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# Online Spatialisation and Embodied Experiences: The London-Based Chinese Community

Tingyu Kang

*This paper examines the networked reproduction of migrants' homeland not as virtual but as embodied spatial experiences. Using ethnographic methods, this research is based on participant observation of two main associations for Chinese professionals in London and semi-structured interviews with their members. It is found that the Internet is used by the migrants to construct three key embodied elements of the spatial experiences of the homeland. Firstly, the vicarious travel of the body is enabled through the digitised spatial arrangements of a Chinese locality that are meshed into migrants' spaces of daily life in London. Secondly, migrants' everyday temporal-spatial practices mimic those of their homeland via live online streaming tools. Finally, bodily practices and embodiments that reproduce a Chinese family space are also enabled by Internet use as video-conferencing and live video-sharing allow for transnational bodily contact.*

*Keywords: Body; Diaspora; Embodiment; Internet; Migration; Space; Transnational Families; Transnationalism*

This paper focuses on the bodily centred spatial experiences of migrants that are produced through Internet use. It identifies three key elements of the embodied cognition of computer-mediated activities: the vicarious travel, the temporal-spatial practices and the bodily encounter. I examine these aspects of users' bodies from an offline grounded perspective. In so doing, I argue against a popular perspective in existing diasporic Internet studies that views migrants' Internet use as built mainly upon hypertextual interaction which largely replaces the geographically grounded bodily practices.

I begin with a discussion of the theoretical background that has conceptualised both the Internet and migration as annihilating the importance of spaces, places and

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territories in today's world. I then identify how this theorisation serves as a basis of the literature of virtual bodies, which explores the intersection of bodies, embodiments and the Internet by focusing on avatars and online body images. This study seeks to add to the literature through demonstrating how Internet-mediated bodily experiences can be discussed from an offline-based, geographically-grounded perspective. I draw on theorists who challenge the binary conception of the Internet and demonstrate examples of an offline approach to the computer-mediated bodily practices.

The findings in this paper demonstrate the key aspects of networked embodied experiences in diasporic everyday Internet use. Each of these practices plays a key role in shaping spatiality and territoriality. In regard to vicarious travel, the diasporic informants reproduce the landscape of their home territories through viewing and displaying digital photos of their country of origin in their daily living spaces in London. On bodily practices surrounding time differences, the informants use various real-time Internet tools to reproduce the temporal-spatial experiences of those in their homeland by participating live in events taking place in their homeland. Finally, bodily encounter, bodily practices and embodiments that reproduce a Chinese-style home space are also enabled by Internet use such as video-conferencing and live video sharing to allow transnational bodily contact.

#### *Diasporic Spatial Experiences, Bodies and the Internet*

For diasporas, nationalistic sentiments are not necessarily intertwined with their presence in the home territory. Anderson (1991) coins the concept of imagined community and argues that the sense of collectiveness and belonging to a nation is imagined rather than based on actual face-to-face interaction within a finite geographical boundary. It is in this sense that he portrayed diasporas as long-distance nationalists who are new subjects produced by the intersection of mass migration and mass communication. As Appadurai (1996: 21) has written "the emergent nationalisms of many parts of the world may be founded on patriotisms that are not either exclusively or fundamentally territorial". The cultural attachment to the homeland among the diasporas is marked by its lack of actual experience with the homeland and a shared placeless imagery of it. Digital technology serves as an important tool for migrants' cross-border imageries of their countries of origin. Thus it is maintained that place-based experiences are gradually dissolved by wired communication; that is, cities become spaceless while distances are transformed into digital numbers (Marvin 1988, Pawley 1995, Naisbitt and Aburdene 1999).

Rheingold (1993) coins the concept of 'virtual community' and demonstrates that with online tools, individuals now form online sociality, which serves as a virtual version of the geographically based conventional community. According to Rheingold, this process produces a feeling of 'telepresence' which brings about a 'physical immateriality of place', viewing online sociality as something of a immaterial, disembodied replacement of the users' physically grounded social activities.

