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INTERDISCIPLINARY INFLUENCES IN THE STUDY OF INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS: A CITATION ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT. This article identifies the influential disciplines, scholars and books in the interdisciplinary study of intercultural relations. Influence is measured in terms of the number of citations that a scholar, book, etc. received in the International Journal of Intercultural Relations from 1983 to 1996. According to the citation analysis conducted, psychology is the most influential discipline, followed by communication, sociology and last anthropology. The most influential authors (in order of rank) are (1) W. Gudykunst (2) H. Triandis (3) R. Brislin (4) B. Ruben and (5) E. T. Hall. The Handbook of Intercultural Training, Intercultural Communication: A Reader (all editions), Culture's Consequence and Cross-Cultural Encounters are among the most influential books. The results of the present study are compared to the results of a past survey-based study of influences in the area of intercultural relations. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved

An *interdiscipline* is 'a field of scholars who identify with various disciplines but share a common interest in a theme that crosses traditional boundaries' (Littlejohn, 1982, p. 246). A *field* 'consists of the community of scholars who associate with a particular theme' (p. 245). A *theme*, in turn, is 'the subject, topic, or focus of the scholar' (p. 245). In this framework, *intercultural relations* is the community of scholars who identify with various social science disciplines, but share a common interest in studying the interaction of people from different cultures

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(Hart, 1998). The term *intercultural relations* is used here to provide a broad, neutral term—a term that would encompass terms and areas of study like intercultural communication and cross-cultural psychology, for example. Intercultural relations can be seen as the intersection of several disciplines (see Figure 1). Anthropology, communication, psychology, and sociology are the four main social science disciplines which study intercultural interaction.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this article is to determine the influential disciplines, scholars and books in the interdisciplinary study of intercultural relations. One of the primary means of understanding influences in an area of study is through the use of citation analysis (Borgman, 1990).¹ Since the late 1960s citation analysis has been used as a means of understanding the flow of information to, within, and from the discipline of communication. In 1967 Parker, Paisley, and Garrett, for example, used citation analysis to study the cross-discipline citing behavior between mass communication research and two other social science disciplinespsychology and sociology (as cited in Paisley, 1984). Paisley used citation analysis of early volumes of the Communication Yearbook and the Social Science Citation Index to determine the intellectual 'roots' of communication subdisciplines (Paisley, 1984, 1990). For example, his analysis places the roots of intercultural communication in the cultural anthropology (E. Sapir, B. Whorf, E. Hall, etc.). The present study follows in the tradition of these and other past citation analyses.

Advances in computer technologies is one of the major reasons for why bibliometric studies (including citation analysis) is becoming more common (Paisley, 1989).² Advances in computer technology over the past 25 years have brought about electronic databases (e.g. the Social Science Citation Index) either on CD-ROM or on-line. Furthermore, the developments in spreadsheet and database software for the PC, and online information retrieval software (e.g. DIALOG) eases the task of tallying citation data. For many specialty areas citation data sets in elec-

¹The exact meaning of citations in a scholarly article is debatable. If an author cites another author, is the citation being used to support a claim or is it used to debunk a cited source? That is, is the citation positive or negative? Whereas the meaning of citations may be debatable, what is clear is that a citation reflects an influence of some kind on an author.

²Bibliometrics has been defined as 'shed[ing] light on the processes of written communication and of the nature and course of development of a discipline (in so far as this is displayed through written communication), by means of counting and analyzing the various facets of written communication' (Pritchard, 1969, p. 348). Citation analysis is the best known form of bibliometrics (Borgman, 1990).

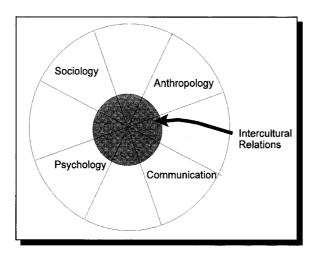


FIGURE 1. The Interdisciplinary Study of Intercultural Relations. Intercultural Relations is the intersection of Several Disciplines (Hart, 1998). (Source: The Edge: The E-Journal of Intercultural Relations (www.hart-li.com/biz/theedge). Used by permission.)

tronic databases waiting to be analyzed. This study takes advantage of the readily available data and technology to better understand the study of intercultural relations.

