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REVIEW ARTICLE

The global circulation of discursive resources and the lived experience of globalization

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ABSTRACT

This essay explores mainstream communication research related to globalization and the use of discursive resources. We provide a state-of-the-discipline review of contemporary empirical studies that tie globalization and linguistic communication to their social significance and to the contextually rooted practices of individuals. We organize the literature into four areas according to their treatment of the global circulation of signs: relationship between the local and global, human agency, identity formation, and media of circulation. Based on this review, we highlight the limitations of the circulation metaphor, describe the translocal movements of discursive resources as a potentially cyclical process, and show how the use of discursive resources can take on a political dimension. We conclude with four suggestions for future research.

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The use of some discursive resources (words, narratives, discourse genres, communication practices, languages, etc.) is not restricted to social groups defined by linguistic or national borders. The movements and uses of such mobile resources are often highly visible. For example, public apologies by one nation to another for past historical offenses, and the expectation of such apologies, have been on the rise throughout Europe and the Middle East since World War II (Kampf & Löwenheim, 2012). Mass mediated images and stories of the fall of the Berlin Wall brought about the birth of a global iconic event (Sonnevend, 2016). Shepard Fairey's 'Hope' poster, including various permutations of the image and the word 'hope,' galvanized political activism in the United States and beyond (Gries, 2015). Other discursive resources are perhaps less visible but disperse just as widely. The use of the term 'sharing' shaped social media and file sharing platforms, the business practices of the corporations that created them, and the online lives of millions of users around the world (John, 2017). The Anglo-American discourse genre known as 'public speaking' is making its way into educational programs in Asia and Africa (Boromisza-Habashi & Reinig, 2018). Every day, US-based language trainers use online educational platforms to teach Chinese learners of English how to 'speak like a native' during oral linguistic aptitude tests (Hart, 2016).

Communication scholarship on globalization can be reviewed in at least two ways. One can use theories of globalization to take stock of the contributions of communication scholarship to the study of a particular practice or set of practices. A prime example of this strategy is Pal and Dutta's (2016) review of research on ways in which actors in various parts of the world use communication to resist dominant structures of power. Another strategy, one which we implement in this review, is to identify research that directly addresses the relationship between globalization and some aspect or component of communication, and then to identify various interpretations of globalization in that scholarship. Our review focuses on the work of communication scholars who

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investigate the movements and use of mobile discursive resources in local contexts and draw conclusions about lived, ground-level, often mundane experiences of globalization.

Our interest in the ways in which the mobility of discursive resources contributes to a lived sense of 'globalization' in the experience of those who use them is informed by a particular orientation to globalization. 'Globalization' belongs to the category of general terms in social science that 'do not have corresponding verbs and, in consequence, are not linked to actions that individuals might perform […] [W]e do not say globalization is happening, whenever we see someone "globalizing"' (Billig, 2013, p. 110). As a result, although there is no shortage of scholars who have advocated capturing the lived reality of globalization (Appadurai, 1996; Kraidy & Murphy, 2008; Tsing, 2005), doing so has proven notoriously difficult. Scholars rarely share an interpretation of globalization, and even those who agree on an interpretation point to different phenomena as evidence of globalization.

Nonetheless, communication as a discipline has not given up on the empirical study of the fact that local communicative action often exists in, and is expressive of, contexts of other actions and meanings 'from elsewhere.' Sreberny (2008) suggested that, for the sake of continued inquiry in this direction, it might be time to retire the term 'globalization' in communication scholarship. As a result of decades of political hype, economic disillusionment, and exclusive attention to macro-level phenomena, the term had become an empty signifier that could retain only some of its explanatory power in combination with other terms ('cultural globalization,' 'global processes'). 'Further analysis of grounded real-world processes of globalization,' she argued, 'should produce more refined theorization and the repudiation of simplistic totalizations' (p. 1996). The rejection of 'simplistic totalizations' is a hallmark of the third wave of academic thought about globalization which succeeds a first wave of (positive and negative) hyperglobalist accounts of modern economic and cultural homogenization and a second wave of skepticism seeking to undermine the view of globalization as a new and coherent phenomenon (Martell, 2007). Third-wave approaches take a more nuanced position by acknowledging some of the reservations of skeptics – especially regarding the view of globalization as the self-evident, transparent, singular, universal condition of all societies – but they also accept the real, transformative power of globalization and the existence of a social reality on 'a new global plane above and beyond the international' (p. 193). They also treat globalization as an uneven process with an uncertain future and study the impact of globalization in the domain of everyday experience by examining complex interactions between local and global (transnational, mobile) phenomena. To borrow a term from Appadurai (1996), these approaches tend to concern themselves with vernacular globalization.

Empirical communication scholarship does not universally reject, nor inoculate against, the totalizing image of globalization as a transparent, universal condition. The body of scholarship that fosters such an image is, however, not our concern in this review. Instead, we set out to track and synthesize communication scholarship investigating the movements of discursive resources that traverse boundaries separating geographic areas, countries, or social groups and have contributed significantly to the emergence of a global imaginary (Steger, 2008), a shared sense of social relations stretched to a global scale.

Four common features render this body of scholarship coherent. First, the studies we review here tend to treat 'globalization' as a contingent process as opposed to a universal condition. Second, they tend to challenge the popular image of globalization as an emanation of cultural forms from centers of cultural authority (such as the global West or North) and their dispersion toward global peripheries. Instead, the studies show how mobile resources often act as vehicles of social relations and meanings from 'elsewhere' that interact with local social relations and meanings in complex, uneven, unpredictable ways. Third, they tend to treat communication practices – context-bound, patterned, meaningful and accountable uses of discursive resources – as the point of interaction between local and the translocal. Finally, they often treat the 'circulation' of discursive resources as a contested and contestable representation of how those resources achieve mobility, become translocal, and index a global imaginary.

This last feature merits further examination because it is relevant to our main argument. Describing globalization with the *circulation* and *flow* metaphors is common but is not without detractors. Rockefeller (2011) criticized scholars in the social sciences for the common, uncritical use of the word *flow* in their scholarship. He argued that the presuppositions and theoretical underpinnings of *flow* were not being regarded by scholars, for these presuppositions lend themselves to a metaphysical dualism which actually impedes understanding dynamic relationships between the local and the global. That is, *flow* too rigidly separates one from the other and fails to illuminate any process of becoming or transformation between the two states. Second, Rockefeller (2011) argued that *flow* encodes a 'managerial perspective' that minimizes individual agency and the 'significance of small-scale organization and phenomena' (p. 557). Using *flow* (or, for the purposes of our study, *circulation*) to describe global processes thus facilitates the abstraction of multiple activities into a single category, divorces effects from their causes, and, in doing so, becomes politically neutral to the phenomena under observation.

