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Quality Criteria in Narrative and Script Writing for Children's Television (Ages 0–6)

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Children's Television

Editor's Introduction

Children and mass media have a long history, with public and academic reactions ranging from panic to pragmatism. In the United States of the 1920s, the Payne Fund sponsored research into the effects of film on children and teens. Some of Albert Bandura's ground-breaking research into social learning, and the subsequent development of social learning theory, began with public worries about teens' destructive imitation of television programs in the 1960s. To balance negative learning, many theorized that children could also learn prosocial messages from television. That, too, led to an immense amount of research and to the development of children's programming, led by the Children's Television Workshop in the U.S., a group that carefully designed and tested programs such as "Sesame Street" for early childhood education.

The research paradigms of the 1960s and 1970s, influenced by an overarching interest (at least in the U.S.) in media effects, focused on a range of measurable effects of television on children. Later communication research broadened its outlook to look at many more aspects of television viewing, including individual physiological and psychological growth.

Coming from a later Latin American tradition, Valerio Fuenzalida approaches children's television from the perspective of understanding children as shaped by a variety of developmental, psychological, family, educational, and media experiences. In this issue of Communication Research Trends, he further develops a thesis for the education of children through screen technologies that he proposed in Trends in 2012 (Volume 31, number 3) where he wrote:

> This paper asks whether there are technological convergence opportunities in the current multimedia process, and whether this process could become a key place to think about development, combating poverty, and working for equity. Would it be possible to make conceptual, political, and strategic links in order to design cultural policies in the audiovisual industry, which contribute to development, to equity, and to both humanistic and public (or citizenship) values? (p. 4)

Here he provides more detail about some of the ways that children's television can serve those needs. He draws on what he terms a "new conception" of children and reviews ways in which script writing for children can serve their socio-emotional needs. Using examples from existing children's television, he examines the child protagonist and the use of "ludic space" to allow the child to form a television audience different from what traditional research had suggested. Both brain-development research and research into the emotional development of children supports this proposal.

In a note to the editor, he cautions, "The review is addressed to Latin-American (and Third World) television professionals working in television script design and literary creation for children audiovisual animation." However, the topic holds an interest for many of our readers and Trends happily makes it more widely available.

*   *   *

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An earlier version of this essay was published in Latin America; Trends reprints it with the author's permission.

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Quality Criteria in Narrative and Script Writing for Children's Television (Ages 0–6)

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This essay will review some changes that have taken place in literary creation and script writing for children's television directed to the 0–6 year-old group and will include a brief review of the evolution of mainly animation programs. These changes introduced new quality criteria for production and exhibition in socio-emotional television contents. The review will not reference aspects such as technology, management, and cost recovery. Some of the matters addressed in the essay might actually fit better in a workshop, a place more adequate than a paper since the essay cannot offer something fundamental: the exhibition of episodes of children's television programs referred to throughout the text. Because the text cannot include watching audiovisual programs, the reader will find it more difficult to understand the changes introduced in scripts. If possible, then, the reader should seek online examples of the programs discussed, to experience how the program producers address key issues.

This review addresses primarily Latin-American (and Third World) television professionals working in television script design and literary creation for children's audiovisual animation. The evolution of television narratives forms the pragmatic focus in this analysis. I will mention some academic interpretation about that evolution. The review will have recourse to a theoretic and methodological point of view in two ways: to research on child psychology and to semiotic representation analysis. Each science has its own methods and it is not easy to combine them or even to show how they complement each other. For example, semiotic interpretations provide an example of a qualitative methodology whose conclusions can form hypotheses for quantitative research such as occurs in psychology. One should also keep in mind the different academic schools of thought involved that produce different interpretations and even the occasional academic clash.

Current research on children's television distinguishes not only among children's ages, but also among the programs' intended content. For example, children's television includes entertainment programs ("Bugs Bunny"), prosocial programs ("Dora the explorer"), and academic instructional programs. In my opinion, these academic instructional programs require three conditions: consonance with the academic curriculum in the content, a special reception situation at the classroom, and an evaluation of the contribution to academic learning; these academic television programs are not the subject in this paper. Here the theme will be prosocial television programs primarily received at home and possibly in the classroom.

1. A Different Image of the Child

Greater theoretical discussion about quality criteria for children's television has emerged recently (Lauricella, Robb, & Wartella, 2013). In the '50s–'70s researchers discovered some formal audiovisual features as perceptually attractive for children; researchers could observe these features particularly in children watching television advertisements (sounds, fast pacing, visual effects, colors, etc.). One school of thought in children's television production emphasized formal attractiveness; they considered formal features determinant for children's attention to the screen. But some noted difficulties for small children to relate television content to personal and social life, a difficulty in content comprehensibility termed a "video deficit" (Heintz & Wartella, 2012). Research also showed that formal features needed to adequately match children's perceptual maturity according to their age (Kerkorian, Wartella, & Anderson, 2008; Anderson, 2004). Other research showed that children were active in front of screens: formal features on television served as a cue for children to explore the content (Huston & Wright, 1983); when children found the content comprehensible for them, their attention increased in relation to incomprehensible content, whether resulting from other languages, disordered editing, and so on (Anderson, 2004).

The idea of a passive child in front of the television screen dominated the conceptualization of children's television in the '50s–'70s. It formed the initial idea about the children's audience, as Anderson writes about his own evolution towards an active viewer (Anderson, 2004). In a more general view, little technology existed at that time to observe the live human brain in its activity; this technological deficit helped determine the influence of the behavioral conception conceiving the child brain as internally empty ("tabula rasa"); the behaviors under possible observation consisted of the external stimulus (inputs) on subjects and the external results (outputs) (Palacios, Marchese, & Coll, 2005; Papalia, 2005; Graham, 2010).

Not only did research on children's attention to and comprehension of television programs allow the understanding of internal processes in children, but also, in a more general view, new scientific approaches to children emerged, such as theories in child development and human internal motivations, cognitivism, and neuroscience. These new theoretical approaches influenced a change towards, first, a concept of a child with internal skills, with capacities and motivations from its own interior; and, second, an understanding that proper child development requires a familiar-cultural environment relating with these skills. From the child considered initially only as reactive to formal features when watching a television screen, thinking has evolved towards a child considered internally active and constructivist. With the aid of fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging) Anderson (2007) found 17 brain areas in activity when adults and children watch visual scenes from movies: "the results give one an appreciation for the complex computational task that is film comprehension. This stands in contrast to early claims of television viewing as a mindless activity requiring little brain activity" (p. 80). We may summarize this change in theory by noting that a different image of babies and children has emerged along with a different concept about the active child-audience watching television at home.

We should also emphasize the influence of neurobiology on the new image of baby and child education (Lavados, 2012a, 2012b; Céspedes, 2007). This new image of the child means that researchers not only conceptualized the child from the more traditional skills, according to which the child must learn a native language, literacy, and math—the basis of school and of subsequent insertion in labor world. The new image states that the child has very important internal socio-emotional skills for his or her development; the child has valuable ludic and imaginative skills; the child is also a very physically active being who likes to move and manipulate things.

But at home, in addition to the television set, other screens appear in the everyday lives of current children. These range from the ubiquitous smartphone and PC or tablet through other points of access to the Internet. Therefore, researchers must now connect quality television with this new image of a competent child, with his or her internal skills, and with a child operator of different audiovisual screens. This review will focus on a number of topics suggested by this changing world of children, screens, and theory:

- Semiotic representation: which formal features affect the child?
- Semiotic representation of child functions in narrative action
- Socio-emotional value in new semiotic representation
- Constructivist audiovisual reception
- New quality criteria.

2. BabyTV in the New Century

A. Evolution towards segmentation

As indicated above, many influences of very different natures have affected television program changes and they are often mixed. We should mention the Television Act of 1991 in United States; this law required that channels holding or seeking broadcast licenses from the FCC should broadcast three hours a week of children's programming produced recently (Calvert & Kotler, 2003; Jordan, 2004). That led in the United States to an increase in program quantity, a situation that contributed to the creation of segmented cable channels for preschoolers (0–6 years) in the middle of the 1990s, such as Discovery Kids, Nick Junior, and Disney Junior. Previously time slots existed for children's programs; now children's channels appeared 24/7.

From a qualitative view, according to epigenetic theories a child goes through several stages and develops different internal skills in each of them (Papalia, 2005). Television producers face the challenge of how to connect with these different temporal stages; one solution was segmentation by age with different television content and different formal television features in programs (Heintz & Wartella, 2012). Previous periods featured television for children in general; now programmers segment television for children in channels for different ages and with different content. This tendency already appeared in CBBC and Cbeebies from BBC and channel KIKA in Germany. The BBC developed CBBC and Cheebies specifically for children. Their web site describes the channel in this way: "CBeebies is a pre-school channel for children aged six years and under. CBeebies provides a range of preschool programming designed to encourage learning through play in a consistently safe environment" (CBBC, n.d.). The German broadcasters ARD and ZDF offer a similar service. They describe their mission:

> Children represent a future and children need orientation in their development. KiKA is aware of this responsibility and promotes the social, emotional and cognitive development of young audiences. The broadcaster stands for tolerance and friendship, thus promoting social skills and the development of a sensible approach to the medium of television. (KIKA, 2017)

The "Blue's Clues" program (1996) was designed taking account of the internal abilities of children in the audience watching at home. This program presents problems and questions to the audience, but formulated in varying levels of complexity, taking account of the differences in audience skills to comprehend and to answer (Anderson, 2004).

B. Baby TV

BabyTV, produced and distributed by Fox "is the world's leading baby and toddler network from FOX, airing 24 hours a day and completely commercial-free. BabyTV features top quality shows that are created by child development experts and are designed for child and parent to enjoy together" (YouTube, 2015). The programming appeared at the beginning of the 21st century as a new segmented channel for infants from 0–2 years and now is available in over 80 countries, primarily on cable channels as well as on YouTube. BabyTV programs are made in special formal ways, for example, short five minute segments, but they have also segmented contents. To formulate program content, the developers pose the crucial question of the developmental challenges children have to solve at this stage of their lives.

First, brain neurobiology states that the newborn child has a strong immaturity in visual development; therefore, television at this stage could help maturation in visual perception. This means that developers create programs with the presence of colors, shapes, and movement, visual content that should attract the child's pupil for visual perceptual system maturation; content that will subsequently cease to interest the child once that development takes place.

Second, the child must also acquire his or her mother tongue; each child has an internal capacity but the family and cultural environment leads the child to acquire the first language, and possibly also a second one. Neurobiology has found childhood is the better time to acquire a second language. Traditional schooling had thought new language learning should begin between 10–12 years, but neurobiology notes that at that later age much of brain plasticity is missing. Neurobiology studies, therefore, have proposed to experiment with children's programming for toddlers with words in another language, especially in countries with immigrants. This way, BabyTV could help at this age not only to aid maturation in visual perception, but also to help develop the ability to acquire the mother tongue and a second language at an early childhood stage. For example, the Spanish series "Pocoyó" segmented for children 2–3 years has created "Let́s go Pocoyó" to teach a second language. "Dora the Explorer" and other programs such as "Handy Many," both intended for preschoolers, introduce words in a second language.

The auditory sense is the most developed perceptual sense of a baby at birth. Even in the womb the child already recognizes the maternal voice and its tones of affection. Later, the baby will slowly understand the words along with gestures. Babies understand verbal words aimed at them before they can issue words of response. In an episode of the Tulli series (BabyTV), a female voice talks to a little snail and induces him to explore an object which he is trying to identify; the voice interacts with the little snail and can also interact with babies at home. In a Kenny and Goorie episode (BabyTV), the characters recognize that their friend frog is sad by watching his face and wonder why and whether they could help; the oral discourse of these characters helps the audience to build a "theory of mind" and to encourage sociability. Such early verbal comprehension ability gives BabyTV a broad field to experiment with oral interactive programs, to interact with characters on the screen and with the babies-audience at home. As will be stated later a "constructivist reception" in these programs will provide an important aspect to identify and develop formative values.

Neuroscience confirms babies' needs for emotional support. Therefore, the oral codes in children's television should express affection, of a kind that could orally reproduce family affection. However, if one watches BabyTV channels, in my opinion, one finds there a deficit in affective verbal language: It appears instead as professional oral expression, but it lacks distinctly emotional expression. By contrast, the program "Pocoyó" features a well designed adult verbal presence, a relation specifically placed to build a friendly and affective relationship between the child-audience and the characters of the program. In addition, other recent programs work with this innovation about an affective verbal relation between an adult host and the audience. Audio professionals are experts in different emotional codes for oral communication and can adequately adopt different expressions. This offers a specific subject for research in audio communication with toddlers.

BabyTV brings a third element to babies: the enrichment with visual images of the home context and the ability to vastly enlarge the child's cultural environment. Television can visually remove a child from the house, the city, the country and show that a much larger world, which could allow the child to have a broader cultural vision. These three aspects form some very specific contributions that BabyTV could accomplish from the point of view of content; however, it also faces limitations of what cannot be done by this segmented television approach.

C. Aspects where television cannot contribute

Clearly television and other audiovisual programs cannot afford tactile-gestural relationships. According to Winnicott (1971) and Erickson (2000), babies should acquire at this stage some developments through a tactile maternal relationship; this affective relationship will remain in a child's emotional memory (not always formulated with words). Through good physical-affective contact with the mother, a child will acquire basic confidence in the continuity of life. This constitutes a very important emotional acquisition, and a deficient gestural-affective interaction may result in a trace of basic insecurity and an unconscious sense of abandonment in the emotional memory (which might be faced with the ability of resilience). Affection expressed in an oral audiovisual code forms a possible way for television to take this role but it needs trained professionals. For a brief discussion about comprehension and learning in BabyTV, see below, Section 7 on Constructivist Reception.