A review of literature shows that no citation analysis of the intercultural relations literature has been conducted, with the exception of Paisley's results on the 'roots' of intercultural communication (Paisley, 1984). Hart suggested that a citation analysis may be beneficial in understanding the history and development of intercultural communication study (Hart, 1996). One of the major tasks of a historian of a scientific discipline is to determine the most influential scholars and books of that discipline. In the case of understanding the history and development of intercultural relations study, a citation analysis, with the simple tallying of citation frequencies, can determine the influential disciplines, scholars and books. The present study picks up on the citation analysis suggestion.

It would be a near impossible task to do a citation analysis of all intercultural relations literature. To make this task more manageable, I have chosen to do a citation analysis of the flagship journal of intercultural relations study—International Journal of Intercultural Relations (IJIR). IJIR is a primary outlet for researchers in the speciality and thus a reasonable citation source to use. By examining the frequencies of citations within this journal we are able to come to a better understanding of the field. A citation analysis of IJIR will provide a partial, but a strong representative sample of the intercultural relations literature.

The present study complements an earlier study done on the perceived contributions of the various social sciences to the study of intercultural relations (Harman & Briggs, 1991). Harman and Briggs surveyed a random sample of 350 SIETAR (Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research) members about their opinions on the value of contributions from various social science disciplines, scholars and books to the interdiscipline of intercultural relations (Harman & Briggs, 1991). Whereas *IJIR* was the official publication SIETAR up until 1997, a comparison of Harman and Briggs' survey results with the citation analysis of *IJIR* seems valid.

Research Questions

Like Harman and Briggs' survey (Harman & Briggs, 1991) the research reported here of citations in *IJIR* has as its main goal to determine the influence that certain social science disciplines, certain authors, and certain books have had on the study of intercultural relations. Through the use of a citation analysis, the present study addresses the following research questions:

- 1. What social science disciplines are the most influential in the study of intercultural relations?
- 2. What authors are the most influential in the study of intercultural relations?
- 3. What books are the most influential in the study of intercultural relations?

METHODS

Sample

A citation analysis was carried out on the references at the end of *IJIR* articles and reviews by using data from the online version of the *Social Science Citation Index (SSCI)*.³ *IJIR* began publication with

³The major disadvantage of citation analysis is a validity problem. Does *frequency of citations* of a journal, author or book measure the *influence* of the journal, author or book within an area of study? In the present analysis *influence* is measured quantitatively by the number of citations that a journal, author or book receives. Harman and Briggs surveyed SIETAR members to judge the relative contribution (or influence) of scholars and disciplines (Harman & Briggs, 1991). While Harman and Briggs' survey method may have more face validity, the citation analysis has its advantages. The major advantages of citation analysis are its high reliability and unobtrusiveness (Borgman, 1990). Harman and Briggs' SIETAR survey, comparatively speaking, is less reliable and more obtrusive (Harman & Briggs, 1991). The survey technique relies on the general impressions of the survey subjects. In addition, the act of asking survey questions may influence survey results.

volume 1 in 1977. SSCI data did not, unfortunately, begin maintaining citation data for IJIR until IJIR's 7th volume in 1983. The data collected for the present study came from the SSCI (the online version) and does not contain citations made in IJIR before 1983. The database used in the present study contains citations made in IJIR beginning with volume 7, number 1 (1983) to volume 21, number 2 (1996). The data set is thus a partial set of all IJIR citations, but still remains a strong representative sample of relevant citations.⁴

Even though only a restricted data set was obtained, the data set used for this study still consisted of 13,006 citations. The average number of citations per issue is 224. The average number of citations per volume: 897. If this average is applicable to the first six volumes of *IJIR*, then approximately 5300 citations are contained in volumes 1–6. If a latter analysis were to include the first six volumes, then such an analysis would contain over 18,000 citations.

Procedures

The online research system, DIALOG, was used in conjunction with the SSCI online database to construct a set of all references cited in IJIR articles and book reviews from volume 7, number 1 (1983) to volume 21, number 2 (1996). Over 13,000 citations were stored on disk and later analyzed using a common spreadsheet software program to sort and tally results. The IJIR citation database was first sorted by journal title and then frequencies for the top cited journals were counted by hand. Counting by hand allowed the author to catch mistakes in spelling (and other problems) in the citation data that would have lead the computer to miscount. Frequencies for the top cited authors and books were determined with the same method (sort and then hand count). Frequencies were checked multiple times for accuracy.

