Afterword

DAVID MORLEY

ELECTRONIC LANDSCAPES: BETWEEN THE VIRTUAL AND THE ACTUAL[1]

Before commenting in detail on the chapters here, it seems best to offer some self-reflexive comments on my procedure in constructing this 'Afterword'. As someone whose own work has often been concerned with the varieties of interpretation of texts, I am well aware that the commentary which I offer below must be, in principle, contestable. Not only would it be possible to query my interpretations but, more fundamentally, my selection of only particular sections of these essays as comment-worthy. What follows is very much a personal response to only some of the themes articulated here: those which most closely resonate with my own contemporary research agenda, which has, of course, provided the framework within which I have made these selections and interpretations.

That agenda (see Morley 2009 and 2010) is partly premised on the argument that within communications and media studies, emphasis has, in recent years, fallen too exclusively on the virtual dimension of communications, to the neglect of the analysis of the material setting. Happily, from my point of view, this collection goes some way towards a more sophisticated investigation of the changing relations between the material and virtual, and addresses the question of how material geo-

graphies retain significance, even under changing technological conditions. In better addressing the articulation of the virtual and actual dimensions of communication, it also makes a valuable contribution to the project of avoiding a narrowly media-centric focus in our work. If, in 1995, Kevin Robins and I were concerned to address the new questions posed by postmodern geography (cf. Soja, 1989; Harvey, 1989), 15 years later, I am concerned that we do not mistake the emergence of virtual or 'electronic' landscapes for the death of material geography.

Theoretical Premises and Orientations

Judging from the premises on which these chapters are based, it is clear that most of the wilder technologically determinist fantasies concerning the role of online technologies in 'disembedding' us from the world of material geography have now been largely discredited. One key issue, as the 'Introduction' explains, is to 'think space and communication together' so that offline and online spaces can be understood simultaneously, as they are articulated in their material, symbolic and imagined dimensions. The further, underlying ethical question here is how to avoid the romanticisation of any 'grand narrative' of nomadology, fluidity and liquidity, while simultaneously disavowing a sedentarist metaphysics which, in overvaluing rootedness, can only then understand mobility as a morally retrograde form of inauthenticity.

While it would be foolhardy to ignore the significance of the affordances made available by contemporary technologies, nonetheless, the editors rightly warn us that we need to beware of the enchantments of 'ideologically fuelled metaphysics' of the rhetorics of techno-transformation (cf. Curran, forthcoming). Here one striking case concerns the much-advertised (and supposedly now imminent) 'death of television'. However, the problem is that, contrary to the rhetoric of the digerati, in the UK and elsewhere, the death of that medium has been somewhat exaggerated—as conventional forms of collective household TV viewing, far from decreasing as predicted, are actually increasing in some contexts (cf. London Business School, 2009).

Moreover, that which is 'new' is not necessarily the most significant. The editors are right to follow Vincent Mosco (2004) in recognising that it is only when new technologies lose the temporary bloom of the 'sublime' with which they are initially embellished, and become 'naturalised' that they have their most profound effects—when their relative invisibility reflects their 'taken-for-granted' place in the structures of everyday life (cf. also Edgerton, 2006). For an increasing number of people, the virtual is perhaps now best seen as a more or less banal overlay on their material lives, rather than some separate realm of wonder. Things like 'networked media practices' have moved, for some, from the category of the extraordinary to

that of the mundane in the last decade. In that context, the question is how to understand the ways in which virtual and actual territories and practices are now intertwined in different settings or 'what kinds of multiplicities...will be co-constructed, with these new kinds of spatial configurations' (Massey quoted in editorial Introduction p3).

Here we potentially encounter all kinds of seeming anomalies and complexities: media can operate as means of re-territorialisation, as much as they can undermine existing territories; the ghosts of old material territories can reappear in virtual form—e.g., the provinces of the Hapsburg Empire, reborn as Mobile Phone Networks in the contemporary Balkans, as demonstrated in Lisa Parks' (2005) work. Similarly, de-territorialising technologies, designed to 'transcend' space, can turn out to principally function, in practice, not to extend cultural horizons but to produce reassuring 'discourses of the hearth' which provide virtual 'anchorage' amidst the anxieties generated by a world of physical hypermobility (Tomlinson, 2001).

From my point of view, one of the key contributions made by this collection derives from the editorial focus on the intersections of on-line and off-line activities as closely embedded within the material practices and settings of everyday life. The terminology here is of some consequence, and for my own part, rather than seeing these debates conducted within a terminology that counterposes the virtual with the real, I would argue that this distinction is better posed as one between the virtual and the actual (cf. Rowan Wilken, forthcoming). Once the matter is framed that way, we are better able to recognize the distinction between the immaterial and material worlds, without exclusively reserving the status of the real to the latter, and our attention can then profitably shift to understanding these different realms as different modalities of the real.