3. Programs for Preschoolers

Television for preschoolers (2 or 3 to 6 years) shows interesting shifts towards a child represented with internal skills and challenges for development. Two different programs prove emblematic about this change. "Sesame Street" (1968) was certainly a great program but initially the producers realized it with concepts about children and television prevailing at its time. They designed the program with behaviorist ideas that a child must be drawn to the screen through visual stimuli, fast movements, colors, and sounds; they envisioned a child who needed audiovisual stimulation from the screen to stay alert and engaged. The theoretical behavioral conception behind "Sesame Street" described a child who had to be encouraged through audiovisual stimuli to stay attentive to the screen. The programmers accepted the premise that if they could make a child remain attentive to the screen, that child can learn (Gladwell, 2000). Jerome Singer (1980) thought that child remained passive in front of the television and so became an acute critic of that behavioristic strategy because formal attraction prevented intellectual reflection and learning.

At this time, the idea that child-audience had internal motivations and interests to connect with the screen had not yet taken hold. "Blue's Clues," a program first produced in 1996 and airing until 2006, manifested these new ideas (Anderson, 2004). The show features a young host with an animated pet dog ("Blue") who speaks to the child-audience at home and tells them: "Children, why not play to imagine?" The program conceives a child-audience having the ability to imagine and interested in playing: This forms an active image of the child-audience. The show encompasses a new vision: The child has to be attentive, but in order to achieve that goal we have to connect content on the screen with the child's internal interests, skills, and motivations. Therefore, the show sees the possibility to interact physically with children watching television, with their bodies, by introducing an invitation to dance, to physically feel the rhythm of the music, to sing songs. These songs take the form of very short texts, specially produced to connect with child skills, so that the child memorizes it, sings, and dances. (This is not about teaching children songs because of their traditional or folkloric value, but to create new music and a brief lyric integrated into the purposes of the program. See below for a discussion of the case of the "Bob the Builder" series.) These new programs invite the child, through oral and bodily interaction, to put into action corporal skills and internal motivations to act. The producers conceive the child-audience as able to take pleasure in playing, imagining, solving a challenge, answering questions, such as when the television host asks the child-audience: "Help me to find this object, because I don't see it, look at it on the screen and let me know."

A. Interaction with the child-audience

If they conceive the child-audience as capable of thinking, associating, interacting, and inferring, the producers will more clearly take up the challenge of how to design interaction with this active child-audience. They began to experiment with three or four ways of interaction during this period. First, from within the program they invite the child to move, dance, answer questions, imagine, discover objects on the screen, and inform the television host. Second, in addition to television set, today other screens appear in the everyday lives of children: the ubiquitous ones of smartphones, PCs, or tablets connected to the Internet. Such technology offers multimedia interactivity that allows playing games on different screens involving eye-hand skills, and allows children to print sheets and paint. One hypothesis holds that mobile phones allow toddlers in the 2–3 year-old groups to build an auditory and musical relationship rather than attending to visual stories. In addition, other hypotheses propose different uses for different screens in preschoolers: television for narrative, identification, and interaction with characters; smartphones for music and songs (video would serve as a pretext for audio), and manipulation games; the PC screen for manipulation games, multitasking, and connectivity. A third way of interactivity come through the family and adult mediation, something very valued today, and influenced by the value of the maternal-infant ludic relationship. This kind of mediation conceives television not as a sufficient stimulus by itself (as thought by the behavioral reception model), but one in which child television reception must be inserted into a fruitful environment within the family and school conversation. Finally, the fourth manner of interaction (which escapes from the screen domain) draws on other ways in which programs interact with children: cinema films and DVDs, live shows, and all kinds of goods such as clothing, backpacks, toys, dolls, and so on. This kind of interactivity has discovered ways to build viewer's loyalty and financial investment. Keep in mind here that Winnicott revalued "transitional objects" ("teddy bear," little blankets, or cloth diapers) as important to the child's affective development and as a means to connect with real objects in everyday life.

B. Semiotic representation within an audiovisual text

From a theoretical-methodological point of view, the semiotic analysis of a television program rests on a comparison in the level of semiotic audiovisual representation, i.e., expression through signs, both visual images and audio (Mannetti, 1995). According to Manetti, because the audiovisual significant is always singular and concrete, semiotic representation/identification of audience in audiovisual stories requires the presence of receivers (representation) within an audiovisual text. In audiovisual representation, especially in television, how to represent the receiver, that is, the child-audience located at home or elsewhere matters in the final analysis. To contact or relate to a child-audience on a television program, the program must represent the child-audience within the program (and not outside of it). The audience has to watch and feel itself represented with concrete audiovisual signs within the program.

The significant body. Among the different signs that represent (visual gestures, audio signs, abstract symbols, letters), the human receiver or subject has a great ability to "read" and to interpret faces and gestures represented in an audiovisual text. Neurobiological analysis shows that the human brain has a special capability to perceive meanings in faces and body gestures; facial and hand gestures "speak" eloquently for us, first of all in our everyday interpersonal communication (at home and at work). In mediated audiovisual representation, facial language also plays a fundamental role ("the significant body," according to Verón, 2001); this explains why the audiovisual in both cinema and television takes such an interest in close-ups of faces and bodies. Concrete child representation within an audiovisual text creates an audiovisual space for communication with the child-audience. The friendly face of the Dora character (in "Dora, the Explorer") means that she wants to communicate with the audience. Expressive faces and eyes provide ways to represent children within the audiovisual text and these significant bodies help the child-audience to perceive better. This way, the child-audience is embraced within the text.

But in addition, to facilitate the audiovisual perception within the child-audience, programmers have discovered the visual resource of amplifying faces and made increasing use of it. Jeannerod (1981), discussing cerebral somatotopic maps, said they do not reproduce the human body in a proportional way but the maps amplify the hand and face; cerebral coordinates representation serves as a function to human perception and not to Euclidean proportions (p. 108). For example, the artists often amplify the represented face of the Dora character until it presents as the same size as her trunk. But we audience members do not perceive it in this amplified way; internally, we see it otherwise, because psychologically we reconstruct everyday perception, making the face proportional to its size in everyday experience. Psychologically, we maintain the "constancy of the form," according to the expression of Gestaltpsychologie. But the effective representation of Dora in the audiovisual text does not appear proportional according to Euclidean geometry, and not even according to the aesthetic proportion of Leonardo da Vinci who, in the famous picture of Vitruvius man, said that visual representation of the human head should take the ratio of one-eighth part of the body. In children's audiovisual texts the face may represent one-third of the body or more, because it serves the expressive purpose of improving the child's perception. The semiotic value of facial and gestural representation ("the significant body") generates that amplified and disproportionate audiovisual representation.

(For illustrative images of Dora the Explorer, please go to http://dora.wikia.com/wiki/Dora/Gallery.)

Ludic representation of singular diversity. Audiovisual representation cannot occur but with signs of specific and singular significant bodies; this differentiates it from the abstract representation in verbal language (oral or written). But these concrete-singular significant bodies can take on a very different nature. Animated representation creates signs similar to children with different technologies and aesthetics (2D, 3D, Stop Motion, CGI), like characters of Bob, Dora, Sid, Doc McStuffins, Handy Manny, Pinky, to mention some examples.

Another ludic form of representation uses little animals ("Backyardigans," "Octonauts") and some programs often mix little animals with signs similar to children ("Peixonauta," "Doc McStuffins"). The representation of children with little animals is very old as it appears in the fables of Aesop and Phaedrus. In the current industrial era ludic representation also uses machines, tools (Bob and his friends, Cars, Handy Manny's tools), trains (Thomas and his friends, "Chugginton"), robots ("Animal Mechanicals"). The animators often express the analogy with the child-audience through eyes and sometimes by mouth and hands; in "Charlie and the Numbers," eyes allude to the animation's representation of humans. In these cases of animal and machine representation, the psychology of characters and their interests also represents their human condition. (For illustrative images of Charlie and the Numbers, please go to https://wn.com/charlie_and_the_numbers_7_babytv.)

Current technology allows the animation creators a wide range of varied and original forms of ludic representation; this very diverse child representation in children's animated audiovisual programs aims to represent in a ludic way the value of diversity in children. This diversity includes the ethno-cultural diversity as in "Milly and Molly," and sometimes the diversity of disability.

Some programs use a mixture of animated ludic representation with recordings of live children; these live children allude to characters' activities in fictional stories in the television program. The presence of real live children aims to concretize the fictional history and shows its replicability in the everyday world of the child-audience. This provides a way to cope with the "video deficit": the difficult to relate the television program to everyday life.

C. Storytelling format

The original "Sesame Street" took the form of a magazine with brief independent modules: 40 on average in an hour. The show's magazine format, with autonomous sketches, allowed the producers to recombine modules in other different episodes of the series. The program producers created "Sesame Street" under the conception that a child has little ability to understand stories in time, but perceives only brief modules, as appear in photographic scenes or in television advertising spots. Later, cognitive psychology discovered that children build "scripts" to recognize events in a temporal order—so children can build stories from an earlier age researchers expected. Cognitive psychology borrowed the word "script" from the technical audiovisual language (Varela, Thompson, & Rosch, 1997) to say that people constructs stories to order events in timeline. Therefore, a child from an early age slowly develops his or her internal capacity to understand the order in stories and to distinguish stories edited in disorder (Anderson, 2007). This research encourages introducing the story format for children's television. But in addition, according to cognitive psychology, the child imagines and decorates stories, introducing contributions from his inner fantasy world into the story with its own elements; a child can "see" within a television story more things than adults. A child decorates stories, a perceptual aspect that programs can use during interaction periods to talk to and to value children's imagination.

D. Story and the child protagonist

When introduced to fictional storytelling, a child may occupy the Subject actancial function in the narrative. To obtain a deeper understanding of narrative functions we will use Greimas' functional theory of "actants" (1973; Greimas & Courtes, 1970; Bertrand, 2000). According to Greimas, the semantic meaning in narrative appears in the different functions of "actants" in the structure. Semiotic audiovisual representation and actancial theory in diegetic structure are complex subjects. Here I will not go into the theoretical aspects in an abstract explanation but instead relate the theory to the analysis of programming.

According to Greimas' terminology, the actancial Subject function is assumed in a narrative when the narrative represents a child as the active subject/protagonist who has an Object to accomplish in the story; i.e., goals to achieve and problems to solve through actions in diegetic time. This marks a change of great contrast with the actancial model at school, where the child takes the role of an apprentice who acts according to adult instructions; in actancial terminology the apprentice child presents the "destinataire" function, the "actant" whose function is to receive benefits in diegesis or other situations. This describes the child actancial function in schooling, in several television programs, and in the initial "Sesame Street" programming. With the child as Subject, television stories abandon the model of "Mister Rogers' Neighborhood" (an adult in the Subject actancial function talking and teaching children, who are in "destinataire" function). The words "Uncle," "Aunt," or "Professor" applied to the host for television toddlers' programs came from the school vocabulary; this confirms that producers conceived the children's relation to television as an extension of the school relationship.

When producers adopt a story format, they can introduce the dramatic scheme, where the child may take the role of the actant-protagonist in the story, represented as an active subject who wants to achieve a goal, and is interested in a valued Object. But the dramatic scheme includes obstacles that do not allow the Subject to easily achieve an object or a goal. Therefore, from within story obstacles arise that introduce suspense, tension, and entertainment. Expectations of a successful achievement in the story at the end produce pleasure in the child. Here, entertainment does not come from putting on a wig or an extravagant costume—though for years that conception dominated ideas on how to entertain a child with external stimulus (Tannenbaum & Abeles, 1980). In the story format the child-audience can emotionally relate with the Subject-protagonist and can find an interest in overcoming obstacles to achieve a goal: Entertainment emerges from within the dramatic narrative scheme. An actancial scheme may stimulate a child to acquire the executive functions of selection, organization, and planning his or her own decisions.

"Bob the Builder" as protagonist and "worker." In "Bob the Builder" (1998), Bob represents the child-protagonist in the story, but the child-audience may relate to and identify with Bob because the story presents a child's inner motivation: "I can." This represents one of the key words, according to child epigenetic development theory, referring to a major motivation in child development: "I can do this." The short song at the beginning of the show asks precisely this: *"Can we fix it?"* and the characters respond saying, *"Yes, we can!"* This phrase provides the title of the show's theme song. An adult asks Bob in an episode, "Can you repair this road?"; an adult (!) asks the child if he can do such adult work. Bob asks his machines "Can we do it?"; "yes, we can!" they answer, and that "we can" appears again at the end of each episode: "We did it!" The characters' acting and saying "we can" represents the child internal motivation to do and to exercise his ability in this ludic story. It represents the ludic inversion of everyday routine, where adults do tasks that a child usually cannot, and the inversion of school, where an adult master teaches the apprentice child.

When adult mediation helps the child-audience to understand the Bob-character as an active child, one capable of doing tasks (that adults perform in everyday life) the story might help the child to improve his or her self-confidence; "I also can" because I might identify with this Bob who can engage with tasks (and with "Handy Manny," and other characters). However, if the understanding of the child's ability "I can do" does not receive encouragement from adult constructive reception, this absence might leave the child without comprehension of his or her own skills. In some extreme cases, it might reinforce a sense of failure and a fear to act.

With this narrative dramatic scheme, values begin to find representation in ludic stories by actions to achieve the goals that the protagonist wants to reach (actancial value Object) and by the attributes that the fictional children characters (actancial Subject) present: They can be represented as active, creative, curious, smart protagonists. The hypothesis from a narrative perspective holds that values fictionally represented (and constructively received) may help to strengthen the self-esteem of the child-audience. The fictional story may represent the child as an active protagonist showing internal motivations: "I can and I want to." The child-audience may identify with the acting character; the story does not represent the child-audience in the story as apprentice of a school teacher. "I can do" forms a development stage the child has to live in order to achieve autonomy, independence, and also interdependence with others. If the child does not receive enough stimulation by adults (in constructivist Television reception, for example) he or she could not achieve a good autonomy. A deficit of autonomy may generate traces of shame and self-doubt, and insufficient self-control to achieve independence and social interdependence.