Although we share Rockefeller's concerns about the theoretical traps the unexamined use of the *flow* metaphor can lay for globalization scholarship, our review of relevant communication scholarship shows that the image of *flow* lends studies of the lived experience of globalization coherence, and that circulation, politics and agency are describable and intersecting dimensions of the social life of mobile discursive resources. Communication scholarship shows that the circulation of signs is a cyclical process with specific phases; it provides evidence that discursive resources and the social relations their use generates or sustains often takes on a political dimension; and illustrates how certain actors and institutions may assume control the expression and circulation of signs, but that such control is almost never complete. We conclude that future research could do more to theorize the relationship between discursive resources and social relations, increase attention on the processes and dynamics of resource mobility, and conduct longitudinal studies that document the lifecycles of mobile discursive resources.

In our review, we use three terms to refer to different but complementary aspects of globalization. We use 'mobile' to highlight the movement of discursive resources; we use 'global' to refer to resources as tokens of a global imaginary; and we use 'translocal' to note the lack of attachment of discursive resources to any particular locale. We begin by discussing our methods, followed by a review of the relevant literature organized by the predominant area of contribution, and then conclude with a discussion of our review's significance and suggestions for future research.

Method

To assess the state of communication scholarship regarding our topic of interest, the global circulation of discursive resources, which we define as linguistic units of any size (from morphemes to languages and linguistic varieties) and their patterned, socio-culturally meaningful, context-bound uses, alone or in combination with other types of semiotic resources such as images or music, this review concentrates primarily on articles published in International Communication Association (ICA) and National Communication Association (NCA) journals and in other relevant communication journals, and books authored by scholars housed within communication departments. While we recognize that a number of other influential communication journals – the *International Journal of Communication*, the *Journal of Pragmatics*, *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *Discourse & Communication*, to name a few – also publish scholarship related to our topic of interest, we decided to treat papers published in ICA and NCA journals as the best representations of 'mainstream' communication research. We reviewed articles and books published within the last 35 years (1982–2017). We intentionally cast a wide net when searching for relevant journal articles and books. Our key terms for searches combined 'global,' 'globalization,' and 'glocalization,' with commonly recognized labels for the observable use of discursive resources, such as 'communication,' 'speech,' 'interaction,' 'talk,' 'interpersonal,' 'conversation,' 'language,' 'language use,' and 'public speaking.' We then combed the articles and books to identify those that met the parameters of

this study, namely that they were either examples of empirical scholarship, or they drew on existing empirical studies in formulating their claims. (We conceived of 'empirical research' broadly as the systematic investigation of observable communication phenomena.) Articles and books were excluded if they were solely normative, theoretical, or methodological. Introductions to special journal issues also were excluded. This elimination process resulted in a final dataset of 21 books and 85 journal articles. The collection of scholarly articles and books demonstrated a breadth of approaches, including quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods, and rhetorical criticism. Scholars in the fields of discourse analysis, organizational communication, intercultural communication, media studies, and rhetoric were included in our final database of literature.

Next, we employed an open, thematic coding process (Creswell, 2013) to identify areas of research contribution. Throughout this analysis we consistently asked ourselves: What are we learning about globalization and mobile, translocal discursive resources? What are we learning about the global circulation of those resources? This process was iterative and inductive, meaning that as categories were identified, they were compared to others, and categories were refined, created, or combined as needed. In what follows, we illustrate the dominant areas of research contribution we have identified, namely (1) the relationship between the local and the global, (2) human agency, (3) linguistic diversity, (4) identity formation, and (5) media of circulation.

Areas of research contribution

The relationship between the local and global

Scholars studying the global circulation of discursive resources and their use are predominantly interested in how the local and the global interact. Would the global overpower the local? Could local practices resist global forces of assimilation and imperialism? Or is the relationship more complicated, an ongoing process of back and forth negotiation and hybridization? Ultimately, scholars identified instances of glocalization (Bentahila & Davies, 2002; Besnier, 2013; Darling-Wolf & Mendelson, 2008; Rao, 2009; Tong & Cheung, 2011; Warschauer, Said, & Zohry, 2002), translocalism (Darling-Wolf, 2008; Jacquemet, 2005; Joseph & Ramani, 2012; Kraidy & Murphy, 2008; Leppänen, Pitkänen-Huhta, Piirainen-Marsh, Nikula, & Peuronen, 2009; Murphy & Kraidy, 2003), the global overpowering the local (Gong, 2016; John, 2013; Kawai, 2009), and the local relatively unchanged by the global (Liu, Day, Sun, & Wang, 2002).

Glocalization

First popularized by Robertson (1994), *glocalization* suggests that global forces must adapt to local contexts to be useful and meaningful. According to glocalization theorists, the global and the local are not opposite poles of a spectrum that are opposed to one another (Robertson, 1994). Instead, glocalization signals that these forces are always intermingling and that the global and the local cannot be separated easily from one another. That is, analysis of glocalization starts with the assumption that the global and the local have long been hybridized and that cultural hybridity is the norm rather than the exception (Kraidy, 1999, 2005).

Glocalization highlights how local actors, melding global means of communicating with pre-existing practices, generate hybridized practices within a single local context. Rather than being uniquely meaningful to local subjects, glocalized communication is translatable to both local and non-local interlocutors. Glocalized communication is thus a reconciliation of tensions between the global and the local to meld the conflicting practices and meanings into hybridized practices; it 'takes into account the local, national, regional, and global contexts of intercultural communicative processes' (Kraidy, 1999, p. 472).

One example of this process occurs in a study of rai music (Bentahila & Davies, 2002). This genre of music is characterized by the performers intentionally and strategically code-switching between French and Arabic languages. This genre of music is popular among immigrants in France as well

as some North African countries. However, rather than developing unique meanings as Jacquemet (2005) identified within French rap, rai songs are a hybrid blend of both Arabic and French languages. Bentahila and Davies (2002) identified four types of code-switching within rai music and concluded that ' … the mingling of languages and styles seen in examples like these rai songs can in fact reconcile these two apparently conflicting trends of globalization and localization' (p. 206).

