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Grief and Bereavement in Young Adult College Students: A Review of the Literature and Implications for Practice and Research

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Speaking of Death

Editor's Introduction

Grief touches everyone. The experience of death and loss forms one of those things common to all people, no matter our culture, our occupation, our socioeconomic status, our religion, or—in many instances—our age. Given its centrality, one would expect that people would readily communicate about it.

But that communication seems better managed in poetry, drama, and novels than in the face-to-face communication that marks most of our lives. We read elegant words like those in A. E. Housman's *To an Athlete Dying Young*:

Today, the road all runners come,
Shoulder-high we bring you home,
And set you at your threshold down,
Townsmen of a stiller town.

We ponder with John Donne in *No Man is an Island*:

. . . Each man's death diminishes me,
because I am involved in mankind.
And therefore never send to know
for whom the bell tolls;
it tolls for thee.

We listen to magnificent music like Mozart's *Requiem in D Minor*. And yet we all seem to lack the words to speak of death or to speak to grief.

Religion may offer words of comfort, for every religion has its rituals and ceremonies to mark out death and grieving. These, too, come from that greater human community, with centuries of preparation. The so familiar *In Paradisum* sums up Christian belief:

May the angels lead you into paradise; may
the martyrs receive you at your arrival and lead
you to the holy city Jerusalem. May choirs of
angels receive you and with Lazarus, once poor,
may you have eternal rest.

The religious observation of death prepares the mourners to move in and out of that liminal space in which we mark death and remember the dead. But religious ritu-

al does not always offer the interpersonal or conversational words we need to support one another, to help each other grieve.

We must communicate about death and grieving; but we, like the poets and rituals, may well manage to speak and say more *about* death than *to* those faced with loss. Another common experience for us all: the struggle to express sympathy, to describe what we feel in our sorrow, to support each other in our grief.

This issue of COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS takes us to the research about this oh so important and oh so difficult kind of communication. What do we say about our own grief? What do we say to others in the face of death and dying? If the interpersonal communication about dealing with grief and bereavement challenges the mature, it poses an even greater difficulty for young adults who may face death for the first time. Professor Chan Thai and her student Julia Moore introduce this difficult topic by reviewing both the psychological and communication literature on bereavement, grieving, and comforting. They then focus more closely on how individuals and institutions can support grieving students, whether they mourn a family member, friend, or classmate.

TRENDS has not directly examined communication in the face of grief before, though it has indirectly touched on it. In 2014 (Volume 33, no. 1), Moorehouse and Crandall provided a brief overview of mediated grief—grieving in the virtual world. That same topic occurred earlier this year (Volume 37, no. 1) in the context of a longer review of research on Facebook, in terms of its memorial pages.

* * *

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Grief and Bereavement in Young Adult College Students: A Review of the Literature and Implications for Practice and Research

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Death is an inevitable event that marks the end of one's life. Whether it is one's own life or the life of someone else that ends, the loss undoubtedly elicits a range of responses. These responses may be emotional, physical, and/or cognitive and be influenced by social, cultural, spiritual, and philosophical factors. Our reactions to loss are what we refer to as "grief." Thus, just as death is inevitable, grief will also inevitably affect us all. Yet despite its pervasiveness in our lives, little is understood about how to manage it, particularly when those who are experiencing grief are young adults.

Both authors have experienced loss and, subsequently, grief as young adults. The unfortunate loss of family members, friends, and peers was devastating. After the initial shock of the loss, it was the difficulty in finding support from our peers and in the institutions surrounding us that seemed most disappointing. What differentiates those who knew what to say and do from those who did not? Was it personal experience with grief? Was it training in empathy? How can the institutions that we are a part of and that we work in better support those who are grieving, particularly our students? Our personal experiences with grief as young adults have sparked our scholarly interest in it. We hope that this work will pique the interest of other

scholars who will continue to contribute to our understanding of the grief process for young adults and how to best support young adults who are grieving.

This review begins with a discussion of the event that elicits grief—death. An overview of statistics about death and causes of death will be presented, followed by a discussion of what grief and bereavement are. We then provide a discussion on bereavement during different stages of life, such as childhood, adulthood, and young adulthood, with a particular emphasis on the specific challenges that grief and bereavement pose among college students. We follow this with an overview of communication research on grief and bereavement. A summary of research on the strategies that may support bereaved individuals then follows, with a particular section addressing institutional suggestions. The review concludes with an articulation of future directions for research. The literature on grief and bereavement is vast; thus, we readily acknowledge that the way we have organized the literature may not be the only way to do so. However, we emphasize that our focus is on young adult college students. Thus, we found this organizational structure best for highlighting the challenges and recommendations for this particular group.

