



Analysing Interviews with Migrants in a Cultural Context

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Analysing interviews with migrants in a cultural context

Introduction

Feminist scholars have problematised the power asymmetries and the lack of reflection on interviewing in mainstream research. What kind of contribution to interview studies does the feminist criticism offer? If there are problems with research interviews, what about non-scientific ones? Can they be used as research data? If yes, what problems may occur? This chapter problematises interviews in newspapers and magazines which are everyday reading but seldom discussed from a methodological point of view. While most texts on interviews address questions on how to do the interview, this chapter gives examples of ways to analyse them and focuses on how theoretical questions shape the analysis.

The chapter deals with journalist interviews with Swedish-speaking Finns, who have migrated to Sweden and who are working in the cultural field. I argue that migration studies benefit from paying attention to different types of migrants and to various social contexts. All migrants are not extremely poor. Migrants also meet quite familiar cultural contexts. Whereas the European public debate often considers migration as a problem, this chapter concentrates on migrants who contribute to the cultural field.

Using Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital I first explore if this capital can be transferred from one country to another within a similar cultural context. Second, I analyse the representations of ethnicity that are common in the interviews. The newspaper interviews with authors, actors, journalists and artists in popular culture suggest that othering is a consistent part of European identity, affecting also migrants in more privileged positions. In final part I discuss what strategies are used in the othering process.

Different types of interviews

There are several types of interviews. One distinction is between the research interview and the journalist interview. In the research interview questions and answers are kept separate while they in the journalist interview are more or less mixed. In the former, through the process of transcription, when an oral interview is recorded, both the utterances of the interviewer and the interviewee, as well as the interaction between them, are regarded as data and a resource that needs be analysed. In the latter type, the journalist and the interviewee jointly construct one piece of interview data. Very seldom are transcriptions or the process of the interview described (Griffin 2005a).

Interviews are predominantly conducted orally (face-to-face or by telephone), but they might as well be done in writing. You may either send written specific questions or a list of themes to your interviewee. Interviews also have different format. Both oral and written interviews may include questions that are formulated in a precise manner beforehand (so called structured interviews) or questions on defined themes but without word-to-word formulations (thematic or semi-structured interviews). Only the oral face-to-face interview allows questions not exactly formulated in advance (unstructured interviews). Independent of interview type, as a researcher one can analyse one single or several interviews. If for example writing about an author, you could use one interview with her or him as part of all your data or many interviews with that author. Social scientists often conduct several subsequent interviews with a similar design. Researchers do not just conduct interviews with only one person at a time (individual interview), but also with two (for example a couple) or several persons involved (so called group or focus group interviews). Depending on theoretical approach also social scientists might analyse only one single interview. Interview settings also vary depending among others on where they place. This could be a private or public or a virtual environment.

Research interviewing includes not only selecting the appropriate method for your research topic and reflection on your questions, but finding interviewees, preparation for the interview process and transcription before analysing your interview data (see Griffin 2005a for all these phases). Textbooks and guides on interview methods as well as books on research practice explore all these questions at length (see e.g. Holstein and Gubrium 2003, Gilbert 2001, Gubrium and Holstein 2002, Silverman 2000, 2004, 2006).

Feminist critique of research interview methods

From the 1980s onwards feminists have from an anti-positivist stance criticised mainstream research interview method literature for neglecting gender. They have challenged the idea of a value-free, objective knowledge production and argued that a masculine bias prevails in standard textbooks on research interviewing. Ann Oakley (1981) was one of the first scholars to urge a feminist relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. She recommended a non-hierarchical and non-exploitative relationship between them. This meant a changing role for the interviewer: instead of being a neutral recorder of answers, or sometimes a controlling and manipulating head of the conversation, she became the equal woman showing solidarity, sometimes engaging ethically, emotionally or professionally with the interviewees. In the Nordic countries this approach was widely embraced at the time (Davies and Esseveld 1989). Soon enough feminist scholars realised that the emancipatory non-hierarchical woman-to-woman

interview was applicable only in very specific situations. It did not apply to male interviewees, or to contexts with differences between the women in question. And it did not free the researcher from her position as the one with power for example in deciding what the interview was going to be about, selecting interviewees, setting up the interview situation, reporting on the results, analysing them and drawing conclusions from the interview project. Feminists simply criticised earlier feminism's conception of the interview relationship as too naïve and almost as unreflective as positivist interviewing.

The discussion on feminist interviewing has, however, since the 1980s been lively and vivid (Hollway and Jefferson 2000, Järviluoma, Moisala and Vilkko 2003, Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002). One of the main areas of interest has concerned the awareness of the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. One solution to the problems of power-related differences has been to engage the interviewee in the later parts of the research process. In addition to consent on using interview quotes, some researchers go back to the interviewee to check the formulation of quotes, to ask the interviewee's opinion on the context where the quote appears and on the accuracy of the researcher's analysis and interpretation (Silius 1992). In some cases this is a good way to proceed, in other cases it is not a realistic option, for different reasons (Widerberg 2002). At the end of the day, the research report is always the responsibility of the researcher(s).

It is now well-known that the researcher/interviewer influences the phenomenon under scrutiny – and the subsequent interview – by her research interests, her participation, and her specific questions. This influence might empower the participants (Skeggs 1994), but it can also harm them (Hollway and Jefferson 2000). Thus contemporary feminist discussions on interviews deal also with the position of the researcher as a situated (Haraway 1991) producer of knowledge. Knowledge production is embedded in the social and cultural context but also embodied as Karin Widerberg (1995) has described in detail. As a consequence of the discussion, feminist scholars usually reflect on and analyse their position as knowing subjects when reporting their studies. Especially when studying sensitive topics, one of the main examples being violence against women and children (see e.g. Schwartz 1997) ethical issues need to be addressed (Keskinen 2005). They concern power relations, for example how to represent the Other and how to avoid embarrassing interview subjects as they might otherwise be represented as for example uninformed, politically incorrect or just stupid because of the language they use. The same but reverse problem occurs when representing for example sexual abusers, sex buyers or traffickers (Miller 1997, O'Connell Davidson and Layder 1994).

Everybody who has done interviews has experienced how they sometimes work well, sometimes "fail"¹. Sometimes the questions of the interviewer do not invite exhaustive answers

¹ See Järvinen (2000) for an analysis of "failed" interviews.

