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EDITORIAL

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Somali diaspora and digital belonging: Introduction

ABSTRACT

This editorial introduces the theoretical framework, methodological approach and comparative themes of the Special Issue on 'Somali Diaspora and Digital Practices: Gender, Media and Belonging'. The Special Issue proposes to connect the notion of the Somali diaspora to recent advancements in communication technologies, exploring the ways in which the Somali, specifically Somali women, keep in touch locally, nationally and transnationally through different forms of everyday digital practices. In particular for Somali migrant women, the use of digital media is highly embedded in their gendered roles as mothers, daughters, reunited wives, students and professionals, who keep the ties with the homeland and diaspora communities in diversified as well as collective ways. The close analysis of empirical findings across different sites in Europe shows multi-sitedness, generation and urban belonging as central features. These issues emerge as findings from a large ethnographic fieldwork carried out across European cities (Amsterdam, London and Rome).¹ Ethnography offers an essential contribution in understanding social media practices as situated in specific social, geographical and political contexts, taking into account the intersectional dynamic of factors including gender, race, ethnicity, generation, religion and sexual orientation.

1. The ERC project 'Digital crossings in Europe: Gender, diaspora and belonging' (CONNECTINGEUROPE) led by Professor Sandra Ponzanesi was conducted among migrant women from Romania, Somalia and Turkey living in European main urban hubs (London, Amsterdam and Rome) exploring also the politics of home and the diasporic connections with the countries and sites of origin (i.e. Mogadishu, Bucharest and Istanbul) (CONNECTINGEUROPE) (Grant Number 647737). More info: <http://connectingeuro.peproject.eu/>. Accessed 11 April 2021.

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INTRODUCTION

The use of digital media to connect members of diasporic communities is an increasingly significant feature of contemporary global culture. The impact of information technologies has changed our perceptions of boundaries, which are no longer linked to geographical demarcations and physical markers in self-evident ways. It is more apt to think of nations as networks (Bernal 2014). Digital media allow the creation of a space that is neither here nor there, but can also serve as a space that is both diaspora and homeland at the same time, creating new possibilities for connection and disjuncture. These ruptures and connections are affective, social and political.

Diaspora, as characterized by a collective identification with a land of origin (Brah 1996; Gilroy 2004), is often marked by a strong ethnic group consciousness and sustained by an active network of social relationships with group members, at times with expectations of return to the homeland or of moving on to other diasporic sites (Clifford 1994; Safran 1991; van Hear 1998).

Within this constellation, the African digital diaspora has emerged as the subject of studies that investigate how digital media have come to play a central role in the ways in which African diasporas and communities reconfigure themselves in transnational migrant settings, connecting across sites of political activism and geographical distances. Social media platforms and 'home'-based websites facilitate connections that build on existing communities and diasporas with a national, regional, local, ethnic or religious focus. Digital media have also allowed new connections to be created between older diasporas, e.g. from the transatlantic slave trade, and newer, African diasporas. As Victoria Bernal points out in her introduction to the Special Issue on 'African Digital Diasporas: Technologies, Tactics and Trends' (2019), people in the African diasporas have strong ties and responsibilities to families, communities and political struggles left behind (Assal 2004; Bernal 2004, 2018). However, Africa is not a geographically bounded and limited space, nor is the notion of the African diaspora connected to a singular imagined community. Therefore, the notion of the African diaspora is not homogenous but instead very diverse and dynamic, as indeed migrations have scattered it across different continents and new generations have been born into diaspora. For this reason, African digital diasporas should be understood as entangled histories of a multiplicity of diasporas and transnational movements. Digital media have significantly transformed the ways in which the diaspora is practiced and sustained:

Africans on the continent and in the diaspora have been quick to embrace digital media. This may be because the forms of sociality fostered by digital connectivity are so conducive to long-standing African values and practices of sociality.

(Bernal 2019: 2)

What Bernal emphasizes as well is that we are not talking anymore about cybercommunities and separate virtual realms. The internet is not an extraterritorial space but an elastic and ambiguous space that supports new forms of imaginaries and multiple forms of diasporic belongings (Bernal 2018: 3). What is important to underline is that the internet is entangled and intertwined with the everyday. Digital media sociality is experienced as a continuum, though of course marked by the complex intersection of technology, spatiality and emotions, which takes into account different affordances and digital strategies (Ponzanesi 2020). As we write in another article:

digital diasporas are mutually constituted here and there, through bodies and data, across borders and networks, online and offline, by users and platforms, through material, symbolic, and emotional practices that are all reflective of intersecting power relations.

