

# Theoretical Perspectives and Research Methods in Studies of Foreign Correspondence

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Most of what we think we know about foreign correspondents is gleaned from biographies, autobiographies, personal accounts, and fictional representations of the life and work of those covering other countries for citizens back home. A mythology of foreign correspondence permeates popular thinking and finds its way into professional accounts.

While a number of systematic, scientific attempts to describe the work of the foreign correspondent have been attempted, in the United States these have been mostly descriptive studies derived from surveys of those doing work as foreign correspondents or have been content analysis studies attempting to examine what is being reported by the foreign correspondents. Some have been studies of related social processes such as foreign policy formation or news agency. The most cohesive theoretical work has been in international news flow. That work has tended to focus at the macro-organizational or cultural level and has not focused on foreign correspondence itself. A very few studies have been theoretically grounded attempts to find underlying concepts and principles governing foreign correspondence.

Most of the direct scientific approaches to foreign correspondence have used survey methodologies, personal interviews, and content analysis. Much of it has focused on correspondents posted abroad from major industrialized countries. Some has focused on foreign correspondents posted in the United States. Systematic studies aimed at developing theoretical propositions testing specific hypotheses or searching for generalizable principles have been more rare.

## The Foreign Correspondence Surveys

A series of surveys have attempted to describe foreign correspondents and their work over the years. In the United States these surveys may be divided into two types: those focused on correspondents working in the United States for news organizations abroad and those focused on correspondents from the United States posted overseas.

### Foreign Correspondents Stationed in the United States

Six major studies have produced a picture of correspondents stationed in the United States reporting for news organizations abroad.

The earliest of these studies was conducted by Lambert in 1956. Lambert patterned his study on an earlier study of U.S. domestic Washington correspondents conducted by Leo Rosten in 1937. That study was published as *The Washington Correspondents* in 1937. Rosten interviewed 154 of the correspondents from around the United States working in Washington, D. C., in order to develop his questionnaires. He then selected 203 correspondents from the 497 listed in the 1936 *Congressional Directory*. He sent two biographical questionnaires and received 127 replies to the first and 107 to the second. He was able to learn a great deal about the demographic characteristics, work habits, and attitudes of the domestic Washington correspondents.

This study of American reporters in Washington became the model for most of the studies that followed of foreign correspondents in the U.S. and of U.S. correspondents abroad.

Following Rosten's example, Lambert sent a mail questionnaire in 1956 to 250 foreign correspondents from abroad posted in the United States and received 111 responses. He believed this to be a census of all correspondents in the U.S. at that time. He found that most correspondents were male (105 and only 6 female) with a median age of 44, about half had a college education (53.6%) and 21% had graduate work, and 80.9% were married. Most worked in New York or Washington, D.C., and three quarters were full-time. They were experienced journalists (18 years, 9 as foreign correspondents) and wrote mostly about foreign affairs. Three quarters said their writing was "interpretative" while 20% said it was "straight factual." The correspondents depended most heavily upon American news media as sources and most were relatively happy in their work. They found access to sources to be adequate (63.1%) or excellent (34%).

This survey set a pattern for studies of foreign correspondents that has varied little over the intervening years.

The second major study was conducted in 1970 and published in 1972 by John Chung Woo Suh as research for a doctoral dissertation (1971) at the University of Minnesota. It used a mail survey to collect demographic data from 126 foreign correspondents selected from 870 individuals stationed in the United States and probed for information about their professional attitudes and work habits. It also found that most of the correspondents were male, experienced and well educated.

The third study was by Hamid Mowlana in 1975. He used a mail survey sent to 300 foreign correspondents (one-third of those listed by the USIA's Foreign Press Center) and received 103 responses. He found that most of these correspondents had entered journalism for "serious" reasons, were experienced, produced five to seven stories a week and stayed mostly in Washington or New York. He found that the correspondents were well educated, socially unorthodox, liberal, and had strong professional connections.

The fourth study was conducted in 1983 by Shailendra Ghorpade, who published her results in a report and three separate articles that appeared in 1983 and 1984. The mail survey study was of 480 Washington-based foreign correspondents (317 replied). One report focused on the demographics, organization characteristics, media use, and views of the foreign correspondents about U.S. media reporting of foreign news. It confirmed much of what had been found in earlier studies. A second report focused on how accessible various sources in the United States were to these correspondents. It compared the responses of first world and third world correspondents about the sources they use in their reports and their perceptions of how available government officials were to them. It found that foreign correspondents, especially those from developing countries, had trouble gaining access to U.S. government sources.