(Byrne 2003). Susan E. Chase (1995, 1-26) has described the problem in relation to an interview with a public school superintendent from a working-class background on women's experiences in a male-dominated profession. Chase wanted stories from the interviewed women but found that some questions only invited reports while others invited stories. The result might be better if the interviewer listens to gaps and contradictions and reiterates the invitation. Chase also points at how interviewees might have different access to discourses when answering. If for example, the interviewer asks about the interviewee's evaluation of different ways of giving birth and the interviewee has experienced or talked about only one way, her answer is likely to be brief (Silius and Östman 1998). It is also possible that the interviewee does not allow the interviewer, whose power position in some cases is lower, to ask some kinds of question. The interviewee acts as a gate-keeper who decides what to elaborate and what to answer superficially. Sari Charpentier (2006) suggests that a specific answer to a specific question should be analysed in relation to earlier questions and answers and the totality of the interview. When she interviewed midlife female white- and blue-collar workers, she also paid attention to their position in the workplace, their working conditions and the gendered aspects of them as well as of the organisation. She argues that you may interpret answers in different ways depending on whether you analyse them only in the context of the question-answer setting (the internal context), as a part of the whole interview (the context of the situation) or in the context of the interview environment (material, discursive etc.).

Feminist discussions on interviewing methodology today put great emphasis on the relationship between theory and method (see Fine 1998 for a discussion on the construction of Self and Other in qualitative research). It is a consequence of elaborate debates on feminist epistemology and of post-structuralist theory, in particular discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is widely used in feminist research when analysing interviews (Griffin 2005b). Foucauldian discourse analysis often observes power relations on a macro level (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates 2001), while more ethnomethodologically oriented discourse analysis is interested in variations of language use on a micro level (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). Obviously many researchers mix different approaches to discourse analysis. Its focus on texts is crucial as it connects researchers who analyse interviews with researchers who study documents. Scientific articles as data suit discourse analysis well (see Griffin 2007). Documents may be found in archives (see Carrera Suárez and Viñuela Suárez 2007), they might consist for example of written biographical interviews (see Apitzsch and Siouti 2007), published life-stories, transcribed narratives (see Lukic and Jakab 2007), field diaries from ethnographic studies (see Widerberg 2007) or even pictures and other visual products (see Wenk and Krebs 2007).

The context of journalist interviews

Interview data originating from newspapers and magazines differ as stated above in many ways from the research interviews that scholars normally use. First, they are not conducted by oneself (or a co-worker). Second, the interviews are made by journalists, not researchers. This means that the phases when you prepare the interview, make contact to obtain an interview, and the process of interviewing as well as the work afterwards to transcribe the interview are omitted. The data that I deal with in this chapter consist of the published texts, pieces of work by journalists. Because of these differences in how you proceed until the completed, written interview text, which in the case of the research interview results in your transcription and in the journalist interview in the published text, research methods literature usually either opposes or ignores journalist interviews. This applies also to feminist criticism towards traditional ways of interviewing. Questions of power and ethics may, however, be raised in connection to journalist interviews too.

While the interviewee's consent and anonymity are important parts of social science interviewing, in the case of journalist interviews you do have the name of the interviewee (and in most cases of the interviewer) but you don't know how much influence the interviewee has had on the final text. This influence might be totally non-existent implying that, if asked, the interviewee could claim that she or he never said what the article claims. It is also quite possible that the interviewee has had the opportunity to make all the changes s/he wished before the text was published. Journalists work between these two extremes and interviewees themselves are more or less keen to control what is published about them. One should notice that almost half of the interviewees that this chapter deals with at least at one point in their life worked as journalists themselves. This means that both parties may have had more active interaction than usual in the period after the interview before publication, but we cannot assume it. In any case we do not know anything about the character or frequency of that interaction. All we have is the text, which we can presume to be an informed dialogue. Social scientists sometimes also analyse completed interviews done by somebody else. Usually they, however, get complete transcripts of both questions and answers. In the case of press interviews, we might distinguish parts of the text where the interviewer seems to speak. Another part looks like the interviewee is speaking. There might also be various numbers of parts where you cannot really be sure who is saying what. In contrast to research interviews, the separation of questions and answers is not always clear in press interviews. In sum, in journalist interviews we have very limited knowledge of interventions during the interview process. In contrast to the research interview, we can take for granted that the published text is edited. Because of these characteristics of the press interview, in this chapter I have regarded the interview article as a joint action resulting in the final text. This published text is what many scholars in the humanities work with, for example published

interviews with authors. In the present material a third of the interviewees are authors (though this might not be their only occupation²). The differences between the research interview and the journalist interview that are elaborated in this chapter should not be exaggerated. If one regards research interviews as processes of interaction where meaning is created both by the interviewer and the interviewee, by the theoretical framework, that is the constructiveness of the interview, the research interview and the journalist interview resemble each other more than most textbooks acknowledge (Miller and Glassner 2004).

Feminist contributions to methodological discussions on interviews have as can be seen above mainly dealt with research interviews, not journalist interviews. In case of journalist interviews, questions of gender³, power and situatedness of both interviewer and interviewee can however, also be explored. In my specific case the interviews can be characterised as sympathetic personal portraits. The consent of the interviewee seems granted. Many of the articles were published because of an anniversary of the interviewee, because of an opening of a theatre play, a launch of a book or a record or a tour. No scandal articles were included and the gaze was in most cases friendly. The intention of the interviewer in no case seems to have been aggressive or disclosing or trying to catch the interviewee out. In most of the articles, the two parties appear as equals.

Journalist interviews are, however, problematic from a feminist point of view in two senses. First, details of the very crucial interaction between interviewer and interviewee are not accessible to the researcher without additional data, which could be obtained through a research interview with the two parties. In the sympathetic interview power relations are still more hidden than in the scandal article where the very idea of the interview is catch the interviewee out. But even in the sympathetic interview we do not know if the interviewer has tried 15 times to obtain the interview. The power relations might also be reverse. Although I have no reason assuming it to be the case with my particular material, interviewees may have prompted the journalist for an interview. Second, all these questions, which remain in silence in journalist interview, also raise questions of ethics. Within journalism ethics are discussed, but when we use journalist interviews as data, the ethical aspects of the interviews need to be reflected on. This I have reflected on by describing the character and gaze of the texts. In my specific case, I assume that the ethical side of the journalist interviews is unproblematic.

² The following occupations are represented: actress, author, cathedral dean, cultural head of radio channel, film director, head of library, journalist, popular music artist, theatre producer and TV artist. Some interviewees have combined two or more occupations, for example journalist and author or actor and TV artist.

³ In this chapter the gender of the interviewees is taken into consideration. As the interviews are signed, it would also be possible to discuss gender in relation to the interviewers.