(Candidatu et al. 2019: 34)

This means that while it is important to pay attention to the specific affordances and properties of digital technologies and social media platforms, it is also essential to highlight the role of the users and the way people in the diaspora experience and appropriate digital media to shape their world. Ethnography becomes, therefore, an essential contribution in understanding social media practices as situated in specific social, geographical and political contexts, taking into account the intersectional dynamic of factors including gender, race, ethnicity, generation, religion and sexual orientation. This reveals the positioning within local and transnational groups, as well as bringing to the fore the different dynamics of power and resistance implied in the shifting relations between homeland, diaspora and cosmopolitan belonging.

There is clearly an increasing interest in studies of the African digital diaspora (Akinbobola 2015; Mutsvairo 2016; Chitanana and Mutsvairo 2019; Mutsvairo and Borges-Rey 2020; Stremlau 2018; de Bruijn 2019). The above-mentioned Special Issue on the 'African Digital Diasporas', guest-edited by Bernal, highlights the study of digital diasporas in relation to Ghana, Burundi, Eritrea, Nigeria and Black African communities in the United Kingdom. Though it is not meant to be exhaustive, it shows that there are studies extending the analysis to the African digital diaspora in specific locations. Yet there is a paucity of studies that address the Somali case in particular, with the exception of some wonderful work on the Somali diaspora in Australia, Italy and the United Kingdom (Gerrand 2016; Osman 2017; Gonelli 2018). Therefore, we make an intervention which is focused and specific yet resonates with larger debates on digital media and migration, including the African diaspora. As Osman writes in her preface to this Special Issue:

there is already a growing scholarly space of African digital diasporas, which examines how digital media have come to play a central role in the ways in which African diasporas and communities reconfigure themselves in transnational migrant settings. This special issue puts forward new directions in digital media and migration studies from a gender, postcolonial and multidisciplinary perspective.

(2021: 18)

Therefore, this Special Issue on 'Somali Diaspora and Digital Practices: Gender, Media and Belonging' proposes, in particular, to connect the notion of the

2. Somali migration has come in waves, with the first wave in the early 1970s, following the repression by the military regime in the north-eastern regions of Somalia first and later in the northern zones of the country. With the civil war and state collapse in the early 1990s, the numbers leaving increased dramatically. At least one-third of the Somali population is believed to have either fled the country or been internally displaced.
3. Siad Barre formally introduced the Somali Latin alphabet in October 1972.

Somali diaspora to recent advancements in communication technologies, exploring the ways in which the Somali, specifically Somali women, keep in touch locally, nationally and transnationally through different forms of everyday digital practices. It does so by studying how digital co-presence, enabled by new social media platforms and apps, allows people to establish multi-sited forms of belonging that cut across national, ethnic and 'clan' boundaries and reshape the sense of diasporic belonging and nostalgia for the troubled homeland. Digital connectivity allows the Somali diaspora not only to bridge distance through digital intimacy but also to renegotiate the memories and imaginaries of a national space that has undergone enormous conflicts and strife.

BACKGROUND

During the civil war in Somalia, a large proportion of the population was forced to flee their country. This has turned Somalia into a 'refugee-producing nation' (Hopkins 2010). The Somali diaspora is one of the largest groups scattered around the Global North and many other locations in nearby Africa and the Middle East (such as Kenya, Yemen and Ethiopia). The overall Somali community in North America and Europe is estimated at nearly a million, with a large concentration in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom.² Yearning for communication became a priority for Somali nationhood. Cheaper and more accessible forms of digital technologies have enormously facilitated the possibilities of staying in touch even in conditions of illiteracy, by resorting to Siri, WhatsApp calls and message recording techniques. The Somali community is in fact a community that boasts a rich oral culture and was very late in adopting a written alphabetical system.³ Digital technologies come into play in significant ways within these specificities, making the Somali diaspora very active online worldwide. This is also because civil strife in the 1990s coincided with the boom in internet technology, making Somalis quickly adapt technologies to their situational needs.

