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An Approach to the Concept of a Virtual Border: Identities and Communication Spaces

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Abstract: This article presents an approach to the concept of border in cyberspace, analyzed as a place of communication and identity. Firstly, it explores the various dimensions of the border and specifies the role of geographical boundaries. The article later highlights the different aspects that define virtual borders, such as changes in the concept of borders provoked by the arrival of the Internet, ideas of memory and identity, national implications, virtual communities, and relationships between the external and cyber borders. Finally, a typology of virtual boundaries is proposed.

Keywords: Virtual border; cyberspace; communication; identity.

Summary: 1. Introduction. 2. The Concept of Border and its Dimensions. 3. Geographical Borders. 4. Virtual Borders. 4.1. Preliminary Considerations. 4.2. Identity, Nations and Virtual communities. 4.3. Some Problems. 5. Conclusions and a Future Proposal. 6. Bibliographic References.

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1. Introduction

One of the most powerful features of the process of globalization in which we are immersed, as the result of a synergy of economic factors on a world-wide level, is the possibility for immediate and permanent communication on a global scale: "cyber-communication."

This new form of communication allows real-time contact and interchange between members of communities whose identifying characteristics have little or nothing to do with traditional identities, which are fundamentally established for geographic reasons (proximity, immediacy, customs conditioned by the environment in which the community lives, etc).

This new space, "cyberspace," no less real than geographic space, is fostering the appearance of new communities – virtual communities– that are as real as traditional ones. We find a good example in the communities on Facebook. For this new type of community, the identifying characteristics grow away from questions of physical proximity or closeness and instead are united by affinities such as having studied at the same university, sharing a certain hobby or taste, supporting the same cause, etc.

Like any other community, the virtual community is also exclusive, given that it requires that any aspiring member meet certain requirements in order to join it, and excludes any individuals who do not meet them (the virtual community of university alumni, for example, would automatically exclude all people who had not studied at that university, for example).

This exclusive character of all communities delimits the range of their influence, and the point at which they enter into foreign territory; that is, where their borders lie. In the case of virtual communities, borders are also created –virtual borders– which, as we pointed out previously, do not align themselves with traditional borders but are nonetheless as real as geographical ones.

We find ourselves, then, faced with a complex reality in which a variety of borders intermingle: national borders, linked to geographic, economic, political and administrative features; with other transnational borders of a virtual nature, more centered on cultural aspects, which are found in cyberspace but still interact with national borders (as in the case of international terrorism).

The theoretical study and analysis of this reality constitute, from our point of view, one of the main challenges of our time. The attempt to capture a snapshot of this dynamic reality entails an essential effort to clarify and conceptualize, without which it would be impossible to establish sufficient parameters for the study of its multiple realizations.

In summary, we are undertaking a theoretical work that attempts to profile what types of borders virtual communities are inspiring. The primary objective of this work is, therefore, to carry out a typology of the virtual border.

2. The Concept of the Border and its Dimensions

First of all, it must be pointed out that the concept of the border is constantly changing. Nonetheless, it is no less true that, beneath these changes, and whatever the underlying concept of the term "border" has been at any given historical moment, it has always referred to a reality identified with nation-states. Currently, the predominant definition has been geographical, independent of all that the concept of a border encompasses; nonetheless it appears that, in the last few years, there has been a broadening of the concept that surpasses the traditionally accepted identification of the border. Thus every day the types of borders increase, giving way to new meanings, or shades of meaning, of the term, thus making it kaleidoscopic: diffuse or firm borders, territorial or identity borders, juridical-political borders, symbolic borders, cultural borders, etc., which, in our assessment, should make us reconsider the definition of the term within parameters that are not exclusively geographical.