Other stories represent the "I can" child ability by children's characters in group work, as in "Backyardigans" and "Octonauts." They even allude to vocational aspirations in the future development, since the child psycho-somatically feels that he or she will grow; these stories introduce models for vocational aspirations, as it appears in "Sid The Science Kid," "Doc McStuffins," "Octonauts," and other programs.

"Dora the Explorer": protagonist and host character. The Dora character has a double function in the story. She serves as the Subject-protagonist in a fictional adventure in every episode; she is active, capable, and intelligent; she plans to get to a certain goal; and she can ask for aid to face obstacles and to overcome the little villain who opposes to her goals. Dora functions as the protagonist of this story and there appears a first relation with the audience: The child-audience watches story fiction as a spectacle that shows the evolution of diegesis conducted by the Dora protagonist. But Dora also hosts the program for the audience, and here appears a great innovation. In "Blue's Clues," Steve and Joe hosted the program and interacted with the child-audience; Dora is the protagonist but also the host interacting with children at home. She leaves, in a ludic way, the show's fictional story (the spectacle) and interacts with the audience asking for answers and opinions. This develops a complex ludic game of splitting that the children can imagine and enjoy as entertainment.

When Dora interacts with the audience, she says to the children at home "Please let me know when the villain fox appears on the screen to make something evil"; often Dora thanks the audience for warning her and for helping her to discover something. Dora also asks children at the end of the episode which was their favorite part. When the fiction character Dora interacts with the live audience at home, it creates a transitional relation in a ludic transitional space (for Winnicott, conceptualization); in this transitional relation, the audience at home is not immersed in fiction only but with some distance can observe and reflect. Dora's interacting with audience represents a kind of the "entfernung" that Bertold Brecht (1970) proposed as a distancing mechanism for audience reflection from within the spectacle: fiction as ludic transition to cognition.

This double function of Dora offers an interesting creative contribution to narrative discovered by children's fiction. In typical television, hosting and interacting with the audience occurs in live shows, but fictional television programs rarely use this narrative resource (sometimes a voice-over reflects about a story and explains situations to the audience; but this technique does not expect answers from the audience). Fictional cinema has not used this interaction and hosting relationship with audience; fictional cinema remains a spectacle. This shows that television has resources from its own nature that cinema does not have.

How to represent the adult? If children have evolved towards their current representation of Subject-protagonist in audiovisual stories, how do these stories represent an adult? The question does not refer here to technical representation in animated graphics (analog, ludic, live), but how to represent the adult actancial relationship with this new child; if the story represents the child as a protagonist actancial-character (not as an apprentice of an adult), what is the adult actancial function in relation to children?

I have already noted a tendency to make the presence of adults as protagonists disappear, whether program host or teacher in front of a child-apprentice. Similarly the audience finds audiovisual "talking heads" unbearable. "Dora the Explorer" does not represent any adults: She serves as the main character and as host. In "Bob the Builder" adults trust children's skills and request them to do the jobs usually performed by adults in everyday life. "Sid the Science Kid" features at least four adult characters: father and mother, grandmother, and kindergarten teacher. Sid is the central character who speaks about his curiosity and questions, but who also hosts/conducts the program and talks to the audience. All adults in the story stimulate Sid in his search for answers to his curiosity. The program represents adults as assistants and stimulators of Sid's concerns. The preschool teacher directs children into searching for answers to their questions; she then gives them confirmation and reinforces their achievements.

Other programs feature live young people who host the program but maintain a permanent dialogue with children represented in a ludic way ("Blue's Clues"); young people also appear as partners and friends of children, all presented live on the show ("Hi5"). Young people appear as friendly hosts and possibly as aspirational models. Disney Junior Channel seems to have adopted as a programmatic option the permanent incorporation of young people in programs and in television's continuity spaces. This costs less than a cartoon production, but researchers should assess whether this presence of young people represents a television image useful to develop the child's internal abilities.

Pocoyó represents in voice-over a young adult, who is a friendly and loving accomplice of Pocoyó and his friends. Here an adult comments and interprets for the child-audience the explorations of Pocoyó, but also communicates with him and his friends; he congratulates them on their achievements and discoveries. Rather than a teacher, he serves as an adult playmate for Pocoyó, who explores and discovers his environment. Others have commented on the interesting affective tone of the oral language in this adult voice-over; but this program also represents the adult in the actancial function of assistant, interacting with children's characters represented on the screen and talking with the child-audience at home. The role of adult stimulation appears within the fictional program and not only as an adult task to be exercised by parents at home.

If we refer to Greimas' actancial diagram, we note that the child is represented in the narrative function of subject-protagonist and the adult is depicted rather as an assistant to the child. It is a ludic inversion of schooling (and everyday) situations where the child should learn from adult teachings. This literary change towards child prominence in television programs highlights the representation in a fictional ludic way of the active skills of children, with which the child-audience could relate. The desired prosocial formation emerges from inside of a ludic-fictional format. The formation occurs through the child-audience emotional identification with skilled characters more than through memorizing cognitive-curricular content. (A different narrative situation occurs when an adult voice-over tells the audience sections of the story as in "Curious George" and "Caillou." This adult narrative voice-over commonly occurs in audiovisual programs based on written books; the authorial voice tells the audience—with words—facts, actions, thoughts, or emotions in the story instead of through a narrative with fictional characterization.)

4. Game and Fiction as Transitional Ludic Space

The British psychiatrist Winnicott (1971) discovered that the outcome of games between mothers with their babies provides the basis of a good emotional relationship between mother and child. This fruition of playing with the mother (and other significant adults) generates existential emotional security in the child, as nicely stated by Flahault and Heinich: "la jouissance de sa propre existence soutenue et suscité par le sentiment d'etre avec l'autre" (2005). This security in life will remain as a mark impressed in children's emotional memory even if they will never enunciate it with words. Secondly, according to Winnicott, through games the child cognitively recognizes reality and differentiates it from fantasy. The spoon becomes the ludic small airplane that, his mom says, carries food to his mouth, but also in that game the child recognizes/builds the reality of spoon and food, differentiating them from fantasy. The fruitful game functions as a transitional action and space to recognize "real world" as different from the fantasy world.

The psychoanalyst Bruno Bettelheim (1980) analyzed traditional fairy tales and their attraction for children. He valued fairy stories because the child symbolically lives out in narrative fiction his or her unconscious fears of abandonment and of succumbing to the adversities of life. For Bettelheim, all human beings experience profound and unconscious fears because these fears are psycho-bodily engraved; human life is indeed too fragile and the possibility of death or succumbing to adversity remains very high. Fairytales and folktales show children dropped off in very adverse situations, such as being abandoned by their parents in a forest because the parents have no means to raise them; in the forest they can starve or be eaten by animals. Other very violent fictions feature a witch who seeks fat children to cook them and feed an ogre; witches and ogres serve as cultural symbols of enormous forces arrayed against a weak and helpless child. But at the end of the story, children come out triumphant thanks to their cleverness and intelligence. The weak but clever child triumphs facing very powerful forces; that happy ending, where a small and weak child triumphs allows the child-audience to gain self-confidence in their own abilities, to strengthen their sense of self, and to elaborate their fears. Bettelheim (1999) remained skeptical of accusations that children's fiction on television generated violence in children; he thought rather that the violence of old fairy tales today appears in television stories. Bettelheim considered fiction as a fantasy allusion to the potential adversities of everyday life, and as a confirmatory story about skills needed to overcome internal fear or adversity.

Ludic theories about the anthropogenic value of children's play (enjoyed with significant adults), and ludic fiction (understood as a fantasy narrative space, but alluding to children's fears facing life adversities) revalued ludic learning of emotional skills and abilities. These foster socio-emotional abilities—not cognitive-academic skills—relevant to increase self-confidence in children of their capacity to deal with problems posed by life.

A. Emotional memory

Neurobiology also makes clear that we remember more and learn better from what emotionally affects us (for better and for worse); therefore, positive emotions acquire great importance since they will stay in the unconscious emotional memory, something different from other types of memories such as the conscious declarative memory with words. But below the level of linguistic verbalization, the emotional memory exists deep within. According to the neurobiologist Antonio Damasio human consciousness begins as a feeling (2000). This conceptualization opposes the ideas prevailing for centuries in the West that people acquire consciousness with linguistic performance. Damasio argues that consciousness has a first basic emotional level; the first thing all of us perceive about another person (and about any reality) is an emotional relationship. Significant faces and bodies act as basic signs in audiovisual communication and indeed in everyday communication. Therefore, in audiovisual texts positive emotions serve a fundamental role in communicating with the audience. And they are communicated by the basic audiovisual significant: body and face.

5. From School Performance towards the Development of Socio-emotional Skills

This new image of the child conceives internal skills and abilities to be developed, which various researchers include under the name of socio-emotional skills or emotional intelligence (Gardner, 2002, 2003; Goleman, 2001). Traditional school teaching has neglected and underestimated them (Milicic & López de Lérida, 2012).

The newer television programs discussed above revalue children's internal ludic imagination and appreciate ludic storytelling as a very appropriate format for the development of socio-emotional skills. Processes of emotional identification (or non-identification) can occur in ludic fiction; these emotional processes are appropriate to connect the child-audience with their own affective-attitude skills necessary for personal, humanistic, and citizen development. From television programs mainly intended as a show (spectacle) watched passively by children, contemporary children's programming has shifted towards the pursuit of interactivity with a child who has skills related to television content. From a child conceived as an apprentice of the adult represented on television producers have shifted towards a child who could become the protagonist in television programs. We can no longer consider children's television fiction only as a rest period intended as regenerative of physical energies; a program such as "Doc McStuffins" offers the audience a "theory of mind" exercise inside the fictional game of reading gestures-symptoms in toys; i.e., decoding through bodily gestures feelings, thoughts and intentions of people with whom we live.

For many years researchers and children's television activists considered that quality television for children should present school academic contents, but today many expect another quality contribution from children's television: to connect children with their socio-emotional intelligence and other skills. The group now appears to desire a certain autonomy from school academic knowledge and stresses rather an interest in the development of other children's skills. They have revalued entertainment, i.e., they have a formative appreciation of ludic fruition and enjoyment, of satisfaction and of the pleasure a child feels watching a television program. That emotional enjoyment shared with family and teachers provides a base ("transitional space") for any cognitive development intended in addition. Audiovisual material does not have a linear and mechanical influence, isolated from family and school environments. Therefore more and more we see a claim today for a reception/consumption process in constructivist interaction with child.

6. Constructivist Reception

Many deficits exist in the Latin-American children family/cultural stimulation, and children must overcome any number of adversities. These include bullying, child abuse, domestic violence, discrimination and intolerance, disability, frustrations, behavioral mistakes and the need for self-analysis, articulation of the self with social interdependence, and many others. In this context, we find a great deal of space to produce a new quality television model: ludic, imaginative, and inspiring television in socio-emotional areas. The realization of new children's television with a ludic format can strengthen the capacity of resilience in children and help them to overcome life's adversities.

But, at the same time, we have a reasonable certainly that a good quality television program offers a necessary but not sufficient condition to assure a formative assimilation by children. Formal features and content in consonance with age maturity is required in programs, as Anderson has repeatedly insisted. Research has also discovered the different values of foreground and background television reception and consumption. Background television reception refers to an inattentive television consumption; the television set is simply on, showing programs for adults or for older children. Here, television offers rather a situational noise for toddlers. Foreground television reception refers to the situation where a child attentively consumes, watching, comprehending, and enjoying a program aimed and produced for toddlers.

> Taken together, the research indicates that background television disrupts infant's attention to self-initiated activities, reduces the quality of parent-child interactions, and reduces the quantity and richness of language directed at the child. It is not surprising, then, that chronic exposure to background television is associated with reduced attentional skills, language development, and cognitive development more generally. (Anderson & Hanson, 2013, p. 5)

What about foreground television for toddlers? The comprehension of video develops slowly over time among toddlers. Here we can note a difference between toddlers and preschoolers. Researchers have termed the initial condition the "video deficit," that is, the difficulty of toddlers to relate video representation to personal and social life. Toddlers learn less from a video demonstration compared to an equivalent live demonstration. By six months old babies can recognize familiar real-world images on a video screen; video experience, repetition, and social context all influence video comprehension. Coviewing baby videos decreases the quantity of parent language, but it can also increase parent language quality with richer vocabulary per utterance as parents label objects and actions depicted on the program (Lavigne, Hanson, & Anderson, 2015). But it is clear that background television has a negative influence on toddlers. Foreground audiovisual videos (on television, smartphones, or tablets) specially designed for very young children could potentially provide a basis for learning either individually or jointly with parents. But the research remains incomplete and not conclusive yet, with mixed results about audiovisual learning (Anderson & Hanson, 2013, pp. 5–8).

The research shows that parents appreciate and regard as formative television designed for new babies and toddlers. However, the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) has, since 2001, totally discouraged television viewing in children less than two years (www.aap.org). But data drawn from U.S. households exhibit a low adoption of this recommendation (Vandewater, Rideout, Wartella, et al., 2007); according to that information, seven out of 10 parents believe that television viewing has an educational influence on children. The AAP conclusions do not seem to enjoy credibility in the majority of these households.

My point is that we have increasing evidence about the value of child-adult interactions in children's comprehension and learning from television programs (Heintz & Wartella, 2012). We find consistent evidence and verification that audience participation, interactivity, and parents' or teachers' chatting with children dramatically improve content comprehension (Anderson 2004; Kirkorian, Wartella, & Anderson, 2008).

The evidence indicates to me that adult mediation at home and in the classroom must take place in the children's reception situation for a social formative comprehension of television programs (Nathanson, Sharp, Aladé, Rasmussen, & Christy, 2013). This has become even more necessary in the current condition of children's media immersion—with access to different screens everywhere and all the time. Children have always watched programs and news beyond their comprehension capacity and emotional elaboration (fictional terror, factual terrorism, crime and war, for example). They need adult mediation to elaborate the meaning in several subjects they watch on screens.