The fifth study was by Nair in 1991. His mail survey was sent to a skip sample of Washington-based foreign correspondents and netted a 46 percent return rate for 117 usable responses. He examined demographic and social characteristics of the correspondents and their perceptions of New World Information Order issues. As with earlier studies, he found that the correspondents were mostly male, older, well educated, experienced and mostly focused on economic and political news. He found that the

correspondents filed 2,000 to 4,000 words per week, had little access to officials and depended heavily on “borrowed news” from U.S. media. Respondents perceived a bias in U.S. media against the third world as alleged in NWIO debates.

The sixth and most recent study, “Through Their Eyes: the Work of Foreign Correspondents in the United States,” was done by Willnat and Weaver in 2003. They reported the results of a study of 1,550 U.S. based foreign Correspondents (152 of the eligible correspondents completed responses for a 17 percent response rate). They sent a mail questionnaire that asked about 1) professional background, 2) work routines, 3) perceived problems in the correspondents’ work, 4) job satisfaction and job factors, 5) journalistic role perceptions, and 6) perceptions of reporting practices. The authors compared the results with those of an earlier Weaver and Willnat study of U.S. Journalists (1996). Much of what they found confirmed findings from earlier studies. However, they reported “ a growing dissatisfaction with access to official news sources in the United States,” more women among the foreign correspondents in their study, and a greater dependency upon new technologies reshaping some of the work of these correspondents. They found significant differences in demographics, job satisfaction, practices, problems, and role perceptions of foreign correspondents when compared to local U.S. journalists. The foreign correspondents were older, better educated, and more experienced than the U.S. journalists. They also reported more job satisfaction and were news junkies. They reported problems with access to government officials, placed more emphasis on “analysis and interpretation” in their reporting, and said they were helping develop the “intellectual and cultural interests” of their readers through their reporting.

These findings are surprisingly consistent across time. However, they do reveal a growing dissatisfaction with access to U.S. government officials and they do reveal larger numbers of women in more recent studies.

### **U.S. Foreign Correspondents Posted Abroad**

Similarly, a series of eight descriptive studies in the United States have been made of foreign correspondents from U.S. media who are stationed abroad.

The first of these was a pair of studies by John William Maxwell conducted in 1954 and published in *Journalism Quarterly* in 1956. The main study was a survey sent to full-time American and foreign national correspondents for American newspapers, news agencies, news magazines, radio and television throughout the world. It elicited 209 responses, thought to be 55 to 60 percent of all correspondents. It found that nearly one-third of the American correspondents had at least one foreign-born parent and that two thirds came from business or professional families. A third were from the Northeast United States and nearly one-third grew up in cities. More than 60 percent held college degrees and 90 percent had attended college. A third spoke at least one language besides English and 80 percent received their first post abroad before they were 35 years old.

The second was Kruglak’s 1955 study of the European correspondents for American news media. At the time, three-quarters of all U.S. media correspondents worldwide were posted to Europe. Kruglak compiled his population from the accredited correspondent lists of press offices and international organizations based in Europe. It included full-time employees who were U.S. citizens, foreign nationals working for U.S. media, and part-time stringers working for U.S. media. He sent a questionnaire to the entire list of 396 correspondents and received 277 usable responses. He followed this

with extensive personal interviews with 96 of the correspondents. He found that most of the correspondents were in their 20s and 30s, three-quarters of them had higher education degrees, and almost all (98.1 percent) were men. The book provides a detailed account of the work, environment, characteristics, and attitudes of the correspondents.

The third study was Wilhelm's 1963 article, which attempted to compile a comprehensive list of all foreign correspondents working for U.S. media in the early 1960s. His report, titled "The Reappearing Foreign Correspondent: A World Survey," was assembled with the help of nearly 100 people in 84 countries. He found 515 American correspondents writing for U.S. media and an additional 718 local nationals working for U.S. Media. The number of Americans was 75% higher than the 293 correspondents reported in 1950 by Russell Anderson in an essay in the *Michigan Alumni Quarterly* lamenting the decline of foreign correspondence after World War II. Wilhelm found that the correspondents were not distributed evenly across the globe. They were concentrated in London (with 73 American correspondents), Rome (49), Paris (48), and Tokyo (47). However, he reported finding 14 new news bureaus in Latin America and 20 new correspondents in Africa. He still found many areas of the world with no correspondents or bureaus.