Just as Medina García (2006) points out, it is necessary to distinguish different dimensions in the study of borders that currently mediate the concept:

a) The historical dimension: there are many ways in which nation-states' borders can be overcome. In many cases, this is at the request of the states themselves, and within the framework of international or transnational processes, which foster cross-border actions and dynamics. Such is the case of European legislation that affects nations belonging to the European Union.

b) The spatial-cultural dimension: this proposes the border as the limit of the territory in which a state can exercise its sovereignty or power. But at the same time, it is sketched out as a diffuse space between connected cultures or civilizations. Although space cannot be reduced to territory, territory "comes to form a structuring part of individual and collective memory; it is the consecrated land, the sentimental part of the territory, a medium for life experience and the symbolic representation upon which referents of identity are based, created, and recreated" (2006: 15). In this case, it is fundamental to know to what degree physical and mental borders converge.

c) The dimension of ideas: this dimension of the border concept is manifest in collective imaginaries, the visions we apply to an "us" and a "the others." It is here that barriers of a symbolic, religious, or ethical nature appear. It is also on this plane that border culture arises; this is a culture that sometimes permits and/or empowers complementary or interdependent relations, or others that foster the mixing of cultures, giving rise to a new culture. Border culture can also, sometimes, reside within conflict.

d) The normative dimension: This refers to the border in the framework of political order and power, the site of political organizations and the legal apparatus. It is from here that the very definition of borders is constructed and its treatment is theorized. On this point, a division between political borders and borderlands can be put forth.

e) The economic, material, and human dimension: this has to do with the economic component, the exchange of resources and goods, migratory flux, and contraband. In this sense, Boisier (2003) highlights the importance of border regions, defining them as "liminal sub-national spaces of neighboring countries, in which we find particular forms of relation and superposition of two (or more) economic systems (or styles) and of two (or more) different models of economic policy." On this point it is worth noting the importance of electronic commerce on a global scale.

f) The agential dimension: this is what takes place when we analyze the interactions, activities, emotions, and expectations of agents (individual or collective) implicated in these types of spaces.

Now that we have defined the dimensions from which we can approach the concept of the border, we will move on to examine its concrete manifestations; that is, geographic realities and forms of understanding the concept of the border in the present day.

3. Geographical Borders

The dimensions enumerated in the previous section can be grouped into two basic differentiated planes: geographical borders, identified with states, and symbolic borders.

The first of these planes, geographical borders identified with states, refers to geography, politics, economics, and the administrative sphere. These borders, while they separate different realities, simultaneously produce, in line with what Grimson (2005) points out, inter-border or trans-border spaces. These are spaces that produce power struggles implicating different territories and identities; they are also differentiated spaces, wherein conflicts are produced (or provoked), and which serve as a setting for inter-cultural or trans-cultural dynamics.

The second perspective, related to the symbolic, requires greater effort to demarcate given that it does not address a tangible or defined reality. From this plane, and taking as a point of departure the border's discursive conceptualization, the border, according to Rizo y Romeo (2006:37), is understood as much as "a limit or demarcation, which inhibits

communication as it constitutes a zone of resistance where the inalienable is defended" as a "zone of rupture, rendition, and negotiation of social and cultural identities, that is, a physical and mental space that is contaminated, hybrid, permeable, and 'disposed' toward integration." Thus, the border can be understood as a space demarcated by symbolic limits associated with social representations, whether they coincide with physical and official barriers or not.

In this second sense, the border could be conceived as a limitation that is mental or imaginary, constrained by variables such as time, space, actions, desires, identity, etc. The border thus becomes a zone in which "we" and "the other" are constructed, and which is in certain circumstances characterized by its permeability, in contrast to the rigidity of the geographical border.

Just as the spatial-cultural dimension of border pointed out by the previous section, in its cultural dimension the border is connected with historical and structural designs through which diverse modes of power and domination develop, requiring a space in which to be interiorized. Borders are highly complicated social spaces that require interactive and dialogic assumptions in order to be understood in their full extension.