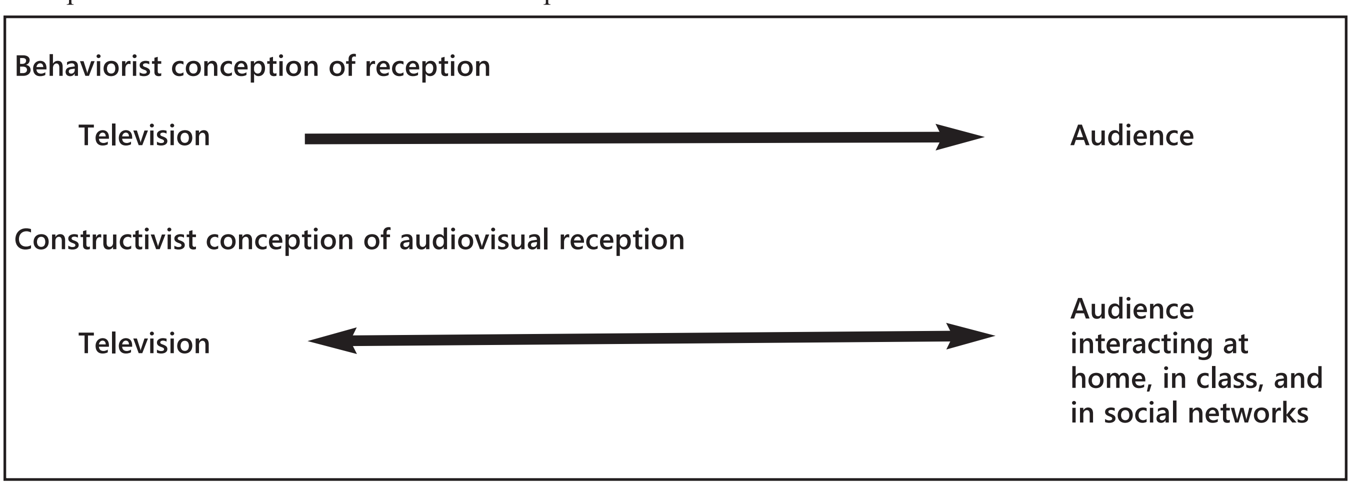

Figure 1. Behaviorist conception and constructivist conception in audiovisual reception

I can only speculate here, considering briefly that these new conditions in video consumption and the new research support a constructivist reception theory, where children require interactive interpretation in the reception situation in order to build audiovisual comprehension and socio-emotional learning. From a theoretic point of view this differs from the behaviorist conception of television influence in audience as shown in Figure 1 on page 15.

In my opinion, a systematic introduction of the new programs and research referred to here must take place in the formal preschool room. This means training teachers, controlled experimentation, and evaluation.

We must also find ways to debate and discuss this with parents so they actually appreciate quality viewing and the values of new programs so that they enjoy them together with their children and engage in mediation activities with their children. Winnicott's shared fruition of the programs forms the basis for the development of skills suggested in programs. But this depends to some extent on the interactions between adults and the child-audience.

Finally, we must conduct more research about the constructivist reception by children in order to learn more about their own interpretation of program proposals and to learn better ways to interact with the children.

7. Quality Criteria

The following summary synthesizes the changes in socio-emotional narrative and scripts in television programs for children 0–6 years old mentioned in this review essay. Station or cable programmers can mix strips of shows into a socio-emotional television menu, complementary to other strips with a cognitive menu. The narrative changes offer quality criteria to evaluate the various projects of children's programming production in the socio-emotional area. This would also help guide the scheduling or exhibition on the channels.

Quality means the presence of the aforementioned criteria in the production and realization of programs, as described above:

- The segmentation of child-audience receivers and programs
- The coordination with other audiovisual platforms and screens
- The audiovisual representation of a competent child with internal skills and motivations
- The recognition of emotional intelligence abilities
- The audience-receiver child conceived as interactive and constructivist
- The move from a television program as a spectacle to interactivity (triple interactivity: television screens, other screens, adult mediation)
- The recognition of the value of the fiction-genre
- The move from the child as an adult's apprentice to the child as protagonist
- The development of narration with a dramatic scheme, with values in actions searching for a valued object
- The move from the adult as a protagonist to the adult as a motivator and assistant to the child
- The integration of ludic fruition and cognitive knowledge into the programming
- Ludic representation of diversity
- Adult mediation in the child's everyday life
- A constructivist reception situation.

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Book Reviews

Apollon, Daniel, Claire Bélisle, and **Philippe Régnier** (Eds.). *Digital Critical Editions*. Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2014. Pp. ix, 357. I SBN 978-0-252-03840-2 (cloth) $65.00; 978-0-252-08256-6 (paper) $30.00; 978-0-252-09628-0 (e-Book) $27.00.

This collection explores what digital technologies do to the world of the printed book. Throughout the development and history of book publishing, editors and scholars developed both the concept and a practice of a "critical edition." The critical edition provides a way to establish and evaluate a given text; the process evolved along with the book publishing process itself rooted in the printing industry and in the world of scholarship. Though the editors of this volume do not use the term, the approach follows a media ecology approach: a complex set of interactions among people, technologies, economic practices, and readers, here the development of the manuscript, the book, the evaluation process, and the correction of printed editions. Add in digital technologies and the ecology become even more complex. The editors describe the challenge in this way: "Four evolutionary forces . . . have particularly important consequences for scholarly edition: (1) the exponential development in the production and accessibility of documents; (2) the emergence of specific tools for scholarly work; (3) the new political regime of editing; and (4) the expectations and positioning of readers as users who are organizing their paths in the texts and thus increasingly becoming actors of their reading itinerary" (p. 2).

In the light of this complex world, the collection addresses a variety of audiences, ranging from specialists to the average reader. The editors identify some of the stakeholders as publishers, critical editors and researchers, libraries and other resource centers, students, teachers, and technological actors such as those who prepare manuscripts or other material for publication. As a volume in the University of Illinois "Topics in the Digital Humanities" series, this book also raises the question of the humanities within this new technological world of digital printing. The editors recognize the truth of Walter Benjamin's comment about the work of art in an era of reproducibility. However, in this instance the reproducibility comes along with the Gutenberg invention of printing multiple and identical copies of a single work. At the same time the Gutenberg invention also led to a quest for more accurate copies, from the simplest proofreading and correcting of errors to the reclamation of original texts including critical editions. Acknowledging that this quest for critical editions came from a very particular history, whether of biblical manuscripts or governmental treaties, they try to develop a model for what has happened within the world of critical editions. The editors highlight what they call simple decisive questions about the approach to critical editing. These include "What will be the consequences of extensive hasty digitizing without application of the basic principles of critical editing?" "Does technology call into question traditional practices?" "What happens to 'critical editing'?" "What proofs are there that using digital tools and media facilitates critical editing?" "Does digital media make critical editions more accessible and therefore more democratic?" "Does the quality of critical editions increase when they are produced with digital tools?" (pp. 15–31). Following a generally media ecology model, the editors also ask questions about the political economy of scholarly editing, the idea of authority in books, and the ways in which the presentation of textual material may play a role in each of these things. They also understand the emergence of new ways for readers to interact with texts.

The editors divide the book into three sections. The first deals with historical approaches to digital or critical editions, the second to the technologies of the text, and the third to "new practices, new contents, new policies."

In the first section Odd Einar Haugen and Daniel Apollon provide a history of "The Digital Turn in Textual Scholarship: Historical and Typological Perspectives." In this they sketch several different approaches to critical editions including what they call the formalist approach, the ecology of texts, and defining a new philology; in regards to each of these they provide a history of how scholars had pursued the role of creating a critical edition. They also consider the change that a digital text brings to the entire process, moving from a two-dimensional spatial view as found either in a papyrus roll or a codex, or even in the printed book, to the kind of hypermedia made possible by digital materials. The digital reality has affected each of the approaches to creating critical editions.

Philippe Régnier ("Ongoing Challenges for Digital Critical Editions") marks out some of the current problems with creating critical editions. These include lexical renewal, a definition of what is meant by any edition when old and new material can be easily brought together, the combination of various media forms (whether print or images or annotations and all other kind of materials seamlessly joined in the digital world).

What happens to a critical apparatus—the very heart of a critical edition—when the textual process becomes digitized? Daniel Apollon and Claire Bélisle explore this question in Chapter 3. Many of the key aspects of a critical apparatus evolved along with the printed book. The authors identify approaches such as "a critical," "a scholarly," or "a learned" edition. With the maturity of the printing techniques and businesses, editors had developed processes for dealing with a variance in the texts (resulting from printing errors, for example), tracking author's changes, and other such things. Different critical editions had targeted different audiences, based on those audiences' needs or interests. Whereas a popular edition such as the paperback edition of a novel would have no critical apparatus, a scholarly edition might trace changes the author had made throughout the revision of a given text. Similarly, in dealing with ancient texts editors would carefully document changes from one manuscript or printed version to another. To indicate the origins (as far as possible) in the critical apparatus, editors trace where these appear, combining questions of philology with questions of printing and other matters of reproduction. Apollon and Bélisle offer a set of suggestions as to how the editor's critical activity might change in a digital world. These might include "a system of linkage," a lexicon, "a partitioning between various lexica that point at different systems of classification," and "a material technology that allows one to operationalize classification and dynamic linking procedures on real contents" (pp. 108–109).

Terje Hillesund and Bélisle next examine "What Digital Remediation Does to Critical Editions and Reading Practices." By this they mean what happens to a text as it changes from one media system to another. "This chapter addresses these objectives by looking at designs, aims, and uses of existing scholarly editions as they migrate from one media [sic] to another" (p. 114). Noting that even traditional printing involves remediation (that is moving from one form to another, here from a manuscript to a printed edition), they see the current move towards digital media as an extension of this. They then give examples of how this process has occurred: The British Library project dealing with early English printed material now appears on the library website. They give further examples of some of the current media involved in such remediation: the photographing of a text and the presentation of that facsimile of the handwritten or printed text through an image. Hillesund and Bélisle suggest through the description of a number of such projects possibilities for remediation with different kinds of texts, ranging from classical material to current novels and other contemporary forms They also note that reading has now become "a practice shaped by technologies" (p. 136). The experience of reading shifts according to how an individual encounters the textual material. They note, however, that the reading experience still by and large follows the experience of the of the paper form, the two-dimensional layout typical of manuscripts, codices, or the printed book.

The second section of the book deals with "Text Technologies." In the first chapter of this section Claus Huitfeldt provides an introduction to "Markup Technology and Textual Scholarship." He writes, "this chapter is intended as an introduction to markup for textual scholars who are new to the subject" (p. 157). Markup provides a way for a digital publication to include all of the non-content part of a text. People tend to think of a novel, for example, as simply the words that the author provides. However, the experience of reading also includes everything from the header on the page, a page number, the arrangement of the text in usually a rectangular format, paragraph indentations, superscript characters for footnotes, and so forth. A digital edition must include some directions to re-create both the material and the particular layout. Because of this, markup standards emerged from the standard generalized markup language (SGML) and the analogous hypertext markup language (HTML) for web pages, both of which eventually developed into the extensible markup language (XML). Huitfeldt provides both a description and an example of each of these forms as well as some of the other things that need to be included in a digital edition, including ways to validate the text, the data structure, and the ways the text could be transformed in different formats, for example, in a printed text or a screen text using any number of display devices.

Once one understands markup, one must still deal with editing such material. Alois Pichler and Tone Merete Bruvik lead the reader through this process in "Digital Critical Editing: Separating Encoding from Presentation." In this chapter they answer several key questions:

> What happens to "critical editing" in the digital context? What tells us that digital tools and media facilitate critical editing? Do digital media make critical editions more accessible and therefore more democratic? Does the quality of critical editions increase when they are produced with digital tools? (p. 179)

Drawing on examples from the Wittgenstein archives at the University of Bergen and the works of Henrik Ibsen, they take the reader through a digital critical editing process. They separate the difference between markup syntax and markup nomenclature, describing descriptive and procedural markup as well as hierarchical versus nonhierarchical markup. The chapter takes the reader through a number of fairly technical aspects of the markup process.

The third section of the book presents essays on "New Practices, New Contents, New Policies." Haugen offers a very thorough chapter on "The Making of an Edition: Three Crucial Dimensions." Here he gives an historical view of text editing and how it is developed, particularly after the printing press in response to preparing everything from biblical editions to editions of ancient poetry and contemporary essays. Part of the editing process then included searching for original (or at least the oldest) editions and tracking families of manuscripts or printed texts to find the most reliable reading. Secondly, the critical edition included some method of organizing the data or the collection of manuscripts for comparison and, finally, setting out a typology of editions. In describing each of these steps he provides examples of key editorial types. These include a facsimile edition, the record type edition, the diplomatic edition, and normalized edition. The record type edition typically refers to a printed text that mirrors as closely as possible the manuscript text, with, for example, the same number of columns, the same arrangement of the words, the same number of lines and so on. The diplomatic edition refers to editions of historical documents; this edition is one in which "the editor should (1) be accurate, (2) say what you are going to do and do it, and (3) give full reference of the document and describe it" (p. 224). Haugen describes this as the preferred edition for vernacular texts to be studied from a linguistic point of view. Finally the normalized edition is one which moves quite far from the original text but which uses contemporary spelling or punctuation, making it easier for the modern reader. He also describes other kinds of editions of texts whether an apparatus style addition in which the critical apparatus appears (often) at the foot of the page. In addition editors must make other choices in presenting the work and each of these suggests a legitimate way of looking at the work of an editor. Haugen describes each of these in turn (best manuscript editors, synoptic editions, eclectic editions).

Sarah Mombert ("From Books to Collections: Critical Editions of Heterogeneous Documents") looks at another kind of editorial work, the collecting of several articles or chapters or essays into one overarching volume. While the idea of a collection appears straightforward in a printed book, (simply a collection of chapters or other material), she notes that "the digital 'collection' notion has not yet been theorized, and within the vocabulary of digital edition practitioners, it is often in competition with related notions, such as 'corpus' or 'archive'" (p. 248). Mombert then describes some of the challenges with the digital collection ranging from its organization, linking the documents of the collection, identifying the different states of text, identifying manuscripts, facsimiles and texts, and even specifying the uses of the collection.