This theorisation of the Internet is popular with recent empirical studies of diasporic Internet use. When exploring migrants' collective online practices, research tends to view the ethnic online community as an ideal placeless replacement of their geographically based ethnic sociality. Mallapragada (2006) analyses the imagery of homeland on diasporic homepages, illustrating the analogy between the physical location of homeland and the virtual location of homepage. Other authors focus on virtual religious or cultural practices and explore websites where migrants practice religion collectively. It is argued that these websites offer a ritual space which serves as an alternative to traditional geographically based religious places when collective ritual practices in the sacred places in the homeland are not viable for diasporas (Helland 2007). These studies offer insight into how diaspora constructs online spaces for cultural practices in order to compensate for their inability to act collectively in place-based settings. In so doing, it implies a separate conception of real and virtual space.

In a similar fashion, Mitra (2006) examines the case of the Indian diaspora and found cybernetic space offers a 'safe' alternative living space where marginalised immigrants can find a voice. As collective ethnic cultural practices are often marginalised in physical public spaces, they consider these geographically grounded practices unsafe. Mitra highlights the close tie between place-based and Internet-based diasporic practices by demonstrating that the sense of belonging to a virtual space is only produced when the person is placed in the unsafe offline environment of the destination country. This perspective, however, still largely portrays the virtual as something that is more or less a replacement of the real and is a mere simulation of the physical. Graham (1998) argues that this conception tends to view what happen online as a substitution of the offline, masking the fusion between virtual and place-based practices. Instead of substitution, it is the co-evolution of media technologies and geographical places that requires further discussion (Graham 1998; Thrift 1996).

This binary theorisation of the online and the offline prevails not only in diasporic Internet research. It also serves as a basis of a popular approach to the studies of bodies, embodiments and the Internet which focuses on the concept of virtual bodies, from bodies constructed in online role playing games such as Multiple-User Dungeon (MUD) to the uploading of body images to the Internet. It is argued that the anonymity of the internet and the new range of possibilities in the representation of the body have freed bodies from their conventional identities (Bassett 1997; Haraway 1990; Shields 1996; Turkle 1984, 1995). Through avatars and imagination, individuals use virtual bodies to create a new self that is liberated from their offline-based colours, genders, shapes and other bodily bounded categories (Slater 1998).

Whilst the above studies examine the virtual forms of bodies and embodiments within networked environments, this research explores how the Internet-mediated experiences of the body can be extended into users' offline spaces. Drawing on authors who criticise the binary theorisation of the virtual and the real, I develop methods that require researchers to be immersed in both networked and

geographically located social spaces (Graham 1998, Kang 2009, Miller and Slater 2000, Parham 2004, Van den Bos and Nell 2006, Woolgar 2002).

Expanding from this perspective, I highlight the concept of embodied spatial experiences to develop an offline-grounded approach to the Internet-mediated practices of the body. Focusing on the context of diasporas and transnationalism, this study explores several key aspects of bodily practices when the diasporic users participate in networked activities, from video-conferencing, online images downloading and displaying to the practices surrounding time mediated through live streaming. These are experiences simultaneously situated in the networked and the physical environment. What a user encounters and does on the Internet is simultaneously what he or she does in a physical place—be it an Internet café, a living room, an office or a street, which should not be reduced to hypertext-based interaction. There is, hence, continuity between an Internet-mediated spatial experience and the user's daily embodied geographical practice. Thus, the role of the body and the bodily based perceptions of the space is critical in the analysis in the studies of the junction of space and the Internet.

### *Methods*

This research collected data through participant observation, 53 semi-structured interviews and various informal talks with the informants. The findings reported in this paper are part of a three-year study that explored Internet use of ethnic organisations of London-based Chinese professionals. This ethnography is based on two organisations for Chinese professionals in London. I chose these two organisations because they distinguish themselves from other associations in both their theoretical and empirical features.

There are various organisations for overseas Chinese targeting different sectors within the broader group of the Chinese diaspora. Some recruit older Hong Kong Chinese, mostly in the catering business; others target younger, second-generation Chinese from other parts of Asia. These organisations brand themselves as associations for mainland Chinese professionals. Mainland Chinese require particular attention from studies of Chinese diaspora in the context of Britain. Existing studies on the Chinese community in Britain have long focused on Hong Kong Chinese and their organisations (Ng 1968, Watson 1977, Lynn 1982, Benton and Pieke 1998). In particular, they focus on Hong Kong born workers in the catering business that migrated in the 1960s when Britain was in need of catering labour, or expatriates transferring within companies that connect Britain and Hong Kong as a result of colonial ties (Cheng 1996). This research focus has been justified by the size of the particular subgroup and its theoretical significance to British colonial history. Yet, with the rapidly growing influx of a mainland Chinese community in Britain in recent years, it is important for current research to explore co-ethnic establishment among this subgroup and not mask the distinction across Chinese sub-ethnicities. It is worth examining migrants who have ties with the government of the People's

Republic of China, its communist past and the transforming economic and social presence.