Social media communication did not replace traditional media usage, such as letter writing, phone calls or cassette recordings, but digital media clearly exponentially increased and intensified the opportunities for long-distance connectivity, as such digital media became widely available, easy to access, more affordable, ubiquitous and instantaneous. Along with remittances (Lindley 2010), media communication sustained at distance constitutes an essential aspect of the Somali diaspora. This is because the diaspora population is not only scattered worldwide but also feels compelled to reconstruct the broken homeland left behind. They participate in this national rebuilding through political influence and humanitarian aid but also by sharing collective imaginaries, often based on nostalgia, memory and reinvention of traditions. These are also highly mediated processes that need to be untangled and analysed. It is, therefore, essential to study the ways in which the many networks, connections and sentiments with regard to home and abroad have developed and changed through the use of digital media and, more recently, social media apps. This is particularly relevant for the Somali diaspora, which has relied on technology to stay connected at a time of national unravelling. Therefore, the Somali diaspora is closely intertwined with the recent advancements in communication technologies.

Whereas in Somalia itself relatively few people have the means to access the internet, the reverse is true for those in the diaspora. The majority of

Somali websites are,⁴ in fact, managed from outside of the country. The Somali who take advantage of the new communication technology, becoming gatekeepers and leaders within their communities in the diaspora, are overwhelmingly well educated and members of the elite. This has led them to organize in communication terms what Lee Cassanelli calls 'the factionalism of Diaspora' (2002). This extends to media production in general, with Somali TV channels, radio and podcasts being produced in the diaspora and strongly influencing cultural relations and politics back home. As Menkaus writes:

The Somali diaspora has historically maintained close connections with their homeland, as those who fled in the 1991 civil war still had relatives in Somalia. They feel a strong sense of duty to provide financial support to their relatives as well as contribute to the reconstruction of the country. The Somali diaspora makes a major contribution to the Somali economy and livelihoods through remittances, humanitarian assistance and participation in recovery and reconstruction efforts.

(Menkaus cited in Osman 2020: 589)

A look at the Somali diaspora in Europe and North America suggests some of the ways in which diasporic groups are linked to and shape the dynamics of conflicts (Issa-Salwe 2008). As Sassen points out,

electronic space is, perhaps ironically, a far more concrete space for social struggles than that of the national political system. It becomes a place where nonformal political actors can be part of the political scene in a way that is much more difficult in national institutional channels.

(Sassen 2005: 82)

Therefore, as Osman further writes:

The internet is also an opportunity to promote political identity and their point of view. The Somali websites that have sprung up in various parts of the world depict a deeply divided society, one that is at the same time both integrated and fragmented. Political events that take place at home are analysed and argued about by diasporic members internationally.

(Osman 2020: 590)

In this Special Issue we emphasize the non-binary nature of the Somali diaspora (not just 'home' vs. 'abroad'), and explore how the multi-sidedness of the Somali diaspora shapes identities and forms of belonging through circular forms of cultural production and socialities. People living in Canada, northern Europe or Kenya, to give some examples, are connected by many tangible and intangible relations, and at different levels, from the personal to the collective, from the private to the public. It is in the common use of diasporic Somali cultural productions, such as YouTube channels, music, videos, Instagram accounts and TV programmes, from Canada to Dubai and London, that Somali in the diaspora become part of a shared spaces of belonging that is rooted and localized in specific settings: nations, cities and neighbourhoods articulated through both online and offline interactions and activities.

4. In mid-2004, there were over 400 Somali websites, and it seemed that every so often new ones have appeared. For more recent data, see the website Digital2020: Somalia. <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2020-somalia>. Accessed 11 April 2021.

CONTEXT

The research findings emerging from this Special Issue come from the European Research Council (ERC) project CONNECTINGEUROPE ('Digital crossings in Europe: Gender, diaspora and belonging'; <http://connectingeuropeproject.eu/>). This project focuses on female migrant diasporas from Somalia, Turkey and Romania living in three of Europe's main metropolitan centres (London, Amsterdam and Rome) as hubs that connect different histories, waves and forms of migration – postcolonial, postsocialist and refugee. It analyses women migrants as 'connected users', and therefore as active participants in social media platforms. It focuses on migrant women for two reasons: firstly because of the increasing feminization of migration; and secondly because women are traditionally less visible in the public sphere. A study of migrant women's online practices allows us to tap into their everyday experiences and emotions, something that usually remains under the radar of the mainstream media and the public debate. How do migrant women stay in touch with communities, both close by and more distant? What forms do diasporic connections take online or via social media platforms? How are new forms of co-presence and digital intimacy sustained transnationally?