1. Deaths in the World and in the United States

While there are no statistics on how many people are grieving worldwide, it is estimated that 56.9 million people die each year (World Health Organization, 2016). According to the Centers for

Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), over 2.7 million deaths occur each year in the United States with a death rate of 844 per 100,000 people (CDC, 2017). The number of deaths would indicate that just as

many people, if not more, could be grieving at any given time.

In the United States, death rates generally increase as age increases, with the exception of infants under one year of age. They account for 1.1% of deaths, while the rate for children aged 1–4 years is lower, only accounting for 0.002% of total deaths. The majority of deaths occur among those persons who are aged 75 years and older. Deaths among this age group account for approximately 57% of all deaths occurring in the United States (Kochanek, Murphy, Xu, & Arias, 2017). Young adults between the ages of 25–44 years account for 5% of all deaths, while those in the age group between 15–24 account for 1.4% of all deaths. The age of the person who is dying or who has died and the cause of death undoubtedly shapes and guides how others might grieve the death.

The leading causes of death include heart disease, cancer, accidents (unintentional injuries), chronic lower respiratory diseases, stroke (cerebrovascular diseases), Alzheimer’s disease, diabetes, influenza and pneumonia, nephritis, nephritic syndrome, and nephrosis, and intentional self-harm (suicide; CDC, 2017). The leading causes of death differ by age group. Generally, for younger age groups, external causes

accounted for more deaths than other causes, whereas for older age groups, chronic diseases were far more prevalent. In 2016, the leading cause of death for the population aged 1–44 was unintentional injuries. Death from injuries was higher at younger ages, accounting for 31.3% of all deaths for age group 1–9, 41.4% of deaths for age group 10–24, and 33.2% of deaths for age group 25–44 (Heron, 2018). For the population aged 1–44, homicide and suicide were major causes of death: Homicide was the third leading cause of death for age group 10–24 (14.9% of deaths), the fourth leading cause for age group 1–9 (7.3% of deaths), and the fifth leading cause for age group 25–44 (6.5% of deaths). It was not among the 10 leading causes for the population aged 45 and over. Suicide was the second leading cause of death for age group 10–24 (17.3% of deaths) and the third leading cause for age group 25–44 (10.6% of deaths). In contrast, it was the eighth leading cause for those aged 45–64. Undoubtedly, the cause of death may influence the way people process and cope with the death. If the death was unexpected, it may cause more shock or distress than if a death was impending, and the deceased and others knew about it. The latter circumstance would lend itself to perhaps more preparation and conversation.

2. Defining Bereavement and Grief

“Grief is our emotional, psychological, and physical response to loss” (Toth, Stockton, & Browne, 2000). It is the multidimensional response someone might feel as the result of losing someone or something that the individual has developed a love for or an attachment to (Toth, Stockton, & Browne, 2000). The response may include biological, behavioral, cognitive, and emotional aspects (Rubin, 1999). Bereavement, then, refers to the period of time following a death that an individual grieves or suffers the emotional loss of another person (Herkert, 2000). Where bereavement is the state of loss, grief refers to the reaction to the loss.

Grief can encompass a wide range of responses along temporal, physical, and emotional dimensions. Research has found that grief may be associated with effects on one’s affect such as depression, anxiety, guilt, anger, sadness, fear, loneliness, isolation; behaviors, including fatigue, agitation, crying; attitudes and social relationships, encompassing hopelessness, inter-

personal problems, low self-esteem, disturbances in job and school performance; cognition including distraction, memory loss; and physiology such as loss of appetite, low energy, and sleep disturbance (Balk, Tyson-Rawson, & Colletti-Wetzel, 1993; Binger, 1973; Cobb, 1956; DeVaul & Zisook, 1976; Krell & Rabkin, 1979; Lindemann, 1944; Poznanski, 1979; Rosen, 1986; Silver & Wortman, 1980; Stroebe & Stroebe, 1987). The negative emotional responses associated with grief can vary in intensity from barely noticeable to overwhelming. The duration of grief varies and depends on factors such as attachment and relationship to the deceased, personality characteristics, support and resources, and type of loss, among others (Bonanno & Kaltman, 2001).

A. Theories of grief

To capture the complex responses to loss, grief is often conceptualized as a response that manifests

itself in stages. Several “stage” approaches describe the process of grief as a series of stages that the bereaved must pass through in order to “complete” the grieving process.