Among the new wave of mainland Chinese arriving in Britain in recent years, the majority migrated for higher education and professional training, and eventually settles in the socioeconomic sector of white-collar professionals. This sample are composed of a new wave of Chinese migrants who came to Britain as a result of mainland China's recent reform to migratory policy. The amended policy is underlined by mainland China's economic growth in the past decade and hence its neoliberal need and ability to have its population receive education and training in a Western country.

This group is also of particular significance in the discussion of Internet use. The informants are professionals in their prime age performing a wide variety of city jobs, from engineers, legal services, business consulting and accounting, to finance. This younger and narrow range of informants' age mainly results from the fact that mainland Chinese professionals in Britain migrated only in recent years. The number of mainland Chinese professionals and students in higher education who eventually become professionals in Britain rose only recently-after the mid-2000s-as a result of China's economic prosperity (Biao 2005). They are, hence, the most tech-savvy users and the ones most exposed to Internet-mediated environments. The co-ethnic sociality among members of the organisations is primarily technology-informed. This group of informants spends long hours connected to the Internet both at work and in their leisure lives. They demonstrate strong competency and dependence on digital technologies.

This sample has its internal heterogeneity. The number of men and women in the fieldwork are approximately the same. It also includes individuals with various migratory backgrounds. About one-fourth of the informants with whom I spoke migrated after they obtained a college degree in China; they arrived in the UK for postgraduate studies or work. Compared with the rest of the informants who migrated at a younger age, these informants demonstrate less Westernised lifestyles, less proficiency in the English language and more social bonds with co-ethnic friends; they are also less likely to acquire a British nationality. Some informants migrated directly from mainland China while others have lived, studied or worked elsewhere, including several popular immigration destinations among Chinese emigrants such as Singapore, Malaysia and New Zealand. Compared with those directly from mainland China, the latter group tends to maintain cultural, social and familial ties with multiple localities and, hence, participate in transnational communication with more diverse destinations.

I immersed myself not only in a wired space but also in various geographical places in London. I participated in the events of the organisations, observing how Internet use is discussed, articulated and embedded in these social scenes. I received event information online and analysed their group dynamics on the web, including their Facebook pages, Googlegroup pages and the organisation websites. I then participated in their gatherings in various places in London, met more informants

mainly at these events, and maintained contact with them through both online tools and further face-to-face social gatherings. In addition to the events held by the Chinese diasporic organisations, I joined the informants and participated in a number of events hosted by Chinese government officials for London-based Chinese professionals with the organisations as partner organisations. I was immersed in the online spaces where communication between officials and informants took place, including the websites of each governmental office, Facebook pages of the partner organisations of these government-hosted events and the discussion spaces on these web pages.

I also obtained information regarding the informants' practices of family communication. This was mainly from interviews and conversations with them. In some cases, I observed the informants' Internet-mediated communication with overseas family members by staying by their side when they had online videoconferences with their families, using mainly SKYPE, MSN Messenger and QQ. I also sought to be immersed in the online spaces of transnational family bonding, such as the informants' weblogs which their family members view and sometimes commented upon.

### *The Vicarious Travel of the Body*

Most informants constantly visit blogs of families and friends in China and download and display these electronic photos in their living spaces. These electronic images serve to insert the spatial arrangement of the Chinese family culture into the informants' homes in London, thus facilitating the vicarious travel of the body. An informant, Luisa, has left home for more than ten years and told me her daily visit to her family's blogs constitutes a central part of her spatial arrangement at her home in London. She showed me the photos she downloaded or displayed during our interview at her London-based flat.

One photo she downloaded and displayed in her room was taken at her grandfather's birthday in her family home in China. In this photograph, her extended family wore colourful clothing and sat around a round dining table in the dining room, which is a ritual of birthdays and family reunions and signals the happiness and longevity of the family. Another photo that she once chose as her desktop image on the computer, was taken during her last visit home and showed her and her sister decorating the front door of their family home in China with Chinese calligraphy written on red paper—a style of home decoration celebrating New Year.

