The Advantages of Online Interviews for Transmigrants and Transnational Migration Studies

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses interviewing migrants via online platforms and phone, claiming that remote interviews using these tools can be equivalent to and possibly even more effective than face-to-face interviews. It is based on 83 interviews conducted in person, by Zoom, and by phone with Jewish migrants to Israel from North America. Some interviews were conducted via Zoom and phone due to the concurrent COVID-19 restrictions. Previous papers have demonstrated that interviewing online or by phone can complement face-to-face interviews or be equivalent. This paper claims that in the case of interviewing migrants, remote interviews are, at least in some cases, more effective than in-person interviews for several reasons: This type of interview reduces the power relations characteristic of interviews, eliminates physical bodies, and also moves interviews to an online space that is transnational in nature (principally if interviewee and interviewer are not in the same country). Thus, the interview takes place both in the transnational online space and in each participant's space. Logistically, it also makes the interview much more convenient.

KEYWORDS: Interviews, migrants, online interviewing, remote interviewing, transmigrants

In this paper, I propose a new perspective on conducting interviews online and by phone, focusing on interviewing migrants for the purpose of qualitative studies. The article is based on the interviews I conducted during my doctoral studies, most of which occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic. What began as a necessity due to the pandemic soon became an advantage and perhaps even suggested a more effective way to interview transnational migrants.

My research concerned Jewish migrants from North America to Israel (Olim) as transmigrants working in Israel. The usual methodology employed for such studies is interviews, and due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it was necessary to conduct most of these interviews online, mainly using Zoom.

Former studies of online and phone interviews have demonstrated that this type of interview can complement face-to-face interviews or sometimes be equivalent to them. Yet this type of interview actually offers several advantages (Gray et al., 2020), such as convenience and ease of use, accessibility, and the time saved by eliminating travel requirements for interviewer and interviewees alike. Likewise, it facilitates a video record of the interviews. Gray et al. (2020) also mention that researchers referred to the quality video conference interviews as being as good as face-to-face interviews, they also mentioned that the interviewees that it was more comfortable for

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them to talk about some personal issues in the video conference interviews. A recent study also claims that interviewing online should be regarded as equivalent to in-person interviewing (Wakelin et al., 2024). In this paper, I wish to suggest that this method may prove more than complementary or equivalent and actually be more effective than face-to-face interviews, at least vis-à-vis migrants.

First, interviews conducted online or by phone transpire in the transnational space – where the power relations between the migrant (interviewee) and interviewer that characterize interviews are neutralized or even canceled, something that cannot happen in the physical world and in a face-to-face interview. In addition, Zoom makes people bodiless, while the phone makes them faceless. I believe that this made it easier for some of my interviewees to open up to me.

Second, another advantage of this methodology is that Zoom and phone calls accord significant power to the interviewee – choosing what to expose, where the camera is directed (if it is activated), and even the possibility of ending the interview immediately at any given moment.

Third, and complementing the second point, during a Zoom interview (and to some extent phone interviews, too), the interviewee can invite the interviewer to view or, in a way, enter his or her personal space. Indeed, the camera is directed at the interviewee's personal space, usually a house or workplace.

Fourth, logistically, this makes the interview much more convenient. No commuting is necessary on either side, and it is much easier to interview people in distant places, sometimes in other countries.

This paper demonstrates that interviewing migrants might be more effective when conducted online or by phone. Those methods are relevant and legitimate and might also be preferred when interviewing migrants and maybe other types of interviewees.

Theoretical Background

Interviewing Migrants

For many years, scholars have been studying interviews, which constitute a prime research tool employed by in qualitative studies. At the basis of all these attempts to analyze this tool is two people coming together in a room: interviewer and interviewee. Some claim that interviews are a good way to understand not only the interviewee but also her society and culture (Pugh, 2013) or as a way to critically approach scientific knowledge (Herzog, 2014).