The further point here concerns the importance of resisting an over- generalised and abstract periodisation of technological development, which assumes that these matters work in the same way everywhere. As authors such as John Downing (1996) and more recently Brian Larkin (2008) have argued, most media theory to date has been very Euro-American centric, drawing its overall template from the particular experience of the techno-cultural conditions of the white, middle class Euro-American world—which we would be ill-advised to extrapolate to the rest of the globe. In this context it is very good to see that if, on occasion, the conditions of contemporary North American life are taken as an unquestioned norm, most of the chapters in this collection do achieve the editors' ambitions to avoid the trap of 'totalizing' logics, so as to scrutinise how local particularities emerge out of global processes. To this extent they offer nuanced analyses of the specific significance of new technologies in a variety of different cultural and sociopolitical contexts.

The problem with most discussions of 'new media' is their historical naivety, notwithstanding the fact that it is now some years since Carolyn Marvin (1988) definitively established that 'newness' itself is a historical constant. Happily, many of the essays here do benefit from a historical perspective, and are thus able to better link the 'moral panics' of our own day, in relation to the technologies which are new to us, to the earlier panics experienced in relation to technologies with which we now feel quite comfortable. To put matters like this is evidently not to think in terms of the immediate impacts of technologies, but rather, to invoke processes — and indeed, cycles—of their invention, innovation, dissemination, adoption, naturalisation and, as we shall see, 'domestication'. A number of these chapters are evidently informed by historical work— such as that of Lynn Spigel (1992) on the process of 'taming' television during the period of its entry to the American home in the 1950s, and by the work on the 'domestication' of the media in which I was involved in, along with Roger Silverstone and Eric Hirsch, in our research on the 'Household Uses of Information and Communication Technologies (HICT) ' in Britain during the 1990s (cf. Silverstone, Morley and Hirsch, 1992; cf. also Berker et al., eds., 2006). Certainly, none of the chapters here could be accused of operating with any simple notion of technological 'effects'.

Everyday Technology: Domesticating the New

In his opening essay, Christensen shows how, while the spectacular mechanics of violence have often found their way into representations of war—in the forms of spectacularised 'war porn' —the new technologies of blogging and online video also now allow the communication in real-time, often on a daily basis, of the banal routines of military life. These forms of more 'everyday' representation, as the American cartoonist Gary Trudeau has shown in his 'Doonesbury' strips on the experience of US soldiers serving in the current conflict in the Middle East, can be all the more shocking precisely because their very mundanity prevents us from consigning this world of military conflict to some entirely alien place in our cosmology—and thus connects us all the more closely to the troubling experiences within it.

While Christensen usefully alerts us to the place of blogs and video letters within a longer historical sequence of modes of communication, such as soldiers' letters home (of which the online video could simply be seen as a digital variant), he is also alert to the specificity represented by the capacity of these new technologies to communicate in 'real-time'. In doing so, they supply their recipients with an insistently synchronised experience of temporality (a parent at home, knowing from their son's blog, what time his patrol is due back to base, will be all the more disturbed if they fail to receive the customary reassuring message). In this respect we might also want to supplement Christensen's perspective by reference to the work of Johannes Fabian (1983) and Richard Wilk (2002) on the significance of media technologies in constructing the experience of 'coeval' temporality, as being every bit as important as their transmission of any particular content.

In the context of debates about the domestication of new media, Jonathan Lillie's chapter shows us how the 'cybersmut' panic of 1990s about growing access to online pornography needs to be grounded in the analysis of the context of reception. Indeed, he shows how it can be usefully situated within the context of how such encounters have been shaped by the everyday moral economy of the home and its regimes of social discipline and 'technologies of sexuality'. As he notes, 'far from being defenceless, the home is well protected by long established regimes of social discipline'. Thus his concern is with how the home shapes (and gradually domesticates) people's encounters with online pornography – in this case, partly via the technological forms of 'filtering' software (NetNanny; Surfwatch) designed to 'protect' the more vulnerable members of the household from harm. Lillie productively situates this not just in terms of earlier moral panics about pornography's entry to the home in other modalities (via print, film or video) but also within broader historical discussion of 'technopanics' in general.

Turning from these concerns with the domestication of problematic media technologies to the much-discussed issue of the transformation of active audiences into fan 'prosumers', Cornel Sandvoss' chapter usefully disaggregates the 'catch-all' category of fandom to focus on the varieties of fan, cultist and enthusiast engagements with texts. However, one key finding here concerns the fact that when fan activity is monitored closely, just as in most other areas of Internet life, the initial appearance of a widespread form of interactive communication is shown to be deceptive, in so far as a very small proportion of manically active enthusiasts (3.5% in this case) are responsible for a vast proportion (here 68%) of overall fan activity.