The informant acquires these digital images not mainly because of her need to replicate homeland-style spatial arrangements in her personal space in London, such as door decorations or table layouts. It is, more significantly, because of her emotional attachment to images of kin and family activities in China. In so doing, the layout of a Chinese home and the spatial arrangements of traditional Chinese events are brought into the informant's London-based room. Migrants away from the homeland are now using the Internet to rapidly and efficiently bring the locality of

their home culture into their living rooms in London. A vicarious travel of the body is thus enabled for a digitised version of the homeland is brought into the informant's London-based home spaces.

In addition to blogs, websites that offer the digital versions of the landscapes of informants' homelands are also popular. Ed, for instance, bookmarks several websites that provide photos of the latest developments in Qingdao, his home town in Northeastern China:

Ed: I watch photos of Qingdao. There is a website where you can find photos of several places in Qingdao and obtain updated images of its latest developments, buildings and so on. It's called Qingdao news net. It's in my bookmark menu on my PC at home. I watch it and check the website quite often. I am from Qingdao. I only go back once a year. In recent years, it has grown so fast. I'd like to know how it looks like now. Otherwise I can't even recognize where those places are these days. New buildings, new developments, everything is changing. (Male, 26, Accountant)

Being diasporic, he emphasised the constant need to access the visualised landscape of his home town. Unlike Luisa, who views the spatiality of the homeland as knitted with Chinese kinship and family, Ed highlights the emotional attachment to the landscape of home with a discourse that emphasises the economic development of his home town. Ed demonstrates how the rapidly changing Chinese economy has led to the changing landscape of Qingdao city, which gives rise to his constant need to display the digital photos of the current Qingdao and to integrate these images into his personal time and space in London. The experiences of vicarious travel of the body are thus created through his visit to the website.

The transnational reproduction of the visual form of a locality via the Internet not only takes place in London but also in the informants' home towns, where their families experience the migrants' diasporic lives and surrounding environments by using the Internet. Several informants' families regularly view their blogs and photoblogs, not only to monitor and view the informants' daily lives but also to obtain the surrounding geographical experiences. Julie migrated to the UK in her teens but has maintained frequent contact with her extended family in China. She explains that her grandparents view the photos of her trips to Europe and various tourist destinations in the UK not only to maintain intimacy with her but also because the older generation in China has less mobility and seldom travel abroad due to political, economic and health reasons.

Julie: My family likes to read my blog and watch my photos in the UK. Sometimes it's not even in the UK. They also enjoy the photos of my trips to other European countries. ... My grandparents are too old to travel around and they didn't have the chance to travel abroad when they were young so the only way for them to know what my life is like now is through those photos. Some of them are very famous tourist destinations which they have been seeing on TV but never get a chance to visit. (Female, 24, IT Manager)



The use of the Internet compensates for the lower mobility of the older generations in transnational families. The visual form of communication offers an opportunity for vicarious tourism so that the younger, mobile migrants share their geographical experiences with less mobile members in transnational families.

Huan similarly describes how his parents express their constant need to obtain his digital photos in London in order to keep themselves updated about his daily life abroad:

Huan: I never write letters or send things home. So online photos becomes the only way for them to see what is going on with me in London. They view my blogs regularly. And they download photos of significance and hang them in the living room. Things like my graduation ceremony at the LSE, my birthdays, the photos we took together at the airport. It's their way to say that I have a son but he is temporarily not here. When friends visit, they'd proudly explain the photos to the guests. It's basically a way of saying my son is in England. . . . Having a child working abroad is considered worth showing off. It's what parents do. They don't have many opportunities to go abroad. When their son does, they think of it as an honorary thing in the family. (Male, 31, Financial Analyst)

Downloading digital photos of Huan in various London locales at several significant events serves as a way for his parents to signal simultaneously his absence and presence in the family. That is, Huan's family in China constantly download the photos that highlight his current locations in London, which signals his physical absence, and yet integrates these images into their living room at home, which reaffirms his presence as a member of the family symbolically. This use of the Internet by his family in China, like what the informants in London do, serves to bring the spatial experiences of overseas family members into their home territories.

Furthermore, the display of the digital photos of the informant's life abroad also serves to signal the mobility of this family, which then functions to signal the social status of the family. As the parents' generation tend to lack mobility and the experiences of travelling and living abroad, having a son with increased mobility is hence celebrated for its symbolic meaning of earned social status. This mobility is thus demonstrated through visualising various locales in England where the informant visits and through the spatial arrangements in the family house in China that integrate and display the visualised mobility.