Naturally, many scholars highlight aspects of interviews that are either problematic or require the attention of the scholarly interviewer. For example, the limitations of an interview that an observation can provide include viewing the home or workplace of the interviewee (Edwards & Holland, 2013). Other challenges are understanding the interviewee and the power relations in the setting of the interview (Bourdieu, 1996). One way to address this issue is to make the interview into a more mutual experience, not merely "one-sided" (Oakley, 1998). The interviewee can allow the interviewee to choose the location, thus, to some extent, equalizing the power relations (Herzog, 2014).

Studies of transnational migration usually employ interviews to map the networks, practices, identities, and institutions of a transnational community and space (Golbert, 2001; Itzigsohn et al., 1999). Levin and Glick Schiller (2004) review the theory and suggest a methodology for the study of transnational migration. Specifically, they recommend that studies in this field use interviews with migrants and those connected to them. Indeed, several studies of transnational migrants have employed interviews as the main method of research (Bauböck & Faist, 2010; Golbert, 2001; Itzigsohn et al., 1999). A comprehensive book entitled *Qualitative Research*

in European Migration Studies (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2018) not only reviews this type of qualitative research vis-à-vis migration in Europe but also recommends it, specifically interviews, for a variety of topics, indicating that it can facilitate comprehensive studies concerning aspects of migration, including transnational migration. Yet, when interviewing migrants, the identity of the interviewer—whether he or she is a migrant—and the language of the interview become notable issues. Ben-Ezer (2002), who interviewed Jewish migrants from Ethiopia to study their migration process, notes that his origins (he is not Ethiopian) affected how the interviewees felt about him during the interview, something he attempted to overcome by using gestures they would appreciate and creating closeness (Ben-Ezer, 2002). A paper discussing interviewing Jewish migrants from the Former Soviet Union to Israel mentions that some of the interviewees asked to be interviewed in Russian, the language in which they could best express themselves, while others preferred to be interviewed in Hebrew, the language of the new country, wishing to demonstrate a command of it. Therefore, for the convenience of the interviewee, the use of their mother tongue might not be the best choice (Lomsky-Feder et al., 2007).

Several studies focus on online interviews, mostly via Zoom. This type of interview became more popular due to the COVID-19 pandemic and, accordingly, became a topic of academic discussion. One study examining health state valuation, the interviews for which were conducted either face-to-face or online (due to the pandemic), concludes that there is no significant difference between the two types of interviews (Peasgood et al., 2023). Another paper regarding the increasing popularity of online interviewing mentions that online interviews can enhance participation and enable interviewees to discuss sensitive topics more freely, but can entail technical difficulties and make it more difficult to discern nonverbal cues (Thunberg & Arnell, 2022) in addition offering possibilities for fraudulent behavior such as hiding one's feelings, simply lying, and several other practices that can go unnoticed (Pullen Sansfaçon et al., 2024).

It seems this type of interview also has several advantages, some of which have been mentioned before (Gray et al., 2020). Among such advantages are convenience and ease of use, accessibility, and time-saving. In addition, Gray et al. note that "researchers who compared face-to-face versus online video conferencing interviews found the quality of the interviews did not differ from face-to-face interviews" (p. 1294). Indeed, in some cases, "Participants in this study stated they were more comfortable speaking about a personal topic like parenting in a space of their own choosing" (p. 1297). A recent study conducted in New Zealand also argues that interviewing online (in their case, Microsoft Teams) should be regarded as equivalent to face-to-face interviews in terms of effectiveness (Wakelin, et al., 2024). A meta-analysis of the efficacy of video versus in-person psychotherapy sessions likewise concludes that therapy by video is no less efficient than in-person therapy sessions (Fernandez et al., 2021).

The advantages of this type of interview might be based on the opportunities they afford and their limitations. On the one hand, some note that photographs, films, and videos can contribute to an interview (Loizos, 2000; Pinsky, 2015); in many ways, this is what unfolds in an online interview. On the other hand, the online interview might eliminate the bodies of the interviewee and interviewer. A previous study demonstrates how the gaze upon the migrant's body evokes a sense of discomfort (Lomsky-Feder & Rapoport, 2010), and therefore, eliminating the body via phone or using an online platform might be an advantage.

