Locating Emerging Media: Ethnographic Reflections on Culture, Selfhood, and Place

Jordan Kraemer

Introduction: Space, Place, Media

Media have long shaped identities linked to place. Just as print media helped foster nationally imagined communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, emerging digital and social media are implicated in global and transnational networks in the twentieth. Yet new communication technologies, from mobile phones to the Internet, are not necessarily engendering the global world once predicted; instead, multiple social worlds and experiences of place proliferate. Ethnographic approaches provide insight into shifting configurations of identity, selfhood, and place through a critical empiricism that makes possible research across diverse sites and contexts, digital or otherwise.

In the early twenty-first century, for example, Berlin was transforming rapidly as a nexus of people, technologies, and new configurations of space and place. The once-divided city of Berlin was (and is) still being stitched together, the symbolic and geographic midpoint of post-Cold War Europe and Europe's ongoing cultural, political, and economic integration. By the late 2000s, many young adults moved to Berlin from Germany and elsewhere who comprised a "knowledge" or creative class (Florida 2004), settling in the city's central districts.

Upon moving to Berlin, many joined social network sites for the first time, especially Facebook, and began using mobile devices more frequently. I conducted sustained ethnographic research over eleven months between 2007-2015, primarily in 2009-10, with small "friend circles" (*Freundeskreise*) and their extended networks

online, to understand how emerging media are transforming urban European middle classes. In this chapter, I show how digital ethnography enables research across multiple sites and spaces, while inviting critical reflection on media, identity, and place-making. One particular fieldwork incident illustrates an emerging European transnationalism, which I analyze as a form of geographic scale-making—that is, practices that produce the local, national, or global as spatial scales (Tsing 2005, 57-58; see also Brenner 1998; Marston 2000).

Many have explored what networked, digital communications entail for place and identity in a globalized, deterritorialized world. Thinking about place on transnationally circulating media, however, requires asking how identities come to be linked to place in the, well, first place. Cultural geographers contend that space and place are constructed culturally, suggesting that spatiality can form online. Anthropologists and Internet scholars, meanwhile, demonstrate that digital and online worlds exist as places in their own right, where forms of social life flourish that cannot be predicted from their technological affordances (e.g., Boellstorff 2008; see also Baym 2010).

Online communities exist as legitimate places and, conversely, place-based communities exist online, such as national publics, regional networks, and local ways of living (Bernal 2006, 2014; Ellison et al. 2006). These accounts of place online, however, necessitate considering carefully what it means to talk about place; that is, what is a geographically-based social formation when it takes place through the seemingly "placeless" Internet? I turn to ethnographic accounts of space and place to attend to the dimensions, temporalities, and scales of space and place, including non-representational registers of feeling and sensing. Non-representational approaches to place, for example,

seek to account for how spatial experiences take shape through practice, interaction, and daily living in contingent ways (Anderson and Harrison 2010). Others reframe questions of scale and place-making to rethink the connections, rhythms, and practices that constitute the "local" or "global" (e.g., Massey 1993; Marston et al. 2005; Lambek 2011).

The above inquiries all call attention to power and unevenness in the production of space and place, such as digital mapping, geotagging, and location services that render space uniform and homogenous (e.g., DeNicola 2012). Considered broadly, emerging media, being simultaneously symbolic and material, provide an opportunity to rethink conceptual divides between matter and meaning in the ways they are engaged through daily, lived experience. In this view, emerging media shape experiences of place in ways that are always plural, heterogeneous, and uneven, stabilizing only temporarily.

"The other side of the street is a bad neighborhood"

In 2015, I returned to Berlin to reconnect with people and places from previous fieldwork. I found a city that had transformed rapidly, though many elements of life in Berlin endure.[1] Longstanding practices like apartment sharing and subletting that were facilitated in the early 2000s by web boards and Craigslist, for example, now increasingly take place through Airbnb and related "sharing economy" platforms. This coincided with demographic shifts ongoing since the *Wende*, or Turn, in 1989, and national German reunification in 1990. As my Airbnb host explained, he and his peers (having moved to this part of Berlin in the 1990s) could no longer afford hip districts like Kreuzberg (formerly in the West, bordering the Wall, and center of the lively German Turkish community; see Mandel 2008) or Friedrichshain in the former East. Remarking on the

perceived divide between punk, edgy Kreuzberg and its shabbier, more residential

neighbor Neukölln, home to numerous immigrant communities—the border of which ran

past my rental apartment—he repeated what was clearly a familiar quip: "The other side

of the street is a bad neighborhood."