Journalism includes many genres which may be categorised for examples according to readership. Journalists take their readership into consideration when editing their articles. The articles that are under investigation in this chapter were published on the one hand in traditional, established daily newspapers and on the other in magazines and reviews which I label semi-professional reviews. I assume the readership to be middle-class and middle-aged. One of the magazines is a women's one. Several of the reviews address specific professional groups like cultural workers or librarians.

Ethnicity, statistics and Finnish migration

The material of this chapter consists of 37 interviews with seven women and men, in total 14 persons, who have been interviewed in Swedish newspapers and magazines, because they are known to a wider public in Sweden. Some of them are celebrities like actors and artists in popular music, and others active in the cultural field as authors, directors or journalists. They have migrated⁴ from Finland to Sweden to get better job opportunities and their native language is Swedish. It is likely that they have had their school education and possible professional training in the Swedish language⁵. In common they also share success in their Swedish career. The Swedish language is their primary working tool. They sing, speak or write.

Among the population of Finland two languages have been spoken at least since the 12th century, when the territory began to be discerned as a separate country⁶: Finnish and Swedish. The Swedish-speaking population is mainly concentrated on the Western and Southern coasts. In addition to coastal inhabitants, civil servants in Finland used to speak Swedish (at least in office) as Finland was part of the Kingdom of Sweden until 1806, when it became a Grand Duchy of Russia. Higher education was also only given in Swedish (after replacing Latin) until the middle of the 19th century, when training in Finnish began. Therefore not only civil servants but also the clergy knew Swedish. Nationalistic movements in the 19th century, where many Swedish-speaking intellectuals were active, created Finnishness, early Finnish history and culture, and brought the Finnish language to the forefront (Fewster 2006). At the turn of the 20th century, both a Finnish-speaking and a

⁴ They are first- or second-generation migrants.

⁵ School education (primary and secondary) is offered in Finnish or Swedish in the bilingual areas of Finland, i.e. in areas where the minority group is sufficiently large. In unilingual areas schools teach either in Finnish or Swedish. Tertiary education (universities, polytechnics etc.) is also offered in the Swedish language, but in a more limited scale compared to the Finnish-speaking supply.

⁶ In the beginning Finland was regarded as a landscape of Sweden. Gradually, when a Swedish centralised state came into existence from the 17th century onwards, Finland became one of the two parts of the Kingdom of Sweden.

Swedish-speaking national movement produced one nation with two languages (the indigenous Saami people were not included). Since independence in 1917, Finnish and Swedish are the two official languages and cultural autonomy was granted to the Swedish speakers. Finnish speakers make up 92 per cent, Swedish speakers 6 per cent and the rest speak Saami or other languages (foreign-born inhabitants and migrants) (Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2006, 101).

Contrary to many European countries, for example France (see Metso and Le Feuvre 2007), ethnicity is not a controversial issue in Finland, reflected in statistics. Thus there are no obstacles – legal or political – to produce statistics on ethnicity. Ethnicity in Finland is predominantly conceived as mother tongue (Finnish, Swedish, Saami or Other). The mother tongue of every inhabitant is recorded in the files of the Central Population Register when a baby is born, according to the choice of the mother. If a migrant arrives and is included in the files, she or he makes her/his own choice.

The category Other, making up 2.75 per cent of the population in 2005 (Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2006, 101) also includes the category “language not known”. Because language was chosen as the main identifier of ethnicity in the 19th century, statistics on language exist since more than a hundred years. Therefore we may learn that for example in the year 1900, the category Other included 0.31 per cent of the total population while the persons with Swedish as mother tongue made up 13 per cent (Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2006, 101).

Why are language statistics so important in Finland? The reason, in addition to the nationalistic roots, is that it has administrative consequences. According to the constitution of 1919 authorities and courts have to provide service in either in Finnish or Swedish, depending on the mother tongue of the resident. Municipalities are divided into unilingual or bilingual ones depending on the share of the minority. This affects for example whether there are schools for the different language groups or not in a specific city.

Population statistics on demographics, i.e. gender, have been collected in Sweden and Finland since 1749 (Kinnunen 2001). Statistics today also comprise information on population with foreign citizenship if the group consists of at least 300 residents in Finland. Among the residents with foreign citizenship, Europeans make up 66 per cent, among which Russians and Estonians are the biggest groups and migrants from Africa only 9 per cent (Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2006, 118). Since 1980 these statistics are also divided by gender. We may learn for example that women from Russia made up 61 per cent of the Russian citizens and women from Estonia 55.5 per cent of the Estonian citizens while the amount of men with citizenship in an African country were 57 per cent of the African group (Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2006, 121).

Thus, to ask about your mother tongue or citizenship or nationality is quite OK in Finland (see Griffin 2005c for a European comparison among Women’s Studies students). Interestingly this also

applies to religious affiliation. Statistics are produced, divided by gender, on how many Lutherans, and for example Jews or Muslims there are in Finland. Statistics also tell how many persons who do not belong to any religious community (14.5 per cent in 2005) (Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2006, 102). But other identifiers of ethnicity, for example colour of skin, are not registered. Finnish authorities do not either see any need of counting people who belong to the Roma people, apparently because they predominantly speak either of the two national languages and are Finnish citizens.

Finland used traditionally to be a country of migration where people for economic reasons left the country for better opportunities. Finns migrated in large numbers to North America in the later part of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, and after WW2 to Sweden. Between 1960 and 1975, with a peak in the late 1960s, more than 60,000 Finns migrated to Sweden (Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2006, 153). This was the time when the children of the baby boomers (born 1945-1950) became adults. Many of the migrants were Swedish speakers. In comparison to their share of the total population, more Swedish speakers than Finnish speakers migrated, implying that the Swedish-speaking population of Finland diminished considerably during this period. Since the 1980s there has been a net immigration to Finland. Among the migrants, annually some 3000 people today move from Finland to Sweden and from Sweden to Finland.

Being a Swedish-speaking Finn myself I became interested in this migrant group when designing a research project on gender and ethnicity within a bilateral research programme on Sweden and Finland called *Interaction across the Gulf of Bothnia*. Firstly I was interested in how migrants who are working in the cultural sector use their cultural capital of sharing the same language but with knowledge of two different cultures, the Finland-Swedish one and the Sweden-Swedish one. I was also interested in whether women are able to draw on their cultural capital in the same way as men. In asking these questions I was mainly influenced by Pierre Bourdieu (1984). I chose interview material⁷ from newspapers and magazines⁸ because I wanted to study interviews done by non-researchers which reach a non-scientific audience. Newspaper articles are also an interesting topic of research because they are used as reference of truth claims in general discussions.

⁷ The original material consisted of more than 200 articles among which 19 with women and 18 with men were selected because they included utterances on ethnicity. They were published between 1980 and 2002.