Régnier returns to the larger issue (one I have called the media ecology of critical editions) with the chapter "Toward a New Political Economy of Critical Editions." Here he recognizes the fact that the role of creating editions exists within a particular scholarly, economic, and political situation. He traces some of the history of this in the work of the philologists and explained how this moved forward into different ways of understanding the text and the value of the text.

The volume concludes with a very valuable set of references. As befits the subject matter, the editors divide this into a bibliography (the more traditional books and articles), material about online sources, and software tools. The online sources include online bibliographies and websites with online scholarly articles, some blogs about the digital humanities, and a very helpful description of a number of scholarly digital editions. These range from African-American women writers of the 19th century to the Perseus Project (the digital library of the Greek classical literature) to the works of Shakespeare and the works of Virginia Woolf. Finally this reference section includes a list of software tools and resources for digitization.

Digital Critical Editions offers a wonderful introduction to an important aspect not only publishing but also of understanding the media involved in a process that so many take for granted—reading. The book contains a wonderful mix of historical material about critical editions as well as an introduction to the practices and tools used in creating critical editions. Though they do not use the terminology the editors clearly understand the media ecology of the practice because their particular area of expertise (creating critical editions) demands that we look not just at the text but also at how the edition presents the text and the role of the background to that text. They do recognize the questions raised by people like Marshall McLuhan in understanding how the Gutenberg invention change the process of reading. They also expect that the digital process will continue to have an effect, though an unpredictable one.

In addition to the reference section described above, the book includes a brief biography of each of the contributors and an index.

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Campbell, Heidi A. and **Stephen Garner**. *Networked Theology: Negotiating Faith in Digital Culture*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2016. Pp. x, 175. ISBN 978-0-80104-9149 (paper) $22.99; 978-1- 49340-4391 (e-Book) $22.99.

Heidi Campbell and Stephen Garner, both well published in the area of digital theology, provide a helpful introduction to the possibilities of thinking theologically in the digital era. "This book synthesizes key findings from our previous and current work in digital media studies, theology of technology, and sociology of religion and technology and technology on the relationship between the Christian faith, new media, and digital culture" (p. 16). They intend the book to have two levels: "to make connections and generate relationships between the two areas" (theology and media) and "to engage Christians in their faithful living in a networked world, encompassing not only their individual spiritual lives and the lives of their communities but also their living wisely and well within the wider world" (p. 14).

The first half of the book reviews existing research on the theology of technology, new media theory, and networked religion. Each of these chapters proves quite helpful as an introduction (or as a summary for those who may already know this work). Chapter 1, "Theology of Technology 101," defines what the authors mean by technology and, drawing on work by Peter Horsfield, indicates some of the ways that Christianity has interacted with (primarily communication) technology: books and codices, literacy, printing, and various electronic media. Noting both religiously optimistic and pessimistic approaches, they highlight the work of Bonnie Nardi and Vicki O'Day on "information ecology": "a system of people, practices, values, and technologies in a particular local environment" (p. 35), noting that Nardi and O'Day focus on the human activities with the technology. This approach holds great promise and has received extensive attention from media ecology studies, which Campbell and Garner could have discussed to the benefit of their readers.

Their introduction to new media follows the work of Lev Manovich and offers a brief summary of his five key characteristics of new media: "numerical representation: digitally coded" information; "modularity: digital data as building block"; "automation: programmable" formats and information; "variability: interactivity"; and "transcoding: a multimedia platform" that allows an ease of development new formats (pp. 41–43). These characteristics allow Campbell and Garner to distinguish Web 1.0 from Web 2.0 and Web 3.0. They also highlight other important aspects such as the always-on nature of new media, the balance between individual control and social norms, and "publicized privacy" (p. 57).

The third introductory chapter examines networked religion. "This chapter explores how people use the Internet for religious purposes in order to show how these trends mirror larger shifts in contemporary religious practice offline" (p. 62). Campbell and Garner provide a history of religion online and, using case studies, offer a set of key characteristics. These include ideas of community, identity, religious practice, authority, and multisite existence.

The last half of the book presents Campbell and Garner's attempt to develop a "networked theology" or a guide both to religious action in a digital world and to theological reflection. Their key question here draws on the New Testament's "who is my neighbor" and on a key text from the Hebrew Bible that comes from Micah 6:8: "what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with your God?" Briefly, they draw on both the Christian tradition and on theological approaches to technology to conclude:

> Knowing who our neighbors are, whey they are located, and how we should act towards them lies at the heart of a networked theology. Networked theology takes seriously the belief that God's involvement with human beings is not limited to the purely physical, everyday world but is also active in the digital locations we create and inhabit. It requires that we treat individuals and communities as subjects and persons, not objects and things; it sees our relationship with God in Christ as integral to how we live and treat others in a world where the digital and physical overlap each day. (pp. 95–96)

The book's fifth chapter provides a very helpful guide to "developing a faith-based community response to new media" (p. 97). They suggest four steps in the process. For each step, they suggest case studies of what different religious groups have done. First, a religious group should explore their history: how has their tradition approached or appropriated technology in the past? How does the group's identity intersect with a technological identity? Second, religious groups should investigate their core beliefs and values, asking how these inform their evaluation of media and media use. Third, they counsel "media negotiation: accepting, rejecting, and innovating technology in light of faith" (p. 109). Fourth, they ask religious communities to examine their own discourse about technology. At some level each religious group that approaches digital technology has thought about their technological choices. Here they make those reflections much more explicit.

Campbell and Garner's last chapter offers an extended theological reflection on a networked theology. "We argue," they write," that technological decision making is a form of public theology" (p. 115) and in doing this, they follow the work of Duncan Forrester. Two key assertions underpin the work: that we cannot accept a sacred/secular divide and that "the fundamental source of our response is the Gospel of Jesus Christ" (p. 116). Again following Micah 6:8, they identify three components: doing justice, loving mercy, and walking humbly. Each aspect applies to technology and digital networks and as they develop a theology, they draw on sources as widely divergent as Catholic social justice teaching and the Amish community's understanding of technology. They conclude the chapter and the book by noting, "This networked theology involves a grappling of faith that seeks to understand our technological and media world and asks how we should live faithfully in that world as the people of God, the body of Christ, and the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit" (p. 146). They approach this "through contemplating and enacting biblical and theological themes of justice, mercy, love of God and neighbor, and humility before God in connection to the media culture" (p. 146).

Their method suggests that others may find different paths. And so, this work seeks to begin a much larger work for theology by encouraging everyone involved in the digital world to become a theologian—someone engaged in faith seeking understanding. Digital media practitioners in the churches, students, communication researchers interested in religion, and those engaged in public theology will all benefit from the book.

The book has an extensive bibliography, endnotes, and an index.

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Carlsson, Ulla (Ed*.). Freedom of Expression and Media in Transition: Studies and Reflections in the Digital Age.* Goteborg: NORDICOM, 2016. Pp. 199. ISBN 978-91-87957-22-2 (paper). 280.00 kr; €28.00. PDF available for download from http://www.nordicom.gu.se/en/publikationer/freedom-expression-and-media-transition.

Freedom of Expression and Media in Transition, edited by Ulla Carlsson, offers an excellent read for anyone seeking to learn about how freedom of expression and freedom of information are developing in the world.

This book explains the problem that every person has basic rights of expression but not everyone can utilize these basic rights because of a lack of access to online communication platforms. Carlsson states:

> Digitalization and globalization—with growing commercialization and far-reaching media convergence in their wake—have changed our communication systems with regard to time, space and social behavior—they have changed functions as well as management practices and markets. In other words, the context of freedom of expression has shifted. (p. 12)

Each chapter of the book emphasizes the importance and challenge of freedom of speech in a digitalized and globalized world. This book covers a variety of topics under this theme, with everything from media systems in various countries to a journalist's rights. Different communication professionals author the chapters, with perspectives from various countries, media technologies, and media communicators. The book also gives the reader a call to action: that people must be educated on current media practices to improve and grow the rights to access and create a positive media environment.

The first section, "Rethinking the Nordic Media Model: A Challenge to Democracy" contains presentations based in practices of the Nordic countries. Chapter 1, by Trine Syvertsen, Gunn Enli, Ole J. Mjøs, and Hallvard Moe, considers the past and present of the Nordic Media Model. It breaks down and discusses the four characteristics that make up the media model: universalism, editorial freedom in the media, cultural policy, and consensual policy formation. Universalism constitutes a significant part of the Nordic welfare state model. In this model provisions include everyone and are not based on social class. Editorial freedom of the media is important to the Nordic model as well, because it allows the press to do their job to the best of their ability. Cultural policy appears in the egalitarian education and control of public broadcasting. Finally, consensual policy formation allows the people affected by a political decision to give their input on it, including media reform. Recent changes to this Nordic Media Model led by multiculturalism has made universalism difficult to uphold. Editorial freedom now occurs mostly in online publications, while public broadcasting still dominates much of the media. There have been challenges to the Nordic Media Model itself, as, for example, decisions on how companies such as Netflix and Facebook will fit into the model. The authors state, "One key premise of our analysis of the media welfare state is that interest in *continuity* should be stronger within media studies. Continuity does not mean absence of change, but that existing measures may be adapted and innovated, so as to continue to serve certain social goals" (p. 24). While media changes, the world must find ways to adapt.

In "Communication Rights and Public Service Media" Minna Aslama Horowitz and Hannu Nieminen note that technology touches more people than ever before, but some do not have access to the same technology that many others have. They state, "Basic human rights intersect with communication right" (p. 29); that is, all humans have rights to communication, but not all are fulfilled. The authors identify five communication rights: access, availability, competence, dialogical rights, and privacy. Tying it into the last chapter, they mention that Nordic countries are a good candidate for the rights approach to media. Among the people who have access to technology, Public Service media provides most of the content. Because of this, Public Service Media must keep up with current technologies to properly serve its users.

Section 2, "In Transition: Freedom of Expression, Media, and the Public Sphere," covers the topic of free speech. The first chapter, "Free Speech at an Intersection" (Risto Kunelis) focuses on hybrid objects in a public sphere where new technology both "confirms the existing order and threatens it" (p. 36). When free speech is brought up, often there is an underlying cause, whether it be multiculturalism or security surveillance. For people living in a world where technology and political institutions have become hybrids, this chapter invites the audience to take a stand by defending free speech and moving to create a clearer definition of public and private, so that all of humanities free speech rights will be protected.

Helge Rønning ("On Press Freedom and Other Media Freedoms") compares freedom of expression and of freedom of press. The press has freedom of expression, but countries have established rules to keep the news tolerable to the majority. The press runs into very serious problems with parts of free speech, such as ethical offenses and legalities. This chapter argues that everyone should have the right to free speech, but digital communication technologies, "present a new challenge" (p. 48) with content on the Internet. Some argue that people hide behind free speech when they are trying to say bad things, and others note that the press must have full rights to do their jobs correctly.

In "Media Freedom Revisited" Christian S. Nissen, states, "Governments and politicians have too much influence over who owns the media, who wins licenses to operate newspapers, radio and TV stations, and how the media are regulated—all of which undermines independent journalism" (p. 55). Many media creators do not operate for free and so a few major players with non-transparent practices dominate the industry. With the new technologies comes a sliver of hope: "Media and journalism on the Internet offer hope of new, independent sources of information, but are also a new battleground for those seeking to control information" (p. 55). While governments control broadcasting in the Nordic countries and society cannot interfere easily with this, new avenues for journalism provide a chance for independent sources free from traditional broadcast systems.

Kaarle Nordenstreng ("Liberate Freedom from Its Ideological Baggage") continues to weigh both sides of press and free speech. On the one hand, he states, "The overall lesson here is that when freedom is applied to media, it is a notoriously problematic concept. Moreover, it is a deceptively ideological concept—especially when understood to be simple and apolitical" (p. 65). However, he does note that, on the other hand, freedom should not be questioned and should be taken seriously, whether it is freedom of media or in general. This chapter offers a deeper consideration of both the positive and negative sides of discussing freedom.

The next chapter, "Trust and Values for Sale: Market-driven and democracy-driven freedom of expression" by Maria Edström and Eva-Maria Svensson examines freedom of expression from several perspectives. Sometimes, consumers find it difficult to distinguish journalism from advertising. This is an example of a difference between market- and democracy-driven expression; they also define how the two work differently through "how freedom of expression is framed and anchored in a broader context of democracy and economy, how the core element of freedom of expression is perceived, the role of journalism and how it is safeguarded, which expressions should be protected from (potential) state intervention, how the different expressions are talked about, who the actors are and which legal subjects' interests should be protected, and who (or what) is supposed to determine the boundaries of free speech" (p. 69). These are core subjects to society, which societies communicate very differently based on market- or democracy-driven freedom of expression. This chapter aims to point out these differences and how they affect consumers of media.

Astrid Gynnild ("Three Dilemmas of Visual News Coverage") discusses visual news and its power. She argues that it is powerful because, "The more media there is in a news beat, the more influence in society it has" (p. 75). But she also identifies three main problems of online visual news coverage: visual transparency, de-contextualization, and click detainment. When news coverage is mostly click-driven, this latter phenomenon occurs: "It appears that a main concern of visual news journalism is to attract as much attention as possible on as many platforms as possible" (p. 76). The advertisers and news organizations end up tailoring what they do in order to attract the attention of the public. Visual transparency matters because journalists know and act as if anyone, anytime can hold them accountable for their work. Therefore, journalists like to show visual proof through video footage in addition to their articles. De-contextualization is one of the main problems of visual news coverage because it lacks the why, who, what, where, and when of many stories. If these are not all answered in each piece of journalism, the audience is not getting the full story. Click detainment causes problems, as the author states:

> The constant quest to maximize traffic through clicks, however, enforces journalists to develop time saving strategies for sorting, selecting, and editing news stories with viral potential. The most effective strategies include minimizing fieldwork, minimizing sources, and cutting-and-pasting. The click detainment constantly challenges the professional judgement and creativity of the individual journalist. (p. 79)

This quote ties in the main ideas of the chapter. Communication is powerful, and networks and journalists are altering their news practices based on these problems.