These spatial and demographic changes cannot be separated from technological

shifts. In a few short years, candybar-style "dumb" phones have disappeared, replaced by

nearly-ubiquitous smartphones, mostly touchscreen-based iPhones and their imitators.

Airbnb did not exist in Berlin in 2010, but has become immensely popular with "club

tourists" (Rapp 2009) and other short-term visitors (including visiting researchers). These

technologies have consequences for experiences of place, reshaping movements through

urban space (think of restaurant recommendation apps or transit directions). But if

emerging technologies do not necessarily replace local identities with global ones, nor

simply reproduce geographically-based communities online, what is happening? To

investigate this, I want to lay out briefly ethnographic approaches to media and place.

Media have played a central role in fostering identities linked to place since at

least the advent of print capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (e.g.,

Anderson 1991; Gellner 1983). By the twentieth century, electronic media such as

cassettes, satellite television, and video games appeared poised to destabilize national

boundaries and forms of selfhood linked to the nation. Anthropologists and others found,

however, that national communities reassert themselves through new technological

means, whether national television viewing in Egypt (Abu-Lughod 2005), or radio

fostering a national speech community in Zambia through laterally circulating "public

words" (Spitulnik 1996), among numerous examples (see also Mankekar 1999;

Mazzarella 2004). In divided Germany, broadcast media contributed to the fall of the Berlin Wall, as many East Germans received West German radio and television. Through illicit consumption, many envisioned alternative lifeworlds which incited growing political dissatisfaction (Hesse 1990).

Computer networks and mobile telephony were incipient when Germany reunified in 1990, but distributed unevenly—many West Germans had computers and video games, while most East Germans did not have household telephone lines. This divergent history shapes media practices still; for example, some young East Germans I knew shared their mobile phone handsets in ways that echo phone-sharing practices from the DDR[2] era (Schnöring and Szafran 1994). With the advent of the Internet and digital media, many predicted the realization of McLuhan's "global village" (2013 [1964]) or a global "space of flows" (Castells 1996). But digital media equally provide new means to articulate and enact local, national, and other place-based identities, as numerous examples of "virtual nationalism" attest (Bernal 2006, 2014; Lee 2007; Eriksen 2007), or of "geographically-bound" communities such as college campus networks (e.g., Ellison et al. 2006).

If globally circulating media do not undermine place-based identities, nor replace parochial connections with cosmopolitan ones, how do emerging media reshape selfhood in relation to place? Anthropologists have contended since the 1980s and 1990s with increased mobility and deterritorialization under globalization (Appadurai 1996; Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 1997; Clifford 1992). Of course, human culture has long been predicated on circulation and exchange, from the Kula Ring of Papua New Guinea described by Bronislaw Malinowski, Nancy Munn (1986), and others, to the

interdependent "world-system" of Immanuel Wallerstein (1974; see also Wolf 1982).

Arjun Appadurai (1996) proposed that mass media provide new imaginative resources for fashioning selfhood in a global, deterritorialized world, while David Harvey (1989) diagnosed the temporal and spatial effects of late-modern capitalism in terms of "space-time compression," effectively making the world smaller.

Late modern reconfigurations of people, places, and identities challenge viewing culture as co-extensive with particular peoples or places, but what then does it mean to talk about identity or selfhood as place-based? Anthropologists and geographers address this by examining how space and place are constructed in uneven ways, pioneered by the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991). Anthropologist Setha Low, for example, calls attention to the political stakes of determining how spaces are produced and used (Low 2009, 2014; see also Munn 1986). Low argues that culture is "spatialized" in ways that mask ideological structures and inequalities: "both the production and the construction of space are mediated by social processes, especially being contested and fought over for economic and ideological reasons" (Low 2014, 35). How do we locate digital media in contingent cultural and historical processes that produce space and place?