In this manner, the border is connected to identity. Identity can be seen as the way in which individuals and groups define themselves at the moment of relating to one another (Vergara, 2006: 98), configured as a result of interactions fostered by social relations. It is a socio-cultural practice constituted in relation to one or more communities of reference (sharing interests, customs, traditions, etc), which propose a set of cultural premises. Thus, identity is generated based on a culture and a society, and channeled through the clash with other cultures and societies, which come associated with positive and negative values. And this clash necessarily assumes the existence of a sort of a border.

When Castells (2005: 16) makes reference to identity, he connects it to the modes in which it gives meaning to people's lives. From his point of view, neither the state nor the market is able to give meaning to or shape collectivities. In particular, the state has become more of an agent of globalization than a particular community, which in turn gives rise to other forms of collectivity that propose differentiated senses of comprehension, perception, and signification, giving rise to new identities.

Currently, the number of identities, in particular media-related identities, is such that the weakness of certain univocal forms comes to the fore. However, this can also produce the opposite effect: reinforcing the identities with greatest impact, such as national or religious identity.

From the individual sphere, the subject, who cannot continually make and remake his or her identity, does in fact transform itself in each situation, participating in an enormous number of identities, often in contradiction with one another. In Friedman's (2001: 38) terms, we are situated, within the process of globalization, in a general crisis that "consists of the weakening of previous national identities and the appearance of new identities, in particular the dissolution of a type of belonging known as 'citizenship,' in the abstract sense of belonging to a society defined by a territory and governed by a state, and its replacement by an identity based on 'fundamental loyalties,' ethnicity, race, local community, language, and other culturally concrete forms." This fact has an obvious concretization in the digital context.

National identity, which is one of the most pertinent forms of identity, is the most related to geographical borders. It also depends upon determined forms of explanation that come from the elites, normally as a result of the struggle of different groups to define national identity through different communicative and cultural institutions. These tools, in the service of cultural reproduction, enable the progressive slippage of particular versions of what can be called collective memory, and, consequently, of a particular sense of national identity, including the basic form of territory and borders.

Nonetheless, here we would like to point out that the nation is not only worthy of analysis as a political and social reality, but also as a discursive and symbolic entity, proceeding from and destined for "cultural representation," in interrelation with political structures (such as the nation-state, or regions) and oriented toward the management of the past and the future. As such it is also an entity that evolves constantly, and with the parameters that mark our time, it will also attempt to conquer the new borders that open in cyberspace.

Any nation arises as an imagined community that is structured based on borders. For Santiago García (2001), it is not enough to examine the nation through the consideration of borders; but from this consideration we can enter into the nation's hybrid nature, its "objective, social and discursive" dimension. And, at the same time, it clarifies the real, symbolic, and imaginary levels upon which national borders are configured. Despite the risk that conceptualizing groups, of any kind, responds more to an analytical category than to a cultural reality, it is appropriate to consider the border as a basic element in understanding nations and nationalisms. We must do so taking into account, nonetheless, that its imaginary is linked to family roots and to territory, projected into the past but also into the future.

In short, and in line with Newman's assertions, it is also pertinent to consider the physical lines of separation between states and borders in their discursive and symbolic dimension inasmuch as they are constructions that "are socially constructed (demarcated in the traditional jargon), managed (delimited) and impact our daily life practices in the newly created transition spaces and borderlands (frontier zones) which are in constant state of flux" (Newman, 2006: 173).

Today, borders are more elastic than previously. Thanks to different networks, they reflect changes and become more flexible, with a localization that is no longer specific. They are situated in a process of continual movement across societies, forming part of a process of "re-bordering" more similar to social interactions, to forms of ethnic or religious identification or to economic processes. However, these new reconfigurations do not always lead to the border's dissolution, but rather to its strengthening, resulting in forms of conflict.

In any event, we are dealing with borders that are constantly crossed, that are in movement, and that are witnesses to thousands of migrations. Physical borders that can disappear to give way to cultural borders, in the form, for example, of “ghettos” for immigrants. Borders that will also create “borderlands”, with their own geographic, social, and political idiosyncrasy. Areas of periphery and transition that configure themselves depending on the degree of openness or closure on both sides.