In another example of changes between different languages, Besnier (2013) documented how Tongans switch between their native language and English to index different meanings. A lengthy quote is valuable to demonstrate how glocalization creates meanings translatable across both local and global contexts:

> Tongans may communicate the respect they have for individuals who have achieved prestige through education or careers overseas by addressing them with honorifics. In contrast, they may be unsure about the appropriateness of addressing aristocrats with honorifics when the latter occupy positions that are not directly related to their rank, such as government office. The solution is to switch to English. While English's default function is to index globality, modernity, and cosmopolitanism, it can also function as a local language when dynamics of local power are too complex. (Besnier, 2013, p. 466)

Similarly, Tong and Cheung (2011) documented how English blended with local languages to create new hybrids in Hong Kong.

Warschauer et al. (2002) examined English and Arabic language use in online communications among Egyptian professionals. The authors found that English was used for formal email communication while Egyptian Arabic was used in informal email messages and online chats. As they explain:

> … it is not unlikely that the advent of the Internet could be one factor, together with other socioeconomic changes (e.g. globalization), that contributes toward a shift from the traditional diglossia in Egypt to increased multilingualism, with both English (from "above") and Egyptian Arabic (from "below") encroaching on the traditional dominance of Classical Arabic in written communication. (para. 42)

Likewise, globalization processes in Indian media 'can be interpreted as a set of practices in which the local media have absorbed the global, rejuvenated the local, and given audiences possibilities of strengthening democratic discourses' (Rao, 2009, p. 274).

National Geographic's numerous local language editions demonstrate glocalization because the magazine is primarily produced by American journalists and editors, then adapted for local contexts by editors in other countries. A story about samurai in both the English and Japanese editions of *National Geographic* 'underwent a subtle process of American appropriation, followed by Japanese reappropriation accomplished through the localization of the text and its careful positioning as foreign' (Darling-Wolf & Mendelson, 2008, p. 314). The samurai story originally was written by American journalists for a Western audience, and local Japanese editors revised the story by using the word *samurai* instead of the more common Japanese terms *bushi* or *bushido*, as well as the use of katakana syllabary (usually used for words of Western origin) rather than kanji characters (used for words of Chinese or Japanese origin). The article was further localized by adding more information to photograph captions, including the names of festivals and exact locations where pictures were taken, as well as a two-page sidebar written in kanji that detailed the 'evolution of the socio-cultural role of samurai from the pre-Edo "fighting era" to the dismantling of the Tokugawa shogunate and the ensuing Meiji Restoration' (Darling-Wolf & Mendelson, 2008, p. 296). These strategies ensured that the story was seen by Japanese consumers as an originally American text revised for a local audience, which contributed to its appeal among readers (Darling-Wolf & Mendelson, 2008).

Translocalism

Another process identified by scholars is that of translocality. Whereas glocalization focuses attention on the ways that global discursive resources are repurposed in a single local context and how that local culture changes as a result, the study of translocality highlights how discursive resources are used across multiple local contexts. Semiotic resources become translocal when users no longer interpret them as belonging to, or having arrived from, a geographically and historically identifiable

point of origin (Darling-Wolf, 2015). Translocal studies compare one localized communication practice to other similar localized communication practices to understand how semiotic resources constituted through communication change and evolve across various contexts, and how they allow social actors to construct distinctions and mutually constitutive relationships among the local, the national, and the global in social life. Translocal approaches commit to empirical work that begins with a local context, notice power, and find the analytical distinction between 'culture' and 'social structure' a practical instrument for research (Kraidy & Murphy, 2008). These scholars worry that researching global processes diverts attention away from localized ways of creating, engaging in, and consuming communication (Murphy & Kraidy, 2003). Thus, researchers of translocalism identify contextually unique ways of communicating that may be influenced by globalization but are ultimately meaningful within specific cultures.

Translocalism also does not ignore macro structures in its analysis. Instead, the local is understood as connected to larger forces of history, politics, economics, and other social forces, and it requires ethnographic thick description to carefully untangle encounters between local life and global forces (Kraidy & Murphy, 2008). Translocalism considers both integration and discontinuity in the uptake of global and local discursive resources across multiple contexts. The approach asks how one locale can illuminate understanding of another locale, thus providing comparative, multisited ethnographies of local contexts with similar features that connect multiple locations to global forces of economy, politics, and history. Ethnographers of translocality are particularly adept at describing forms of communication connecting multiple locations, such as intertextuality (Darling-Wolf, 2000). Altogether, translocalism 'brings into focus various shades and variations on a theme, social force, or event that is local … and at the same time that transcends the local' (Kraidy & Murphy, 2008, p. 345). The local constitutes a site where actors culturally negotiate globalizing forces with relation to collectivity, subjectivity, and agency. Translocalism considers overlaps among multiple local sites as they negotiate similar global forces.

As an example of this type of research contribution, Darling-Wolf (2008) identified the ways that French rappers draw on global cultural flows of American hip hop but generate a uniquely French genre:

> When producing local texts drawing from a global genre, French rappers are simultaneously negotiating their local and global positions with the understanding that different facets of their hybrid identities—as immigrants, ethnic and/or racial minorities, urban, postcolonial, French, famous, rappers—might take on different meanings in different environments. (Darling-Wolf, 2008, p. 201)

Ultimately, Darling-Wolf concluded that this music genre did not reflect a hybridization or creolization of American music. The French rappers 'are not only *negotiating* "the global" but also *producing* it, as their texts get exported and consumed in other cultural environments' (Darling-Wolf, 2008, p. 201). Translocal studies of globalization and sign use are therefore concerned with locally situated communication practices that draw on global interactions to create new meanings.

Taken together, processes of translocality and glocalization demonstrate that the relationship between the local and global is complex and involves ongoing negotiation, creation, and hybridization. Globalization can impact communication practices and the meanings of signs in unique ways that depend on local contexts. Translocal and glocalization studies constitute the largest category of literature on the relationship between the global and the local. However, other scholars have identified the global domination of sign use as well as local resistance to global forces.