⁴The citation analysis reported here was conducted in the fall of 1996.

⁵It must be noted that the citation data did not come from Social Science Citation Index (online version) in a well-organized format. Many hours were spent organizing the 'raw' data into a form that could be read into database management software for sorting and tallying. It must also be noted that even after the data were organized, they were 'dirty data' containing errors. Examples of errors included misspelling of authors' names (e.g. *Brisner* instead of Brislin, *T. E. Hall* instead of E. T. Hall) and incorrect page numbers. A strong effort was made to clean up the data, but they still may contain some errors. These remaining errors should not, however, greatly affect the overall results of the present study. Reasons for errors include authors improperly citing works and errors in data-entry at SSCI.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Influential Social Science Disciplines

What Social Science Disciplines are the Most Influential in the Study of Intercultural Relations?. The influence of social science disciplines on intercultural relations study is measured by the number of

 $\label{eq:table 1} \textbf{Most cited journals in IJIR}^{\textbf{a}}$

Journal title	Number of citations	First Year cited	Last Yea cited
Journal of Personality and Social Psychology	219	1957	1995
Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology	147	1970	1993
Journal of Social Issues	139	1952	1990
Psychological Bulletin ^b	120	1959	1990
Journal of Social Psychology	114	1939	1994
Human Communication	86	1975	1988
American Psychologist	78	1950	1991
Journal of Applied Psychology	77	1971	1985
International Journal of Psychology	61	1966	1986
Communication Monographs	57	1977	1993
Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology ^c	56	1931	1965
Human Relations	55	1963	1987
Psychology Review	53	1948	1992
American Sociology Review	47	1938	1990
American Anthropologist	46	1943	1989
Communication Quarterly	45	1977	1992
Human Communication Research	43	1983	1992
Psychology Report	42	1957	1993
Group Organization Studies	41	1976	1986
American Journal of Sociology	38	1928	1990
Academy of Management Review	37	1976	1993
Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences	33	1979	1993
Journal of Education Psychology ^d	31	1923	1996
Child Development	31	1953	1990
Practical Anthropologist ^e	31	1960	1963
Journal of College Students	30	1977	1992
Citations (total):	1757		
Percentage of all citations:	13.51%		

 $^{^{\}mathrm{a}}\mathrm{This}$ table includes only those journals with 30 or more citations and excludes IJIR citations.

^bThirty-seven citations are for an article by Church (1982) and twenty-four citations are for an article by Brien and David (1971).

^cThis journal is no longer influential.

^dThis journal has the longest span of influence.

eTwenty-five citations were for an article by Oberg (1960).

citations made to journals of various social sciences. Table 1 shows the most cited journals in *IJIR*. In their survey of SIETAR members, Harman and Briggs asked the members what fields contributed most to 'international/intercultural communication' study (Harman & Briggs, 1991). The SIETAR members ranked anthropology as contributing far more to the field than any other social science field. The remaining rankings were as follows: (2) sociology, (3) linguistics and (4) psychology.⁶

Contrary to Harman and Briggs' findings, when it comes to the contribution (or influence) of social sciences in the writing of articles for *IJIR*, anthropology has little influence. Two anthropology journals made the list of journals with 30 or more citations. Neither ranked near the top and they only had a collective influence of 76 citations. Moreover, neither of the anthropology journals were cited for articles published after 1990. One of the anthropology journals, *Practical Anthropology*, was cited for articles between 1960–1963, the majority for a single article by Kalervo Oberg's (1960) article: 'Culture Shock: Adjustment to New Cultural Environments.'

Based on the results of the citation analysis, the social science discipline that stands out as strongly influential is psychology. Psychology ranked fourth on Harman and Briggs' list (Harman & Briggs, 1991). Such a result confused Harman and Briggs. 'Surprisingly a relatively low position was accorded to psychology, whose publications care of consequence in the field' (p. 22). The present citation analysis provided the results that Harman and Briggs expected, but did not observe in their study. Seven of the top ten journals contain psychology (or a derivative of it) in their title. A little over 1000 citations from the most cited list are from psychology journals, leaving the remaining approximately 750 citations to journals in other disciplines like anthropology, sociology and communication. No linguistic journals made the most cited list. Overall the journals with 30 or more citations accounted for a total of 1757 citations (i.e. 13.5% of all 13,006 *IJIR* citations analyzed).