In "Media Freedoms in Changing Frames" Ullamaija Kivikuru takes a detailed look at Tanzanian culture. In the 1980s government control was extremely strong in Africa and media were scarce. Then and now, journalists are not paid enough to do quality work. Because of this, bribes are often accepted and journalists will alter how they report stories based on these bribes. Many journalists are fired because of this, and the cycle continues. Currently, rap is a popular form of media, and artists seek out the potential to use this music form to spread unbiased news.

"Digital Media Pluralism" (Nicola Lucchi) recaps the main points of this entire book, such as how media have brought tremendous advances to the world. Communication can be spread instantly, and technologies are improving by the second. However, media must be available to all people. If not, we cannot say that they are serving society but rather only the people who can obtain them. Society is now becoming dependent on media, and those who do not have access cannot fulfill their rights to communicate to their potential. This chapter states that this problem requires urgent attention. This chapter was the perfect transition into the next section, "Threats to Freedom of the Press: Control, Surveillance and Censorship."

In the first chapter in this section, "Canaries in the Coalmine," Heikki Heikkilä discusses why journalists should be concerned with privacy. With all the standards for journalists to report responsibly, journalists should have a place where they can test their thoughts.

Next Elisabeth Eide ("Threatened Source Protection") focuses on freedom of expression and protecting sources even when those sources may be "extremist adversaries." When journalists need to find sources for articles, they sometimes must go to people who represent one's enemies or adversaries; reporters may have little protection and security. Reporters have a right to protection. The chapter states, "Freedom to seek information from adversaries" (p. 110) is a right that is declining.

In "Drone Journalism: The newest global test of press freedom," Epp Lauk, Turo Uskali, Heikki Kuutti, and Helena Hirvinen discuss drone technology and its potential to give journalists press freedom. Drones can record videos while flying high above any area and could create the effect of "eye witness" reporting. Because these actions could run into problems with obtaining people's consent, legal scholars and journalists should do more research about this as a possibility. Drones are here to stay and are constantly evolving. Press freedom is a major problem, and creative ways of addressing this such as the use of drones should continue to be developed.

Mogens Blicher Bjerregård examines the jailing of journalists ("Journalists Behind Bars"). He states, "Jailing journalists is how dictatorships and other countries lacking in democracy try to silence journalism" (p. 127). This chapter brings a call to action to raise awareness of the pressures and threats journalists face in their industry. Bjerregård includes a table listing the numbers of journalists in jail in Europe and around the world (p. 130). He also introduces ideas of the following chapters: how complicated journalism is when challenges of freedom of speech are tied to it.

The following chapter, "The Internet Is Weakening Authoritarian States' Information Control: Syria as a case study" by Walid Al-Saqaf, discusses Internet censorship and surveillance in Syria. After Syria began to censor popular websites such as Facebook and YouTube, the regime realized the political power that censorship gives. This surveillance protects national security, but in turn hurts cyber activists and makes political change challenging. Al-Saqaf states, "In fact, Syria is known to have imposed various forms of repressive practices targeting bloggers and online journalists, which resulted in Syria joining the league of countries considered by Reporters without Borders (RSF) to be 'enemies of the Internet'" (p. 137). This chapter is a perfect example of how freedom of speech on online platforms can have various effects on the government and citizens.

"Ai Weiwei and the Art of Political Dissidence in the Digital Age" (Anu Kantola) perfectly completes the theme of this section. Ai Weiwei, a famous Chinese artist, is openly critical of the Chinese government in his art. He has been criticized for using freedom of speech this way, and has become a major public icon. He is an example of someone who uses his popularity to talk about Chinese politics to the world and make his opinions widely known through his artwork.

The next section of this book, "Reporting War and Conflict: Safety and Civil Rights" assembles essays on journalists in war zones. In "'Mediatization' of War and 'Materialization' of Journalism," Stig Arne Nobrstedt, discusses journalists and military institutions. He writes, "The 'mediatization' of warfare and 'materialization' of war journalism have made the job as a war reporter an increasingly hazardous one and this has been a concern for trade unions, other NGOs, and the UN" (p. 162). This chapter is captivating, as it discusses an ongoing change in war journalism, where democracy and human rights face a myriad of threats in war.

Kristin Skare Orgeret ("Woman in War: Challenges and possibilities for female journalists covering wars and conflict") describes challenges to women journalists concerning their safety online and offline, among them online gender-based harassment towards women journalists. She suggests the need for additional research on this subject, particularly on women in war zones.

In “The (Un)safe Practice of Journalism: An analysis based on UNESCO’s Journalists’ Safety Indicators assessments,” Reeta Pöybtäri states, “More than 700 journalists, media workers, and social media producers have been killed during the past 10 years” (p. 175). After noting this startling fact, she discusses the United Nation’s plan of action to protect journalists. She also asks the question of, should there be special protection for women journalists? Overall, she recognizes that journalism safety is a complex issue that needs a solution.

Marte Høiby and Rune Ottosen (“Reduced Security for Journalists and Less Reporting from the Frontline”) present a research study done bout journalists and editors. They studied 100 participants, asked about how they “experience the pressure of threats and dangers in the field, how the situation affects them and what response strategies they have developed to continue their work” (p. 184). This chapter covers the methods and results of the study.

The final chapter, “Ethical Dilemmas, Guilt and Post-traumatic Stress in News Journalists” by Klas Backholm and Trond Idås states, ““Most news journalists will work with a potentially traumatic assignment (PTA) at some point during their careers” (p. 191). The authors discuss how media organizations should implement clear procedures on how journalists should handle these PTA situations. It is challenging for journalists to follow correct procedures and act within their ethical morals. Clear producers should be in place for this reason and the safety of journalists.

Each of these sections covers a critical part of the topic of freedom of speech. Each chapter has an abstract, notes, and a reference list. With many different authors this book presents an engaging read and is perfect for anyone looking to learn more about the changes in these fields of communication. The information is current and significant for all to read and understand the importance of freedom of speech in the digital world.

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Gannett, Cinthia and **John C. Brereton** (Eds.). *Traditions of Eloquence: The Jesuits and Modern Rhetorical Studies*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2016. Pp. xviii, 444. ISBN 978-0-8232-6452-0 (cloth) $125; 978-0-8232-6453-7 (paper) $45.00.

With a pedagogical tradition rooted in (and dating back to) the Renaissance, the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) became known as the “schoolmasters of Europe,” founding educational institutions across that continent as early as the 1550s and spreading with the European voyages of discovery to South America and Asia through their missionary work in the 16th century and to North American and Africa in the 17th and 19th centuries. Their *ratio studiorum* (or plan of studies) geared to teaching boys from 14–20 years old adopted and freely adapted the rediscovered devotion to the classics and the larger rhetorical tradition.

That tradition of *eloquentia perfecta* continued in one way or another in the Jesuit educational institutions in the United States (45 high schools and 28 colleges and universities) through the 19th and 20th centuries. In many ways in its European and American forms, Jesuit rhetoric kept the practice and study of classical and renaissance rhetoric alive in writing and speaking even as secular university curricula forgot and remembered rhetoric. The contributions in *Traditions of Eloquence* offer a look at the wide history and variety of Jesuit practice, primarily from a university perspective. In the editors’ words, “*Traditions of Eloquence* explores the important contributions that Jesuit rhetorical traditions have made—and continue to make—to higher education and to rhetorical theory, scholarship, practice, and pedagogy as a transdisciplinary project central to the humanities over nearly five centuries” (p. xv). The Jesuits incorporated an ideal of rhetoric in all subjects; though, with the adoption of the model of college majors in the United States, they shifted it primarily to the humanities required of all students in a common curriculum. Gannett and Brereton offer this context:

> This understudied strand of rhetorical history addresses the long living (if sometimes frayed or torn) traditions of Jesuit rhetoric and rhetorical education and their continued reanimation across all the language arts, from their extraordinary guide to the curriculum, the *Ratio Studiorum* (1599), to the very recent work on the Jesuit rhetorician Walter Ong and media ecology . . . . We claim that Jesuit rhetorics have had a significant influence on American rehtoric, composition, and communication studies in the 20th century, and that some of their principles and

> practices can still serve as an integrative force in humanities higher education for the 21st century. (p. 1)

In an introductory chapter the editors give a brief history of the Jesuits and then point out the ways in which rhetoric shaped the ministries of that religious order: preaching and devotional practices, missionary activities, and educational activities. They point out the origins of the Jesuit educational enterprises in the urban locations of Europe and as well as in missionary territories; they also indicate the sometimes contentious history of the Jesuit enterprise. A key important event divides the history: the suppression of the Jesuits and Jesuit schools by the pope in the late 18th century and their restoration by another pope in the 19th century. Since the history of Jesuit education in the United States takes place mostly after the suppression, the editors note how the emphasis on rhetoric and composition studies waned and revived in the United States. This forms the context for the following chapters.

The editors arranged their collection in several parts: historical studies, examining both the history of Jesuit rhetorical practice and the scholarship about that practice; the two phases of the renewal of Jesuit rhetorical education in the United States in the 19th century and more recently; and a presentation of the Jesuit rhetoric and Ignatian pedagogy in the United States.

The studies presented in Part I ("Historical Sites and Scenes of Jesuit Rhetorical Practice, Scholarship, and Pedagogy") provide a fairly wide ranging look at rhetoric in the Jesuit tradition. Patricia Bizzell offers an historical overview, looking at the revival of rhetoric through cases studies of Holy Cross College in Massachusetts and Sogang University in Seoul. Robert Maryks places a Jesuit rhetoric in the larger historical context, using the lens of ethical systems, following the Jesuits as they negotiated this key part of Christian education, drawing upon Ciceronian rhetoric, probabilism, and the practice of casuistry. Two complementary chapters examine the writings of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. Thomas Deans takes a look at the rhetoric in Ignatius' autobiography while Maureen Fitzsimmons turns to the rhetoric of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*. Other studies in Part I trace the influence of Jesuit education. Thomas Worcester offers a study of St. Francis de Sales' rhetorical responses in the Counter-Reformation period. Carol Mattingly looks at Jesuit influences in early women's education in North America. David Leigh completes the section by offering a sweeping review of 400 years of the changing practice of liberal education and rhetoric within the Jesuit enterprise.

Part 2, "Post-Suppression Jesuit Rhetorical education in the United States: Loss and Renewal in the Modern Era," focuses on the more recent past. Brereton and Gannett introduce the section with an overview of rhetorical studies in 19th and 20th century America and the ways in which the Jesuit schools fit into those. Where Steven Mailloux looks at *eloquentia perfecta* in American Jesuit colleges through an examination of textbooks, Katherine Adams examines that rhetoric under the scope of teaching professional discourse. Janice Lauer Rice summarizes the work of Walter Ong, S.J., the very important late 20th century teacher of English, communication, and the history of rhetoric at Saint Louis University. Other chapters focus on the careers of others, either Jesuits or people associated with the Jesuits, active in spoken and written rhetoric and in rhetorical theory. Gerald Nelms considers the work of Edward P. J. Corbett in the revival of classical rhetoric; Paula Mathieu examines that of Bernard Lonergan, the Jesuit philosopher and theologian; and Thomas Pace and Gina Merys take a look at how Paulo Freire fits into that Jesuit tradition. Finally, in a very interesting collection of short essays, a number of prominent 20th century rhetoricians reflect on their own Jesuit education and how it led to their subsequent careers. These include Frank D'Angelo, S. Michael Halloran, Gerald Hauser, Mike Rose, and Paul Ranieri. Each of them had come up through Jesuit education high schools or colleges; their essays provide both an historical reconstruction of that education and a glimpse at the developments of contemporary studies.

Part 3, "Jesuit Rhetoric and Ignatian Pedagogy: Applications, Innovations, and Challenges," moves the reader to the contemporary period. Here the studies introduce the applications or current practices of Jesuit rhetoric in different Jesuit universities. These include Anne Fernald and Kate Nash's look at the role of *eloquentia perfecta* in the curriculum at Fordham University in New York; K. J. Peters doing the same for the core curriculum at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles; and John Bean, Larry Nichols, and Jeffrey Philpott examining the role of rhetoric across the curriculum at Seattle University. Other studies in this section provide a look at the role of rhetoric in terms of particular practices among the schools in the the Jesuit education network in the United States. Karen Surman Paley sees the educational emphasis on *cura personalis* (a distinctly Jesuit approach to the "education of the whole person" and care for the individual) as manifesting the legacy of the rhetorical tradition. Ann Green proposes the same for the emphasis on service learning in Jesuit schools, while Jenn Fishman and Rebecca Nowacek consider networking and the rhetoric of networking. Vincent Casaregola takes the reader back to the classroom with his essay, "What we talk about when we talk about voice: Reintegrating the oral in the current writing classroom." Krista Radcliffe suggests a more general reflection in terms of the "echoes of Jesuit principles in rhetorical theories, pedagogies, and praxes." The volume concludes with an afterword in which Joseph Janangelo draws many of the themes of the book together under the title of "mission," a central concept in the Jesuit schools.

This collection provides a very interesting look at contemporary (rhetorical) education in the 28 Jesuit colleges and universities in the United States. Using the idea of rhetoric highlights the common approach to liberal arts education, one that the Jesuit schools have maintained in the face of the growing specialization of education in the United States. Even though the Jesuit colleges and universities have only loose connections and separate foundations (from Georgetown University in 1789 to Wheeling Jesuit University in 1954), the schools have a recognizable similarity in their common heritage of the *Ratio Studiorum*, with its emphasis on rhetoric as both a means of discovery and a means of expression. The essays in this volume help the reader understand the history, the implementation, and the promise of Jesuit education.

The book contains an index and biographical sketches of the contributors. Each chapter has its own endnotes and references.