Global overpowering the local

Because of its non-Western characteristics, it took many years and technological innovations before the Hebrew language could be digitally represented in online contexts (John, 2013). The relatively recent development of the internationally recognized Unicode computer language finally has enabled computers to graphically represent various languages that lack Western characteristics in digital contexts. The development and proliferation of Unicode largely has been celebrated as

providing voice to non-Latin languages around the globe. However, John finds that the presence of Unicode comes at a cost:

> Unicode may give the linguistically oppressed people of the world an online voice, but, as our infrastructural inversion of Unicode and logical Hebrew has shown, that voice is mostly provided by American multinational corporations. (p. 332)

Surface-level diversity of language thus hides the deeper, structural ways that Western forces overpower localized languages:

> Increased homogeneity and standardization at the level of software and encoding is enabling increased heterogeneity at the level of the end user and his community. This is a precarious heterogeneity, however; … it is an infrastructure controlled by American multinationals and which would probably not have come into being without them. (John, 2013, p. 333)

For John, economic factors decisively shape the circulation of mobile discursive resources.

Aside from online media, global and Western discourses also have been shown to affect identification processes. Kawai (2009) analyzed an economic report issued by Japan's national government that intended to outline a path for how Japan could compete in a neoliberal, globalized, economic climate. Kawai concluded that the document recommended Japanese national identity be redefined to mean being neoliberal, globalized, and assimilated to the West. Likewise, among Chinese soccer (football) fans, identity construction has been understood as 'the negotiation between the globalized European football culture and the local cultural meanings for Chinese masculinities' (Gong, 2016, p. 20). In online fora where Chinese soccer fans discussed different teams, participants reproduced and racialized the masculine order. Gong (2016) concluded that 'we should contextualize this case in the global trend of neoliberal capitalism, in which both football and masculinity are colonized by the economic discourse' (p. 34). Thus, scholars attuned to economic factors related to sign use in globalized contexts found neoliberal ideologies overpowering local identities.

Local unchanged by the global

Finally, one study identified an instance where local language practices were relatively unchanged by global forces. Although we identified only one instance where this occurred, we include it in our analysis to demonstrate the breadth of findings about how global and local sign use interact. Liu et al. (2002) studied internet use in Taiwan, including online communication activities, information access, and e-commerce. Given the global power of the Internet and Western dominance on the web, they expected Taiwanese users to look for information outside of their country. Instead, the authors found that users' online practices overwhelmingly were concerned with local issues. A user might briefly venture out of their local webspace to accomplish a task, fulfill a goal, or satisfy their curiosity. However, the authors concluded that the significance and relevance of translocal discursive resources was not as great as that of the local. Users' online communication remained rooted in local, cultural meanings of the Taiwanese context, relatively unchanged by the global information and communication available through the Internet.

Human agency

A second area of contribution addressed questions about human agency. Scholars were concerned about how individuals responded to globalized contexts, with implications for identity and individual communication practices. What options are available to individuals as they confront different and sometimes conflicting communication practices? Are people merely puppets of larger global forces, or do they possess the ability to respond to globalization with everyday practices that creatively blend elements of the local and the global (García Canclini, 1995)? Ultimately, scholars identified instances of hybridization (Archer, Martin Bosman, Mark Amen, & Schmidt, 2007; Brink-Danan, 2015; Charles, 2007; Choi & Danowski, 2002; Darling-Wolf, 2008; Leppänen et al., 2009; Louhiala-

Salminen & Kankaanranta, 2012), unending negotiation (Besnier, 2013; Choi, Tatar, & Kim, 2014; Murphy, 2013), insidious Westernization (John, 2013; Park, 2014; Shifman, Levy, & Thelwall, 2014), and appropriation/subversion (Joseph & Ramani, 2012; Stengrim, 2005).

Hybridization

The most widespread practice identified by researchers was hybridization. These scholars classified identity categories as discursive resources with both local and global meanings and found that individuals would blend their local and global identities to create different, hybrid identities that could move between local and global contexts. Hybridization also included the blurring of languages, especially within the context of studies of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF). ELF studies, in general, explore the ways that the English language functions as a global discursive resource for local populations and how the linguistic elements of English (dis)conform to native and non-native speakers' use in local contexts to generate intelligibility for interlocutors. ELF scholars often seek to understand how non-native speakers adapt English to local contexts and uses while still maintaining intelligibility to native speakers (see Jenkins, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004).

Practices of hybridization – such as cultural reconversion (García Canclini, 1992) – combine aspects of local discursive resources with global or translocal ones, thus creating novel cultural forms that are valued in particular social, cultural, political, and economic contexts. Scholars focusing on hybridity reject the notion that the global and local are disconnected poles that are mediated through communication and instead argue that intercultural contact has been occurring for centuries (Kraidy, 2005). That is, in some sense, all cultures are already hybridized, and this starting point is necessary to delve into micro-analyses of local/global interactions:

> The question therefore is not about whether identities are hybrid, but rather about the types of formations that recreate and flesh out these hybrid identities. Hybridity is thus construed not as an in-between zone where global/local power relations are neutralized … but as a zone of symbolic ferment where power relations are surreptitiously re-inscribed. (Kraidy, 1999, p. 460)

Kraidy (2005) has called for 'looking at hybridities, each as a particular, localized practice, as opposed to a singular hybridity conceived as an all-inclusive sociocultural order' (p. xii). A focus on hybridization therefore permits analysis of 'the numerous forces across time and space that impinge on contemporary cultural identities' (Kraidy, 2005, p. 7).

For example, Brink-Danan (2015) studied British interfaith advocates who promoted dialogic practices across various countries. She found that 'British interfaith advocates seek to identify themselves as global citizens, and they do so by "bridging" religious diversity on as many scales as possible' (Brink-Danan, 2015, p. 50). British interfaith advocates 're-conceptualize their place as citizens in a global ecumene' (Brink-Danan, 2015, p. 57). These subjects thus did not discard their British national identity but rather created a hybridized one that was both British and global.

Within studies of ELF, scholars found that non-native speakers in multi-national organizational contexts practiced a unique form of English, called business English *lingua franca* (BELF). BELF 'is not a "cultureless" language, but rather creates new operational cultures' (Charles, 2007, p. 260). BELF has been shown to be highly context-dependent, and the main criterion of 'correctness' for BELF speakers is 'the degree to which messages truly reach their international audiences' (Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta, 2012, p. 268). BELF, thus, is a hybrid set of linguistic resources, drawing on global English but highly variant depending on the context in which it is used, constraining individual agency in certain ways while creating new opportunities for expression in others.