Possible explanations for the difference between the citation and the survey results center around the samples used in each case. First, Harman and Briggs' respondents, when asked which disciplines contributed more to international/intercultural communication, probably, thought of the founder of the study of intercultural communication—

⁶It should be noted that Harman and Briggs conceptualize the disciplines that study intercultural interaction differently than is done in this article (Harman & Briggs, 1991). In this article communication is seen as another discipline that studies the broader term intercultural *relations*. Respondents in the SIETAR survey were asked what disciplines contributed to international/intercultural *communication*. This explains why communication is on the citation results list of influential disciplines, but not on the survey results list

Edward T. Hall and the anthropologists like Franz Boas, Edward Sapir and Ruth Benedict who influenced Hall and thus thought of anthropology as the strongest contributor (Rogers & Hart, 1998). In the citation analysis, on the other hand, when authors cited references, more than likely, they cited recent research. The literature review sections of published studies cover past research, but the question often arises as to how far back should a literature review go. The common adage is that scholarly studies older than ten years are seldom worth mentioning. Scholars often throw out their journals that are older than ten years. Since anthropology's contribution to intercultural relations comes from literature older than a decade, it is not surprising that anthropology's influence is low according to the citation analysis. ⁷

Another possible reason for the difference in results, especially regarding the top ranking of psychology, could be that the founding and continuing editor of *IJIR*, Dan Landis, and many of the members of the editorial board have psychology backgrounds. This is not to suggest an unfair bias in *IJIR*, but only a natural one. It is also likely that there is no bias in *IJIR* toward psychology. It is possible that of the vast amount of research done in intercultural relations much of it may be in psychology and the citation analysis of *IJIR* simply reflects that.

Influential Authors

What Authors are the Most Influential in the Study of Intercultural Relations? Table 2 shows the authors with 30 or more citations. The strong influence of psychology can be seen again with many of the authors listed having a psychology background (e.g. Harry Triandis, Richard Brislin, Michael Bond and Stephen Bochner). Communication scholars are also strongly represented. William Gudykunst, Brent Ruben, Young Yun Kim and Mitchell Hammer are all communication scholars in the top ten of the list.

The most-cited authors list can be divided into those with 100 or more citations, those with 50–99 citations and those with 30–50 citations. These categories are labeled super contributors, strong contributors and contributors, respectively. The super contributors deserve special note. William Gudykunst (with 197 citations), Harry Triandis (with 136 citations) and Richard Brislin (with 120 citations) are the

⁷Questions arise here. Why has there not been any recent contribution from anthropology to the study of intercultural relations? Why only references to Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, Benjamin Whorf, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and Edward Hall (Rogers & Hart, 1998)? Has the discipline of anthropology changed so that direct contributions to intercultural relations are not so easily made?

⁸The Social Science Citation Index data used for the present analysis lists only the senior authors of the cited works.

TABLE 2

Most cited authors

Author	Number of citations	Span of influence	Rank
Gudykunst, W.	197	1976–1992	1
Triandis, H.	136	1959-1990	2
Brislin, R.	120	1970-1994	3
Ruben, B.	92	1972-1989	4
Hall, E.T.	79	1955-1990	5
Hofstede, G.	74	1978-1991	6
Kim,Y.Y.	71	1976-1992	7
Hammer, M. R.	63	1978-1992	8
Furnham, A.	59	1981-1989	9
Landis, D.	57	1973-1993	10
Berry, J.W.	53	1966-1990	11
Bond, M. H.	51	1973-1991	12
Bochner, S.	49	1971-1986	13
Adler, N.	45	1976-1994	14
Albert, R. D.	43	1976-1991	15
Hecht, M. L.	43	1978-1993	15
Hawes, F.	39	1977-1981	16
Adler, P.	36	1972-1987	17
Spitzberg, B. H.	36	1981-1994	17
Collier, M. J.	35	1986-1989	18
Ting-Toomey, S.	33	1981-1994	19
Kealey, D. J.	32	1979-1995	20
Martin, J. N.	32	1982-1991	20
Church, A.T.	31	1973-1992	21
Klineberg, O.	30	1966–1982	22
Oberg, K.	30	1958–1972	22
Citations (total):	1566		
Percentage of all citations:	12.0%		

three most influential scholars in the field of traditional intercultural relations study, according to these results. Triandis has also had an especially wide *span of influence*. The works written by Triandis and cited in *IJIR* range from 1959 to 1990. Only one other scholar on the list has a wider span of influence. The anthropologist Edward Hall's influence spans 1955–1990.