Transnational Identity

Identity, which develops in and is connected to a person's country and community, is essential in studying migration. As migrants move to a new nation and community, they maintain

their existing identity and develop a new, transnational identity, in contrast to the expectation that migrants will adopt the identity of their new home instead of their original one (Vertovec, 2001).

A variety of papers examine this aspect of dual or multiple belonging and transnational identity. Examples include migrants from South Africa to Australia (Klingenberg et al., 2020), Kurdish migrants in Finland (Tovianen & Kivisto, 2014), Israelis who migrated to the United States and maintain their Israeli identity (Rebhun & Lev Ari, 2010), French Jewish migrants to Israel (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2016), and Jewish youth in Ukraine, who sometimes identify with countries they have not even visited (Golbert, 2001). These complex identities can persist even among second-generation migrants (Brocket, 2020; Quirke et al., 2010).

Migrant identity is affected not only by the country of origin but also by experiences in the host country and attempts to adapt to it (Glick Schiller, 2018b; Levitt, 2004; Vertovec, 2001). A study among Israelis in the United States and Europe examining the relations between social integration into host societies as acculturation alongside religious and ethnic identification with the country of origin finds that both transnational relations and the migrants' acculturation helped realize the identity and identification of these migrants (Rebhun, 2014). Therefore, in this research, the concept of acculturation is used to construct a more holistic picture by analyzing the process by which migrants adapt to their host country and simultaneously maintain a connection with their country of origin.

Transnational Space

The concept of transnational migration helps us understand why interviews online or by phone constitute a manifestation of the transnational space (which some refer to as the *transnational field*). This is a conceptual space in which transnational activities operate and transnational identity develops—it is distinct from the space of the territories to which the migrants are connected (Basch et al., 1994; Faist, 2000; Kearney, 1995).

This space offers a way to understand migrants' activities, identities, and adaptation not only as tied to origin and destination societies but also as an outcome of crossing the borders of two or more societies. Recent studies relate to transnational space as an expansion of a community, what Glick Schiller refers to as a "social field," that is, a "network of networks" transcending national borders (Glick Schiller, 2009, 2005, 2018a, 2018b).

Thomas Faist refers to the transnational space as an essential concept that can explain several aspects of transnational migration, among them immigrant adaptation, border-crossing, citizenship, and national identity (2000). Furthermore, he describes the processes that constructed the transnational space as processes that signify a transformation in the spatial organization of social and symbolic relations, namely, ties and transactions—assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, infrastructure, degree of institutionalization and impact. These processes are visible and result in transboundary exchanges and networks of interaction, linguistic and cultural diffusion, legal regulation and political authority. (Faist, 2004, p. 3). The transnational space is an important concept partly, as mentioned above, because it constitutes the conceptual space in which transnational identity develops (Basch et al., 1994; Kearney, 1995). A study of Kurdish migrants in Finland reveals the development of transnational identity in the transnational space, specifically transnational cyberspace (Tovianen & Kivisto, 2014). Likewise, a study of Jewish Iranian migrants indicates how online space enables the creation of transnational identity (Yadlin-Segal, 2020). Therefore, several papers consider cyberspace and online tools of connection as part of the transnational space.

Methodology

This study is based on 83 interviews conducted with Jewish migrants from North America (the United States and Canada) to Israel. Each interview lasted about an hour; several were longer, and a number of interviewees were interviewed twice. During the interviews, participants were asked about traits and strategies relating to transnational migration and acculturation and the possible connection or tension between transnational migration and acculturation. The interviews were guided narrative interviews, in which the interviewee could talk about his or her experiences with minimal interruptions and a minimum number of guiding questions. This technique enables an examination of previous experiences and the accompanying emotions concurrent with a review of the interviewee's current situation. It is the same type of interview that Ben-Ezer (2002) used with Jewish migrants from Ethiopia when studying their migration process (Ben-Ezer, 2002).