Unending negotiation

In other cases, scholars found agency to be a process of unending negotiation. This approach reflects Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogic principle (Bakhtin, 1993; Voloshinov, 1986) that utterances are in constant, ongoing tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces. Centripetal forces are dominant and at the center of discourse, while centrifugal forces are marginal discourses, and they compete for

dominance and control. Meaning is then created from the interplay of these discourses, from the heteroglossia of language (Bakhtin, 1981). According to Bakhtin, these tensions are never fully resolved, leaving open the potential for transformation and continuous change. Communication scholars in this category did not see human agency as resolving tensions between global and local forces through hybridization or in global forces dominating agency. Instead, these researchers found the meanings between global and local to be a process of unending negotiation.

Scholars within this group of literature focused on discursive frictions and dialogic practices. For example, Besnier (2013) argued that language functions as a vehicle through which people 'evaluate themselves and one another in the context of the "frictions" between the local and the global' (p. 470). In a study of an international working group, Murphy (2013) explored discursive frictions that arose when universal goals came into contact with the material, cultural, political, and religious realities of local practitioners. She found these tensions manifested around definitions of knowledge, in discussions of which words to include in sexuality workshops, and identities. In the sexuality workshops, the local culture prohibited anything that would be considered the promotion of homosexuality. Thus, homosexual Americans in the group constantly negotiated their identities, choosing not to disclose their homosexuality and instead pass as heterosexual.

Insidious Westernization

A third type of contribution within studies related to human agency, globalization, and the use of discursive resources was that of insidious Westernization. Researchers documented global discourses invisibly shaping individuals and their communication practices. Individuals may not have been aware of their actions being influenced by these ethereal forces, but by participating in them, individuals found themselves fostering the Westernization of what were formerly local communication practices. Other times, individuals may believe they are given choice and agency, but global forces lurking beneath the surface of people's perceptions actually limit those choices in significant ways.

Shifman et al. (2014) tracked the translation of 100 English jokes into nine languages. 76 of the jokes were translated into three or more other languages, and in most cases, the translated versions did not incorporate any cultural modifications compared to the English versions. When cultural changes were made to jokes, the authors identified what they termed 'off-the-shelf-localization' (Shifman et al., 2014, p. 739), which was the simple replacement of American/English markers like names, currencies, and brands with their local equivalents. For example, the Anglo name John, in a joke, might be changed to Muhammad. The authors concluded that the ongoing process of joke translation 'formulates a global humorous sphere, even if its reach is not evident to end users' (p. 739). Furthermore,

> [i]ronically, the widespread practice of off-the-shelf-localization has the potential to deepen globalization, as the combination of local markers with a familiar language makes the joke seem local, camouflaging their Western/American origins and thus possibly undermining opposition to them. (Shifman et al., 2014, p. 739)

In another study, Park (2014) examined the ways Korean transmigrants in Singapore relied on linguistic difference as a resource for making sense of their mobility experiences. Korean bosses deemed mid-level Korean managers sufficiently proficient in English to move to Singapore, but the mid-level managers were perceived as insufficiently proficient to advance any further in their careers. Park concluded that English language proficiency limited the physical spaces to which Koreans could move, thus mapping the possibilities of their lives. These 'cartographies of language … contribute to the reproduction of class-based inequalities, firmly grounded on geographical space' (Park, 2014, p. 90). Therefore, English proficiency granted study participants greater mobility, but actually constrained their options for movement in new ways, ultimately reinforcing a Western hierarchy, where American/British English and its native speakers sit firmly at the top.

Appropriation/subversion

On the opposite side of the spectrum from insidious Westernization, some scholars have documented how people were able to assert their agency in the face of globalizing forces by appropriating and

then subverting mobile discursive resources. For example, Joseph and Ramani (2012) examined a dual-medium undergraduate degree offered in both English and an indigenous African language at the University of Limpopo in South Africa. In contrast to the commodification of English demonstrated by Park (2014), Joseph and Ramani found that the school's curriculum was culturally expansive by grounding instruction in both an indigenous African language and English, thereby validating students' local identities while simultaneously equipping them with fluency to speak to the global, should they wish. As Joseph and Ramani (2012) explain, 'This degree curricularizes the principle of additive bilingualism, which both challenges the domination of English (as an expression of cultural imperialism), yet makes it available as a right to students from hugely impoverished schooling backgrounds' (p. 22). The authors concluded that campaigns against the hegemony of English only can be successful if they are practice-based, and if those practices are comprised of excellent indigenous language programs and excellent access to English. Students in the study successfully subverted the dominance of a global language and reclaimed their agency through linguistic practice.

In another example, Stengrim (2005) focused on discursive resources in a globalized media context. She outlined the corporate consolidation of global media empires and how that limits what media is produced and consumed and by whom. Her study then focused on Indymedia.org, which 'enables activists to appropriate technologies of globalization, thereby promoting democratic access to citizen-produced knowledge' (p. 282). Indymedia.org emulates the structure and layout of other global news sources, but its content is produced by grassroots activists. Furthermore, 'because Indymedia uses the tools of globalization for international solidarity and grassroots organization, it counters corporate tyranny by re-appropriating its discursive forms to make a mockery of them' (p. 297). This case demonstrated that within a globalized media landscape, possibilities for appropriation and subversion still exist and that individuals can use globalizing forces to assert their agency by creating different stories through alternative media platforms.

Linguistic diversity

The third area of contributions addressed issues of linguistic diversity. Research in this category sought to understand how forces of globalization diversified or homogenized language practices. Studies ranged from close readings of local texts to larger surveys of entire languages and the ways they are performed in different contexts. Within this group, researchers tended to concentrate either on English as a deterritorialized language (Besnier, 2013; Bielsa, 2005; Charles, 2007; Haberland, 2011; Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta, 2012; Park, 2014; Tong & Cheung, 2011) or language representation and use in online contexts (John, 2013; Leppänen et al., 2009; Warschauer et al., 2002).

English as a deterritorialized language

As Bielsa (2005) explained:

> International English … is a deterritorialised language that has lost its essential connection to a specific cultural context. It thus expresses in itself the fundamental abstractions derived from disembedding or the lifting out of social relations from their local contexts of interaction. (p. 141)

ELF, in this view, has become divorced from its American and British roots; it instead operates as a sort of clay, capable of being molded to fit specific local contexts in unique ways.