One of the most widely known stage theories of grief is Kübler-Ross’s (1969) Stages of Grief model. Kübler-Ross postulated that individuals move sequentially through five psychological stages as they approach death: denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance. It should be noted that this model addresses the stages of grief for an individual facing impending death and not those who are grieving over a lost loved one. Nevertheless, the model shows utility in thinking about grief. Though Kübler-Ross describes the stages in a linear fashion, which some find problematic, her model is nevertheless credited with providing a description of the process of dying, legitimizing the topic of death, and providing a structure to death that helps to reduce the anxiety of care providers (Kastenbaum, 1986). Given that Kübler-Ross’s model focuses on the person facing impending death, other theories that focus specifically on the grief process may prove more useful.

One perspective focused specifically on grief related to the loss of a loved one posits that there are generally two phases of grief: the acute and the integrated phases (Shear & Mulhare, 2008). The acute phase occurs in the immediate aftermath of one’s loss, and includes the more intense emotional, physical, and behavioral manifestations of grief, including sadness and crying, preoccupation with thoughts of the deceased, loss of concentration, disrupted sleep patterns, difficulty concentrating, disruption of activities, and disinterest in other people (Zisook & Shear, 2009). Over time, the bereaved person begins to heal from his or her loss and transitions into integrated grief, wherein the loss becomes a part of the individual’s life in a less painful way. As symptoms of acute grief subside, the bereaved can begin finding new and meaningful ways to continue a relationship with the deceased (Shuchter & Zisook, 1993). According to Zisook and Shear (2009), survivors experience the transformation of a relationship that once operated on “several levels of actual, symbolic, internalized, and imagined relatedness to one in which the actual (living and breathing) relationship has been lost . . . [though] other forms of the relationship remain, and continue to evolve and change” (p. 69). The entire process for uncomplicated grief may take one or more years, and even after one has reached the integrated phase, events such as the

anniversary of the loved one’s death or even major life milestones (e.g., graduations, weddings) can trigger bouts of acute grief (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1987).

Lamb (1988) conceptualizes grief as a process encapsulated in three stages. The first stage of grief focuses on the adjustment to the reality of the loss and should allow time for the bereaved to do so. Symptoms during this stage of grief may include shock, numbness, protest, and denial accompanied by sadness and tears. In this stage of “numbness,” the bereaved begins to make sense of the loss experience and allows the bereaved “to sustain the impact of the loss without being [too] overwhelmed by the pain and sorrow” (Lamb, 1988, p. 563). In this state of numbness, the emotions are thought to be delayed as the bereaved focuses on understanding the loss. The first stage is thought to last several weeks after the initial mourning period. The second stage is the intermediate stage wherein the bereaved experiences distress, disorganization, despair, and yearning for the deceased. Support from acquaintances and friends may also begin to wane during this phase of grief. During this second phase, the bereaved begins to make new meaning out of the loss, which is thought to be the most difficult (Lamb, 1988). This phase can last from two to 12 months and, at its conclusion, the bereaved enters the final stage of grief, which includes involving oneself in activities that he or she used to engage in, but without the deceased. The bereaved may also engage in new activities and initiatives he or she was not able to do with the deceased. It is in this stage that the bereaved makes the decision to no longer dwell on the death and move on in spite of the loss of the deceased person (Lamb, 1988).

Instead of using a “stage” or “phase” approach, the Two-Track Model of Bereavement is one model that separates the grief process into two tracks rather than stages or phases. Rubin (1999) proposes that the response to loss must be understood as it relates to the bereaved person’s physiological and psychological functioning (Track 1) in addition to the quality and nature of his/her forever-changed attachment to the deceased (Track 2). Track 1 focuses on the functioning of the bereaved related to anxiety, depressive affect and cognitions, somatic concerns, psychiatric symptoms, familial relationships, general interpersonal relations, self-esteem and self-worth, meaning structure, work, and investment in life tasks. Track 2 focuses on the bereaved’s relationship to the deceased, such as imagery and memory, emotional distance, positive affect vis-à-vis the deceased, negative affect vis-a-vis

the deceased, preoccupation with loss and the lost, idealization, conflict, features of loss process (shock, searching, disorganization, & reorganization), impact upon self-perception, and memorialization and transformation of the deceased (Rubin, 1999). This model provides a comprehensive framework through which to consider the many responses a bereaved person might have to the loss of someone.

There is also the view that grief doesn't truly end; it merely changes in its intensity:

There need be no end to grief. While it is never static—it is not a single (or even a five-stage) thing—there is no reason to believe it will disappear for good and no need to judge oneself if it does not. Grief turns over and over. It is vibrant, surprising, and alive, just as we are. (Epstein, 2013, p. 206)

Epstein argues that grief stays with us, and as we sit with the reality that we have lost our loved one, our relationships to the grief and to our lost loved one change over time. Though we've lost the person physically, we never lose the relationship we had with that person, and the memories of the deceased and our relationship to them continues to evolve as we evolve in our grief and learn how to cope with our loss.