### *The Temporal-Spatial Practices of Chineseness*

In addition to bringing to London the visual experiences of the homeland, the Internet assists the informants recreating the practices of the Chinese time, which functions to construct an embodied experience of a Chinese space. Online radio broadcasts reproduce the Chinese time zone in migrants' living rooms in London. The differentiating effects of time differences in dissecting spaces diminish. The migrants' homes in London thus become spatial extensions of places in China. Informants emphasise their experiences of watching sports games in this context.

Several of them describe the experiences of watching ball games in China through real-time radio broadcasting on the Internet as “actually living in the Chinese time zone”. While sports games usually take place in the afternoon and evening in East Asia, it is around mid night and early morning in England.

Other peer-to-peer applications and video-sharing websites are also adopted by the migrants to produce a transborder temporal-spatial experience and the bodily practices situated within it. These online tools transmit cultural products from China with no or little time difference, thus allowing the migrants to live in a Chinese cultural zone without experiencing the temporal-spatial distinction between the homeland and the destination locality. Fuya’s example highlights this:

Fuya: I watched Chinese New Year special TV show this year. We watched it live. A lot of websites do that. TudouWeb, YouTube, and so on. We used PPStream. There were fireworks every year. It is the highlight of Chinese New Year. It’s a must. . . . We also watched Chinese drama. I like historical dramas, my girlfriend watched those love stories. She still follows them because she is a student. She watches it every day late afternoon or evening in the UK. By that time, Chinese drama of that day has been uploaded because of the time difference. I did that, too, but not now. It was when I was a student. I can only do that during weekends now. (Male, 31, Accountant)

The example of Fuya and his girlfriend identifies how the time difference between the country of origin and the destination country is experienced differently with Internet tools other than online radio, including video-sharing sites like YouTube and P2P applications such as PPStream and TudouWeb. Cultural practices that are closely knitted with temporal-spatial practices, such as the countdown celebration of Chinese New Year, are now experienced by diasporic Internet users without delay. The fireworks that mark a significant cultural event in the informant’s home town, Beijing, can now be experienced simultaneously online while they are in London; this highlights the ways in which the temporal-spatial elements of a built environment are transmitted and reconstructed in a cross-border locality. Yet, it should be noted that these temporal-spatial practices are sometimes compromised because of the informant’s daily life in London as a working Londoner.

### *The Transnational Management of the Body and Embodiments*

Disciplining and caring for bodies across distance are also enabled by Internet use. Internet tools, such as video-conferencing and digital photo viewing, have centralised the role of the body in transnational communication. A wide variety of spatial experiences and the social orders embedded in them involve bodily contact, especially in the space of intimacy. For migrants, the family space is one of the central fields where bodily contact is critical in managing social relations. The body serves as a medium for family members to express affections and experience intimacy. It is a key object of care giving and parenting in households.

Migrants demonstrate how a family space, which is largely defined and formed through body management, can now be produced and shared transnationally. Several informants suggested that by using video-conferencing, their overseas parents function as caregivers to monitor and look after their bodies despite the physicality of transnational situations. Charles's story is a typical example. He has been away from his parents since his early teens. He explained to me how parenting practices in his transnational family are accomplished increasingly online. When asked to compare phones and the Internet in family communication, he said:

Charles: I'd say the Internet is definitely better for two reasons. First, it is free. And second, you can use video-conferencing. The only downside of the Internet is that it is not very convenient in emergency.

Interviewer: What is it so great about video-conferencing?

Charles: Not particularly great to me, but it is a very useful function to my parents. I have been away since my teens and my parents have always been concerned about whether I can take care of myself and get myself decent foods and good sleep. My mum likes to use video-conferencing to make sure I am not losing weight. If I lose weight, she will go on and on reminding me what I should and should not eat. My dad also likes to use video-conferencing to check if my shirt is tidy so that I look well-mannered. (Male, 24, Doctor in Training)

Internet-enabled bodily contact in transnational families allows the migrants and their family members to practice a Chinese form of parenting, which, in Charles's case, is based on an authoritative paternal role and a caring maternal role that monitor the bodily practices of sons and daughters. The informant's father performs the role of a discipliner who supervises the overseas son's behaviours through visually monitoring his body. The mother serves as a caregiver who looks after her children's well-being, which can be determined through observation of the children's bodies. The key element of spatial experiences of family, that is, bodily encounter, is reproduced on the Internet, thus reconstructing a Chinese-ised space of family intimacy and care.