The deterritorialized nature of ELF allows English to manifest in new, hybridized, pidgin forms, depending on the cultural scene in which it operates, and these forms deserve scholarly attention, rather than treatment as misfits, because of their deviance from standard English. ELF is typically not the first, or native, language of its speakers, which can lead to discrimination against those who learn it. Haberland (2011) opposes such a hierarchy:

> … non-native, frequent users of English should be "empowered" – they should have the feeling that the language they use is also "theirs", not just one they have borrowed from its proper owners. That also means that they

> should not feel completely dependent on the judgments (of grammaticality or otherwise) of native speakers that are only experts because they are native speakers. (p. 947)

He ultimately concludes that 'Non-native users of English should be acknowledged as legitimate, not merely second-class users of the language' (p. 948). Given that ELF practices and meanings differ according to their context, what have communication scholars learned about globalization and ELF in specific contexts?

The workplace context of ELF has been explored by scholars in the field of organizational communication, and they mostly focus on BELF. One study of BELF in the workplace found that informal, oral communication is of paramount importance in multinational corporations; that language is a power-wielding instrument in organizations; that language affects perceptions of oneself and others; and that language can unite and divide people and organizations (Charles, 2007). Additionally, using English as a corporate language is complicated. Businesses that pursue an emergent language strategy – that is, they do not declare a strict rule for corporate language but use English in practice – enable the use of BELF, rather than standard English, which helps international business professionals accomplish their work (Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta, 2012).

Language representation and use in online contexts

The second category of research on linguistic diversity and globalization has focused on language use online. These scholars shift their focus from communication practices in face-to-face contexts to those occurring in mediated, online spheres. For example, Leppänen et al. (2009) studied language use among young Finns in translocal new media spaces. Leppänen et al. described Finnish adolescents' engagement with video games and found that the participants often switched between English and Finnish languages online. The authors found that the players' language choice and use was 'shaped by the temporally unfolding contextual and semiotic resources provided by the game and embedded in the structures of interaction through which the players manage and talk about the game' (Leppänen et al., 2009, p. 1101). Players aligned themselves with a global game culture by demonstrating their mastery of appropriate talk, actions, and interactions in the global game language of English.

Leppänen et al. (2009) also focused on bilingual language use in a Finnish discussion forum about extreme sports by young Christians. They documented that language mixing occurred in the forum and placed it within the context of international extreme sports. However, international terminology in the forum:

> … was typically appropriated and domesticated by integrating it according to the rules of Finnish orthography and morphology, and by relating it to the Christian framework, the forumists foregrounded their identities as also Finnish Christians.' (Leppänen et al., 2009, p. 1102)

Online communication for young Finns thus offered opportunities to practice identity construction through the use of different languages. Globalization offered new opportunities for these adolescents to try out different identities, marked by their proficiency in different languages. These identities included global gamer (marked by English use), extreme sports fan (through English use), Finnish citizen (through Finnish language use), and Christian (through Finnish language use).

Whether it be face-to-face or online, the authors we discussed in this section have found that linguistic diversity both shapes and is shaped by globalization in significant ways. Their findings demonstrate that ELF has become a deterritorialized language, with meanings and practices shaped by local contexts, but also as a global resource that allows diverse actors to communicate with one another. Linguistic diversity has manifested online, too, as diaspora communities have shifted their religious practices, and as young people practice and construct different identities provided by the affordances of global technology.

Identity formation

A fourth category of contributions related to how processes of identification, globalization, and the use of mobile discursive resources intersected and related to one another. Scholars tended to focus

on English language use and national identity (Besnier, 2013; Kawai, 2009; Ladegaard, 2007; Tong & Cheung, 2011; Warschauer et al., 2002), identity formation among migrants (Boivin, 2016; Collins, 2011; Park, 2014), and identity on a micro-social level (Bentahila & Davies, 2002; Brooks & Pitts, 2016; Gong, 2016; Wang, 2015).

English language use and national identity

In the field of organizational communication, Ladegaard (2007) documented how national identity functioned in a multinational corporation. Some scholars predicted that national identities would lose their value as people become part of a global culture and as globalization blurred socioeconomic boundaries. In contrast, Ladegaard (2007) found that national identities still functioned as useful resources in intercultural contexts: '… despite globalization, we do not see evidence of cultural assimilation in global employees' work practices, but rather that stereotypes of national cultural are used to provide cultural orientation' (p. 139). For employees, Ladegaard argued, 'some knowledge of local languages and cultures is essential in (re)constructing meaning, and interpreting the intentions behind service requests' (p. 150) that came from subsidiaries in different countries. Based on interviews and ethnographic observations, he concluded:

> The employees agree that in order to communicate effectively in a global world, they need markers of identity, not only to establish the national identity of their requesters, but, literally, to be able to paint a picture of the person they communicate with. (Ladegaard, 2007, pp. 155–156)

This study shows that markers of national identity are still powerful mobile resources and that individuals still rely on national identity to structure and make sense of their social relations.

Similarly, Tong and Cheung (2011) studied English language use and national identity in Hong Kong and Singapore and found that speaking English was important for internationalization, but 'preservation of local [cultural identities] is also vital for stability and existence of nations' (p. 67). They concluded that national identity still mattered to participants because 'people develop their local [cultural identities] by learning local languages since language is a carrier of [cultural identities]' (p. 67). Therefore, despite claims that globalization has ushered the demise of national identities, both Ladegaard (2007) and Tong and Cheung (2011) demonstrated that national identities and local languages still possessed significance for interlocutors.

Identity formation among migrants

Boivin (2016) studied identity formation through the communication practices of immigrant and transnational migrant communication practices among pre-adolescent teens. She identified three types of communication practices that were performed in participants' first language and prominent in their lives: active participation in ethnic, religious, or traditional cultural practices; passive exposure to ethnic, religious, or traditional cultural practices; and consuming and discussing media remade for international sensibilities. Of these three, the most significant for participants' identity formation was the consumption and discussion of media made for international sensibilities. For example, teen migrants might watch a Japanese anime television show with Japanese audio and English subtitles. Boivin (2016) found that participants' ability to draw on the discursive resources provided in such media created cultural capital because the participants' native peers thought more highly of the participants due to their possession of original versions of popular media such as anime and manga. Boivin concluded that these media resources helped participants negotiate their identity among their peers.