The interviews were conducted in English, Hebrew, or both, depending on the interviewee's preference. No interview was conducted solely in English or Hebrew, yet the English interviews sometimes contained only a few Hebrew phrases or words. The interviewees spoke mostly about their life and work experience, their experiences in Israel vs. their country of origin, and their Jewish, Israeli, American, and professional identities.

A broad group of migrants was interviewed using snowball sampling. The sample included individuals who moved to Israel over various years, some of them more than forty years ago and some more recently, men and women, immigrants from the United States and Canada. They were approached either by posting in a few professional and migrant groups on social media or personally by me or my acquaintances; they were also asked to connect with others who might be relevant and wish to participate in this study. All interviewees moved to Israel after reaching the age of 18, meaning they chose to migrate as working adults. The men and women who were interviewed belong to different streams of Judaism and work in various non-profit organizations in Israel. Most interviews were conducted online, largely via Zoom, because they began at the height of the COVID-19 restrictions, which made in-person meetings impossible.

A paper reviewing the theory for the study of transnational migration and suggesting a methodology recommended that studies in this field use interviews with migrants and those connected to them (Levin & Glick Schiller, 2004). Several studies of transnational migrants have employed interviews as the main research method (Golbert, 2001; Itzigsohn et al., 1999), and in one Israeli study, interviews were used together with surveys (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2016).

The interviews were transcribed and subsequently analyzed, extracting and analyzing the themes that arose regarding relevant aspects of this study. The analysis of the interviews was done by examining trends that emerged in multiple interviews, as well as by examining quotes and various aspects that emerged in the interviews. In addition to this, in order to examine the quality of the interviews for this study, I also examined the interviews in terms of the emotional disclosure that was evident in them, the degree of depth of the various interviews, as well as the extent to which various interviewees agreed to be exposed in terms of talking about themselves, their experiences and their lives. The examination was done for both certain interviews and the degree of exposure in the interviews in general. To protect their anonymity, the names given below are pseudonyms. In addition, I removed any details that may reveal the identity of the interviewees.

This research was conducted according to the ethical restrictions of the Helsinki Committee of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem only after obtaining the necessary approval from the university ethics committee. After explaining the purpose of the interview, informed consent was obtained from all interviewees, and they were all granted separate permission to record them.

Findings

The interviews I conducted were certainly satisfactory in terms of the research goals. However, to demonstrate their special quality, I present here a number of specific examples, which, in my opinion, demonstrate well how exactly interviews of this type enable us to elicit significant, deeper insights. Four basic aspects constitute the essential benefits of an online or phone interview. Each interview described here involved at least one of these aspects:

a) Elimination of power relations and deeper insights.
b) Transnational space.
c) Personal space and observation.
d) Logistical advantages.

Interviewing by phone and receiving an interesting answer

In this interview, the interviewee was an immigrant from the United States who arrived in Israel decades ago and had held several senior positions, including serving as a member of the Knesset (the Israeli parliament) and directing a large government organization. I asked to interview him because he immigrated from the United States and because some of his duties related to the relationship between Israel and the United States.

The interviewee agreed to be interviewed as I called and asked him, to my delight and surprise. When the time for the interview arrived, I sent him a reminder, and he wrote to me that instead of Zoom (as stated), he would prefer that we talk over the phone and also that he wanted to postpone the interview time by an hour. The interview was postponed twice more to a later time that day, and when we finally talked, he told me that he was driving in his car. He was very friendly and pleasant and answered every question I asked, but my feeling was that his responses were "official" or "distant" in the sense that these were the answers he would give to a journalist. For example, he told how much he wanted to immigrate to Israel to be part of the Zionist story and how happy he was to be able to immigrate to Israel, serve in the army, raise his family in Israel, and contribute to the country.

The interviewee chose the location and date of the interview (that is, by phone and not by Zoom, as was predetermined). He even postponed the start date several times with very little notice. Since he had served in senior public roles for years, I was not surprised by his behavior. I was aware of his public status and perceived his agreement to be interviewed as a favor.