Throughout, Sandvoss displays a healthy scepticism in relation to the wilder claims of fan-theory, and his argument demonstrates well how the Internet is not the cause of fans' creative work, which precedes the emergence of the digital media; how the online part of most fans' activity would be incomprehensible outside of the broader context of their relation to their object of affection in material, offline form; and how the formation of fan communities was common well before the proliferation of the Internet. Indeed, at one point Sandvoss reveals the (partial) lineage of his perspective in classical 'uses and gratifications' theory, when he effectively updates Halloran's (1970) famous slogan about 'getting away from what the media do to people, to see what people do with the media' by arguing that we must get away from thinking about how the Internet has shaped fan culture and spend more time reflecting on how fan cultures shapes the Internet.

Moreover, he rightly notes that, although fan culture is generally associated with globalised forms of interpersonal communication, nonetheless, as the television market is still mainly structured in national form, the fan cultures which have grown up around television programmmes are themselves, on the whole, also still effectively national. Here, among other things, we see an interesting example of the intertwined relations of old and new media. Surrounded as we are by the rhetoric of globalisation, in this connection we would also do well to recall John Ellis' (1982) comments on television as the 'private life of the nation state' —a dimension of the issue which still remains pertinent today. Sandvoss is also alert to the fact that, in the context of what he calls the vast 'semiotic tundra' of the web, people can just avoid what they don't like —so fan communities often function as 'encapsulating': closed communities of the like-minded. In this respect Sandvoss' comments resonate very effectively with those of Zygmunt Bauman, quoted later by Thomas Tufte, when he observes that 'paradoxically, the widening of the range of opportunities, to promptly find ready-made 'like minds'... narrows and impoverishes, instead of augmenting our options'. Perhaps another way of looking at this phenomenon is simply to see it as the technological dimension of the ongoing process of the fragmentation of the public sphere into self-contained 'sphericules' noted earlier by Gitlin (1998).

Holly Kruse picks up the story of how one of the things which home Internet connectivity did was to bring a range of activities previously associated with the masculine public sphere into the conventionally feminised realm of domesticity. Alongside pornography, gambling and its associated, testosterone-driven rhetorics of masculine competition was clearly identified as another morally debased and profane activity at odds with 'family values' (cf. the recent TV adverts for online gambling in the UK, featuring the popular 'hard man' actor, Ray Winstone, which are couched exactly in these terms, as a 'matey/real men's' form of 'fan-on-fan' betting). As she notes, the dangers of masculinised public space invading the domestic haven in this way meant that allowing a child unsupervised access to the web came to be seen as being as irresponsible as leaving a child unsupervised in a public place. The problem was then how mothers (cf. Spigel, op. cit.) could regain control of a domestic space increasingly infiltrated by these masculine pursuits. In all these debates we see that, just as we found in the HICT research referred to earlier, the question is not only how to 'fit' the computer, as a new piece of technology into the home. Rather, the issue is how the perception of the technology itself is inevitably coloured by the problematic activities with which it comes to be associated (whether in the case of gambling here, or in the 1990s in the UK, as the 'wasting' of time by playing 'pointless computer games').

Spamming the Public Sphere

Whatever else the Net 'is', one thing we all know, from our daily experience at the keyboard, is that it is about spam. In his discussion of this issue, Kristoffer Gansing draws very effectively on Baudrillard's analysis of how technologies, in their moments of excess, can turn against themselves, so as to implode. He offers a compelling portrait of how spam—as, in his words, 'functional trash' —exposes the limits of online communication. If, as Baudrillard argues, we are obsessed with the perfect circulation of messages, and our success in that respect is conventionally measured by speed and capacity of transmission, then that 'success' is necessarily self-defeating: the more 'friends' you have on a social networking system, the less time you have to communicate with any particular one of them. The problem is that the logic of the system constantly drives towards greater speed—and communicative utopia is routinely figured as a state of nirvana where everyone is in constant interaction with everyone else. This is a model of communications whose theoretical deficiencies have been identified to devastating effect by John Durham Peters, in his magisterial *Speaking into the Air* (1999). To offer a more everyday analogy, the British teenager who had his Twitter feed 'adopted' by his favourite rap star in the summer of 2010 soon found that, far from this being the utopian moment he had dreamed of, its main consequence was that his own network simply went into melt-down, as multitudes of the star's other fans now began to follow his 'tweets'. Exactly the same logic is involved in denial-of-service (DoS) attacks, in so far as the force which is used to disable the target is precisely an 'overload' (in this case deliberate) of communications.