The focus on these three specific countries of origin is relevant for several reasons: (1) it makes it possible to address different patterns of gender migration and integration in Europe (colonial, labour and post-socialist) that account for Europe's imperial past, as well as post-war patterns of migration and processes of European integration; (2) it explores countries (United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Italy) that are major host countries of historically different migrant flows and have undergone several shifts in state multicultural policies; (3) it explores the dynamic of European cities, as well as emerging transnational cities (Istanbul, Mogadishu and Bucharest), as cosmopolitan hubs where difference and conviviality are often grafted onto each other, radiating from the local to the global.

Methodologically, this Special Issue foregrounds an ethnographic approach that emphasizes the everyday dimension of diasporic digital practices. The internet is not just a medium or platform with specific affordances, but a set of practices that emerge through the user's participation, focusing on people's experience and contributing to the production of an interactive digital sociality. Rather than focusing on the abstract capabilities and medium specificity of the internet, ethnography helps to understand digital media as part of everyday practices by situating it in particular contexts and revealing the socially diverse practices and engagements of different groups and generations. In particular for Somali migrant women, the use of digital media is strongly embedded in their gendered roles as mothers, daughters and reunited wives who keep the ties with the homeland and diaspora communities through specific digital strategies and tactics – in ways that we wanted to explore and focus on.

In her response to the Special Issue, Ilse van Liempt aptly writes that Somali women, more often than their male counterparts, possess and rely on formal mobility capital for mobility and residential purposes. Research that looks into onward mobility within the European Union, for example, shows that mothers play a crucial role in the decision making. Therefore, men do not exclusively determine the reasons and trajectories of migration, especially when women are the motor and economic support behind the transnational family chain of care and have a decision-making role in the upbringing and education of their offspring (van Liempt 2021: 93).

As Osman points out in her foreword, there are threads running through the articles of this Special Issue that exemplify how Somali diaspora women are reinventing themselves, exercising their agency, reconnecting with each other and establishing bonds of solidarity that have transnational impact. The multiple European cities that the project focuses on offer comparative insights, while commonalities can also be observed. The empirical work presented in this issue takes a bottom-up approach, focusing on 'everyday' diaspora women and their digital practices (Osman 2021: 20).

RATIONALE

The overarching question we ask is how digital media technologies have changed, facilitated, accelerated or complicated the ways in which migrant women sustain their practices of belonging in a transnational setting. As mentioned above, the various contributions foreground an ethnographic methodology that allows the contributors to detect, articulate and bring out the particularities of diasporic digital media use across a wide spectrum of Somali practices and contexts. The Special Issue draws on discussions of social media platform usage as having certain affordances that are revealed through the usage of the technology in practice. It aims to contribute to this work by highlighting how the Somali transnational spaces produced through particular patterns of mobility and immobility, gendered family norms and social dynamics of intimacy and affect are important for understanding how affordances of social media emerge, in particular within the intimate spheres of emotional relationships and everyday cosmopolitanism.

The Special Issue argues that we need to complicate the idea that social media platforms radically transform transnational social formations such as Somali diaspora, and challenge the notion that the impact of social media is uniform across cases. Specific examples are given of differences not only between cities, but also between communities and generations; these differences are related to the level of education, leadership role, family position, generational role, media literacy and savviness, age and political engagement.

In particular for Somali migrant women, the use of digital media is highly embedded in their gendered roles as mothers, daughters, reunited wives, students and professionals, who keep the ties with the homeland and diaspora communities in diversified as well as collective ways. Yet several common issues emerge that highlight the specificity and dynamics of the Somali diaspora and its engagement with digital practices based on the notion of (1) transnational multi-sitedness, (2) generational differences and (3) urban belongings. These are the themes that we bring forward and investigate in the opening article by Alinejad and Ponzanesi, 'The multi-sitedness of Somali diasporic belonging: Comparative notes on Somali migrant women's digital practices'. This editorial offers a comparative framework to the interventions made by Candidatu, Mevsimler and Minchilli. It draws from the main findings which emerged from the fieldwork conducted by the authors among over 60 Somali migrant women living in different European cities, specifically Rome, London and Amsterdam. The focus is on the entanglement of the Somali diaspora with digital technologies as part of their everyday lives. It magnifies in particular the role of Somali migrant women and the ways in which their digital practices and strategies shape spaces of belonging at the level of the city, and at the national and transnational levels. Though each article is the result of detailed ethnographic fieldwork and specific histories of