After about half an hour, he told me that he had to stop the conversation for a few minutes because he was parking his car and going to buy something. This gave me a few minutes to think of a way to change the dynamic of the interview and veer away from the standard answers he seemed to be giving.

I thought of a question that the interviewee had not been asked before, a question that he would not expect and that would raise a possibly troubling emotional issue: "Have you ever felt like an outsider?" When we returned to the interview after a few minutes, I asked him this question and received an unexpected answer: "Always." Then he began to tell me that, in fact, for his entire life in Israel, he has felt like an outsider, even among friends and in his party in the Knesset, as well as in the senior government position he held. He said that today, after decades of living in Israel, he feels like an outsider among American Jews. Thus, I managed to surprise him, veer him away from his usual interpretive schemes and reach other and deeper levels of knowledge. In other words, the telephone interview, or more precisely, the disruption it entailed, facilitated greater depth.

A. A SEGAL

Zoom During the Evening with Kids in the Living Room

The interviewee was the director of the Israeli branch of an American organization that deals with public diplomacy regarding US-Israel relations. The interview was conducted via Zoom at a time when both the interviewee and I were at home. During the interview, her daughter entered the room and joined the interview for a few minutes, and my daughter also entered the room and sat with me for a few minutes.

Because the interview was conducted via Zoom, it was very easy to hold it at a late hour when we thought (mistakenly) that the children would already be asleep. The late hour allowed for a more relaxed atmosphere and a longer interview because neither of us was pressured by other commitments. The fact that we were both in our homes, in a comfortable, quiet, and closed environment, allowed, in my opinion, a more relaxed interview. Thirdly, conducting the interview via Zoom made it feel less "realistic" and, therefore, allowed the interviewee to open up more and tell more than she intended. For example, she told me about a promotion she received that was not yet public knowledge; she said in the interview:

> Now you bring me to the part of the interview where I will reveal to you something that I have not yet revealed to almost anyone else, I work with. Um, the only thing that could really bring me back is some opportunity for a position in the United States that was meaningful to me, and I got this opportunity, and I am about to move back there in a few months.

Movies, Films, Photographs, and the Computer Camera

One interview involved a person who has been coaching baseball teams in Israel for years. The interview took place via Zoom, and during the interview, the interviewee carried the laptop through his home and showed me photos on the walls. These were pictures of the baseball teams he had coached, of his son practicing baseball and playing in the national Israeli team, and a variety of souvenirs, trophies, and medals that he and his son had won.

Another interviewee involved in baseball in Israel had immigrated to Israel decades ago from the United States, coached baseball teams, and promoted sports in Israel, including promoting the construction of a training field. During and after the interview (including a few days later), he sent me several videos, some of them news reports, others private. The videos show baseball teams training, events surrounding baseball games, team ceremonies, and municipal and governmental officials attending baseball games.

In both interviews, the interviewees took the initiative and shared the accompanying materials with me. Both interviewees asked if I would be interested in them, and after I confirmed that I was interested, they happily shared the pictures, photos, and videos. In both cases, the information that emerged from these materials supported what the interviewees said and offered an additional perspective on the meaning of baseball for them and for the immigrant community from the United States in general.

These materials reinforced a significant element that emerged in the interviews: the importance of baseball for the interviewees. The photographs, trophies, and medals in the first interviewee's home, which he showed me during the interview, demonstrated how important the game was to him and his family. These indicate the centrality of baseball to an extent that the interview alone could not show. Also, I was able to see, not just hear about, his son playing baseball, and I noticed that a long article about his son hangs in a frame on the living room wall, showing the pride he takes in his son, the baseball player, playing the game that he himself worked hard to bring to Israel.

This was not a matter of casually viewing the interviewee's life but a deliberate presentation of his home. Furthermore, he made the conscious decision to show me the walls of his home by directing the camera at them.