The fourth study was Leo Bogart's survey of 503 active members of the Overseas Press Club conducted in 1967 (206 completed responses). The sample included correspondents from around the world and was balanced for Europe and non-Europe based journalists. The survey focused on demographics and lifestyle, but also include questions about the attitudes of the journalists toward their jobs and their profession. The study found that the respondents were experienced, well-educated, older reporters. Most correspondents (80 percent) reported that they worked in an established bureau with several other correspondents. About 20 percent said they maintained close relationships with nationals (more in Europe than in other areas). Most correspondents said that they communicated well in the language of the country in which they are stationed. Two of three said they personally read the local press. Most correspondents believed that they had less freedom of access where they worked than did foreign correspondents working in Washington. Most of the correspondents expressed satisfaction with their jobs as foreign correspondents.

The fifth survey was Kliesch's 1991 study, "The U.S. Press Corps Abroad Rebounds: A 7<sup>th</sup> World Survey of Foreign Correspondents." This was a census of more than 1,700 journalists representing U.S. news media abroad. Kliesch found that the number of U.S. correspondents abroad had jumped from 676 to 1,734 and that they were more widely distributed around the world. He also found more women correspondents—25 percent up from 10 percent he found in an earlier study in 1975.

The sixth study was the major 1996 survey and content analysis made by Steven Hess and his team for the Brookings Institute. The book-length report is an excellent compilation of facts about foreign correspondents, what gets covered, the backgrounds of the foreign correspondents, the technologies they use and the problems they face. It was based on two types of data: 1) surveys of the content of articles over three years (1978, 1988, and 1992) in three newspapers and two news magazines, and of the transcripts of the evening broadcasts of CBS, ABC, and NBC from the Vanderbilt Television News Archive, and 2) 404 responses to a 10-page mail questionnaire sent to journalists (U.S. media and Reuters) outside the United States in 1992 and 370 additional responses to that

questionnaire from former foreign correspondents. The study also included a good deal of data for context drawn from secondary sources.

The seventh major report was Weaver's 1998 book *The Global Journalist: News People Around the World*. This is a compilation of 23 separate reports of mostly surveys of journalists in different countries around the world. It is roughly a replication of the Weaver and Wilhoit study *American Journalist* in 19 countries. While it is not focused specifically on the work of foreign correspondents, it does provide a useful context for understanding the work of foreign correspondents across the globe.

The eighth and most recent study was Wu and Hamilton's 2004 survey of 354 foreign correspondents drawn from 4,825 names of U.S. foreign correspondents collected over 20 years by Dr. Ralph Kliesch of Ohio University. The survey looked at 1) demographics, 2) working requirements, 3) impacts of the Internet, and 4) differences in news topics between U.S. and foreign nationals representing U.S. media abroad. The researchers found that more foreign nationals are being used by U.S. media; more experience among the foreign correspondents than among typical domestic U.S. reporters; a well-educated corps; more non-white correspondents (though still low); that foreign nationals are paid less than U.S. correspondents; a still Euro-centered corps; more Internet oriented correspondents; less travel; fewer hours per week of work; lower morale (and a perception that editors want too light a fare); and a perception that new topics are needed in coverage.

These findings give a wonderfully evocative description of foreign correspondents in the U. S. and of U. S. correspondents abroad. They offer insights into their lives, their background, their work conditions, and their attitudes. However, the studies are mainly descriptive and lack a strong theoretical focus that might develop the constructs and principles needed to understand how foreign correspondence works and what drives the work of the foreign correspondent.

### **Indirect Studies of Foreign Correspondence**

These survey methods for directly describing foreign correspondents and their work have been supplemented by studies that indirectly add to our understanding of foreign correspondents and how they work.

These studies fall into three categories: content analysis studies, studies of news agencies, and studies of international news flow.

### **Content Studies**

Many of the important content studies have some overlap with the surveys; they are grounded in empirical methods that are primarily descriptive. Most are based on content analysis of print or broadcast media. A few examples illustrate this type of research.