⁸ The newspapers were the two main daily newspapers in Sweden, *Dagens Nyheter* (DN) and *Svenska Dagbladet* (SvD). The magazines were three weekly ones (*Femina*, *Ica-Kuriren* and *Året Runt*) and two monthly ones (*Månadsjournalen* and *Sköna Dagar*). The complete list of the additional 8 magazines and reviews is available from the author.

Archives, ethnicity and popular magazines

The newspaper material on Swedish-speaking Finnish migrants was very easy to find. Since 1910 there exists a Helsinki-based archive with press clippings covering all Swedish-language newspapers in Finland and the two main daily newspapers of Sweden (*Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*). The archive, called *Brages Pressarkiv*, continued a catalogue on the Finnish press during 1771-1890 that was kept by Helsinki University (www.bragespressarkiv.fi). The archive, which is the oldest in the Nordic countries, was started because of an interest in the folklore of Finland, which as such originated in Finland's creation of its roots during the nationalist movements of the turn of the 20th century. As Isabel Carrera Suárez and Laura Viñuela Suárez (2007) have emphasised, “archives identify, appraise, preserve, and make available documentary materials of long-term value (essential evidence) to the organization or public that the archives serve”. In this case the organization behind the archive is a non-governmental association with the aim to promote Swedish-speaking folklore in Finland. The activities are today maintained through subsidies from the government, grants from private foundations and private donations. The press archive is nowadays available for free search on the Internet, on www.bragespressarkiv.fi.

If the newspaper material was easy to find and professional help was available, it was much more complicated to find popular magazines, like women's weekly magazines, appearing in Sweden. Together with my research assistant, Ms Åsa Bonn, we found that the city library of my home town Turku had little to offer. Ms Bonn had greater success in the city libraries of Vaasa and Pargas, both having a bigger Swedish-speaking population than Turku. Compared to the newspaper material in which you could search by name and easily get copies of clippings, the popular magazines had to be searched by looking into the most recent volume of the magazine. We soon learned that the libraries, contrary to the archives, did not preserve old volumes. This means that while the newspaper clippings covered a period of more than 20 years, the magazine material was all from one specific year (2002).

The collection of the material was eventually accomplished in three steps. First, the newspaper material gave indications which persons to look for – the celebrities or known ones – and these could manually be searched in the popular magazines. The last step consisted of additional interviews found with the very same persons in non-popular magazines, that is in professional magazines or semi-professional reviews, for example magazines and reviews published by the Swedish Church, the co-operation movement, library and authors' organisations, etc. This third part of the material was found in the university library of Åbo Akademi University, where it is preserved and organised in the way that Isabel Carrera Suárez and Laura Viñuela Suárez (2007) have described. The collection process reveals the problems of getting hold of older material on popular culture. We considered travelling to Sweden, where it would have been a lot easier, but dropped the

idea because we were more interested in enough material on specific persons than of specific publications. But the choice obviously has methodological consequences: it is not possible to draw any conclusions on whether the type of publication is of any importance. One cannot, for example, claim that the newspaper interviews are more “serious” or less person-oriented than the ones in family or women’s magazines.

During the research process my focus shifted to new questions. Based on what I read in the material I began to ask how people who have a Swedish-speaking Finnish origin are represented in the Swedish press. This interest was informed by a feminist theoretical discussion on difference (Braidotti 1998, 2002, Frye 1997) and an influence from the Cultural Studies approach (Hall 1991, 1997) on representation in popular culture (Dyer 1997). Based on this investigation I got interested in how the Other is constructed in a Swedish context with inspiration from feminist ethnicity studies (Brah 1996, Griffin with Braidotti 2002b, Yuval-Davies 1997). I wanted to analyse the ways in which texts construct their arguments and to try to find the discourses they are embedded in. Finally I was continuously interested in what kinds of subject positions were available for women. In this chapter I will show how the analysis changes depending on the question you ask and on the theoretical approach you deploy.

The particular Finnish-Swedish context of migration

I have stated above that Finns migrated to Sweden in order to get jobs and better opportunities. The migrants in the 1970s still had mainly a rural background and were often children of farmers. The describers of Finnish post-war history have portrayed Finland as staying rural and poor until the 1970s (Rantalaiho 1993). Among siblings, at most one could stay on the farm while the other ones had to move on. This is a well-known European picture. The generalised image shows that young adults migrated from the home farm to industrial (men) and service work (women) (health, care, education, retail shops). This background also fits many in the group that is studied here. But economic opportunities have never been the only reason for migration. For some the labour market consists of opportunities in two or more countries. You may be invited to move. You might work in a range of different countries, especially if you have a high degree of education and language skills. Many people migrate because they want to live together with somebody from another country. In the case of this particular group we learn very little about the reasons for migration. Economic reasons are highlighted in the case of one author. The mother of that author decided in the 1950s that the family had to move westwards “in order to get proper education for the multitude of

children” (DN/ALB⁹). We also learn that this same author met a Swedish society that was intolerant and very hostile to migrants. Her experiences were “shocking and humiliating” (F/ALB). Another author made Sweden his “deliberate choice” because “he want[ed] to preserve the language for literary writing” (TB/LS). His obsession with the Swedish language appears in many of the interviews. One has the heading “Hypersensitive to language”. For this specific group language reasons play a role, perhaps the crucial one. Because they work with/through language, including Sweden in their career options enlarges their opportunities. Not to know the Finnish language well enough is also a reason to migrate. Many Swedish speakers in Finland feel that it is expected of them in Finland to manage perfectly in Finnish. One of the actresses moved to Denmark when she was 17 years old because she felt like an immigrant in Finland because she was not fluent in Finnish. “Over there [in Denmark] nobody expected me to know the language” she says (SvD/SE).

All interviewees are white, have a similar social and cultural background as their Swedish colleagues and are well-off or privileged and well-established, or well-known, some even famous. The actresses and TV-personalities could be regarded as celebrities (roughly half of the interviewees). Economically the group is very heterogeneous: some are doing well, others not. A sociologist would put most of them into a modern middle class. Some have a lot of family and friends where they live, others lack such social capital. Many are well rooted in Swedish society (one of them is now a bishop) and others stay only for some years in Sweden and then return to Finland (one was an author and film director who made a career as director of the Swedish Film Institute). As a group one may see the interviewees as successful migrants who are talking to colleagues or people who promote their career. The interview texts do not allow the reader to pity these migrants.

Is Finland-Swedishness an asset in the cultural context of Sweden?