As Gansing shows, now that spam is variously recognised as accounting for 70–90% of all Internet traffic, Bill Gates' 2004 claim that spam would soon be a 'thing of the past' now looks not so much naïve as ridiculous. It is clear that, far from being an excrescence, or a marginal category, spam is central, both statistically, and in terms of functional principles, to what the Internet is about. Here Gansing's approach complements, very effectively, the analysis of the 'dark side' of Internet communication offered by Jussi Parikka and Tony Sampson in their recent collection of essays *The Spam Book : On Viruses, Porn and Other Anomalies* (Hampton Press, 2009)

In a context in which the Black Economy now represents a vast (and growing) proportion of world trade and where the profits of cybercrime are higher than those in any other sector, we have to recognise, as indicated in Misha Glenny's (2008) analysis of international crime, that the contemporary world is characterised as much by the circulation of 'Bads' as of Goods. This is a perspective which Gansing himself alludes to in his reference to Hawkins and Muecke's analysis of the 'cultural eco-

nomics of waste'. Gansing is also careful to offer a historical perspective on these issues—in this case, rightly situating contemporary web-based phenomena, such as the '419' letter scams, in the longer history of earlier print based 'Advance Fee Frauds'. Of course, as he notes, the search for the precise historical origins of these scams (e.g., the rumoured role of underemployed Bulgarian computer programmers in the original development of viruses in the early 1990s) may ultimately prove impossible. However, Glenny (op. cit.) makes a good case for situating the origin of the '419' scams not simply in Nigeria, but more specifically among the disaffected Igbo of Eastern Nigeria (a people with a substantial history of involvement in earlier modes of long-distance trade) who felt, after the world had failed to help them during the Biafran tragedy, no moral qualms about taking their financial revenge on the *mugus* of the rich West. However, while this task is certainly now facilitated by the Internet, it is not specific to it: in their most developed modalities, these scams also depend on carefully orchestrated forms of physical theatre, such as meetings in prestigious hotels in the *mugu's* own country with (fake) Ministers of State, whose physical presence is necessary to consolidate the 'trust' on which the scam depends (see the fictionalised portrayal of this process in Adaobi Trisia Nwaubani's 2009 novel *I Do Not Come to You by Chance.*

Technologies, Voices and Publics

Overall, in this section, the ambition, we are told, is to offer 'nuanced, empirically informed analyses of the ways in which online communication both affords and limits its particular modes of social voice and presence in the public sphere ...'. In this context Tufte's chapter is a particularly welcome contribution, in so far as, unlike so much work in the field, it is not based on presumptions which only apply in the affluent West. He rightly poses the issue of whether the theoretical concerns of Western-based media and technology studies have any universal value or are only relevant to the developed world of widespread Internet access (cf. Morley, forthcoming). If so, then their use in contexts such as East Africa would evidently constitute an ethnocentric imposition of themes, concepts and theoretical approaches of little relevance. More specifically, Tufte addresses the Internet's potential in Africa in relation to ideas about 'insurgent citizenship', and the potential of 'citizen media' in a context where there is a profound disjunction between the abstract idea of democracy and the actual experience of widespread insecurity

Like Sandvoss, Tufte is also sceptical of the often celebratory attitudes adopted in relation to the new social media. This is a welcome relief, given the current tendency in the field towards the over-emphasis on the role of communications technologies such as text messaging in political protest movements (such as those

which brought down the Marcos government in the Philippines) a tendency which has recently been subject to thoroughgoing critique (cf. Castells et al., 2007, pp. 186 et seq.). The same point is made in the editors' Introduction here, in relation to the dangers of romanticising the use of social networking media by young, cosmopolitan Iranian students in their protest against rigged elections in 2009. There is nothing in these networks (Twitter, Flickr, YouTube, etc.) which 'naturally' disposes them to progressive uses: the mob who misguidedly attacked the house of a hospital paediatrician at the height of a recent media-driven 'paedophile' scare in the UK, had organised themselves via their text message systems.

Moreover, rather than focussing on the supposed wonders of communication technologies themselves, Tufte demonstrates that simplistic communications strategies based on the use of new technologies to transmit 'health advice' are quite inadequate. As he shows, when problems like HIV and AIDS are so entangled with poverty, culture and gender roles, it is pointless to imagine that you can prevent the epidemic from spreading simply by only providing (via whatever technology) 'practical advice'. In this connection, we might think of the close parallel with Daniel Lerner's (now long-discredited) emphasis on using transistor radios to inculcate 'modern' methods of farming in the Middle East, as a potential 'stimulant' to agricultural development in the 1960s. This was an earlier example of an over-simplistic communications policy which, while central to US 'modernisation' strategies in the Middle East in that period, failed because it simply did not grasp the extent to which the 'problematic' behaviour was so deeply embedded in other discourses and structures that simply offering 'practical advice' of this kind was unlikely to change anything very much (cf. Lerner, 1958).