Most informants portray bodily care as a responsibility of the parents and understand the responsibility of a son or daughter to be maintaining visual/bodily contact with their parents in order for their parents to give care. Charles explained to me:

I maintain contact with my parents to keep them happy. That's the least I can do. They want to see me on MSN. I use MSN. They want to check if I am losing weight, I try not to look so on MSN. I don't make them worried. ... It's my parents, especially my mother, who want to use video-conferencing. I'm fine either way.

Charles's example indicates that while parents' main family responsibility is bodily monitoring and care giving, the overseas children's main family responsibility is practiced through submissive responses to the parenting requests, which include

shaping up their own body and communicating with the parents on time. There are also examples, however, suggesting that the informants also use the Internet to perform bodily care for the older generations in China. Chuan's story is an example. Video-conferencing has now been adopted by both himself and his parents to monitor the well-being of overseas family members:

Chuan: The strength of Internet tools is video-conferencing, I guess. My mother checks on me with SKYPE almost every day. She just likes to see if I am fine, and she feels like she can't be entirely sure unless she really sees me. I like video-conferencing, too. I'll look at my parents and tell them to take a rest if they look tired, or see if my grandmother is getting more silver hair and things like that. (Male, 25, Former Accountant)

Not only do parents' caring for sons and daughters rely on bodily contact, it is also essential to monitor the bodies of family members when caring for the older generations, particularly for ageing parents and other elderly family members.

These examples highlight not only the significance of the body and the visual form of communication in family but also the central role of the Internet in transmitting transnationally the spatiality of a Chinese-style family. Internet use reconstructs a Chinese family territory in the migrants' everyday lives in London through making bodies visible and manageable.

### *Concluding Remarks*

This paper examines three key embodied elements in forming diasporic transnational spatial experiences; that is, the vicarious travel, the temporal-spatial practices and the bodily interaction. I illuminate how vicarious travel, temporal-spatial practices and the bodily activities are enabled by Internet use. In so doing, I highlight the role of bodily centred experiences in forming Internet-mediated spatiality, viewing networked spatial experiences not as a disembodied, hypertextually built space but as continuous with the outside world. I focus on the key elements in forming Internet-mediated spatial experiences; these elements are cognised and articulated through the body and cannot be reduced to hypertextual interaction.

In regard to the vicarious tourism, migrants' use of digital photos of their families and homes in China has enabled frequent experiences of the spatiality of Chineseness. As the Internet guarantees a digital version of Chinese landscapes at low cost, access to the home territory of China becomes widely available. From the spatial arrangements of Chinese New Year in China to the city developments in the informants' home towns, the visualised landscape of the informants' homelands, which were previously absent from diasporic individuals' daily lives, is now hybridised into the physical environment of their daily lives in the destination country.

As to bodily practices surrounding time differences, online radio broadcasts, video-sharing services and online streaming tools function to transmit the temporal-spatial

experiences of the Chinese time zone into the migrants' everyday lives in London. To obtain live cultural products from China, the informants adjust their temporal-spatial practices in London. These practices serve to bring the Chinese time zone into the migrants' leisure time in Britain, forming Chinese temporal-spatial practices of the body.

Finally, on bodily contact and embodiments, bodily practices that conform to the Chinese familialism were previously impossible among diasporic individuals because of the physical distance. With Internet use and its video-conferencing capacity, the informants report a wide variety of bodily contacts that allow the re-emergence of the bodily performances of Chinese-style parenting practices and filial piety. As a result, a Chinese-style family space is constructed and shared transnationally.

It should be noted that this study is based on the white-collar section of the Chinese community in a metropolitan area. Less access and lower levels of digital literacy among migrants in less-skilled industries or outside the city may mean a large difference in accessing the homeland on the Internet. Furthermore, like all other studies on digital technologies, the material environment where the study is based is rapidly changing. While smartphones, augmented reality and other mobile network technologies were not popular at the time of this fieldwork, they are now of significance not only because of their popularity but also because they have prominent implications as to spatiality and geographical experiences. Future research may be required to explore further.

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