One example of this kind of study is John Adams' "What the Foreign Correspondent Does for a Newspaper's Readers," published in *Journalism Quarterly* in 1966. The study examined the impact on coverage of a newspaper's having its own correspondent. It was a study of three pairs of newspapers—one newspaper in each pair had its own foreign correspondent, the other did not. The study examined newspaper content to see if this made a difference in coverage. It found that having a foreign

correspondent resulted in more foreign news stories, of greater length, with more specific sources, dealing with more significant topics and more background and analysis.

A second example of these content studies is a study published in 1981 by Kim Andres Elliott. It was a content tracking study focused on counting the number of news items on two major U.S. broadcasts and five international broadcasts originating outside the U.S., but aimed at U.S. audiences. The study found that over a five-day period, 55 world news items not covered by the U.S. media would have been heard on these foreign broadcasts.

Daniel Riffe published a third example of content studies in *Journalism Quarterly* in 1984. The research was a content analysis of the Chicago Tribune and the New York Times taken from an 11-year period. It found a shrinking international news hole and slightly growing use of news “borrowing” (from locally produced news reports in local media overseas or in government media reports). However, the percent of such borrowing was small (less than 20 percent) and correspondents were thought to exercise judgment in selecting the items to borrow.

In 1988, Catherine Cassara looked at U.S. Newspaper Coverage of Human Rights in Latin America from 1975 to 1982 by analyzing the content of four prestige newspapers in the United States. She found that Carter Administration policies emphasizing human rights did seem to significantly increase coverage of human rights issues, supporting an Agenda Building Theory of foreign news coverage.

The Stephen Hess book (1996) described earlier included significant chapters examining the content of the work of the foreign correspondents. This research was focused the examination of articles in three separate years in three newspapers and two news magazines and of transcripts of the evening news broadcasts of CBS, ABC, and NBC taken from the Vanderbilt Television News Archive.

A final example is Melissa A. Johnson’s 1997 content analysis of 515 index citations from 34 U.S. newspapers in order to study the role of geographic proximity, cultural proximity, and organization on the quantity of stories about Mexico. She found that “cultural proximity” influenced the number of stories published, but that geographic proximity did not. She also found that the size of the newspaper and its organizational characteristics had influenced the lengths of stories published.

These examples show the usual approach of content analysis studies to foreign correspondence. The studies attempt to find patterns in stories selected from the stream of reports generated from abroad for domestic media. They then attempt to deduce the impact of this correspondence on readers and viewers of domestic media to find relationships between the work of the foreign correspondents and the responses of those consuming the work of those correspondents.

However, they contribute only indirectly to our understanding of the work of the foreign correspondent and leave little data upon which to construct a systematic understanding of what drives foreign correspondence or the work of the foreign correspondent.

### **News Agency Studies**

A second indirect approach to studying foreign correspondence is to examine the organizational structures within which the correspondents work. The most common

approach to this type of study is to examine the structure of the major news agencies, especially the major international news agencies.

These studies are best illustrated by the impressive review, *International News Agencies*, by Oliver Boyd-Barrett. It is a sweeping review of the structure, functions and role of the four “world agencies.” The review examines their domestic and international role, their competition with each other and with other agencies, their structures and processes, their threats and conflicts in a changing environment. The focus of the book is on the agencies, not on individual reporters.

### **International Flow of Information**

A third approach peripherally related to our grasp of the work of the foreign correspondent is the area of the international flow of news and information. In 1985, Mowlana created a model of international news flow based on the interaction of technology and information sources. He found that production and distribution of information generally flows from richer northern countries to poorer southern countries creating a gap made worse by technology hardware and software lags.

De Bens and Kelly (1992) have found that this imbalance has been exacerbated by recent technological and marketing developments in Internet media. They report that cable and satellite communication has accelerated the impact of countries with high production values on their neighbors.

While these approaches have value in understanding the impact of foreign correspondence on other cultures, they leave opportunities for more research focused specifically on the processes and principles of foreign correspondence itself. *Histories, Biographies, and Essays*

The history of foreign correspondence is dominated by two seminal works: John Hohenberg’s *Foreign Correspondence: The Great Reporters and Their Times* and Phillip Knightley’s *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Kosovo*. Hohenberg has written a powerful history of foreign correspondence by focusing on major personalities from the 1700s through the 1960s. His account is driven by accounts of the personalities who established foreign correspondence and those who practiced it.