Turning from the potential of new technologies for Third-World development strategies to their potential for the politics of feminism, Liesbet van Zoonen offers a substantial critique of the early cyberfeminist investment of hopes in the transformative possibilities of these new technologies, in relation to conventional gender identities. As she shows, the enthusiasts imagined that the disembodiment and anonymity of the Internet would allow proactive experimentation with diverse gender identities. However, in effect, none of these hopes (as expressed variously by Sherry Turkle, Sadie Plant and Dale Spender) proved justified and nowadays, Internet usage and gender performances, by and large, still take place within the limits of dominant heterosexual gender discourses. Indeed the author's sobering conclusion is that, in itself, the Internet has not changed anything much, in this respect. Once again, the key factor seems to be the way in which this early cyberfeminist optimism failed to take into account the extent to which access to cyberspace takes place in a variety of material settings, which are themselves almost always heavily gendered. To this extent the early cyberfeminists attributed too much transforma-

tive power to the technologies themselves and failed to pay attention to how the socio-cultural context would determine their effectivity.

To return to the themes of my earlier discussion of the chapters concerned with the entry of pornography and gambling to the home, van Zoonen notes that at the point at which public attention began to recognize the downside of on-line anonymity (in relation to phenomena such as paedophilia and bullying) the earlier investment of feminist hopes in the Internet as a Utopian space came to look rather naïve. As the author argues in relation to the debates about 'Internet predators', the majority of such predators (or bullies) usually turn out to be from within a person's own social circle. The home, far from being a necessarily 'safe' place, is the most usual site of sexual abuse, and we must recognise the presence of dangers within the *Heimlich* sphere (Morley, 2000). Moreover, once we put these panics into historical perspective, we readily see that, despite the current focus on the 'dangers' of the computer screen, few of these issues have much to do with the technology itself. To this extent, van Zoonen is quite right to link current panics about children using social network media back to earlier fears for 'unsupervised' young women attending dance halls. These are, as they suggest, perhaps best seen as just a technologically updated version of the fundamentalist discourse of 'restraint, modesty and sexual discretion' as desirable traits in women.

Surveillance and Colonization

The vexed question of the 'nature' (if it has one) of what the Net 'is'— i.e, whether it is 'essentially' a democratizing force (as many self-interested digipreneurs have argued) or an oppressive one (as many techno-sceptics maintain) is fundamental. In relation to debates about the 'essential' nature of specific technologies, perhaps the most interesting finding in Laura Stein's chapter of new social movements' use of online technologies in the USA is that even among them, where one might expect a particularly high commitment to the democratic potential of Internet communication, only a small percentage actually use these technologies for interaction, dialogue or creative expression. The majority simply use them for the traditional purpose of transmitting information to their followers and members. Again, this is, to put it mildly, sobering evidence for anyone of a technologically determinist persuasion, who imagines that new technologies possess some kind of progressive or democratic essence (or 'bias') which will automatically assert itself over time, for the better.

It is now well established that many interactive technologies simultaneously function as modes of surveillance and, in this respect, David Phillips' chapter offers considerable insights into the specificities of the move to 'actuarial surveillance'. This involves, as he explains, the 'systematic, analytic, methodical creation of normativity' which, as a technique of knowledge production, renders us visible and functions as a form of population management which 'marks' (and raises queries about) all deviations from the norm. This, to put it in more mundane terms, is of course, increasingly how your credit card functions (identifying and querying any departures from what the surveillant technology has established as your normal pattern of expenditure). The associated risks (see below, re 'Advance Fee Frauds,' etc.) are why one has to deal with increasingly complex systems, originally designed to defend one's own interests, but necessarily involving a variety of passwords and proofs of identity, should one wish, for example, to vary one's shopping habits.