Emerging Spatialities

Ethnographic accounts highlight the contingency of place-making, offering a way to think about the production of space and place online. By this, however, I do not mean a singular, monolithic "cyberspace." As Daniel Miller and Don Slater (2000) noted, the Internet comprises an agglomerate of technologies, while online media practices always take place in specific, locatable instances: "what we were observing was not so much

people's use of 'the Internet' but rather how they assembled various technical possibilities that added up to the *their* Internet" (2000, 14). Cultural geographer Mark Graham similarly takes issues with spatial metaphors of the Internet which reduce a complex, relational networked space to a "distinct, immaterial, ethereal alternate dimension" (2013, 181). The metaphor of cyberspace evokes a separate dimension coterminous with physical space, everywhere yet nowhere. He advocates instead attending to multiple, complex spatialities that are always grounded, contingent, and material.

Spatial metaphors can make space and place appear natural and fixed, although this does not preclude online spaces and virtual worlds existing in their own right, as Tom Boellstorff (2008) and others have shown (e.g., Taylor 2006). In my work on social and mobile media, I find spatial terms like "local" or "global" inadequate to describing the multiplicity of spatial levels or scales that emerging media bring together—and reconfigure. Like print and broadcast, social and mobile platforms provide new means to enact relationships and worlds, bringing together lives and connections into the same spaces (Kraemer 2014). For those like Karoline, who moved to Berlin in 2007, Facebook brought together disparate parts of her life—friends from Magdeburg and from university, *Ausländer* (foreigners[3]) met in Berlin, and younger family members and work colleagues. Though this "context collapse" (cf. boyd 2014, 31-32) could spark tensions, Facebook did not necessarily homogenize social connections in a singular global space. Instead, it often became a nexus of conversations, communities, and interactions at multiple scales—not unlike cosmopolitan life in Berlin.

Conversely, the "local" scale of Berlin could also take place online. At a monthly "Strickenbar" (Knitting Bar), for example, one friend circle gathered to practice knitting over drinks. The event's Facebook page reflected aesthetics found in bars and cafés in Berlin[4], and illustrates ways local life "offline" unfolded on Facebook (see Figure 1). The local here might be understood not as a scale, but as an affect or structure of feeling (Lambek 2011). Michael Lambek proposes rethinking the local as a tempo constituted through particular rhythms, activities, and feelings rather than an instance of some global phenomenon: "the site at which these multiple activities and temporalities… are lived simultaneously" (2011, 208). Local life in Berlin could be inhabited online through imagery, language practices, shared references, and shared affect specific to Berlin.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

The notion of spatial scale, however, risks evoking a concentric circle that expands outward from the local to the national and the global. Cultural geographers and others contest this depiction, construing such levels instead as constellations of policy, infrastructure, circuits of capital, and so forth (Brenner 1998, 2001; Marston 2000; see also Massey 1993). Others question the utility of scale as an analytic and advocate doing away with vertical models of scale entirely. Marston et al. (2005), for example, propose a "flat ontology" that allows emergent spatialities to unfold by "accounting for socio-spatiality as it occurs throughout the Earth without requiring prior, static conceptual categories" (2005, 425). Such ontological and non-representational approaches

(Anderson and Harrison 2010) attend to practices, enactments, affects, and material relationships rather than symbolic representations.

From my perspective as an anthropologist, media provoke pressing questions about space and place precisely because they are constituted materially *and* symbolically,[5] locatable yet circulating instantaneously. On returning to Berlin in 2015, I observed emerging media practices that link together people and places in an emerging European transnationalism: that is, a shared sense of Europeanness rarely articulated as such. Alongside anthropologists of affect like Kathleen Stewart, I consider scenes of daily living to account *for* broader meanings and forces *through* embodied practice: "this is not to say that the forces these [totalized] systems try to name are not real and literally pressing. On the contrary, I am trying to bring into view as a scene of immanent force, rather than leave them looking like dead effects imposed on an innocent world" (Stewart 2007, 1).

European Transnationalism on Social Media

On January 7th, 2015—one week into my stay in Berlin—two gunmen opened fire in the Paris offices of *Charlie Hebdo*, a French satirical publication featuring incendiary cartoons. Though the journal purports to target all religions equally, many find cartoons depicting Mohammed and Muslim themes exemplify widespread anti-Muslim sentiment in Europe. The attack by Arabic-speaking assailants (later identified as two French Algerian brothers) sent shockwaves through the Internet, and illustrated a European transnationalism forming in part through social media. News of the attack raced across

my European Facebook and Twitter feeds[6], provoking emotional, politically-charged responses from many who avoided such topics otherwise.