As stated above my interest in the group of celebrities and culture workers with origins in Finland was on the one hand inspired by the Bourdieuan concept of cultural capital and on the other hand by

⁹ I have given the papers and magazines and the interviewees acronyms, for example TB for the review called *Tidningen Boken* and ALB for the person called *Anna-Lisa Bäckman*. Many of the papers and magazines have established acronyms that are commonly known in the local context. I too use these ones. I do not give the full name of the interviewees in the text above simply because outside the local context the persons are not well-known. I presume for example that the reader does not know that the actress Stina Ekblad is as famous in Sweden as Helen Mirren in the UK. For those who are acquainted with Swedish mass media it might however be interesting to know that the interviewees were Tina Ahlin, Anna-Lisa Bäckman, Stina Ekblad, Lill Lindfors, Stina Rautelin, Yrsa Stenius, Birgitta Ulfsson, Jörn Donner, Harry Järv, Lennart Koskinen, Mark Levengood, Bengt Packalén, Bo Strömstedt, and Lars Sund.

my aim to show another image of Finnish migrants to Sweden than the most common one. This common picture represents the Finnish migrants as hard-working but with serious social problems, especially if they are men (for example Kuosmanen 2001). I am not arguing that this image is false: migrants in Sweden do have problems and are discriminated against in many ways. And this is true also for white Finns, among them also the Swedish-speaking, who in no way look different from Sweden-born Swedish-speaking Swedes. All Finns who have migrated to Sweden are for example assumed by the Swedish authorities to need Swedish language training. Many Swedish speakers talk about their problems in trying to convince the authorities that they do not need to take classes. Especially the ones who have migrated because they felt that they did not know Finnish talk about experiencing such situations as absurd, sad and excluding.

My point of departure analysing the interview texts was that sharing skin colour and language might give the Swedish-speaking Finnish migrant a privileged position in Sweden. I assumed that in this position a specific sort of cultural capital in Bourdieu's (1984) sense would be available for them, especially because we are dealing with persons who work in the cultural field. I imagined that Finland-Swedish cultural workers in Sweden could benefit from their acquaintance with three cultures: the Swedish culture of Finland, the Swedish culture of Sweden and the Finnish culture. I also asked whether this capital could be used as a distinction in relation to Swedish culture. I presumed that the celebrities would be able to draw on their specific cultural capital, while unknown people would have to hide it because of a subordinated position. This way the privileged cultural workers could avoid assimilation and instead use distinction as resistance. I further assumed that these Swedish-speaking Finns, because of their cultural capital, could be regarded as nomadic subjects (Braidotti 1994), implying crossing boundaries and challenging stable categories. Perhaps they could mix different kinds of capital or even established categories of ethnicity? With these questions in my mind I went reading the interviews looking for utterances in which I would find that knowledge of culture from Finland appeared. Because the interviewees sing, talk or write culture, I expected language to be included in some way or another.

The Swedish language spoken in Finland has a different intonation compared to Swedish spoken in Sweden. Within Sweden you also find different regional accents. In addition you may find some minor vocabulary differences between Swedish in Finland and Sweden. What we deal with is two variations of the same language, perhaps comparable to French in Belgium and France. In the interviews, the Swedish language spoken by the interviewees with Finnish origin becomes deviant and strange. One of the differences is the singing, whistling Finland-Swedish language with long vocals. In one interview the childhood of an author and journalist was described. This author grew up in the South of Sweden. The interviewer tells us that "he manages to overcome the diphthongs of

Trelleborg¹⁰”, but “his speech is multitonal, that still can be heard as a renoise” (MJ/BS). In his childhood the little boy spoke with a “singing foreign accent in the countryside shop”. In the interview this accent is heard 60 years later as “whistling like by Sibelius¹¹ and Finland’s pine forests”. Indirectly we can also read that the whistling of the interviewee stands for his love of the language and his verbal brilliance, which started at the academic literary Parnassus of Lund¹². In contrast we learn that the woman author who had a humiliating and shocking experience of her childhood Sweden immediately began to speak her mother tongue with the mainstream Swedish accent. “Nobody can hear that she is not native-born. But at home she speaks old Swedish” (F/ALB). A novel writer who works part-time as a journalist “loves to engage in language and linguistic questions” (DN/LS). In another interview he explained (Aob/LS):

The Swedish-speaking Finns have tended to be ashamed of their language, [to consider] their specific vocabulary as ugly. But I am enchanted with the blend of linguistic impulses, the joy of words of the dialectal, the sense of the drastic. In addition, the fact that I have lived in Sweden since the late 70s has made me still more conscious about the language situation. I am trying to safeguard my Finland-Swedish intonation.

Other interviewees were more upfront than the Swedes are used to (Skt/ML, ÅR/LK). We can read that their straight-forward style and the common touch are consciously chosen distinctions. The acceptance of the Finland-Swedish language in Sweden is supposed to have happened at the beginning of the 1980s with the actress Birgitta Ulfsson’s radio readings of Tove Jansson’s books about the *Moomintroll*¹³ (SvD/BU). The actress became the very *Moominmummy*, and without saying we know that she speaks as/like the Moominmummy (Vi/BU). In several other interviews the strange intonation of the interviewee is heard. The intonation of a male author/film director is described as direct and aggressive (SIA/JD). An interview with an actress portrays the Swedish language of Finland as unsentimental, as a folk song, energetic, sensual, soft and solemn (DN, Vi/SE). This language works better for Shakespeare than Swedish of Sweden, because the Finnish version is more explicit and intelligible according to the interview text. But the actress herself continues after ten years in Sweden to experience her original language as a limit. She explains:

¹⁰ Small town in Southern Sweden.

¹¹ Finnish composer.

¹² Old university city in the South of Sweden.

¹³ Tove Jansson (1914-2001) wrote more than 10 children’s stories about the Finn Family Moomintrolls mainly in the 1950s and 1960s. The first book was published in 1945. She also drew the comic strip Moomin for the *Evening News*, London, from 1953 to 1959. Jansson was a Finland-Swedish artist, novelist, and children’s book writer (see e.g. Jones 1984 on Jansson’s Moomintroll authorship). The Moomintroll is a bland-faced little creature, who lives with his father Moominpappa and mother Moominmamma in the Valley of the Moomins. The Moomintrolls became a success with their individualistic characters, sophisticated humour, and deep sense of freedom.

Suddenly I feel that I sound unnatural. When a text is watery I wish I could talk the Swedish of Sweden, [and] then one would not hear how bad it is. Now it becomes so obvious. /.../. In plain naturalism I become weird, bizarre (DN/SE).