Phillips also recognises the increasing importance of geodemographic systems of consumer classification (e.g., ACORN/CACI in the UK) which classify places by reference to the types of persons who (predominantly) inhabit them ('You Are Where You Live'). Residential and other personal data are then cross-correlated, to produce predictive systems of consumer behaviour, based on these 'lifestyle clusters' in which data spaces and physical spaces are increasingly enmeshed. Importantly, Phillips also recognises the performativity of place—in the sense that place is also produced by the actions it mediates, and what constitutes appropriate behaviour within them is always, in principle, negotiable. In this context he also explores possibilities of resistant forms of creative response to (or 'hi-jacking') of surveillance systems (into forms of 'sousveillance') and of what he calls 'counter-normative identity play'. Perhaps more ambitiously, he argues that such strategies might even serve to denaturalize 'the ideology of unitary bodies in Newtonian space' in so far as they produce identities which may destabilise the assumption that database records 'refer unambiguously and unproblematically to pre-existing bodies'. These are certainly interesting speculations, but we would perhaps do well to exercise what Ulf Hannerz (1996) once called some 'unexciting caution' here, before deriving any generalised observations about the subversive potential of these (as yet) rather marginal practices of symbolic resistance.

One other area where netizens have attempted to subvert the authoritarian structure of social relations through innovative technological means is the development of P2P 'file-sharing' among music fans. In this connection, Patrick Burkart provides a stimulating update of Adorno and Horkheimer's critique of the Culture Industry by demonstrating the extent of the entertainment industry's attempts to commercialise the Internet. Thus he shows just how far, in the post-Napster period, the music industry has succeeded in the 'colonisation' of the net by techno-regulationist ideologies designed to achieve the 'cybernetic commodification' of fan behaviour .

As he says, if all this might be dystopian to a cyber-libertarian, it is 'Xanadu for the Internet regulationists'. Against the forces of commercial regulation, he poses

the figure of the hacker and the culture-jammer who attempt to decolonise the existing copyright regime, evade online surveillance and playfully flout copyright laws, business confidentiality and state security. Evidently, the question here concerns the extent to which the power of surveillance systems can be effectively counterposed by these marginal modes of 'resistance'. While the full implications (for P2P activists) of the 'Pirate Bay' case in Sweden remain as yet, unclear (cf. Andersson, 2010) the vision of net-opposition offered here certainly has very substantial forces ranged against it.

The Varieties of Mobility: Tourists, Vagabonds and Diasporics

The discussion of issues concerning transnational and translocal patterns of culture and communications have long been bedevilled by a form of theoretical over-abstraction, which refers, in the singular, to The Postcolonial, The Diasporic or The Transnational condition. As I have argued elsewhere (Morley, 2007), the universalising and singularising tendencies of these modes of abstraction reduce all local differences to one template. They can be seen as what Michel Serres calls lazy modes of 'pass-key' analysis where, just as one key is used to open all locks, all questions are treated as having only one fundamental answer (cf. Serres and Latour, 1995). Conversely, what is encouraging here is the editors' concern with locating and scrutinising the particularities which emerge from these global processes, without adopting the totalising logic which would reduce them all to being seen as instances of the same phenomenon.

As someone troubled by the regrettably widespread tendency to over-emphasise the significance of processes of deterritorialisation, I welcomed Myria Georgiou's recognition that, while discourses of territoriality might seem an anachronistic in an era of online communications, nonetheless, territoriality remains deeply rooted in political conceptions of identity, especially when transposed into questions of passports, visas and citizenship rights. As she notes, if flows of culture and communication undermine national boundaries, nonetheless, nation states are still based on ideas of singular loyalty. It is in this context that she places the significance of diaspora where, as a result of their own (or their ancestors') mobility, migrants experience a kind of 'place polygamy' where they are effectively 'married into' different worlds and cultures simultaneously, and their participation in any one community is thus relativised. Here again, her arguments connect well with those of Aksoy and Robins (op. cit.) in relation to how Turkish migrants in London effectively exist in a space of 'in-betweenness' so that, if being Turkish makes a difference to how they consume British media, by the same token, being in Britain transforms their relation to diasporic Turkish media.

Georgiou may well be right to suggest that the dynamics of the processes involved here, are better captured by studying them at the level of the city, or even the locality, rather than in relation to the abstractions of national politics (cf. Kobena Mercer, 1994) on the ' problems of living with difference'). As Robins has noted (2001) the city is both an existential and experimental space and it is one which offers juxtapositions of different forms of cultural production (from pirate radio to the graffiti on the city walls) which can register the co-presence and proximity of a variety of forms of alterity. Here Georgiou's argument echoes, in part, Bailey's comments as will be discussed shortly, concerning 'regionally' defined communities in global cities where, rather than nostalgic dreams of diasporic unity, we potentially enter the realm of what Chantal Mouffe (2000) has called (necessarily) 'agonistic' dialogue with a variety of both corporeal, virtual and imagined others. Such dialogues are the lifeblood of any healthy form of democratic community, and will be crucial in enabling us to live out—both online and offline—the forms of 'critical proximity' which Georgiou rightly enjoins as the most appropriate way to inhabit the multi-dimensional and multi-cultural spaces of our contemporary world.