Annette, who had friends and family in Paris, posted: "Sorry for the sad & political post. Anyone with an interest in the French political press know who these two persons are (were, sadly),"[7] with a link to the Twitter status of the French *LePoint*, showing photos of two murdered cartoonists. Comments piled up in French, German, and English, and Annette cut short one convoluted response, saying: "I don't want this post to turn into high-school political debate. Kthxbye." She posted frequently that afternoon, from a humorous image warning readers not to "discard brain," to a YouTube clip from a French children's show from the 1980s, featuring one of the cartoonists as an actor, writing:

> Second sad post today. Fuck everything about this. Non-French speakers: this is one of the victims of today's attack in Paris, a famous satirical cartoonist, who appeared in what was by far the best-known children TV show in this country in the 80s. He shouldn't have been murdered by idiots.

She moved between English and French, and in effect, between possible audiences. She also responded to a Facebook event page called "Je Suis Charlie," for a gathering in front of the French consulate in Berlin. The post was titled in French and German, and 209 people had also responded. A few hours later, that number had jumped to 1,136. In the comments, Annette added: "People not in Berlin," with a link to similar events across Europe. She moved back and forth between events in Berlin and conversations taking

place in Paris and elsewhere, primarily engaging other French-speakers (and referring, indexically, to France as "this country").

Another person with many connections to France shared an image that read: "*Je Suis Charlie. Rassemblement citoyen à 19h, Place de la République à Paris pour la liberté de la presse, la démocratie, la République / SOLIDAIRES / CHARLIE HEBDO*" ["I am Charlie. Citizen gathering at 7pm, Place de la République in Paris for the freedom of the press, democracy, the Republic / Solidarity / CHARLIE HEBDO"]. He posted another that simply said "COEXIST" in religious symbols[8], with the tagline "*Triste attentat, évitons les raccourcis rapides svp – Coexistons*" ["sad attack, let's avoid fast shortcuts please – let's Coexist"].

News of the attacks reverberated across Twitter, perhaps even more forcefully. #CharlieHebdo became a trending hashtag within hours (awkward besides others such as "Coachella" and "Justin Bieber"). By the next day, #JeSuisCharlie was trending in Berlin (according to Twitter's Near You search option) as well as "Everywhere." Plenty can and should be said about the cultural politics of #JeSuisCharlie, such as how universalizing discourses of freedom and secularism deny the legitimacy of Muslim cultural citizenship in Europe. In the broader postcolonial context, European supranationalism—the project of building shared European cultural identity at the supranational scale—depends on Islamaphobic views of Muslims as Europe's monolithic, nonwhite "Other" (Boyer 2005, Bunzl 2005). I want to focus, however, on two aspects of how these events encapsulated place-making on social media.

Critiques soon erupted of #JeSuisCharlie, some coalescing around the counter-hashtag #JeNeSuisCharlie. This was less prevalent in my Europe-based newsfeeds than

11

another curious combination, however: #JeSuisCharlie and a campaign protesting

PEGIDA, a rightwing anti-Muslim group. PEGIDA[9] began demonstrating in Dresden in

October 2014, a few months prior, accompanied by the hashtag #PEGIDA. Thousands

had marched, recalling the protest movements of 1989 in Dresden and Leipzig which

helped trigger the *Wende*. Many appropriated the era's slogans, shouting "Wir sind das

Volk."[10] But the contemporary context relates more to the rise of asylum seekers in 2014,

owing to conflicts such as civil war in Syria.[11] The demonstrations sparked a

counterprotest and the hashtag #NOPEGIDA, attracting international headlines as

thousands more marched under slogans such as "You are Cologne—no Nazis here."

Notably, this slogan interpellates counterprotestors through a territorial identity as

citizens of Cologne. Cologne's famed cathedral turned out its nighttime floodlights in

silent protest, as did the Semperoper Opera House in Dresden and the Brandenburg Gate

in Berlin (the site of the Berlin #JeSuisCharlie gathering).

That week in January 2015, the hashtags #JeSuisCharlie and #NOPEGIDA

collided and became entwined in surprising ways. One person, Daniel, living in Cologne

but connected to friends in Berlin, had previously protested PEGIDA on Twitter. The day

after the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks, Daniel posted to Facebook saying: "the statements by

PEGIDA about Charlie Hebdo make me ill, sad, angry. I'm speechless," and shared a

version of the COEXIST graphic (Figure 2), on a blue background surrounded by yellow

stars (evoking the European Union emblem), and reading: "*Der Terror von Paris und Die*

Pegida-Seuche / coexist #nopegida NEIN zu Terrorismus! Nein zu Fremdenhass!" ["The

terror in Paris and the PEGIDA epidemic / NO to Terrorism! NO to xenophobia!"].