Therefore, the supplementary materials that accompanied these two interviews not only validated what was said in the interviews but also expanded my perception of the findings. This was achieved through visual demonstration and by documenting events at which I had no ability to be present. By seeing how important the game of baseball is to them personally, I was able to understand further the importance of baseball to the immigrant community from the United States, the acceptance of the game in Israel, and, accordingly, their perception of their own acceptance. Thus, the fact that these two interviewees chose to share accompanying materials with me validated what they told me, enriched my understanding of their words, and expanded my understanding of the field in which they operate.

When the Husband Enters the Frame

The interviewee lived in Israel for a while and met her Israeli husband during her stay. After some time, at her husband's request, they moved to the United States. At some point in the interview, her husband entered the room, and she said, "You can meet the reason that we are here."

This was a powerful moment that aligned with what she told me—she did not want to leave Israel and did so only because her husband wanted to do so. This went beyond simply reinforcing what she told me. It showed the level of anger she felt and the level of discomfort she and her husband experienced. It also showed me the possibility of trust and intimacy that can be achieved in an online interview.

We Can Talk by Phone

The interviewee was a psychologist who had arrived in Israel a few years earlier, settling in a small settlement beyond the Green Line where there were almost no other English speakers. She worked at a school in the settlement as an educational psychologist and told me that her Hebrew level limited her work. At the same time, she has a private practice in Jerusalem where she accepts only English-speaking patients. She also shared with me that for the foreseeable future, she would not accept anyone who does not speak English, feeling unable to offer adequate treatment in Hebrew: "I don't see myself doing a session with someone who doesn't share the same language with me, it will be a disaster, and I will miss a lot of things."

The interview was conducted by phone, at her request, and in this interview, she shared a lot about herself, her work, the frustration she felt at living in a small settlement despite the ideological importance she attributes to this, her frustration at the challenges involved in integrating into Israel. In my estimation, the telephone interview enabled the cancellation of the actual body, neutralizing the possibility that as a woman, an immigrant, and a religious woman, she would feel some level of discomfort being interviewed by a secular man born in Israel. Therefore, the phone interview enabled me to reach deeper levels and reveal feelings that otherwise would have remained hidden. It is important to note that the interview took place over the phone at her request, so it is quite possible that she created this situation to allow herself to open up to me.

Logistics and Time Conservation

Quite a few interviewees were asked to be interviewed via Zoom or phone. For example, one interviewee, who was very interested in being interviewed, stated that as a single mother, her

only available time was during her commute to work. In fact, she contacted me for an interview, and after failing to coordinate several times, she contacted me again to schedule an interview. Therefore, I saw this interview not only as one that would give me important information for my research but also as something that she wanted. Accordingly, the possibility of holding it by phone was not only a constraint due to the coronavirus but also a constraint due to the interviewee's work. Yet this made the interview possible, which was to my benefit and hers. And without the possibility of a phone interview, it simply would not have happened.

One interviewee, who came to Israel from the United States and worked for an Israeli organization, was actually living in Germany with her boyfriend while continuing to work for the same organization. Therefore, the interview via Zoom took place while she was in Germany and I was in Israel. Besides the interesting aspects that this interview provided, without the online platform, it would have been logistically impossible.

Several other interviewees lived in remote parts of Israel that required driving for a few hours. Coordinating such interviews is a challenge, and conducting them is very time-consuming. Thus, were it not for the possibility of a phone or online interview, I may not have interviewed these individuals.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper sought to demonstrate that online and phone interviews are legitimate tools for interviewing migrants and perhaps even preferred tools for that type of interview. In so doing, it develops arguments proposed by some recent studies. Previous studies of online and phone interviews demonstrate that this method of interviewing can complement, and sometimes be equivalent to, face-to-face interviews. I suggest that this method might be more than complementary or equivalent and may actually prove to be more effective than face-to-face interviews, at least in the case of migrants.

