), 76–105.
- Menegaz, F. (2007). Brazil Labeled Map (CC BY-SA 3.0). Retrieved from <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=2231836>.
- Meo, A. (2010). Picturing students' habitus: The advantages and limitations of photo-elicitation interviewing in a qualitative study in the City of Buenos Aires. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 9(2), 150–171.
- Mirzoeff, N. (2006). On visuality. *Journal of Visual Culture*, 5(1), 53–79.
- Molina, A., & Esteban, A. (2006). Tourism brochures, usefulness and image. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(4), 1036–1056.
- Observatorio do Turismo da Bahia (2017). Indicadores. Retrieved from <http://observatorio.turismo.ba.gov.br/>.
- OECD (2018). *OECD tourism trends and policies 2018*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Park, E., & Kim, S. (2018). Are we doing enough for visual research in tourism? The past, present, and future of tourism studies using photographic images. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 20(4), 433–441.
- Pegas, F.D.V. (2016). High-end coastal tourism in northeastern Brazil. In: S. Nepal & J. Saarinen (Eds.), *Political ecology and tourism* (pp. 179–192). New York: Routledge.
- Pegas, F. D. V., Weaver, D., & Castley, G. (2015). Domestic tourism and sustainability in an emerging economy: Brazil's littoral pleasure periphery. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 23(5), 1–22.
- Pereira, C. (2016). *Ethno-racial poverty and income inequality in Brazil. Working paper no. 60*. CEQ Institute, Tulane University.
- Pink, S. (2001). More visualising, more methodologies: On video, reflexivity and qualitative research. *The Sociological Review*, 49(4), 586–599.
- Prosser, J. (1992). Personal reflections on the use of photography in an ethnographic case study. *British Educational Research Journal*, 18(4), 397–411.
- Prosser, J., & Loxley, A. (2008). *Introducing visual methods*. ESRC National Centre for Research Methods review paper.
- Puppim de Oliveira, J. (2003). Governmental responses to tourism development: Three Brazilian case studies. *Tourism Management*, 24(1), 97–110.
- Puppim de Oliveira, J. A. (2005). Tourism as a force for establishing protected areas: The case of Bahia, Brazil. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 13(1), 24–49.
- Radley, A., Hodgetts, D., & Cullen, A. (2005). Visualising homelessness: A study of photography and estrangement. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 15(4), 273–295.
- Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2012). Introducing visual methods to tourism studies. In T. Rakić, & D. Chambers (Eds.), *An introduction to visual research methods in tourism* (pp. 3–14). Oxford: Routledge.
- Robinson, A. (2011). Giving voice and taking pictures: Participatory documentary and visual research. *People, Place & Policy Online*, 5(3), 115–134.
- Robson, C. (2011). *Real world research*. Chichester: Wiley and Sons.
- Rose, G. (2016). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials* (4th ed.). London: Sage.
- Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Scalabrini, E. C. B., & Remoaldo, P. C. (2020). Residents' perception towards tourism in an industrial Brazilian City: A cluster analysis. *Revista Brasileira de Gestão e Desenvolvimento Regional*, 16(1), 235–247.
- Scarles, C. (2010). Where words fail, visuals ignite: Opportunities for visual autoethnography in tourism research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(4), 905–926.
- Scarles, C. (2012). The photographed other: Interplays of agency in tourist photography in Cusco, Peru. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(2), 928–950.
- Schänzel, H. A., & Smith, K. A. (2011). Photography and children: Auto-driven photo-elicitation. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 36(1), 81–85.
- SETUR (Secretaria de Turismo do Estado da Bahia) (2011). *Estratégia turística da Bahia 2007/2016*. Retrieved from [https://issuu.com/turismobahia/docs/estrat\\_gia\\_tur\\_stica\\_da\\_bahia\\_setur](https://issuu.com/turismobahia/docs/estrat_gia_tur_stica_da_bahia_setur).
- Siegel, P., & Alwang, J. (2005). Public investments in tourism in northeast Brazil: Does a poor-area strategy benefit the poor? *Sustainable development working paper no 22*. Washington: the World Bank.
- Stylianou-Lambert, T. (2012). Tourists with cameras: Reproducing or producing? *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(4), 1817–1838.
- Teye, V., Sirakaya, E., & Sönmez, S. F. (2002). Residents' attitudes toward tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(3), 668–688.
- UNDP (2014). *Human development report 2014, sustaining human progress: Reducing vulnerabilities and building resilience*.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze*. London: Sage.



- Urry, J., & Larsen, J. (2011). *The tourist gaze 3.0*. London: Sage.
- Winter, T. (2019). *Poverty and inequality: Exploring the role of tourism in Brazil's northeast*. Doctoral Thesis Sheffield Hallam University.
- Wright, T. (1999). *The photography handbook* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Yankholmes, A. K. B. (2013). Residents' stated preference for scale of tourism development in Danish-Osu, Ghana. *Cities*, 31, 267–275.

Theres Winter completed her Ph.D. in 2018 and is Research Associate at the University for Sustainable Development in Eberswalde, Germany and Associate Lecturer at Sheffield Hallam University, UK. She researches on tourism, poverty and inequality, and visual methodologies.

Emmanuel Akwasi Adu-Ampong is Assistant Professor in Cultural Geography, Wageningen University and Research, the Netherlands, and Research Associate at the Uni. of Johannesburg, South Africa. He researches on qualitative methodologies and geographies of slavery heritage tourism.