Knightley’s work is centered on a unifying theme: that truth inevitably falls victim to propaganda, government manipulation and patriotic fervor during times of conflict. He tracks war correspondence during conflicts from the Crimean War to the conflict in Kosovo and shows how coverage has been riddled with falsehoods and half-truths often misleading the public into supporting policies they would otherwise have repudiated.

These seminal works have been supplemented by a number of biographies and essays by correspondents themselves. These works describe first hand the experiences of the correspondence including the problems the faced and their techniques for overcoming these problems. However, such personal accounts provide little help in developing the systematic analysis required for theory building.

### **Theoretical Studies**

These approaches to understanding foreign correspondence are largely descriptive. They adopt a limited effects set of assumptions and have drawn from only a

narrow range of theoretical possibilities for developing a more systematic understanding of the work of the foreign correspondent. The surveys and content studies are quantitative in approach with limited aspirations of contributing to theory building about foreign correspondence. The histories, biographies, and essays generally are not focused on generating theory. The news agency and international news flow studies have resulted in theoretical models, but are structured to address questions at a macro-organizational level and say little about the practice of foreign correspondence itself.

A limited number of both qualitative and quantitative studies have been mounted to contribute to theory building in the field. However, they have been sporadic and have not yet produced a coherent theoretical foundation for the field. Quantitative studies of foreign correspondence specifically aimed at testing theoretical propositions are relatively rare.

We do have a few examples. Millissa A. Johnson's 1997 article "Predicting News Flow from Mexico" was a content analysis of 515 index citations from 34 U.S. newspapers. It sought to test the relationship of geographic proximity, cultural proximity, and organization characteristics to the quantity of stories about Mexico. It found that cultural proximity influenced the number of stories covered while geographic proximity did not. It also found that the size of the newspaper and its organizational characteristics tended to influence the lengths of stories reported.

Similarly, Catherine Cassara's "U.S. Newspaper Coverage of Human Rights in Latin American, 1975-1992: Exploring President Carter's Agenda-Building Influence" used content analysis of coverage in four prestige newspapers in the United States to see if efforts by the Carter Administration did seem to significantly increase coverage of human rights issues, supporting an Agenda Building Theory of presidential influence on foreign news coverage.

The Willnat and Weaver study cited earlier, while primarily a descriptive study, did have some questions aimed at exploring whether the characteristics of foreign correspondents might influence them to place more emphasis on "analysis and interpretation" as a part of their decisions to cover events.

A later chapter in this book will examine a series of theoretical studies related to foreign correspondence. They do not bear directly on our understanding of the work of the foreign correspondent, but they suggest how established theoretical paradigms might be brought to bear on research about foreign correspondence. Among the most important of these are "gatekeeping" studies, "agenda setting theory" and "framing analysis."

However, the broader fields of research in journalism, mass communication, and communication studies have generated a broad range of innovative theoretical perspectives in the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These approaches offer a full spectrum of research methodologies and theoretical paradigms that might be brought to bear on foreign correspondence. The possibilities are grounded in sets of assumptions about units of analysis, ontological perspectives, research values, and epistemological parameters.

Broadly speaking, these sets of assumptions may be described as quantitative perspectives or qualitative perspectives. Both approaches are discussed in succeeding chapters of this book.

Briefly, the quantitative perspectives first define independent and dependent variables, then operationalize the presence of each variable in order to count specified units for observation, apply arithmetic/statistical analytic techniques to the observed

frequencies, and examine the resulting manifestations of patterns for causal relationships. Quantitative approaches depend upon experimenter-defined units of analysis and search for the relationships among them that cause human behavior.

The qualitative perspectives generally identify constructs rather than variables, examine “texts” or “speech acts” rather than countable units, apply contextual analytic techniques rather than statistical or arithmetic analysis, and seek narrative themes, processes, or deep structures as representations or essences of human experience rather than causal relationships to human behavior. Qualitative approaches depend upon not-previously-defined constructs of analysis in order to comprehend, synthesize, and re-contextualize human experience.