Another actress (SR) gets only film roles as a tough woman because of her Finnish origin. In sum the language of the Swedish-speaking Finns is described as singing, old-fashioned and exotic. It is soft and hard, sensual and unsentimental, popular and solemn. The reader can guess which adjectives are ascribed to men and which to women. The language is different with various gendered meanings. The interviewed men who work with the language often talked about their own language in passionate terms. They love it, and use linguistic distinctions to enlarge their agency. They effectively resist assimilation and prefer a self-selected ethnicity marker. They gain authority and a distinctive capital to be used in competition with their colleagues. For the interviewed women it is a much more complex story. Only the women saw the limits in language, which can be both positive and negative for them. Their relationship to the language appears quite instrumental.

A Bourdieuan analysis indicates how a specific language can be used as a distinction. My analysis shows the importance of not forgetting gender. But perhaps surprisingly, the knowledge of Finnish culture (both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking) did not at all appear in texts which position the interviewee as a Swedish-speaking Finn. This knowledge is apparently not an asset and has no cultural value in contrast to what I assumed. Because of the wide audience of the *Moomintroll* radio performances one might argue that the boundaries of the Swedish language changed (thanks to one actress). Swedish-speaking Finns in Sweden are nowadays widely known to speak like *Moomintrolls*¹⁴. The Swedish-speaking Finns have, together with other migrants, contributed to dissolving the established category of Swedish ethnicity.

How are the interviewees and their country of origin represented?

Personal portraits in newspapers and magazines are widely spread texts that create images of migrants. The dialogue and interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee produce us and them, make some subject positions possible and exclude other ones. In this process common dichotomies and stereotypes about gender and ethnicity known to the reader are utilised (Yuval-Davies 2006). My question was how the interviewees were represented and I asked which stereotypes were referred to in the interview texts on successful migrants. I found dichotomous

¹⁴ This was reinforced with the arrival of the Japan made animation films. These TV films were however, not drawn by Tove Jansson.

representations. Examples of these are: war–peace, poor–rich, nature–culture, slow–fast, original–sophisticated, egalitarian–hierarchical, with roots in class or district – class- and rootless, ancient–modern. Surprisingly many texts at the turn of the 3rd millennium – more than 50 years after WW2 – referred to the war when portraying the interviewees. This holds true equally for female and male interviewees, old and young ones born a quarter of a century after the war. Represented as a war hero and peace activist several interviews with the head of the Royal Library, the interviews were filled with his war-time memories (TCO/HJ, Vi/HJ). This typical European intellectual becomes, as a function of the war references, the masculine, exotic adventurer with agency. For an actress the war experience related to lack of food, distress and poverty. It remains her heritage and is described in collective terms of dependency and discipline (Vi/BU). For the author with the humiliating migrant experiences, the war gave her tools to understand poverty and the social injustices in Sweden of the 1950s¹⁵, and through these experiences she also gained agency (Vi/ALB). The Second World War lives in the 21st century as a way to create differences, including people who never experienced the war. “The cause of Finland is ours”¹⁶ was the headline of an interview with an actress in 1998 (SvD/SR). Here the position of the victim was represented but in the case of Finnish migrants, the victim does not lack agency. The war representation refers more to independence and courage than conquest and violence. In fact, what we read about the war hero is about how he opposed his superiors. But while the interviewed men became exotic adventurers the women became resolute survivors. In this gendered representation of men with agency and opportunities, women too acquired agency, strength, determination and energy.

The representation of the Swedish-speaking Finns includes old-fashioned, simple, confident, unsophisticated and down-to-earth people. A music artist radiates “calmness and seems to stand with her two feet on the ground. Perhaps her security is grounded in her Finland-Swedish roots” (SkD/TA). “When I am over there, we are always naked in the sauna. There is a mentally crude atmosphere with a firm ground”, she says in the same interview, referring to plain living. The interviews also included a quite different representation, one that referred to sophistication and bourgeoisie instead of rural people. In the portrait of the author/film director the interviewer takes a long bus trip into the Finnish countryside and meets two Finland-Swedish ladies “of a certain age”. Their hair and dress style are represented as old-fashioned. They seem to belong to a dying-out minority. The interviewee also seems to confirm this portrayal with his “bourgeois, distinguished charm and amiable courtesy, dutifulness under the blunt noise“(MJ/JD). Talking about one of his books, another author argues that, “Although it is not important”, his books about a family in the

¹⁵ Anna-Lisa Bäckman is born in 1941 and moved to Sweden in 1950.

¹⁶ Slogan used during WW2 to engage the population of Sweden to contribute economically to the population of Finland.

Ostrobothnian¹⁷ countryside perhaps tell more about typical Finland-Swedishness than any of the books about Helsinki-based upper-class people (SvD/LS). One of the actresses represents timidity, earnest and honesty. She got her strength and persistency from her mother and sisters. “They are strong and hardy women, /.../ and not sentimental. They have no frills and lack refinement. They have no neuroses, they never get hysterical”, she says (DN/SE). The grand-mother of a TV-artist was however “scatterbrained /.../ but perhaps a bit tight” (DN/ML). The simple, natural and true Swedish-speaking Finns dominate several interviews. Compared to the drinking and swearing men who though not often, but occasionally appear as typical Finns, the Swedish-speaking Finns are represented as unspoiled, earthy children of nature who love calmness, silence, melancholy and wilderness. The Swedish-speaking Finns are not busy; they are neither modern nor urban. In a few interviews Finland-Swedishness is represented as culture and manners of the old times. The archetype of this representation is the head of library: the anarcho-syndicalist and Kafka-expert. “We did not understand how a man who has arrived here from Finland could know so much about Swedish culture and literature”, the interviewer writes about the meeting with him (Vi/HJ).

In the gendered representations of Swedish-speaking people from Finland the women are the simple natives who are authentic, old-fashioned and natural. Men are not as easily included in this image. They are not simple or uncomplicated – on the contrary. They do share elements of the old-fashionedness but in a more sophisticated way. Many interview texts depict Finland as a country lacking hierarchies. The interviewees present their resistance towards power and their disgust for hierarchies. To despise money, authorities and speculation on the stock exchange are common examples in the texts. Finland’s successes in the war are explained by the Finns being less disciplined, while the Russian soldiers did not dare to do anything without an order. In informal Swedish-speaking Finland even children were treated with respect (TCO/HJ). But it could also be an environment where sameness was enforced on children (DN/SE). Often this milieu is represented as typically egalitarian. “Politicians, authors and artists were seen together with black-smiths, carpenters and other craftsmen” (DN/ALB). Today the migrants to Sweden suffer from the cult of celebrities in Sweden. This cult is according to the interviewees unsound and pathetic compared to the informality of Finland. “If you have a coffee on the market place of Helsinki there is a great probability that you stand next to the president, but nobody cares” (SvD/SR).