migration, there are common features that emerge and make a contribution to the debates on diasporic formations within Europe from a gendered perspective. The sub-questions that underline this comparative investigation are how transnational multi-sitedness, different generations and urban localities play a role in contemporary Somali diasporic formations and take shape through digital media.

In addressing these questions, the Special Issue draws on the multi-sited research project, which was designed to investigate the Somali diaspora within three countries and urban settings in order to understand how digital practices became part of migrants' formations of contemporary diasporic belonging. The potential of digital media to further connect different settled Somali communities to one another – and not only to Somali homeland territories – makes multi-sited interconnectivity particularly interesting to investigate in a migration case where a meaningful multi-sitedness is arguably already a defining characteristic of the diaspora. We situate the fast-changing digital media practices of the last decade within longer histories of disruption in colonial North–South media relations. As Karim reminds us in *The Media of Diaspora* (2003), the transnational media forms that emerged in the nineteenth century were the news agencies, developed in conjunction with telegraph, telephone and transport links between colonies and colonial metropolises as part of a project that enhanced the latter's sphere of influence and cultural dominance.

Our effort to trace some of the connections between sites of dispersion is, therefore, partly also an attempt to understand media flows that fall outside the historical North–South colonial directionality of mass communications. As our project's findings suggest, the digital enhancement of interconnections between diaspora sites is not taking place in any straightforward way. Like many diasporas, migrating Somalis have settled in multiple urban locales as communities that are visible to a greater or lesser extent. We thus embrace Cindy Horst's notion of 'multi-sited embeddedness', which highlights how the Somali people relate to multiple sites of belonging through their civic engagement. Horst's work has been influential in showing how experience of belonging operated across multiple national contexts rather than having competing binary loyalties between home and abroad. The articles by Candidatu, Mevsimler and Minchilli show in great details how multi-sitedness takes shape through digital media practices.

The question of generations is also essential to theorize different implications and applications of the term. Generation can be understood in the traditional way as age difference and as a demographic factor – the first and second generations of migrants residing in the hosting country – but also in relation to the chronological order of migration and settlement; i.e. the first, second or third wave of migration from Somalia to Europe, corresponding to different historical and political phases. However, we would like to understand generations also in terms of their transcultural and translocal modalities in order to avoid a progress narrative of what comes first or after and to accentuate the circular and disjunctive nature of migration with different relations between time, space and lifelines. It is a fact that there is a growing second generation of Somali migrants who have been raised in the hosting countries and who have very unstable and imaginary relations with their supposed 'homeland', which in many cases they have never visited. However, the different waves of migration and generations often come to coexist and to coalesce in the same urban space, connecting to global youth media in specific ways and activating dynamics of memory, nostalgia and national imaginary that are specific

yet similar across generations, from parents to offspring. These generational aspects are analysed by Mevsimler in particular, whereas Candidatu and Minchilli focus more on the different historical waves and how they impact and interact with local policies and neighbourhood politics.

The last comparative issue that we bring forward across the three articles is the question of urban belonging and translocality. The focus on digital media practices and the everyday acknowledges how spaciality plays a crucial role in the production of practices of belonging at the crossroads between the urban, the national and the transnational. The concept of translocality accounts for the ways in which national and transnational spaces become entangled in their co-constitution of situated everyday life-worlds that materialize in particular localities and urban contexts as well elaborated by Mevsimler in her contribution. Carpentier argues, for example, that while the urban has its own locally situated dynamics, media organize and transform the local through broader national and transnational formations (2007: 7). Locality is shaped at the level of the city in which the everyday lives and cultures of migrant women are articulated. Yet locality also takes into account the different scales through which diasporic women articulate their experiences and emotions, including through their use of digital media to negotiate urban, national and transnational belonging and the dissymmetry of power it generates. As Anthias writes:

a translocational lens attends to the spatial, temporal and scalar aspects within which intersections of power are embedded as well as the broader social context. The term translocational also denotes differential positionings and belongings across intersecting locations, and that these are not static.