Harman and Briggs also asked their sample of 350 SIETAR members to specify authors of influence (Harman & Briggs, 1991). Harman and Briggs, however, asked their respondents to identify only those authors

⁹Self-citations were included in the analysis.

TABLE 3

Most cited books in IJIR

Book title	Author(s)/editors(s)	Years Published	Number citations	of	Rank
Handbook of Intercultural Training Intercultural Communication: A Reader Culture's Consequences Cross-Cultural Encounters Cross-Cultural Orientation Programs	Landis, D. and Brislin, R. (ed.) Samovar, L. and Porter, R. (ed.) Hofstede, G. Brislin, R. Brislin, R.	1983 1972–1994 1980, 1984 1981 1976	117 68 45 35 29		10045
beyond Culture Cross Cultural Perspectives on Learning	nal, E. I. Brislin, R., Bochner, S. and Lonner, W.	1976, 1961 1975	78 78		၀ ဖ
Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology Culture Shock Cultures in Contact The Analysis of Subjective Culture Communication with Strangers Cross-Cultural Adaptation At a Foreign University The Mediating Person Overview of Intercultural Communication Theories of Intercultural Communication Canadians Development and Empiricism Elimination of Racism	Triandis, H. (ed.) Furnham, A. Furnham, A. Triandis, H. Gudykunst, W. Kim, Y. and Gudykunst, W. Klineberg, O. and Hull, W. Bochner, S. (ed.) Ruben, R. Kim, Y. and Gudykunst, W. Amir, Y. and Gudykunst, W.	1979, 1980 1986 1982 1972 1984, 1992 1979 1977 1988 1977 1976	28 22 24 25 20 20 20 18 18		0 / / 8 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

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Book title	Author(s)/editors(s)	Years Published	Number citations	of	Rank
Variations in Value Orientations	Kluckhohn, F. and Strodtbeck, F.	1961	18		11
Cross Cultural Research Methods	Brislin, R.	1973	17		12
Counseling Across Cultures	Pedersen, P., Lonner, W. and Draguns	1976, 1981	16		13
The Silent Language	Hall, E.	1959, 1973	15		14
Citations (total): Percentage of all citations:	677 5.2% of all citations				

'outside the field'. Overwhelmingly, the most influential author, according to the SIETAR survey was Edward Hall. Hall ranked fifth on the present most-cited authors list. Other authors had considerably less influence. Richard Brislin and Geert Hofstede are authors of note that made both Harman and Briggs' survey list and the present most-cited list. Authors of note that made the survey list, but not the present most-cited list include Margaret Mead, Edward Stewart and John Condon.

These results require further explanation and interpretation. Since Harmon and Briggs restrict respondent choice to only scholars 'outside the field' of intercultural *communication*, then naturally communication scholars would not be included on their list, but would be included on the citation analysis list. If Harman and Briggs included communication scholars (those inside the field of intercultural communication), then a comparison of the survey list with the citation analysis list would be more helpful. As is, a comparison of the lists is helpful in gauging the influence of those outside of communication. The fact that Hall, Brislin and Hofstede are high on both lists helps confirm their influence in the study of intercultural relations.