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Hovden, Jan Fredrik, Gunnar Nygren, and **Henrika Zilliacus-Tikkanen**. *Becoming a Journalist: Journalism Education in the Nordic Countries*. Göteborg, Sweden: NORDICOM, 2016. Pp. 334. ISBN 978-91-87957-34-5 (paper) 280 kr, €28. Also available in PDF format from http://www.nordicom.gu.se/sites/default/files/publikationer-hela-pdf/becoming_a_journalist.pdf

Journalism education has changed in every country of the world particularly during the last century. In most regions the change moves from a kind of apprenticeship system, where young people would work their way up in a newspaper environment, to one of more formal professional training typically undertaken at schools or universities. That situation characterizes the Nordic countries as well. This collection from NORDICOM reviews the history of journalism education in the Nordic countries, the approaches taken to journalistic education, and suggestions for future directions. Among other changes that have occurred within the last century, those specific to journalism include the move from print journalism—newspapers primarily—to radio and broadcast journalism. The rise of television journalism called for its own preparation and skills; presently the idea of online or digital journalism has shifted the ground yet again, where professional qualifications may not matter as much as developing a following.

In the introductory chapter of the book, the editors, Jan Fredrik Hovden, Gunnar Nygren, and Henrika Zilliacus-Tikkanen situate their subject in terms of different models of journalism. Quoting from Hallin and Mancini (2004) they suggest three different approaches to journalistic systems. The first, which characterizes the Nordic countries and much of northern Europe, falls under what Hallin and Mancini call the "democratic corporatist model"; southern European countries tend to follow the "polarized pluralist model"; while the English-speaking countries (especially the United States) follow the "liberal model" (p. 12). These models characterize different kinds of journalism and correlate with an increasingly neutral party press, state intervention, capitalistic structures, self-regulation, public service models, and so on. In any event, these various forces tend to shape the approaches taken to journalism in their regions. Given these regional differences, one would expect to find different models of journalistic preparation. The editors suggest four trends within the Nordic approaches to journalistic education, not all of them regional (since all reflect global trends): "de-industrialization of journalism," "an increasing need for the justification and legitimation of journalism," "a participatory turn changing relations been journalistic professionals and amateurs," and "a changing cognitive framework among professionals for understanding journalism" (p. 17).

The editors have arranged to the book in four sections: "1. A Nordic Model"; "2. Professional (Re)orientations"; "3. Meeting the Challenges"; and "4. Meeting the Field."

In addition to their own introduction, the editors include several other essays in the Nordic Model section. The first by Elin Gardeström ("Educating Journalists: The Who, When, How, and Why of Early Journalism Programmes in the Nordic Countries") discusses how journalism programs in the Nordic countries developed and how those early journalism programs work to educate journalists. She provides a country-by-country historical overview about a preparation that combined an apprenticeship system with schools offering specific courses in journalism. Following her, Ida Willig ("'We All Think the Same': Internships, Craft, and Conservation") more specifically describes the internship and craft approaches to journalism study in Denmark. In this case study she examines the "monopoly on journalism education" that lasted until the 1990s with just a single school as the main focus for journalistic education. She also notes that "Danish journalism education is characterized by relatively narrow recruitment to the field (only three formal places of education) and a strong focus on journalism as a craft (regardless of length and level of course training, all journalism students work as interns at a media organization for 12 to 18 months as a part of their training)" (p. 39). She goes into some detail in describing this model of education and how universities work together with the journalistic establishment. The next chapter in this section by Jan Fredrik Hovden and Rune Ottosen ("New Times, New Journalists? Nordic Journalism Students Entering an Age of Uncertainity") presents results from a large-scale survey project, the Hovdabrekka project. This survey ran in several phases in 2005, 2008, and 2012 and included about 5,000 journalism students across the Nordic countries. The authors report some of the findings, describing different national journalistic cultures as well as career aspirations in the various national media markets. They also note "a shift away from newspapers as a preferred workplace, and the relative strengthening of investigative ideals" (p. 51).The survey data offer an interesting snapshot of what these rising journalists will expect during their careers.

The next section of the volume looks to professional orientations or reorientation's, with different chapters focused on different countries. Gunnar Nygren looks at "Journalism Education and the Profession: Socialization, Traditions, and Change." A great part of journalistic education (as of any education) includes the socialization that results from interaction with professionals to learn the traditions and practices of a given kind of work. This chapter also presents survey data from journalists and students in Sweden, Poland, and Russia (conducted in 2011 to 2012). Nygren notes some of the differences that appear between journalists and students: "Journalists show more professional detachment and less activist ideals than do students. Journalists are also more critical toward development in the quality of journalism and press freedom compared to students" (p. 73). Nygren also notes differences from country to country. For example, the relationship of public relations and commercial pressures to journalism differs from one country to another as do the ideals of the role of journalists as watchdogs. Some of the dimensions that appear in the surveys indicate the relative strengths of different functions of journalist, what Nygren terms "the activist educator," "the entertainer," "the advocate for justice" and "the neutral reporter."

Gunilla Hultén and Antonia Wiklund ("Perfect Profession: Swedish Journalism Students, Their Teachers, and Educational Goals") look at journalism students in Sweden, focusing primarily on three schools and on students in their first year. As in other chapters, the writers compare the ideals of the students with professional ideals—in this case as espoused by their teachers and described in the course syllabi. They report "the professional role most students identified with was the Storyteller. However, the reality that many journalists face involves reduced creative opportunities in the newsroom. Instead, the swiftness of producing news within given time frames is demanded" (p. 93). The authors suggest that this kind of conflict indicates an incomplete socialization to journalistic practice but also raises challenges for the teaching practices that the schools must engage in. They also note that everyone—teachers and students alike—want to uphold high-quality standards. As in Sweden so too do Danish students and journalists show a shift over the years in terms of ideals. Jannie Møller Hartley and Maria Bendix Olsen ("From Politics on Print to Online Entertainment? Ideals and Aspirations of Danish Journalism Students 2005–2012") look at the change between the years 2005 and 2012 based on survey data. They examine different production platforms, subject areas, and the types of news organizations. In their investigation they find that students have shifted in what they desire to do as journalists as well as in their ideals. They write that they conclude "that for the Danish students, an ideal journalist seems to be the one working at a national newspaper or in public service TV, doing accurate journalism with perspective, perhaps doing investigative journalism, and exposing problems in the establishment and with people in power—either in the role of a watchdog covering hard news or providing commentary in the form of analysis or by reporting from foreign countries as a correspondent" (p. 111). Perhaps a bit surprisingly the authors also note that the journalism students seem to have undergone the socialization process independently of the journalism schools or newspapers. They show attitudes towards journalism which seem to be well founded within the society and indicates "a strong inertia" in the field. Even with more and more opportunities in digital news, "however, the data show changes in ideals and preferences, but this does not mean that when students enter the field they actually choose to work online" (p. 124).

The next chapter turns to journalism students in Finland. Henrika Zilliacus-Tikkanen, Jaana Hujanen, and Maarit Jaakkola ("Finnish Journalism Students: Stable Professional Ideals and Growing Critique of Practice") present information about Finnish students similar to what the previous chapters had indicated about students in the other Nordic countries. Here, too, they find that the students understand themselves through already existing norms of journalism, and they prepare themselves for professional practice within that framework. The authors summarize the work:

> Finnish students rely more on the ideals of neutral reporting and professional autonomy of journalism. The study does not indicate that the liquid modern ideals of entertaining and serving the audience as customers are perceived as being central by the students. However, their views tell about the changing context of journalism. (p. 127)

The authors also note that the students reflect current trends in Finnish media as well as the traditional idea of public service. But they write, "the main motives for choosing to study journalism reflect more individually oriented motives and wish to be able to work creatively" (p. 138).

Ulrika Andersson ("The Media Use of Future Journalists and How it Changes During Journalism Education") follows these individual country studies with the more general examination of the students' changing media use. She summarizes, "the results indicate that journalism students are very much the same as their peers when it comes to media usage: They devote much of their leisure time to social media activities and television watching; also, they most often prefer online news media to printed news media. The latter result is particularly pronounced among students that are in the final phase of their education" (p. 143). Given this finding about journalism students, Erik Eliasson and Maarit Jaakkola ("More Mobile, More Flexible: Students' Device Ownership and Cross-Media News Consumption, and Their Pedagogical Implications") ask how journalists and teachers might change their instructional pedagogy and procedures to take the student media habits into consideration. In their chapter they examine both those media habits and the different platforms the students use for news; then they look for differences between the journalism students and their peers, finding that "journalism students are more active consumers of news on different platforms" (p. 157). Eliasson and Jaakkola suggest ways that journalism educators could take advantage of this, including a "bring your own device" principle in which the teachers would have the students use devices that they already own for different news exercises in class. They also suggest what they call "the reflexivity principle" where teachers ask the students to reflect on their own experiences of media use; and "the converged media pedagogy principle" where teachers stop separating the various activities of journalist (print journalism, television journalism, radio journalism, etc.), and teach the convergence of these various approaches (pp. 167–168).

The third section of the volume, "Meeting the Challenges," examines a number of issues facing journalism education in the Nordic countries. These do not differ all that much from challenges in other countries: the difference between a journalism school curriculum and the students' actual practice; the role of women in journalism or perhaps the lack of women in journalism; the recruitment and activities of minority journalists; the approach to global issues in journalism (in the Nordic countries); dealing with transnational cooperation in journalism education; and the process of teaching students to find a balance in their reporting. The first chapter in this section by Arne H. Krumsvik ("The Gap: J-School Syllabus Meets the Market") looks at the differences between the kinds of graduates produced by journalism schools and the actual need for the journalists by contemporary news media. Here, Krumsvik notes that the contemporary journalism school syllabus differs from the demands of the market in terms of preparing journalists, many of whom need platform-independent preparation. Hege Lamark ("Women Train In—and Out of—Journalism") comments on the disturbing trend of great numbers of women in journalism education leading to very few actually working as journalists. She notes that "women, once trained, leave journalism before they begin. While women have long been in the majority among journalism students, it is men who are in the majority when it comes to beginning work as a journalist after qualifying. In other words, most of those who remain in editorial positions are men, and the gender gap is increasing over time" (p. 185). Related challenges face journalists with ethnic minority backgrounds. Gunn Bjørnsen and Anders Graver Knudsen ("Burdens of Representation: Recruitment and Attitudes towards Journalism among Journalism Students with Ethnic Minority Backgrounds") address this issue, examining primarily Norwegian journalism schools. Using empirical data, they find that "the students experience several conflicting types of role expectations, including being a role model for recruiting more people with minority backgrounds to the profession and pressures from diaspora groups to be 'their' journalist and help counter generally negative journalistic presentations of minorities" (p. 205). Sadly, none of these initial articles proposes solutions for the challenges.

The next chapter by Terje Skjerdal and Hans-Olav Hodøl ("Tackling Global Learning in Nordic Journalism Education: The Lasting Impact of a Field Trip") takes a somewhat different tack when describing the challenge of helping students to take a global perspective. They note that in the Nordic countries journalism students have good preparation for local reporting but not as much preparation in dealing with global issues. They present a case study in which Norwegian journalism students—as part of their studies—went to East Africa on a field immersion trip. Based on surveys and interviews with several hundred of the students, they found that the trip helped the students to take a wider perspective in their reporting and in their understanding of journalism. Concerned with the same problem, Kristin Skare Orgeret ("Dialogues and Difficulties: Transnational Cooperation in Journalism Education") asks how journalism students might develop a wider cultural worldview, one that prepares them to report on global issues. Many of these issues simply do not appear in the journalistic curriculum, and Orgeret proposes that an intercultural communication component must have a place in journalism education. Similarly, a multidisciplinary perspective, taking the journalism students beyond simply journalistic education, better serves the journalism students. The last chapter in this section returns to the theme of the changing attitudes of journalism students from the beginning of a course to its end. Roy Krøvel ("Becoming Journalists: From Engaged to Balanced or from Balanced to Engaged?") surveyed a group of journalism students from a variety of disciplines to understand how their norms and values change, drawing gradually closer to the norms and values of the journalism educators.

The last section of the book, "Meeting the Field," follows the students from the classroom into the working experience. Jenny Wiik ("Standardized News Providers or Creative Innovators? A New Generation of Journalists Entering the Business") looks at students in internships in journalism and asks how the students perceive the news business based on their particular internship role. She writes, "the fresh gazes of the students indeed reveal some troublesome developments in contemporary news media, especially regarding matters of professional autonomy, developments that journalism degrees need to acknowledge and adapt to" (p. 273). One of these changes she identifies as the deprofessionalization of journalism—that is, the understanding that many people adopt the role of journalist without any kind of formal preparation. The interns were quick to understand this. Gitte Gravengaard and Lene Rimestad ("'Is This a Good News Story?' Developing Professional Competence in the Newsroom") return to the question of socialization, but this time examine socialization not in the classroom but in the news organizations. Here, they consider the idea of news criteria: both what students are taught and what they see in the newsroom. Their findings indicate that in the classroom student journalists learn the news values of "sensation, conflict, identification, timeliness, and relevance." However, in the professional practice they identify eight factors that influence the journalists' ideas or assessment of ideas. These include "the idea initiator, the event, the journalist, the media product, the media organization, other media, the audience, and the sources" (pp. 295–296).

Hilde Kristin Dahlstrøm ("Internal Practical Training as Teaching Method for Journalist Students") considers pedagogical techniques. She looks at what she terms internal practical training. Using a case study from a Norwegian university, she asks how the students develop a sense of competency. In their courses of study they go through a program of practical training and then they have feedback from their teachers. She suggests that "theories of problem-based learning provide a good explanation for the success of internal practical training as a teaching method" (p. 307). In the final chapter, "Developing Journalism Skills through Informal Feedback Training," Astrid Gynnild introduces the technique of peer-to-peer informal feedback and its use in the classroom. She reports the success of using this particular approach based on case studies that she conducted.