The result is a wide range of theoretic/methodological options for the study of mass and human communication. These options include theories of human behavior that search for causes in the structure of the human mind (Gestalt), the conditioning of human experience (Behaviorism), the structure of mediation (Information Theory), and the structure of social experience (cognitive theory). They include objective structural approaches (systems theories) and subjective structural approaches (symbolic interactionism and framing theory). They include cultural theories, social constructionism and postmodernism. The expansion of the Internet and emerging digital media have also renewed interest in media studies grounded in various network theories, whose roots stretch back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Few studies based on these more recent paradigms have been mounted to examine the work of foreign correspondents.

Ken Stark and Estela Villanueva did publish a study called “Cultural Framing: Foreign Correspondents and Their Work” in 1992 that examined 75 books by and about foreign correspondents and supplemented it with interviews with six foreign correspondents. Their analysis was done from a cultural framing theoretical perspective examining the role of culture in the work of the foreign correspondents. They found that fewer than half of the printed sources (44%) referred explicitly to culture. In the interviews, the authors found an unconscious awareness of four types of cultural influences that were articulated by the correspondents once they were introduced by the interviewer.

Jin Yang published “Framing the NATO Air Strikes on Kosovo Across Countries: Comparison of Chinese and U.S. Newspaper Coverage” in 2003. The “framing” study sought to test the hypotheses that Chinese and U.S. coverage reflected the national interests of each country based on framing key terms and themes reflected in the text of newspaper coverage. It found that the national interest of each country was reflected in the coverage.

Wayne Wanta and Yu-Wei Hu published “The Agenda-Setting Effects of International News Coverage: An Examination of Differing News Frames” in 1993. They compared the coverage of 15 categories of international news in four news media “with the level of public concern with international problems as recorded by all 41 Gallup organization’s most important problem polls conducted from 1975 to 1990.” They found that the way that news reports are framed “may determine the magnitude of salience cues.”

Elfriede Fursich and Anandam P. Kavoori published “mapping a Critical Framework for the Study of Travel Journalism” in 2001. It was an essay that laid out a

framework for studying travel journalism and three theoretical perspectives for studying its impact including periodization and the interplay of modernity and post-modernism, power and identity of cultural imperialism, and how tourism cultivates the phenomenology of experience.

In 1995, Mark Pedelty published *War Stories: The Culture of Foreign Correspondents*. This participant observation study by a cultural anthropologist examined foreign correspondents covering the war in El Salvador. The author adopts a social constructionist approach. He explains the work of the correspondents from within what he calls (from Michael Foucault and Louis Althusser) the “disciplinary apparatuses that pattern many of their actions.” He argues that professional practices shape their work and produce the discourse or text of their reports.

In 2002, Giokvanna Dell’Orto published *Giving Meaning to the World: The First U.S. Foreign Correspondents, 1838-1859*. This book reports a “discourse analysis” of newspaper congressional and foreign correspondence “text” driven by theories of the social construction of reality. The author especially cites the work of James Carey as guiding his research. It searches for the cultural antecedents of meaning in the work of the foreign correspondents derived from the foreign cultures in which they work.

These works use recent theoretical perspectives to understand the work of foreign correspondents. However, the studies are isolated and often are grounded in broader cultural, social and organizational issues. They demand to be followed up with additional studies in order to achieve the kind of coherent theoretical explanatory power of foreign correspondence made possible at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, as Wu and Hamilton (2004) have pointed out, recent trends in this area include the growth of the Internet, the increasing dependence upon foreign nationals by international news organizations, and the reduction in investment in support for foreign news bureaus and traditional foreign news correspondents. These trends make it ever more difficult for descriptive studies to adequately explain the processes and principles at work in foreign correspondence. These developments call for new thinking about how to study these issues.

The following chapters will outline the studies that have been conducted to this point. They will offer suggestions about new ways to develop theories of foreign correspondence. They will suggest that this area demands coherent theory building. They will suggest that we use the full range of theoretical perspectives available at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in a new global and highly interconnected international network environment described by Manuel Castells, Peter Monge, and others. These approaches can help us expand our understanding of the specific processes and principles of foreign correspondence apart from the work being done in related areas of news flow, news agency, and social impact of foreign news. This specific work on foreign correspondence can have a lasting impact on our understanding of all of these related areas and is important in its own right.

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