Influential Books

What Books are the Most Influential in the Study of Intercultural Relations?. In their SIETAR survey Harman and Briggs questioned SIETAR members about influential books, but did not report the results (Harman & Briggs, 1991). The results of the present citation analysis on the most influential books is shown in Table 3. Geert Hofstede's (1980) Culture's Consequences, Richard Brislin's (1981) Cross-Cultural Encounters, Brislin and Paul Pedersen's (1976) Cross Cultural Orientation Programs rank near the top. Surprisingly Edward Hall's (1976) Beyond Culture ranks 6th, while his classic The Silent Language (1959) ranks 14th. Two of Brislin's other books, Cross-Cultural Research Methods (1973, coauthored with Walter Lonner and Robert Thorndike) and Intercultural Interactions (1986, coauthored with Kenneth Cushner, Craig Cherrie and Mahealani Yong) also made the list

Two edited books top the list, the *Handbook of Intercultural Training* (with 117 citations) edited by Daniel Landis and Richard Brislin (1983) and the *Intercultural Communication: A Reader* (with 68 citations) edited by Larry Samovar and Richard Porter (1972–1994). Note, however, the near 50 citation spread between the two top books. The *Handbook* has

¹⁰Such a distinction seems problematic. Is Edward Hall, for example, an intercultural communication scholar (inside the field)? Are only scholars trained in communication included? What about psychologists whose main focus is on cross-cultural psychology (e.g. Triandis)?

considerably more influence. *Intercultural Communication: A Reader* has, however, maintained a strong influence from 1972 (first edition) to 1994 (7th edition). Except for the first edition and the seventh, the other five editions averaged 12 citations each. Overall the books cited 15 or more times accounted for a total of 677 citations (i.e. 5.2% of all 13,006 *IJIR* citations analyzed).

Judging the influence of the edited books is problematic. Is it the edited volume that has the influence or the chapters in them that have the influence (e.g. *The Handbook of Intercultural Training*)? Further citation analysis may be helpful to parsing out an answer, but a few comments can be made now to clarify this question. If only a few chapters of the edit volumes are being cited, then more credit should be given to those few chapters. If, however, the citations are somewhat evenly spread among the chapters, then something can be said for the edited volume as a whole and for the choice of chapters made by the editor(s).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The overall influence of psychology in the interdisciplinary study of intercultural relations is shown in various places in this study. Psychology dominates the interdiscipline as measured by the number of psychology journals cited. Of the top five most cited scholars three are psychologists. Many of the top books cited (*Handbook of Intercultural Training, Cross-Cultural Encounters, Cross-Cultural Orientation Programs*) are written/edited by psychologists. The present citation analysis shows the importance of psychology. Harman and Briggs, in their survey results, expected psychology to be higher on the list of influential disciplines (Harman & Briggs, 1991). The present citation analysis provides the results that Harman and Briggs expected, but did not observe in their study.

Unlike in the Harman and Briggs survey study, in the present citation analysis study the influence of communication scholars in the study of intercultural relations is shown. The influence of communication scholars can be seen definitely in the top-cited authors list and to some degree in the top-cited journal and books list. The only other discipline of influence identified by both the survey and citation analysis, anthropology, deserves recognition, but its influence appears to be fading, especially when judged from the citation analysis results.

As expansive as the present citation analysis is, it is not complete. The present citation analysis of intercultural relations literature has addressed only one journal in the vast field and did not include the first six volumes of that journal. A next step should be the inclusion of the first six volumes of *IJIR* into a larger citation analysis. Any further citation analysis should also include analysis of some other prominent cita-

tion sources (e.g. other journals or popular texts). Further citation analysis of intercultural relations literature could also move beyond tallying citation frequencies to determine influence to other types of citation analyses (e.g. cross-citation analysis). For example, future research questions that could be answered via cross-citation analysis would be: What is the citation behavior between intercultural relations scholars in the disciplines of communication and psychology? How often do communication scholars cite psychology scholars and vice versa? Is there an imbalance in cross-citations? What would an imbalance in cross-citations mean?

In conclusion, this study is hopefully one of the beginning studies in a line of research that studies the study of intercultural relations. Along with growing interest in the historical analysis of intercultural relations study (e.g., Casmir, 1998; Rogers & Hart, 1998), citation analysis is an important means of understanding the interdiscipline of intercultural relations. Such meta-level analyses gives us a sense of who we are, who has influenced us, and where we may be headed. This phase of meta-level analysis of our interdiscipline is significant, for as Borgman notes 'a field's interest in its own scholarly communication [e.g. citations] is a sign of its maturity' (Borgman 1990, p. 12). As a collective over the past several decades we have carved out a path to a better understanding of intercultural relations. At this time we may find it useful to take a break in the endeavor and turn around to contemplate the path.

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