New, surprising hierarchies confront the Finland-Swedish migrants in Sweden. In this representation all interviewed migrants are foreigners, irrespective of gender. Through a discourse of resistance they create Swedish-speaking Finland as egalitarian. But because the egalitarian community is connected to ancientness, the interviewees try to escape the position of the old-fashioned foreigner. This is done by recreating themselves as free, authentic, independent agents.

¹⁷ Located at the Western coast of Finland.

Why is this latter picture not gendered? Perhaps the representation of Swedish-speaking Finland as old-fashioned, naïve and “original” gives both parties agency and a variety of subject-positions. An analysis of migrant interviews focusing on representations of ethnicity shows how dichotomous stereotypes are drawn on in making the difference between the migrant and us. It also demonstrates how the representations are gendered: some of them fit women more easily and others are typical for male interviewees; yet others work well for both. An analysis of popular representations also reveals how migrants in some cases are able to stretch the boundaries of ethnicity, to be symbolic and literal nomadic subjects.

What strategies are used in the othering process?

Many contemporary feminist ethnicity studies draw on post-colonial theory (Brah 1996, Brah and Phoenix 2004, Yuval-Davies 1997, 2006), which often in the Nordic countries is called intersectional analysis (see for example Phoenix and Pattynama 2006, de los Reyes and Mulinari 2003, Lykke 2003, Staunæs 2003). One result of this lively discussion is the highlighting of whiteness as a category to be explored. While the investigation on whiteness started with a black or non-European perspective, Gabriele Griffin together with Rosi Braidotti (2002a) has elaborated the discussion in a European context pointing at how the differences between whites have played a crucial role in Europe for centuries. They ask whether “white” actually stand[s] for the colour white or if it is invested with meanings that do not impinge on colour as much as on what one might term ethnic or cultural difference (2002a, 27). Diversity is not merely or exclusively about colour, they continue, referring to European anti-Semitism. Race and ethnicity in Europe are thus not only about the “visibly other” (Griffin and Braidotti 2002a, 21) but about the active othering of /.../ the “stranger in our midst” whom we cannot, in fact, discern as a stranger unless we brand her as such. During the 19th century efforts to create different “races” all across the globe, scholars in Sweden used Finns as the deviants in their aim of constructing a homogenous Swedish nation with a “racially” pure Swedish people (Hagerman 2006). Inspired by this discussion I wanted to dig deeper into the differences between the white Swedish-speaking people in Finland and Sweden. Based on the analysis of the interviews as representations, I found traces of othering. My question was which strategies you use in order to other in practice when you deal with somewhat famous people who are not “visibly others”? To my surprise, one single interview did discern a visibly other. It stated that an actress “indeed looks Finnish with her long light hair and small oval facial features” (Fe/SR). But all other interviews did not *see* or record differences.

While culture and richness traditionally have represented masculinity, nature and poverty have stereotypically represented femininity. Only one interview depicts Sweden as the country of

economic wealth and social progress. Instead several interviews point to the culturally rich Sweden with a modern, urban life style. One reason might be methodological: cultural life is the platform of the interviewees. Thus we read about the “speed” that an actress both is fascinated by and afraid of (DN/SE). A media artist likes the “fast pulse [of Stockholm] – the mix of old and new – culture without appearing as a museum” (DN/ML). A journalist says that both the volume and quality of Swedish culture is better than in Finland. “Stockholm has a richer cultural life than Helsinki. The audience is bigger and the output larger” (DN/BP). In an interview with an actress the picture gets more nuanced. According to her:

There is so much conceited, physical, popular and pathetic theatre in Finland. But there is also the opposite. Here in Sweden you often find a more intellectually driven, more cautious, cultivated and psychologizing performance which may turn out devastatingly boring. But there are certainly brilliant exceptions (SvD/BU).

But although the opposites and exceptions are mentioned, the negative images of Finland become the dominant ones. In sum, the interviews represent Sweden with a rich, modern and thrilling life style and a quantitatively and qualitatively superior culture. Because of the relative silence on Finland as a cultural environment, Finland becomes poorer, more tardy, unfashionable and uncultivated. Interestingly several of the interviewed men embrace this positive image of Swedish culture while this does not happen among the women. The discourse that is used seems to be part of a quite common Swedish media discourse about Sweden as best and advanced, as the most modern country in the world.

In contrast to the Swedish landscape that is seldom described, Finland is characterised by its unspoilt nature. Nature, represented as roots and geographical origin, is present more often and more explicitly in the stories about men than about women. We read that in Finland “the sea is a permanent visitor” (SIA/JD) and that the interviewees have summer houses in the archipelago. Finland is represented as an idyllic spot, a paradise. The exotic paradise islands with their small, grey wooden summer houses are described by one actress:

This island is paradise on earth; here you live as near to nature as possible. And I see it as a privilege to be allowed to be here, because the indigenous don't let any strangers in. But I lived here already as a little girl and the fishermen taught me manners and that's why they have accepted me. (DN/UB)

The urbanity of the interviewees is hidden in several ways. A flat of an actress in down-town Stockholm is represented “with an air of a summer house in the Finnish archipelago”. The most nostalgic, lyrical and exoticising representations of Swedish-speaking Finland refer to paradise

islands. Often the islands are not localised but located in a mental landscape “on the outskirts of the archipelago”. This landscape represents the open, barren and small. The interview texts seem to refer to a discourse of orientalism (Said 1980) modified into a modern variant.

In addition to the paradise island, there is another Swedish-speaking Finland, the Ostrobothnian region. This region is not paradise-like, idyllic or exotic, but small, informal and true. A large number of interviews tell about the interviewee who originates from a small village or tiny town, with one exception. One author just *is* Ostrobothnian; he was simply born in Jakobstad. All five interviews mention this Ostrobothnian city as his place of origin, without bothering to characterise it as small or giving any indications where it is located. This author is interviewed in connection with launches of his novels, which deal with a fictitious Ostrobothnia. And the interviews lack exotic characterisations. At least two readings are possible. On the one hand, one may assume that Ostrobothnia is known to the specific audience of the interview, who know what he writes about (this author is not a celebrity in Sweden although he has lived there for almost 30 years). On the other hand, the region might be so unknown and difficult to grasp that it cannot be described. Several interviews also represent women interviewees as Ostrobothnians. This Ostrobothnia is the Swedish-speaking Finland of the small people, of peasants, the working-class and of emigrants. If it appears idyllic it is because of an egalitarian description comparable to the *folk home* associated with Sweden. Often the country of origin is characterised in terms of the past while the new country of domicile represents the present. The strategies in the text draw on a discourse of nostalgia, a very common stylistic tool in narratives of childhood, especially in weekly magazines (Wolf-Knuts 1995). According to Wolf-Knuts, through the discourse of nostalgia you point at and play with time and it enables you to idealise, simplify and construct contrasts. Methodologically, interview texts by journalists may more easily invite nostalgia than other interview texts.