4. Virtual Borders

Next we will approach the idea of the border in cyberspace, using as a point of departure different related features that involve the consideration of spatial-cultural aspects, national and socio-political identity aspects, as well as memory, relevance to cross-border conflicts, etc.

4.1. Preliminary Considerations

In speaking of the virtual, electronic, or digital border, it is firstly essential to keep in mind that on the Internet, borders become thin or diluted. It would appear that, as Gómez Aguilar (2005:39-49) points out, these borders are less and less material and more and more symbolic. In this case, cyberspace has not only empowered this phenomenon but is also a good example thereof.

The Internet also presents a new form of understanding space itself, where it now appears as a concept that is simultaneously infinite and infinitesimal; that is, on one hand, space compresses almost infinitely up to an infinitesimal size (everything is at a hand's reach) and, at the same time, it expands infinitely (there is potential for infinite possible interactions and information that grows exponentially).

The same thing occurs with the concept of time in cyberspace. Here, we would like to distinguish, on one hand, the infinite acceleration which comes along with having an enormous amount of knowledge available at any time, with the necessary consequences of cognitive advances and progress; and, on the other hand, the unification and temporal slowing down in terms of generating a world order that makes us immersed on a global scale in the same moment of advancing knowledge. Both conceptual variations, the spatial and the temporal, have their consequences in different planes, personal as well as collective.

At the same time, with the Internet, some degree of corporeality is lost. As “cyborgs,” our limits are blurred, with the confusing background image of the body, despite its continual representation. In the same way, the presence of territory disappears, and is substituted by other forms of fastening or anchoring, such as virtual identity. From this point, taking advantage of cyberspace's potential, we see the option of social networks and virtual communities; these are not exempt from the power mechanisms that affect any social framework. In short, certain borders are replaced by others, but not always in relation to nation-states but rather as a function of other aspects.

Thus the Internet, and new technologies in general, set themselves up as a space where the key is the interaction of individuals and/or collectives, centered on the transmission of data (translated into music, economic transactions, viruses, movie downloads, or technical information), with borders that are, as a result, informational.

4.2. Identity, Nations, and Virtual Communities

Nations exist in cyberspace. Or at least this can be deduced based on various experiences described in literature about this particular phenomenon. In Tynes's (2007:497-518) opinion, they are defined as communities that communicate in cyberspace, whose discourse and collective actions' objective is the construction, linking, and maintenance of a nation that exists outside the Internet. At the same time, this community is partly made up of members in diaspora.

This is the case of *Leonenet* (structurally formed as a mailing list and a forum), which is constructed as a virtual nation rooted in a politically and geographically disintegrated state. Concretely, *Leonenet* presents itself as a communicative space in diaspora, where symbols related to Sierra Leone are conceptually generated and maintained in the hope that one day there will be a sufficient institutional structure for a return.

Tynes's study begins from two premises: in the first place, that cyberspace is a place to which we can turn for the construction of nations, thanks to the role that media and modes of communication play in the creation of imagined communities. In the second place, and despite the capacity for borders to break down, the Web also empowers a symbolic dimension: identity creation, in this case, of national identity.

In order to achieve this objective, all that is needed is the confluence of three aspects: work developed in the search for a concrete political project; a common line of signification and comprehension of reality; and, finally, the existence of a collective affective component. In this sense, Hylland (2006) affirms that the Internet has served as a basic means for the definition of collective identities, especially when they are not sustained by institutional or territorial identities – which translates, in the case of diaspora, into pro-independence actions (such as transnational Kurdish web sites) or the acceptance of one's adoptive country (Moroccans in different European countries).

Nations also seek their own territory in cyberspace. They do so in a discursive dimension, showing particular symbols to themselves and to others, with an eye to their own national identity. As Baker (2001) points out, nations construct, affirm, and deploy themselves by showing certain facets such as their history, art, and economy, while also using flags, maps, or news in order to make themselves virtually present.