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

It seems contradictory to espouse #JeSuisCharlie while decrying PEGIDA, which is not to say one cannot protest anti-Muslim activism and denounce violent attacks. But many argued (often through #JeNeSuisCharlie) that anti-Muslim sentiment in Europe revolves around liberal, western logics of freedom, secularism, equality, and so forth, encapsulated by solidarity with *Charlie Hebdo*. Yet the same people, on social media, at protests, and elsewhere, expressed disgust with rightwing extremism and overt anti-Muslim, anti-immigration attitudes. Whether or not contradictory, these trends on Twitter and Facebook draw attention to something else: in addition to sentiments people articulated, images and hashtags circulated according to shared feelings of Europeanness. In this sense, I observed an emergent European transnationalism coalescing on social media, not necessarily through discourse or representations, but through shared ways of feeling at the supranational scale.

Annette, for example, had been living in Berlin for many years, but posted in English and French, addressing both a French-speaking audience (some living in France), and a broader audience imagined as international or transnational (especially in Berlin). She moved through communities at multiple scales—national French ones, local scenes in Berlin, transnational networks of music fans across Germany, the UK, and elsewhere. When Daniel in Cologne posted in English about #NOPEGIDA, a German movement, he addressed, and imagined, a transnational audience—yet most of his friends on Facebook are German-speaking. A music producer in Berlin similarly posted in English, addressing translocal music fans across Berlin, Moscow, Copenhagen and elsewhere: "I'm

concerned. Frightened and speechless. Now is time to become a political person." All posted in emotion-laden registers of sadness and dismay, deeply affected by the violence, while circulating images of peace and pluralism. Social media helped engender this emergent European transnationalism by circulating through—and generating—multiple spatial scales. This transnational formation stabilizes only temporarily, however, coming into focus at particular moments, and then fading. It took shape, moreover, in and through Berlin, a city where life takes place at many scales.

Conclusion

Finally, I want to return to a plaza in Berlin, to show how ethnography can bring into focus the production of space through—and on—social media. The evening of the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks, I went to the site of the demonstration at the French consulate. Most demonstrators had already left, and the neighboring Mitte district, of wide boulevards and grand imperial buildings, was dark and desolate. As I walked down Under den Linden, the tree-lined boulevard leading to the Brandenburg Gate, I passed a woman carrying a sign that read "#JeSuisCharlie," and was impressed by how quickly the hashtag became a printed sign. "Excuse me?" I tried, and then, "Pardon?" She turned, shaking her head until she responded, "Deutsch." She said she came from the assembly, but the police broke it up. A few people were still there lighting candles, and she offered me a tealight, saying, "you can light a candle too."

When I reached the French consulate, a concrete and glass building on Pariser Platz, I found the plaza mostly deserted. On the sidewalk, a small cluster of perhaps thirty people huddled around a shrine of candles, flowers, pictures—and signs that read "Je

Suis Charlie" (Figure 3). I overheard a woman ask in English what it was about, and a younger woman, apparently her daughter, recounted the attack. Others photographed the memorial, some with professional-looking equipment. It was so windy, though, that I had trouble keeping my tealight lit.

[INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE]

I describe this final scene to give a sense of how the #JeSuisCharlie hashtag spiraled through multiple spaces, linking them together in emergent configurations. Digital and social media become agents in creating social spaces, whether persistent virtual worlds, transient conversations on Facebook, or digital publics at multiple scales. Media have long generated publics and scales; what's new here is how social and mobile media weave together lives in shifting configurations. My interlocutors in Berlin and elsewhere, for example, rarely posted political comments or strong affective sentiments—save for occasional posts about upcoming elections or censure of a musician for right-wing extremism. The #JeSuisCharlie hashtag, which dominated social media briefly, circulated through—and helped generate—this emergent European transnationalism.

I offer this scale not as a stable geographic level between the national and the global[12], but the product of ongoing processes, intersections, and practices. #JeSuisCharlie came into being temporarily, ricocheted across Twitter, Facebook, and public plazas, then dissipated. Briefly, it fostered a shared European selfhood for a shifting urban middle class, at the supranational scale. The same people critiquing

PEGIDA and racist, right-wing anti-Muslim extremism equally defended the liberal views of *Charlie Hebdo*, a contradiction that underpins cultural citizenship in Europe.