(2018: 153, 2020)

Below is a short summary of the articles by Candidatu, Mevsimler and Minchilli which analyse more in details how digital media usage within the context of everyday practice takes place as part of local community formation, and the kinds of sociality that are produced on the scale at which everyday life activities occur.

The gendered role of Somali women as mothers, daughters and wives is articulated in the article by Laura Candidatu entitled 'Diasporic mothering and Somali diaspora formation in the Netherlands'. According to Candidatu, the practice of mothering can be seen as a key bond of solidarity between two distinct waves of Somali refugees in the Netherlands. This takes place through the formation of a diasporic association led by Somali women that supports women from the diaspora in making a life in the Netherlands, focusing in particular on their mothering experiences and practices. Candidatu uses the lens of 'diasporic mothering', which is understood as a site where difference and belonging are negotiated through work of cultural reproduction, collective identity construction and stable homemaking. Alongside issues of motherhood, the question of generational shift is also essential.

As Mevsimler claims in her article 'Second-generation British–Somali women: The translocal nexus of London and global diaspora', digital media allow young female members of Somali diaspora to gain agency and authority by representing who they are (and who they envision becoming) and by creating their own cultural sites of identity negotiation and representation. The article elaborates on how the second generation participates in youth-oriented

online global cultural spaces while being rooted in the local urban sites of London. This demonstrates that they use the internet and social media platforms to position themselves as urban dwellers in London and as members of the global Somali diaspora at the same time. Here, urban belongings and generational differences intersect with multi-sited practices.

Postcolonialism and 'colonial acculturation' are part of migrants' cultural capital, as Claudia Minchilli explains in her article 'Localizing diasporic digital media practices: Social stratification and community making among Somali women living in Rome'. Minchilli explores the different waves of Somali migration to Rome and the different generations that now coexist amidst different migration policies and educational legacies. She explores in particular how Somali migrant women in Rome assume different positionings within the local community through digital means. This reveals internal fractures or forms of solidarity shaping the landscape of the local field of Somali digital diaspora, contributing in specific ways to issues of generation, multi-sitedness and urban belongings as comparative features across diasporas in Europe.

Besides the four articles by Alinejad and Ponzanesi, Candidatu, Mevsimler and Minchilli, the Special Issue includes an illuminating foreword by Osman and an insightful response by van Liempt. Both scholars have written at length on the Somali diaspora, the problem of media and migration and the question of urban belonging. They provide both a great opening framework to the issues of the Somali diaspora within a transnational framework and a fitting close to the Special Issue with the indication of possible future directions and areas of attention. These outstanding contributions offer the best positioning of the Special Issue within the larger debates on digital media and migration, the Somali diaspora and women's strategies of empowerment and survival.

CONCLUSIONS

The use of digital media and everyday practices can be understood using the notion of conjuncture theorized by Stuart Hall. This is developed by Hall from Gramsci's ideas about how social change might be brought about by social action that is located within a specific historical moment and set of conditions. This includes the use of cultural theory not as a given but strategically, in order to produce meaningful cultural and political change. Hall was not interested in theory for the sake of theory but in theory as a set of localized, contested and conjunctural knowledge that always needs to be negotiated and debated in a dialogical way (Hall 1992: 286). In an interview, he elaborated on the notion of the conjuncture/conjunctural as indicating the tensions that emerge at the beginning of social change that includes the shift from everyday events to more structural and deeper causes of social and political change (Hay 2013: 16–17). This means responding to actual events as they are, in the here and now, and not according to how we might have wished they were. This in turn means placing people and the possibility of human agency and connections as central to and part of the conjunctural analysis (Dudrah 2015: 398).

This relates to the ways in which digital media and migration connect to the social and political dimensions of diaspora formations, urban dwelling and diverse forms of digital socialities. These ways do not stem from prearranged and ideal forms of communication, nor from the framing of digital infrastructure and the possibilities of affordances, but are forged by forms of entanglement and co-shaping between users and technology, finding their best expression in the everyday practices where there is agency and possibility

for empowerment. This is particularly true for migrant women who adapt to structures of power by articulating their responses according to local and transnational networks. They operate through their digital tactics that are continuous and contiguous with their offline world.

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