The editors are right to note the limitations of the widespread tendency to overemphasise the place-violating forces of technologically enhanced global mobility, to the neglect of the embeddedness of people's technological 'connectivity.' As Miyase Christensen rightly notes in her chapter, rather than accepting such simplistic accounts of de-territorialisation, we should note that mediated transnational activities usually take place at the juncture of the online and offline worlds .The issue is to understand both the connections and disjunctures whereby migrants inhabit fluid virtual networks of dispersed contacts while still being territorially anchored in the materiality of local spaces.

Taking the particular case of Turkish migrants in Sweden, Christensen's work demonstrates how loyalties based on physical co-proximity, originating in a rural village thousands of miles away, are often transposed to distant contexts. Given the simple mechanics of the process of chain migration, once a person is established in a given location, their friends and relatives are more likely to follow. Hence many migrants, even in their new 'host' country, still live closely with people from their place of origin where (much to the chagrin of some of the younger members of the community, as Christensen notes) corporeal forms of co-surveillance are often practised every bit as much as they were in their original home. However, she is every bit as alert to questions of change and adaptation as she is to continuities—for instance, in the way in which the younger migrants adopt social media and care-

fully 'manage' their levels of mediated visibility in strategic ways (cf. Hargreaves, 1995, on generational differences in communicative practices among Arab migrants in France). She is also right to insist that ' the affordances inherent in technological applications' such as online social media, cannot be accounted for by any 'discourse of sudden transformation or imminent liberation' but must, rather, be studied in terms of use patterns in a given social context. In this respect, I commend her attempt to steer a middle course between the structural 'over-determination' of Bourdieu's ***habitus*** and the romanticism of the proponents of the thesis of 'individualisation' and destructuration.

In relation to the need to move beyond singularised/abstract versions of 'The' migrant experience, André Jansson's chapter addresses the very particular characteristics of the western, professional, expatriate experience of 'fixed term'/temporary migration. His focus on 'Professional Westerners' in Managua provides 'a situated analysis of the particular socio-spatial ambiguities characterising this actual type of cosmopolitan class fraction.' Among the key distinguishing features of this particular lifestyle are the considerations that their migration is voluntary; that it is for a fixed/limited period of time; and that they have ready access to 'exit mobility' in the case of trouble.

Jansson also offers a very interesting exploration of the functions and roles played for this particular subcategory of migrant by a variety of 'technologies of encapsulation.' Here he draws effectively on De Cauter's recognition that technologies such as a computers, gated communities, cars and aeroplanes are all 'capsular,' in so far as they provide a protective cocoon, which not only connect people to (some) others, but simultaneously, separate them from problematic forms of alterity (cf. Cwerner, 2006) on the helicopter as 'technology of secession' from urban life for the rich). In this connection he elegantly weaves together De Cauter's theories with various models of 'cosmopolitanization,' in exploring the contradictory nature of the particular uses of new technologies made by this category of professional migrants.

These migrants are 'cosmopolitan' in outlook (and thus resistant, in principle, to 'encapsulation' within any mono-culture) and yet inevitably concerned for their own physical security. The mundane, but nonetheless pressing exigencies of managing everyday life in a problematic third world city are well-exemplified by his example of a respondent who makes a mobile phone call from within a taxi in the disorienting context of the 'nameless streets of Managua,' convince the driver that his passenger is directly connected to a secure 'elsewhere,' lest he should harbour any evil intentions,.

For many expatriates, their experience is one of rarely integrating where they physically live, while gradually losing touch with those at home, because of the profound differences in their respective daily experiences—and thus they end up speaking mainly to each other, whether on- or offline (cf. Nowicka, 2006, on this). In the end, despite their decisions to live (if temporarily) among the 'others' of the third world, as one of Jansson's respondents says, 'it's easier to stay within the bubble.'

If we turn to the other end of the social spectrum to address the situation of those whose migrancy is perhaps better described as that of 'involuntary vagabondage,' rather than 'voluntary tourism' (cf. Bauman, 1998; Hannnerz, 1995) Olga Bailey provides an interesting account of ethnic groups' online representation of their identities. She recognises the 'uneven distribution' of online territories and her account is informed by the fact that, in many Western societies, there has been a systematic exclusion of migrants from the mainstream media (cf. Hargreaves, op. cit., on the exclusion of Arab migrants from the French media) as a result of which some have reacted by producing their own alternative—and these days, online—media. Certainly, the UK case would fit this portrait. As Marie Gillespie (1995) noted in an earlier period, it was precisely the fact that British Asian migrants felt so ill-served by the mainstream UK media that meant they were among the earliest adopters of both video and satellite technologies, as ways of accessing culturally sympathetic material more suited to their needs.