Place, then, comes into being through multiple means, including (but not limited to) media technologies. Online versus offline are not adequate in this sense to describe the role of emerging media in constituting social worlds. Social and mobile media, however, make possible experiences of place in novel ways, allowing the same people to move between addressing co-nationalists on Facebook, organizing events in Berlin, and fostering shared European feeling and solidarity. Digital ethnography makes it possible to trace these placemaking processes across contexts, calling attention to how space and place are virtually *and* materially constituted, inseparably, as Paul Dourish and Genevieve Bell (2007), Heather Horst and Daniel Miller (2012), Sarah Pink et al. (2016) and others explore.

Localness in Berlin can take place on Facebook event pages, through urban redevelopment projects, and through specific ways of living and being. Yet the same emerging media platforms equally generate social worlds at other levels, from national publics to shared Europeanness (predicated, as many have shown, on excluding Muslim Others). Common European feeling was articulated verbally and through imagery, in affective registers I rarely observed otherwise. These social worlds come into being not only through discourse, but also through shared feeling and sensing. Just as emerging social worlds unfold across media, means, and contexts, I contend that media practices are simultaneously meaningful and material, shaping lived worlds—and places—in singular yet iterative ways.

References

Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2005. *Dramas of Nationhood: The Politics of Television in Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Anderson, Ben, and Paul Harrison. 2010. "The Promise of Non-Representational Theories". In *Taking-Place: Non-Representational Theories and Geography*, edited by Ben Anderson and Paul Harrison, 1-36. Burlington, VT; Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Farnham.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. London; New York: Verso.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press.

Baym, Nancy. 2010. *Personal Connections in the Digital Age*. Malden, MA; Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Berdahl, Daphne. 1999. "(N)Ostalgie" for the Present: Memory, Longing, and East German Things." *Ethnos* 64(2): 192–211.

Bernal, Victoria. 2006. Diaspora, Cyberspace and Political Imagination: the Eritrean Diaspora Online. *Global Networks* 6(2): 161–179.

——. 2014 *Nation as Network: Diaspora, Cyberspace, and Citizenship*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Boellstorff, Tom. 2008. *Coming of Age in Second Life: an Anthropologist Explores the Virtually Human*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

boyd, danah. 2014. *It's Complicated*. Yale University Press.

Boyer, Dominic. 2005. Welcome to the New Europe. *American Ethnologist* 32(4): 521–523.

Brenner, Neil. 1998. Between Fixity and Motion: Accumulation, Territorial Organization and the Historical Geography of Spatial Scales. *Environment and Planning D* 16: 459–481.

___. 2001.The Limits to Scale? Methodological Reflections on Scalar Structuration. *Progress in Human Geography* 25(4): 591–614.

Bunzl, Matti. 2005. Between Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Some Thoughts on the New Europe. *American Ethnologist* 32(4): 499–508.

Castells, Manuel. 1996. *The Rise of the Network Society*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Clifford, James. 1992. Traveling Cultures. In *Cultural Studies*, edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A Treichler, 96-116. New York: Routledge

Ellison, Nicole, Charles Steinfield, and Cliff Lampe. 2006. Spatially Bounded Online Social Networks and Social Capital: the Role of Facebook. In *Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the International Communication Association*, June 19-23, Dresden, Germany.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2007. Nationalism and the Internet*. *Nations and Nationalism* 13(1):1–17.

Florida, Richard. 2004. *The Rise of the Creative Class: and How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Graham, Mark. 2013. Geography/Internet: Ethereal Alternate Dimensions of Cyberspace or Grounded Augmented Realities? *The Geographical Journal* 179(2): 177–182.

Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson. 1992. Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the

    Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1): 6–23.

___.1997 Ethnography at the End of an Era. In *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in*

    Critical Anthropology, edited by Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, 1-15. Durham,

    N.C.: Duke University Press.

Harvey, David. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry Into the Origins of*

    Cultural Change. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hayles, N. Katherine. 2004. Print Is Flat, Code Is Deep: the Importance of Media-

    Specific Analysis. *Poetics Today* 25(1): 67–90.

Hesse, Kurt. 1990. Cross-Border Mass Communication From West to East Germany.

    European Journal of Communication 5(2): 355–371.