But national identity is not the only mode of collective identity. In order to review the ample range of these collective identities, which is increasingly growing, we will briefly examine the classification proposed by Castells (2005). First, Castells takes up the concept of legitimating identities. That is, identities that construct themselves through institutions, primarily states, and that partly originate in different modes of imposition and repression. It is here that one would include different national identities such as the Spanish or French.

Secondly, we can speak of resistance identity. Here we are dealing with the identity of those collectives in which there is a growing sense of rejection and/or marginalization, either social or political. These collectives confront this situation through a corresponding identification. Some forms of national identity or indigenist movements, in many cases arising in response to globalization, also fall into this category.

Finally, we have project identity, which channels itself through self-identification with cultural forms and bases itself upon new cultural elements (here we include the feminist movement, or movements promoting the rights of nature).

In the same ways, each of these identities creates its own memory and its own forms of memorialization. Memory is presented as a key factor in the sphere of collective identities, especially national identity. In fact, the senses or meanings they propose are based on the mythification of the past in the attempt to naturalize it. And, memory is followed by the forgetting of a past that does not exist, but rather will be reconstructed through the discourses with which it will be represented.

Here we see the double significance of the Internet. On the one hand, cyberspace presents itself as a technological construction that is, and houses, human memory (itself a cultural practice), and which shows a clear ability to homogenize, reduce, and accelerate. The Internet is thus a space where the most varied modalities of cultural colonization and knowledge extend, diffusing into its interior. On the other hand, it is essential not to forget the influence of digital technology when the time comes to recognize ourselves and to determine our symbolic possessions which, in short, presuppose new forms of understanding the present and past world.

In cyberspace, diverse memories coexist alongside identities and nations, from official memory to clandestine. García Gutiérrez (2005: 43) proposes a classification of digital social memories: some based on ordering and evoking a common past, and others, on an individual or shared one:

a) Personal memories. Those that have a clear individual character, often in connection with the intimate or evocative sphere; and group memories, that transcend the individual, anchoring themselves in the emotive sphere – in the family, group of friends, or neighborhood.

b) Communitarian-territorial memories with a strong geographic or geo-symbolic base, where a place is the center of shared interests: affections, traditions, values, or purely economic interests.

c) Communitarian memories revolving around belonging, such as associations in favor of some social issue or another. Here the (open and dynamic) objective is what is shared, creating a proliferation of identifications; this therefore does not discount possible contradictions between bonds, for example personal ties. In the same way, with time the virtual takes on great relevance and value, opening up a variety of options for supplanting.

d) Social memories, among which should be included local, national, state and world memories (of political nature, religious nature, etc.) that are propagated by tools such as education.

4.3. Some Problems

For Halavais (2000: 7-28), it is very difficult to measure the impact of national borders on the web. Among the various difficulties, the first is the problem of determining where cyberspace begins and ends. Secondly, in dealing with a widely distributed network, it is also not easy to determine corresponding borders (in geographic terms) in light of the flow of information and faced with the lack of a central world authority on the issue. Perhaps we should speak of a new cultural geography. From Halavais's point of view, "legal borders – national and otherwise – emerge as social conventions. As such, they need not rely expressly upon geography. As the Internet becomes more socialized, law will develop that takes into account the new borders of cyberspace." Without diminishing the importance of different forms of digital gaps, his proposed argument centers on the distribution and (international) direction of hyperlinks.

Another question that arises when dealing with the idea of virtual borders is their relation to real borders. In principle, territoriality is a key concept for understanding the synergies between online interaction and offline space – an example we currently observe with the Iranian government's closure of certain sites for Iranian web surfers. Ó Dochartaigh's (2007:474-491) work provides another example: it deals with online interaction associated with the physical (and confrontational) borders that are drawn in the city of Belfast. In this case as well as the previous one, it is argued that, in a certain sense, the physical border gains importance and significance just as new technologies reinforce its role as a site for confrontation.