As another example, Collins (2011) found among Spanish-speaking migrants in upstate New York a language orientation to inner sphere and outer sphere communication that manifested in the maxim: 'Use Spanish with the inner world, use English with the outer world' (p. 419). These findings led Collins to conclude that 'transnational migrant networks inform domestic multilingual practices as they draw from Trique, Spanish, and English in their communicative conduct among relatives and intimates or when dealing with an outside world' (p. 424). Collins's study shows that

multilingual migrants draw on various languages when forming their identities, which are context-dependent, based on their engagement with in-group and out-group interlocutors.

Identity on a micro-social level

A final group of scholars studied the effects of globalization on the use of mobile resources and identity formation at a micro-social level. We categorize these studies as 'micro-social' because they were focused on identity formation processes occurring at a word-by-word or interpersonal level of analysis, including attention to practices like code-switching. For example, Bentahila and Davies (2002) studied code-switching between Arabic and French languages in rai music and found that the practice had important implications for identity formation. Most rai songs are predominantly in Arabic, and artists sing in Arabic to identify with their home community of North Africa, where French represents the language of outsiders (i.e. the West and international communities). Thus, French language in rai music mostly functions 'to provide a minimal expression of the main theme [of a song], which may be enough to allow a non-Arabic-speaking audience to grasp its essentials' (p. 204).

Media of circulation

A fifth category of contributions concerns itself with the channels involved in the movement of mobile discursive resources in a global environment, and the effects of those channels on subjects' identities, communities, and language representation and use. That is, rather than direct attention to what communication practices mean to individuals, these scholars have concentrated on the institutions that promote and distribute mobile discursive resources. Researchers in this category therefore study how various media (television, film, the Internet, etc.) encourage or deter the circulation of certain signs. Studies of the media of circulation have focused on mass media discourses (Yin, 2006); media, globalization, and identity (Bornman, 2003; Yin, 2006); and online community-building (Cassell & Tversky, 2005; Jarvenpaa & Leidner, 1998; McNair & Paretti, 2010; Rodríguez, Ferron, & Shamas, 2014; Srinivasan, 2013).

Mass media discourses

One study of the media of circulation in a globalized context focused on media discourse about China's entry into the World Trade Organization in China's official newspaper, *People's Daily* (PD; Yin, 2006). Yin (2006) argued that traditional press theory is inadequate for understanding socialist Chinese media. She found that the Chinese news discourse centered on two themes: (1) globalization is the only viable path to prosperity; and (2) the World Trade Organization is unfair to developing countries. These findings led Yin to conclude that PD reflects more neoliberalist hegemony than traditional socialist/communist ideology. As she explains, 'The Chinese government is in fact colluding with the global capitalist system in the context of globalization, although at times it is at odds with advanced capitalist countries' (Yin, 2006, p. 48). Ultimately, says Yin, Chinese people's struggles for freedom and equality must be simultaneously anti-authoritarian and anti-imperialist, for the national government, through PD, has embraced discourses of neoliberal imperialism.

Media, globalization, and identity

Bornman (2003) explored identity struggles on five distinct levels: individual, subnational, national, supranational, and global. At an individual level, she argued that globalization and modernity have collapsed senses of community, with national media competing with local and global media frameworks for individuals' attention. Bornman (2003) also documented an erosion of the position and role of nation-states in the globalized order, causing national identities to lose significance. Instead, 'the worldwide spread of information and communication technologies appears to strengthen ethnic, cultural, and other local identities' (Bornman, 2003, p. 41). She concluded that the globalized mediascape has ushered an era of 'identification,' rather than 'identity,' where human beings frantically search for identity in a never-ending, open-ended activity that is never complete and never finished.

Online community-building

Some communication scholars have focused attention on the ways that people create a sense of community in online spaces through their communication. For example, Cassell and Tversky (2005) examined how linguistic interaction patterns changed over time within an online youth forum. Participants were from diverse cultural, linguistic, socio-economic, and geographic backgrounds. The authors found that the young people on the forum increasingly constituted themselves as a community by speaking in a collective voice, converging on linguistic style, and concurring on the topics of conversation, the goals of the group, and strategies for achieving them. Indeed, linguistic convergence and mutual influence over language occurred relatively quickly, within three months of the formation of the online forum. The online forum proved to be a powerful place to form relationships:

> … as the community came together as one, the participants reported that their appreciation for diversity, their ability to see different perspectives, and their positive reactions to one another increased. They began to see each other as friends, and to care about what was happening in the parts of the world that their new friends came from. (Cassell & Tversky, 2005)

The implications for media circulation in globalized context are that online fora offer potentially powerful sites of positive communicative interaction.

In a different context, however, virtual groups may not be as positive. Jarvenpaa and Leidner (1998) studied the communication structure and content of virtual organization members over a four-month period. They found that the co-workers in the group demonstrated hierarchical tendencies, contradicting expectations that digital interactions would create more horizontal and decentralized structures. Jarvenpaa and Leidner (1998) found that the fit between organizational task and network structure was associated with perceived performance but not objective performance. That is, when tasks fit well with the virtual group's structure, members felt more satisfied with the process, but that satisfaction did not necessarily lead to better objective performance. In the workplace, then, virtual groups may feel right for participants, but they do not inherently lead to better outcomes for the organization.

Other scholars have explored how online communication resources translate to in-person interactions, especially among social movements. Rodríguez et al. (2014) cautioned communication researchers from becoming too enamored with new social media technologies and warned that studies of online platforms risk neglecting historical context, separating media from their political economy frameworks, and re-inventing theories/findings that have been previously established in literature on alternative/citizens'/community media. To illustrate these points, Rodríguez et al. provide cases from Mexico, Colombia, Tunisia, Egypt, and Lebanon that highlight the ways digital media and people's in-person interactions influenced one another, especially in the Global South. For example, in Colombia, residents did not use digital media merely to disseminate information among networks. Instead, they 'use media technologies to "trigger" different types of communication processes – they intervene to repopulate the public sphere, to activate interaction between local government officials and their constituencies, or to trigger performative communication happenings' (Rodríguez et al., 2014, p. 159).

In a similar vein, Srinivasan (2013) investigated how digital community building translated into in-person activism during the Arab Spring in Egypt, demonstrating that digital and physical spheres and their discursive resources are intertwined. After attending a mass Twitter event for activists, interviewing an activist in Giza, and then attending a protest in Tahrir Square, Srinivasan concluded that social media helped cement strong ties between a relatively small group of actors but rarely served to distribute information that resulted in people protesting in the streets. Additionally, born-digital content had to be re-mediated through older media platforms to be accessible to masses of Egyptians, and new media technologies influenced older media which then 'impelled the working class peoples to put their bodies in harm's way' (p. 56). Finally, Srinivasan concluded that social media networks often were circumscribed, small, and not connected to street protests, but they were an important bridge that communicated with other networks to stir people across classes and geographies into action.