Kraemer, Jordan. 2014. Friend or Freund: Social Media and Transnational Connections in

    Berlin. *Human-Computer Interaction* 29(1): 53–77.

Lambek, Michael. 2011. Catching the Local. *Anthropological Theory* 11(2): 197–221.

Lee, Helen. 2007. Transforming Transnationalism: Second Generation Tongans

    Overseas. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 16(2): 157–178.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass.:

    Blackwell.

Low, Setha. 2014. Spatializing Culture: an Engaged Anthropological Approach to Space

    and Place. In *The People, Place, and Space Reader*, edited by Jen Jack Gieseking and

    William Mangold, 34-38. Routledge.

___. 2009. Towards an Anthropological Theory of Space and Place. *Semiotica*

    2009(175): 21–37.

Mankekar, Purnima. 1999. *Screening Culture, Viewing Politics: An Ethnography of Television, Womanhood, and Nation in Postcolonial India*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Mandel, Ruth. 2008. *Cosmopolitan Anxieties: Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Marston, Sallie. 2000. The Social Construction of Scale. *Progress in Human Geography* 24(2): 219–242.

Marston, Sallie A, John Paul Jones III, and Keith Woodward. 2005. Human Geography Without Scale. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30(4): 416–432.

Massey, Doreen. 1993. Power Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place. In *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, edited by Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam, George Robertson, and Lisa Tickner, 59-69. Routledge.

Mazzarella, William. 2004. *Shoveling Smoke: Advertising and Globalization in Contemporary India*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Miller, Daniel, and Don Slater. 2000. *The Internet: an Ethnographic Approach*. Oxford, New York: Berg.

Munn, Nancy. 1986. *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rapp, Tobias. 2009. *Lost and Sound*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Schnöring, Thomas, and Uwe Szafran. 1994. Telecommunications in Eastern Germany a Success Story of East-West Integration. *Telecommunications Policy* 18(6): 453–469.

Spitulnik, Debra. 1996. The Social Circulation of Media Discourse and the Mediation of

    Communities. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 6(2): 161–187.

Stewart. Kathleen. 2007. *Ordinary Affects*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Taylor, T. L. 2006. *Play Between Worlds*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Tsing, Anna. 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton, N.J.:

    Princeton University Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974.*The Modern World-System*. New York: Academic Press.

Weszkalnys, Gisa. 2010. *Berlin, Alexanderplatz*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Wolf, Eric. 1982. *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of

    California Press.

Zhan, Mei. 2009. *Other-Worldly: Making Chinese Medicine Through Transnational

    Frames*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Word count: 5235.

---

[1] See Weszkalnys 2010 on urban redevelopment projects and the production of public space in Berlin.

[2] Deutsche Demokratische Republik, or East Germany.

[3] Often used to refer to Turkish Germans and other immigrants, but here primarily American, British, and other Europeans.

[4] Similar to "Ostalgie," nostalgia for a (re)imagined East German past, especially consumer goods. See Berdahl 1999, 2000.

[5] See Katherine Hayles' "media specific analysis" (2004).

[6] Although I only maintain one account for both research and personal use, I create separate lists to view the posts of those whose practices I study.

[7] Some written quotes have been slightly modified to protect confidentiality.

[8] Long a favorite of US bumper stickers in the 1990s, mostly referring to religious pluralism.

[9] "Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes," Patriotic Europeans against the Islamicization of the West.

[10] "Anti-Islam 'Pegida' march in German city of Dresden," *BBC News*, December 16, 2014, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30478321 (retrieved November 6, 2015);

Deardon, Lizzie, "Germany anti-Islam protests: Biggest Pegida march ever in Dresden as rest of Germany shows disgust with lights-out," *The Independent*, January 6, 2015, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-anti-islam-protests-biggest-pegida-march-ever-in-dresden-as-rest-of-germany-shows-disgust-9959301.html (retrieved November 6, 2015). In 1989 many had shouted "Wir send ein Volk," (we are one people), though many East Germans contested this sentiment.

[11] Hudson, Alexandra and Hans-Edzard Busemann, "Cologne Cathedral to turn out the lights in protest at anti-Muslim march," *Reuters*, January 2, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/02/us-germany-immigration-idUSKBN0KB0KU20150102 (retrieved November 6, 2015).

[12] See Mei Zhan on the translocal not as a scale but as a process (Zhan 2009).