In the texts Swedish-speaking Finland has two representations: the archipelago, and the Ostrobothnian countryside with the Ostrobothnian small town as the exception that confirms the rule. Both are small, simple and barren. The archipelago is also paradise-like, exotic and mystical/mythical. The archipelago might be located anywhere in Finland. As a representation it is open, but exclusive as a practice if you are not let in by the indigenous. Ostrobothnia, which in Finland is represented as an open flat land, lacks the openness in the symbolic images of the interviews, but becomes open in the images of social practices. This notion of Swedish-speaking Finland as open symbolically or in practice is in sharp contrast to the image of Swedish-speaking Finland as the confined space, a representation which for decades has been cherished by the Swedish speakers in Finland and especially by Finland-Swedish authors¹⁸. The representation of

¹⁸ For example Merete Mazzarella (1989) has written a book with this very name (Det trånga rummet [The confined space]) on how Swedish-writing authors in Finland describe their homeland.

Swedish-speaking Finland as the open landscape with idyllic nature or authentic people seems not to enable agency. Rather, both women and men appear to be confined to their origin. But the image of Swedish-speaking Finland as the open landscape, either symbolically or in practice, and its egalitarianism show how the migrants also challenge representations that are produced by the Swedish-speaking population of Finland. They contribute to dissolving the boundaries of Swedish-speaking ethnicity in Finland by offering other representations than those of Swedish-speaking Finland being the confined space where everybody knows everybody and therefore everybody's social position.

This analysis of othering strategies shows that homogenization also in this particular case is a very common strategy (Griffin with Braidotti 2002b, 230). The Swedish-speaking Finns are homogenised and this applies also to their country of origin. Further they are nature- or wilderness-loving, and thereby exotized, naivized, archaicized and othered. Colonial discourses use the very same strategies by connecting ethnicity to gender and nature (Lykke 2005, 12). Ethnic divisions relate to discourses of collectivities around exclusionary/inclusionary boundaries that divide people into "us" and "them" as Nira Yuval-Davies (2006) has noted. This process of othering is done by both the interviewer¹⁹ and the interviewee. Identity politics has been prominent among the Swedish-speaking Finns since the late 19th century and some interviewees do give evidence of identity politics. Most of them seem to have a subjective feeling of belonging to a specific collective (Ludvig 2006, 254). Nira Yuval-Davies (2006, 203) has argued that without specific social agents who construct and point to certain analytical and political features, the rest of us would not be able to distinguish the categories of signification. The interviews do reproduce ethnic categories, although in new forms. A methodological question arises in this context: The interview texts were selected on the basis of references to ethnicity, and to my knowledge at least some of the very same persons have given numerous interviews without any references to ethnicity or migration.

Conclusions

What do we learn about migrants when we study the successful ones? When we undertake a Bourdieuan analysis of journalist interview texts with migrants in a cultural context, it reveals the importance of language in the case of the "invisible other". It tells us that the Other is not only somebody that you can *see* as the Other but somebody that you can *hear* as the Other. It is possible to other people who look like us but among whom one can hear that they are strangers. One has not

¹⁹ Some of the interviewees might be originating from Swedish-speaking Finland themselves.

to hear this oneself, because the media inform you about it. Language might be used as a distinction by the migrant her/himself or ascribed to her/him. We can also find out how language use is gendered attributing more agency to men than to women. While language is something you can hear, knowledge of another cultural context – the one from the country of origin of the migrant – seems to be more complicated to derive advantage from, if you are not an author writing about it. Finally we understand that language can also be used to challenge the traditional boundaries of ethnicity and that it applies to those who are able to be nomadic subjects in Braidotti's terms.

When asking what representations are used to portray migrant celebrities and cultural workers we also find othering. In the process of othering stereotypes are used. In my data successful migrants were represented in very traditional and gendered ways as simple natives, who are authentic, old-fashioned and natural in the case of women. The representations of men were richer and more multi-dimensional. Men's old-fashionedness was related to culture, to what Germans call *Bildung* and the good old times. Further I discovered a positive, sympathetic representation: the egalitarian Finns that modern people may admire. When looking at the common discourses that the representations are embedded in one can see subtle forms of colonialism. The Swedish-speaking migrants from Finland were heroic, authentic and hate hierarchies. They had a thrilling history with archaic and naïve traits. They were down-to-earth people, perhaps charming *Moomintrolls*. One might want to ask what consequences this representation has in relation to those who are not privileged, not celebrities. What happens then to the sympathetic gaze?

This study was methodologically based on journalist interviews with migrants that are supposed to represent personal interest texts in newspaper and magazines. This raises a methodological question on the demands of the genre. Does it require othering of the interviewee? If you do not represent the interviewee as interesting, different, special or exotic, there is perhaps no point of publishing the interview. In addition, it is important to remember that the othering happens in a dialogue where not only the interviewer, but also the interviewee participates in producing the joint text. But given the demands of the genre, it reproduces the habit of othering and keeping boundaries between them and us. The joint dialogue also reproduces traditional images of gender and ethnicity. It legitimises comparisons to "our" ethnical advantage, where "we" are better than "they". In this case, it consolidates the idea of Sweden being the best, the richest and the most modern country in the world. The interviews may therefore also be read and analysed as what Swedishness (in Sweden) is about. This would, however, require another theoretical frame of reference.

Depending on the theoretical approach you apply and the questions that arise from it, the analysis of interview texts takes different paths. The results of the analysis and the interpretation can look different even if you use exactly the same data. Drawing on different theoretical approaches, in this chapter I have for example used the notions of cultural capital, representation

and othering strategies as methodological openings. A phenomenological approach would imply other notions (see Liinason and Holm 2007). In this chapter I have touched upon the common discourses that the interviews were embedded in. This implies that a careful discourse analysis might be fruitful (see Griffin 2007). It would also have been possible to analyse the interview texts as narratives (see Lukic and Jakab 2007). Such an analysis could for example have discovered narratives of success and adventure stories and studied metanarratives on e.g. nostalgia or modernity, of which I have given examples above. One could further investigate the unnarrated or disnarrated aspects of the migrant interview texts, some of which I have indicated. Narrative or biographical methods (see Apitzsch and Siouti 2007) offer several modes to analyse questions of how migrants construct identities. Finally, my particular material could be analysed using visual methods (see Wenk and Krebs 2007) because almost all texts were accompanied by pictures.

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