As discussed, there are four major advantages to conducting interviews online or by phone, which may also be applicable to interviews more generally. One advantage is that this type of interview reduces the power relations characteristic of interviews, eliminating physical bodies and also the physical space and moving the interviews to an online space – a transnational space (especially if the interviewee and interviewer are not in the same country). Indeed, previous studies indicate that the gaze upon the migrant's body creates a sense of discomfort (Lomsky-Feder & Rapoport, 2010), and therefore, eliminating the body via phone or online interview might constitute an advantage.

Many migrants use online space as a transnational space. A study of Kurdish migrants in Finland reveals the development of transnational identity in the transnational space, specifically transnational cyberspace (Tovianen & Kivisto, 2014). Likewise, a study of Jewish Iranian migrants indicates how online space enables the creation of transnational identity as well as "pushing against" the local and national pressure on the migrant's identity (Yadlin-Segal, 2020). Therefore, the online space removes yet another limitation imposed by the possible power relations during the interview.

Second, this type of interview accords significant power to the interviewee, who chooses the setting as well as the scope of exposure: if the camera is on, where the camera is directed, and whether the background is seen (and what it will be). Even the time of the interview is much more flexible this way. The interviewee can turn off the camera at any given point and stop the interview without having to leave or force the interviewer to leave. Therefore, regarding the power relations of choosing the setting mentioned by Bourdieu (1996), this might be a good way to limit, reduce, or even eliminate them. This is also a good way to allow the interviewer to choose the location, as

mentioned by Herzog (2014). Accordingly, the interview is less "one-sided," as mentioned by Oakley (1998); the interviewee can also view the interviewer's private space. At least as far as the interviewer allows.

Third, the online interview might enable access to the space of the interviewee and allow the interviewee to be more open and willing to expose his or her local space (home or workplace) and additional materials such as photographs, trophies, etc. Therefore, if the interview occurs in the private space of the interviewee (home or workplace), this can address the limitations of interviews relative to observation (Edwards & Holland, 2013) and can provide at least a partial observation of the interviewee's life. Some mention that photographs, films, and videos can contribute to an interview (Loizos, 2000; Pinsky, 2015); this is, in many ways, what happens in an online interview.

Fourth, logistically it makes the interview much more convenient. For example, in my study it allowed me to interview individuals who had returned to North America, as well as those living in remote places in Israel. It also enabled me to conduct an interview almost immediately after the interviewee agreed to it.

This type of interview also has demands and limitations that must be discussed here for online interviews to be applicable to others. First and most obvious, both the interviewer and interviewee must have internet access to a phone or computer. That might be challenging to some people depending on the country they are in, their financial ability, and sometimes their society's norms. Sconed, both the interviewer and interviewee must feel comfortable enough to use this technological method. Alongside that, it should be obvious that the consent of the interviewee must be given prior to the interview, and the interviewee must understand that an interview is being conducted—and if it is recorded—that it is being recorded.

Some limitations exist and must also be considered. First is that while interviewing online or by phone, we are not seeing the entirety of the interviewee's environment – for example, their home or workplace. As I mentioned earlier, this type of interview might prove itself to reviling some of the interviewee's environment – which we will not be exposed to in a more "neutral" environment, but any researcher must also acknowledge this limitation while considering this method. Second, we might not know with whom the interviewee is as we conduct the interview – they might not reveal that to us for various reasons, and that's also an aspect of these interviews we must consider. Third and final, we might not know how much of the interviewee's attention is given to the interview. In a phone interview, they might be paying attention to things we are unaware of, and in an online interview, they might be, for example, browsing the web with other people. The limited attention might not be a problem in itself. As it happened to me, it might even reveal things that the lack of attention and some inhibitions might reveal – but not being able to feel the way and the measure of attention given to the interview is a limitation on the interviewer's ability to assess the interview. Therefore, conducting interviews online or by phone is not only legitimate and just as effective as face-to-face interviews but might even be preferable in certain circumstances. The limitations and requirements of this type of interview should be considered when considering an online or phone interview. Further study of interviewing online and by phone is needed to expand this claim to other groups of interviews and to further validate the claims of this paper and other works concerning this topic.

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