Our review of communication scholarship related to the circulation of discursive resources in and through globalization demonstrates that scholars have focused attention on a wide array of areas and problems. We next discuss the implications and significance of these findings for the communication discipline and identify areas of future research. First, though, we must discuss the relevance of the metaphor that has framed our study.

Conclusion

As we discussed at the outset of this essay, Rockefeller (2011) has criticized scholars for their uncritical use of the *flow* metaphor (or, in this study, *circulation*). *Flow*, Rockefeller argued, facilitates the abstraction of multiple activities into a single category, divorces effects from their causes, and, in doing so, becomes politically neutral to the phenomena under observation. While we find value in Rockefeller's critical examination of *flow*, in light of our review of communication scholarship, it appears that these metaphors are *precisely* the ones that capture the only general observation we can make about the relationship between globalization and mobile discursive resources in people's everyday experience. Namely, that *a facet of globalization is the movement and availability of mobile discursive resources to various groups of speakers around the world*. To use the (admittedly vague and misleading) flow metaphor, from the perspective of everyday experience, mobile discursive resources flow from one place to another, and their presence and translocal character are interpreted by their users (or by the scholars who study their use) as tokens of globalization. When a river flows through a specific location, those observing the water's movements will conclude that the water signals the presence of a larger 'flow,' namely a river, and a terrain that sustains rivers. This is the topography of the global imaginary.

Beyond this insight, the scholarship reviewed here does not allow us to make any more sweeping generalizations, but it provides a set of dimensions or *topoi* ('places to look') to empirical investigators of the global circulation of discursive resources. First, our analysis shows that the communication literature describes the circulation of sign use as a (potentially cyclical) process with specific phases. Discursive resources are produced at points of origin (speech communities, media organizations, performers, etc.); next, they are set into motion and disseminated; next, they are accessed; and finally, they are used. To use Boivin's (2016) case study as an example, specific artistic signs are created in places like Japan, then disseminated through manga and anime, and accessed by migrant teens living in the United Kingdom. These teenagers then used these cultural, artistic signs amongst one another and produced shared, pre-adolescent cultural capital, which could then be further disseminated, accessed, and used by others. All stages of this process occur in context: they involve a set of participants with particular social ends-in-view acting in particular settings, attributing particular value to the discursive resource under consideration; a set of interactions that unfold according to local expectations, norms, and rules; and particular historical, political, relational, and economic circumstances.

Second, our review of communication scholarship makes clear that both discursive resources and the social relations their use engenders can take on a political dimension as a result of their location in larger economies of signs and socio-political systems. Signs, when used, exert varying levels of influence on all elements of context we discuss above. When Koreans' job prospects are limited because they cannot speak English (Park, 2014), when Western management practices are privileged in Russian workplaces (Chudnovskaya & O'Hara, 2016) or when Japanese wives are allowed to speak their first language at home, but Indonesian and Chinese wives are not (Han & Price, 2015), discursive resources become the matter and site of political struggle. Additionally, the flow of discursive resources is controlled by certain individuals or social units and not others. When access is limited, use can become limited as well. For example, John (2013) showed how the presence of Unicode may give different languages an online voice, but the expression of that voice is controlled by American multinational corporations. Stengrim (2005) illustrated that the corporate consolidation of global media limits what is produced and consumed by whom.

Nonetheless, the circulation of discursive resources rarely is completely controlled. People are able to resist, subvert, hybridize, and appropriate signs to meet new purposes and ends. Examples of such actions include French rap music (Darling-Wolf, 2008) and rai music (Bentahila & Davies, 2002). The studies we have discussed in this review demonstrate that globalization is not merely a one-way process of Westernization. Rather, residents of both Western and non-Western countries often create and then exploit space to counter or transform dominant sign meanings and uses. Context affects how easy or difficult it is for individuals and communities to challenge, transform, or change hegemonic forces of the global circulation of discursive resources. The level of creative agency appears to be a significant factor, especially with regard to task completion and artistic performance. Workplaces appear to be a rich space for experimentation with sign use, where task completion takes priority. This may take the form of using English in formal emails and Egyptian Arabic in informal emails and online chats (Warschauer et al., 2002); using English as a business *lingua franca* for informal, oral communication (Charles, 2007); or pursuing an emergent language strategy in multinational organizations that helps international professionals accomplish their work (Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta, 2012). Likewise, artistic performances like music allow for greater creativity and thus more space to challenge dominant assumptions about signs and their use (Bentahila & Davies, 2002; Darling-Wolf, 2008).

Although communication scholarship sheds significant amounts of light on the socio-political dynamics that shape the movements of mobile discursive resources, we would like to call attention to four areas of future research. First, communication scholars could develop a more nuanced understanding of the global circulation of discursive resources by systematically studying their interactions with other types of semiotic resources (e.g. images, rituals, nonverbal communication) in the process of circulation. A wealth of research on this subject is readily available from journals we did not include in our review such as *Global Media and Communication*, *Global Media and China*, the *International Communication Gazette*, *Popular Communication: The International Journal of Media and Culture*, and the *International Journal of Communication*, or the *Global Transformations in Media and Communication Research* book series. Second, communication scholars could do more to provide accounts of the role of expert systems in the disembedding and embedding (Giddens, 1990) of discursive resources and the social relations they sustain. Sigismondi's (2018) work on the appearance of the English word 'cool' in Italy; Simonson's, Morooka's, Xiong's, and Bedsole's (2019) study of the global dissemination of 'mass communication;' and Boromisza-Habashi's (2016) study of 'communication' in Hungary are steps in this direction. Third, processes and dynamics of mobility require more attention. Communication scholars could do more to determine whether the movements – not simply the presence – of translocal discursive resources in a given social setting are the result of copying, mimesis, intertextuality, invocation, allusion, critique, or something else. Relatedly, we need to better understand what properties of discursive resources render them available for global circulation. Finally, longitudinal studies could document the life cycles of mobile resources and provide a systematic account of their appearance, travels, transformations, and passage into oblivion.

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