Through an analysis of different websites and messages relating to the conflict (on both sides) in Northern Ireland, and examining a few local districts that are significant in this question, Ó Dochartaigh observes that technologies also have a direct impact on the unfolding of different modes of violence; for example, allowing disturbances to occur at pre-determined times and in pre-planned venues. On the other hand, technologies have also been used to prevent the use of force, thanks to the establishment of communication channels by mediators.

5. Conclusions and a Future Proposal

As we have previously shown, Internet borders are diffuse. We overcome Internet borders in our daily lives, creating the sensation of a world without barriers, save for linguistic barriers. This is what we experience when we formulate a search in a search engine, which will look for information without first taking into account the territorial jurisdiction in play. But this absence of borders is not merely apparent, it is linked to communities that are real, not necessarily geographical, but certainly existent. In the distribution of information, the weight of the real community to whom information is addressed in each case is crucial. In fact, scientific, journalistic, or personal information has a marked territorial character. As we have seen, cyberspace can also reinforce existing borders, for example through actions of vigilance or monitoring. In any case, borders on the Internet, as we have previously noted, are fundamentally informational borders.

On the other hand, and as a last resort, Internet borders always have a personal component. For some authors, the difficulty in crossing borders can be tied to the concept of "cosmopolitanism." According to some authors (Jeffres *et. al.*: 2004), this depends upon aspects associated with: the diversity of interests which may overcome the local sphere; the capacity to be receptive to different cultures, people, or ideas; the capacity to identify with and appreciate the international sphere and its different cultures, along with a disposition for learning about them; a clear tolerance in this respect; the level of information about different cultures and religions; a high degree of exposure to communication media from different countries and with varied content; and, finally, the diversity of interpersonal communication networks situated outside borders themselves.

From this perspective, it is very difficult to concretize a univocal definition of the virtual border that could cover all the manifestations that are occurring online, as well as those that, undoubtedly, will continue to arise. Thus, our proposal is to establish a typology that accommodates existing manifestations and is also prepared to accommodate new border concretions that could appear in the relatively near future:

1) The cyber border. This first type of border is that which divides what is inside and outside cyberspace. This border is becoming increasingly diffuse. We are referring, then, to the possible impediments to Web access, which can stem from problems of an economic sort (the digital gap), a cultural sort (educational problems), a cognitive sort (disability), or even a structural one (connection failure). In this case, the border is conceptualized around the idea of access possibilities, with all the strong accompanying implications.

2) Mixed borders. These are produced when real borders and cyberspace borders coincide. An example of this type of border is evident in the access cuts to browsers in certain countries, for reasons of censorship or security. This type of border has to do with the political and normative sphere, and also with memory's need, in this virtual context, to situate itself in material aspects linked to a territory. These are at the root in the cases of virtual nations and electronic diaspora discussed above.

3) The virtual social border. Here the ultimate referent is real, and connected to a territory that is not a state. Its nature is fundamentally discursive and symbolic and is channeled through web sites, forums, virtual communities, etc. In the blurrily located border zones that it unleashes, interaction situations arise that can also be produced in conflict situations, including those in life outside cyberspace.

4) Community borders without territory. Essentially discursive, they are constructed under the protection of virtual communities originating in shared ideas, values, or interests. This is the domain of other identities, such as ethnic, religious, or trans-identities, although at times they contradict or annul other more widely-reaching identities.

5) Community borders with territory. Clearly linked to the material and economic spheres, they do not have a national character but rather are the result of territorial relocations in search of financial or managerial benefits.

6) Applied virtual borders. These occur when technology, in general, and cyberspace, in particular, assign and apply real existing borders. Normally, this case-by-case assessment is performed in functions relating to security and defense of different states.

While we are convinced that it is more important to demarcate the processes occurring online that affect the border sphere, we also consider it necessary to propose a preliminary classification that will help us to understand the phenomenon. Moreover, we understand that the communicational perspective ought, more than ever, to confront this reality and contribute to its vision of the corresponding scientific and epistemological consequences.

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