Bailey's own perspective—and her invocation of Brah's notions of 'multilocationality' and Tastsoglou's model of multiple and overlapping spatial and symbolic attachments—is well supported by the work of Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins (2000) on the use of communications and media among Turkish migrants in Britain. They demonstrate that these migrants' complex pattern of usage of local and transnational, broadcast and interpersonal media, along with their insertion in a highly developed system of mobility for the transport of persons and goods between Turkey and Britain, means that they are in effect, participants simultaneously, in material and virtual communities in a variety of locations. While also referencing the interesting work of Andreas Hepp (2009) on the specific uses made by migrants (in this case again, mainly Turkish) in Germany, of mobile and online communications technologies, Bailey raises the question of how diasporic and ethnic groups appropriate online technologies selectively, for specific purposes and wisely disavows any 'speculative celebration of the possible role of the Internet.' However, she also cites Bernal's contention that the Internet is 'the *quintessential* diasporic medium, ideally suited to allowing migrants in diverse locations to connect, share information and analysis and coordinate their activities' (my emphasis).

However, one does need to be cautious with any attempt to construct a homology between the experience of the migrant and the capacity of mobile online media. It is but a short step from that kind of proposition to a model of the migrant as an epistemologically privileged figure—an intellectual position which would replicate all the problems which ensued from Lukacs' elevation of a particular economic class of persons as best placed to see the 'essential truths' of a previous age.

(in his case, the proletariat; later, of course, supplanted by the vanguard party) . That problem aside, drawing on the work of Mallapragada, Bailey also argues that not all online communities necessarily function to link migrants back to the lost 'Heimat' of their nation state of origin. As she notes, we should recognise that some online sites construct a (present-tense oriented) 'regional,' rather than (nostalgic) national identification for working class immigrants of different national origins—who often now live in the same, poor neighbourhoods of global cities. In this case, we see vividly how the dynamic relations of online and offline territories are capable of taking a variety of different political inflections.

That these spaces now have to be understood in their virtual as well as material dimensions is perhaps the most basic proposition which unites the chapters in this volume. The further point, which I stressed earlier, concerns the need to investigate the changing relations between these material and virtual forms of territory—and in doing so, to avoid any simplistic periodisation between the worlds of the old and 'new' media. As I have argued elsewhere (Morley, 2009), rather than assuming that we have proceeded abruptly from one 'era' of communication to another, we need to investigate the continuities, overlaps and modes of symbiosis between technologies of symbolic and material communications. To do otherwise—and to imagine that the new technologies of our day are so totally transformative as to require us to entirely begin again, from some theoretical 'Degree Zero'—would be to fall back into the worst kind of technological determinism. It would also be to risk making the fatal mistakes, identified long ago by Michel Serres (Serres and Latour, 1995), not only of believing too readily in technicist ideologies of 'progress,' but also of imagining that we are 'not only right, but righter than it was ever possible to be before' for the 'simple, banal and naïve reason that we are living in the present moment' (1995, 48–9). In matters of technology, in particular, both 'presentism' and neophilia are dangerous temptations—and overall, the essays here are to be commended, not least, for marking out ways forward which will help us to avoid these dangers.

Note

1. This essay revisits some of the themes first raised 15 years ago by myself and Kevin Robins in *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries.* London: Routledge.

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Contributors

Olga Guedes Bailey is a senior lecturer at Nottingham Trent University, UK. She is the program leader of the MA 'Media and Globalization.' She is the chair of the section 'Migration, Diaspora and Media' of the European Communication Research and Education Association—ECREA. She is also a member of the editorial board of the international journal *Communication Theory,* USA, and former managing-editor of the international journal *Body and Society,* Sage Publications. She has published essays on global audiences, environmentalism, journalistic practice, alternative media, race and representation, the politics of communication of ethnic minorities and diasporas in western societies, and on online citizen journalism. Her latest books include; a co-authored book entitled *Understanding Alternative Media* (UK, Open University, 2007) and an edited collection *Transnational Lives and the Media: Re-imagining Diasporas* (UK, Palgrave, 2007).

Patrick Burkart is an associate professor of communication at Texas A&M University. He is the author of *Music and Cyberliberties* (Wesleyan University Press, 2010) and *Digital Music Wars: Ownership and Control of the Celestial Jukebox* (with Tom McCourt, 2006).

Christian Christensen is professor of media and communications studies in the Department of Informatics and Media at Uppsala University in Sweden. His primary area of research is in the use of social media during times of war and conflict, but he has also published on the representation of Islam, post-9/11 documentary