The essays in *Becoming a Journalist* provide a wide-ranging looking at journalism education in the Nordic countries. Although the situation of journalism students there may not differ completely from that of journalism students in other countries, the Nordic students do prepare for a particular kind of news system. The fact that the essays examine both the nature of the students and the nature of their education (stressing ways in which pedagogical reform could better serve both the journalism students and the practice of journalism in the Nordic countries) makes the book especially helpful to journalism educators throughout the world. The book provides an excellent summary; in doing so it challenges journalism educators in other countries or regions to similarly examine their own practices of journalistic preparation.

The book concludes with information about the authors. Individual chapters have their own reference lists. As is typical of many of the NORDICOM publications, the volume has no general index; however, the table of contents and the book's organizing structure provide a relatively straightforward guide to the different materials. There is some overlap among the chapters with similar material presented several times, differing only on the country focus; in other places, the reader finds similar pedagogical studies based on different schools.

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Reference

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lluís Micó, Josep and **Miriam Díez Bosch**. *Young People, Religions, and Technology in Catalonia / Adolescents, Joves, Religions I Technologia. El Cas Català*. Barcelona: Blanquerna Observatory on Media, Religion, and Culture, Universitat Ramon Llull, 2016. Pp 119. ISBN 978-84-944764-4-0 (paper). No price included.

This research monograph presents the results of a year-long study of young people and religion in Catalonia. Researchers attempted to survey this entire region, "giving a voice to the entire territory to Catalonia outside of Barcelona, in order to draw a more comprehensive map enriched by territorial diversity" (p. 9). In this the researchers hoped to get some measure of how young people in the region made use of digital tools for religious knowledge or practices, investigating both religion online and online religion among this particular portion of the population. "We take the term 'digital religion' to mean the websites, apps, tools, and games related to any of the 13 faiths with a presence in Catalonia, and we hope to discover which are the most popular among young people and to what extent they have access to them" (p. 9). In order to do this the researchers investigated what was known in prior research about religion among the adolescent population, not only in Spain but throughout the world. They also try to incorporate as much material from psychology and sociology and anthropology into their particular study.

The introductory section provides a literature review of the works of studying religion and adolescents. In the next section they set out the research methodology. This empirical study involved both quantitative and qualitative research, focused on the group between the ages of 12 and 18. They note that this corresponds "to the educational periods of compulsory secondary education, university preparation, and/or vocational studies" (p. 13). They chose this age range not only because of its relative cohesiveness but because this period in a young person's life corresponds to the growing independence from parents, the establishment of personal identity, and the increased connection with their own age group. For their sample, they looked to those enrolled in public, private, and subsidized schools, youth centers, and youth associations. Throughout, (as they indicated in the introduction) they deliberately sought to include all of the faith traditions active in Catalonia. The survey gathered not only demographic information about the young people, but also their use of technology in general and then the use of technology dealing with religion. The qualitative part of the research included interviews with selected individuals or groups of individuals. Finally, they conducted what they called a "netnography"—"a branch of ethnography [which] refers to the observation and analysis of users' behavior on the Internet" (p. 15).

The results present a profile of students who were part of their particular group. The overall sample consisted of 1,858 young people from all over the country except Barcelona "which we eliminated from research for the purpose of focusing on the territory outside the capital" (p. 17). They present the breakdown by age and gender, religion, and the electronic devices and social networking sites used by the young people. For technology, they asked not only about computer use but also cell phone and tablet use. They asked which social networks these young people used as well as the age at which they began to use them. And then they asked more focused questions on using these devices for religious activities. Here they found that 81% did not go online for religious purposes, 10% did but "I don't connect specifically for that reason," 6% specifically for religion, and 3% for other things that led to religious sites (p. 24). Researchers asked their respondents how they found out about religious sites, whether from a friend or some other source. They then present the research by province, the languages young people use on line (including Catalan, Spanish, English, and Arabic). They asked questions about whether their parents monitored their use of digital technology and whether the parents knew that they use those for religious activities. They also asked whether their friends knew that they use these technologies for religious activities—here 64% said no and much smaller numbers said yes or that they used them together. Finally, the researchers present a breakdown of the findings in terms of age groups.

Drawing on their data, they then offer what they call a "showroom of digital tools and religion" (p. 33). These include apps—Bible apps, Rosary apps, breviary apps, and so on (largely for the Catholic tradition) and also apps for other Christian faiths as well as Islam and smaller religious groups like the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Sikhism, and Jehovah's Witnesses. In addition this section also has a compendium and a guide to websites dealing with Catholicism, other Christian faiths, Islam, Jehovah's Witnesses, Judaism, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and Sikhism. Students also identified as religious websites those dealing with public religious figures such as Pope Francis or the Dalai Lama, and religious organizations—most of them religious social associations, communities, online communities, schools, or youth centers. Another section lists religious media, religious singers, professors with sites teaching about religion, and games. There are relatively few religious themed games so the researchers asked the young people which kinds of games they would like to play resulting in a number of imaginative suggestions such as "a game using a virtual map of religion" or "a game where the main character shoots Bibles at atheists and converts them into believers" (p. 45).

The researchers then turn to an analysis of the data as well as discussion of what it tells us. They note the number of young people who do not participate in online religious activity and the reasons they offered. These include a lack of knowledge, a lack of interest, other social life commitments, and so on. The researchers discussed how religion relates to the construction of identity of these young persons as well as their involvement in digital communities, particularly those that provide some kind of personal connection. The data indicate the role of images and the power images have on young people. Perhaps not surprisingly in this age group, the researchers found relatively little interreligious dialogue, that is, these young people did not go outside their religious tradition or even explore materials about other religions. The researchers feel that this may reflect the individualistic religious experience prompted by the online or digital world. Finally they make some observations about what they called "gamified religion" and the disjunction between the nature of the computer or video games and the nature of religion, as for example as manifest in the competitive aspect of games versus the collaborative aspect of religion.

In the concluding section the researchers note that "having undertaken this research, we see that most young Catalans are believers and that many of them are in a position of a certain lack of knowledge about their own religion, and they identify with that due to the family connection because of their surroundings" (p. 57). They also note the relative lack of digital religion among this particular age group but they comment, "on the other hand, we see that young online religious communities are still largely connected with the in-person activities that take place in their organizations and, as yet, we have not seen any organizations in Catalonia that are only active in the digital sphere" (p. 57). Echoing their finding in the last section they do note the individualistic and personalized focus of these particular things.

The researchers present the study in both English and in Catalan. The second half of the book repeats in Catalan the first half of the book. The volume itself includes a bibliography, particularly highlighting the literature review material, as well as a an acknowledgment of the researching team and the sponsors.

The book provides an multi-pronged methodology as well as an interesting look at a particular group of young people, offering a kind of snapshot of online religion. Though the researchers clearly state the reasons for looking outside of the urban center of Barcelona, it would have been very interesting to have that segment of that young population represented as well. One only wonders whether young people in a more highly urban and perhaps more cosmopolitan area might have more interreligious dialogue or have differing motives to look at online religious tools.

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Power, Mick. *Understanding Happiness: A Critical Review of Positive Psychology*. London and New York: Routledge, 2016. Pp. 196. ISBN 978 1-138-92923-4 (cloth) $136.00; 978-1-138-92924-1 (paper) $52.95; 978-1-315-68133-7 (eBook) $37.07.

When we get what we wanted, why doesn't it always make us happy? Why are we so imperfect in predicting what will bring us happiness in the future? Do we have any control over our own happiness? Can happiness be sustained over time? Happiness is a topic we are all interested in, across our lifespan.

Cross-disciplinary scholarship about happiness has blossomed since the late 1990's, taking off from the work of psychologists Martin Seligman (*Authentic Happiness*, *Flourish*) and Daniel Gilbert (*Stumbling on Happiness*), as well as Buddhist scholars Matthieu Ricard (*Happiness*) and Rick Hanson (*Hardwiring Happiness*). Psychologists Shawn Achor (*The Happiness Advantage* and *Before Happiness*) and Sonja Lyubomirsky (*The How of Happiness*, *The Myths of Happiness*) have taken the research to the streets, offering scholarly insights into what will (or will not) bring us happiness. Harvard Business School Professor Michael Norton (*Happy Money*) has done cross-national studies on the effects of pro-social spending, illuminating how money (and beliefs about money) can affect happiness. The scholarship about happiness is currently rich in well-designed studies, utilizing a variety of methodologies, and applying myriad interventions.

As a professor who has taught university courses in The Science of Happiness for years to undergraduates as well as to adults in OSHER Life Long Learning classes, I was eager to read a review of happiness research. In fact, however, Mick Power, a professor of Clinical Psychology at the National University of Singapore, sets out to attack happiness and positive psychology research. The first sentence of his Preface states, "Let me start with a confession, I normally find books written about happiness and how to be happy extremely irritating."

Rather than a thoughtful review of the most recent research about happiness, its variables, interventions, outcomes, and contextual applications, this book *sets out* to demonstrate the false beliefs embedded in such research and its uselessness to anyone. In fact, this is his style. As he proudly admits, in his former book (*Adieu to God*) he attacked and gave up on God and the afterlife.

The book's chapters include his personal overview of happiness (Chapter 1), disorders of happiness (Chapter 2), the power of negative emotions (Chapter 3), the happiness industry (Chapter 4), an attack on gods and afterlife beliefs (Chapter 5), an attack on connections between happiness and health (Chapter 6), and a proposed alternative to happiness (self-transforming through adaptability and resilience, Chapter 7). He concludes, "At the core of thousands of years of different human cultures has lain the illusory pursuit of happiness."

Most positive psychology research is ignored in this book, as are many scholars. The author spends an unexplicable section of the book, for example, discussing in great detail (in support of his attack on happiness) the 1970 Zimbardo prisoner-guard study. The author attacks not only happiness research, but the concept of happiness itself as ill-conceived and harmful.

While a critique of particular studies and conclusions in the happiness scholarship would be useful and illuminating, this book's admitted agenda was to denounce the entire cross-disciplinary field. This book would not be a useful read for those seeking to expand their understanding of the now thriving field of happiness research, its successes or limitations.

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Br. William E. Biernatzki, S.J.
1931–2017

Brother Bill Biernatzki died on April 8, 2017 at Froedtert Hospital in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, after a period of declining health. He was 85 years old and a Jesuit for 59 years. Br. Biernatzki served as one of the founders of the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture and as editor of COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS for 19 years, from 1990–2009.

After service in the U.S. Army in Korea for several years, Br. Biernatzki entered the Society of Jesus in 1957. He later returned to Korea to teach for a period before earning a PhD in anthropology and sociology from Saint Louis University. Working as a social scientist, Br. Biernatzki then spent the initial part of his career teaching and doing research in Korea, at Sogang University in Seoul from 1968 to 1989, during a period a great growth as Sogang University changed from a small college into a major university.

In the 1970s, Br. Biernatzki responded to a request from Father Pedro Arrupe, S.J., the then Superior General of the Jesuits, to join in thinking about how the Society of Jesus could better serve the Church in the area of communication. At what the initial group called "a research facilitator unit" to promote communication research on behalf of the Church and of the Society of Jesus, he served as the initial research director in London in 1977 before returning to Korea. He later prepared a small monograph, *Catholic Communication Research: Topics and a Rationale* (1978). He described the purpose of the work in this way:

> The main aim of this paper is to suggest research topics which are of interest to religious communicators, chiefly those in the Catholic Church, to bring the important problems into somewhat better focus and to encourage research projects which will yield findings of practical value to religious communicators. Part II, core of the publication, therefore consists of a list of 40 questions designed to stimulate interest in research along certain lines which seem of

> greater importance than others. . . .
>
> The point of view adopted in this paper is a sociological one, because, as a social scientist, I find that approach the most useful one for my own understanding. . . . In short, I am concerned with human communication in the Church and with human communication as a vehicle for divine communication through the Church. Revelation, the divine communication to the Church, is assumed as a given. Our interest is centered on what happens to the content of revelation after it gets into the hands of the human members of the People of God and on the problems involved in its transmission by them, to each other and to the "world." (pp. 1–2)

He divided his proposed 40 questions into seven categories: "faith, morals and the secular media," "media structures," "media processes and effects," "religious uses of the media," "education through and for the media," "the theology and philosophy of the media," and "communication theory and research methodology." Here is a sample of his prescient and still valuable questions:

- How can the Church best promote attitudes of justice and responsibility among those who exercise power in, and shape the influence of, the Mass Media? (p. 10)
- How do the effects of the media intended by media decision-makers correlate with actual uses of the media by audiences, and what evaluation can be made, using Christian standards of value, of both the intended effects and actual uses? (p. 12)
- What are the effects of non-content aspects of television and other media? (p. 17)
- How do variations in social structure influence media reception, use and effects? (p. 18)
- What are the most effective symbols to use in communicating the Christian message through the various media in given circumstances? (p. 23)
- How do religious media reflect secular ideologies, and what influence does this have on their religious effectiveness? (p. 24)
- What methods can be used to educate people to use media critically? (p. 26)
- What are the central questions which must be dealt with in developing a relevant theology of communication? (p. 32)

This proposal provided the foundation for much of the subsequent work of what became the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture.

Br. Biernatzki moved to full-time work at that research center in 1989, first located in London (1989–2003) and later in St. Louis (1993–2001). While at the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture, he not only conducted his own research, presenting papers at various international conferences and publishing various sociological studies of communication, but also played an important role in Catholic communication circles, representing a research approach that grounded many policy decisions and practices. Maintaining strong connections with colleagues, especially in Asia, he worked to encourage and mentor graduate students from around the world. In 1990 he assumed the editorship of Communication Research Trends. As his health declined in the mid-2000s, he limited his travel and other work to editorial tasks, not only for Trends but also for the Institute of Jesuit Sources, located in St. Louis. In 2007, failing health led to his moving to the St. Camillus Jesuit Retirement Community in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, outside of Milwaukee. Even during this retirement he continued to work with Trends.

Perhaps not as well known as more public figures, Br. Biernatzki served the cause of Catholic communication well, initiating key ideas, providing a solid scholarly foundation, offering a solid anthropological view of communiction. and touching people around the world with his ideas, guidance, and quiet humor.