B. Acute vs. complicated grief

Although various scholars and clinicians are careful to specify that there is no "normal" grief, there is a distinction between uncomplicated acute grief and complicated grief. While normal acute grief refers to those experiences of people who successfully cope with their loss over time, researchers have estimated around 10% to 20% of people develop complicated grief (Kersting, Brähler, Glaesmer, & Wagner, 2011; Lobb et al., 2010). However, prevalence rates for complicated grief are difficult to estimate due to the lack of an established diagnostic definition and criteria for assessment (Schut & Stroebe, 2005). Complicated grief (CG), also known as "traumatic grief," "prolonged grief disorder," or "pathological grief," is characterized by longing or yearning for the deceased, feeling that life is meaningless or empty, intense emotions of anger or bitterness, difficulty accepting the loss, loss of interest in responsibilities and activities, preoccupation or avoidance of the deceased or circumstances of the death, and other physiological disturbances (Horowitz, Bonanno, & Hoken, 1993; Horowitz et al., 2003; Prigerson et al., 2009; Shear et al., 2011). CG is not to be misconstrued for other existing disorders such as

depression, anxiety, or PTSD, as it has been shown to be distinctive in its symptomatology (Boelen, van den Bout, & de Keijser, 2003; Shear et al., 2011). In contrast to CG, a person with an ordinary grief reaction maintains self-efficacy, continues to feel emotionally connected to others and that his/her life still holds meaning, and does not feel isolated following the death (Balk, Zaengle, & Corr, 2011). Although they have not yet established a diagnostic category, proponents are advocating for the inclusion of CG in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders; it is currently under consideration as a condition for further study under the term "persistent complex bereavement disorder," with some debate over the proposed criteria and the inclusion of the term as only a single form of a ranging disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Boelen & Prigerson, 2012; Prigerson et al., 2009; Rando et al., 2012).

There are numerous factors that can increase the likelihood of developing CG. Lobb et al. (2010) identified factors such as prior loss or trauma, a history of psychological disorders, insecure attachment style, being a care giver of the deceased, having a dependent relationship with the deceased, and experiencing a traumatic death. For example, death through traumatic events such as suicides, acts of terrorism, school shootings, and murders have been associated with CG symptoms (Bottomley, Burke, & Neimeyer, 2017; Lobb et al., 2010; Turunen & Punamäki, 2016; Johnsen & Dyregrov, 2017). It has also been noted that females, people with lower income, older individuals, people who have lost a child or spouse, or cancer as the cause of death also have higher chances of developing CG (Kersting et al., 2011).

Another major contributor that can complicate the grief process is called disenfranchised grief. Doka (2008), who first coined the term, posits that disenfranchised grief refers to a situation when someone experiences a significant loss but the grief he or she experiences is not socially accepted or recognized, leaving the bereaved unsupported. Examples of those who experience disenfranchised grief can be people grieving ex-spouses, past and present lovers, friends, incarcerated loved ones, pets, those who died by suicide, homicide, AIDS, overdose, and so on (Balk, Zaengle, & Corr, 2011; Doka, 2008; Goodrum, 2008; Johnsen & Dyregrov, 2017; Pilgram 2009; Romanoff & Terenzio, 1998). Disenfranchised grievers often report that they are not afforded the right to grieve and are not given sympathy or offered time away from work and respon-

sibilities to grieve their loved one (Doka, 2008). This type of grief can exacerbate the intensity of the bereaved's emotional responses to the loss and can be compounded by ambivalent relationships with the deceased and other current issues they are facing, such as legal or financial problems (Doka, 2008). Adolescents, in particular, are vulnerable to disenfranchised grief, as parents can easily disregard their child's grief over a friend because the relationship may have been seen as temporary (Balk, Zaengle, & Corr, 2011).

A study found that complicated grief is common in young adults, especially when there is a high-level of closeness in a relationship, such as a sibling relationship (Herberman Mash, Fullerton, & Ursano, 2013). Dorney (2016) suggests that complicated grief may disrupt the psycho-social and cognitive development of the young adult, challenging their worldview. This is exactly what was found in a qualitative study conducted by Mead (2018). In this case study of 150 young adults bereaved from suicide, a major theme that was identified was the competing demands in individuation. Because these years are so formative in our understanding of who we are, a traumatic death like suicide can upset this process and make young adults question their worldview. This leaves them with the choice to either continue to pursue milestones or to take time to grieve their loved one (Mead, 2018).

3. Bereavement in Different Stages of Life

The age of the bereaved and their relationship to the deceased may play a role in the specific needs for support. Distinctions are often made between children, adults, and older adults who are in bereavement. Below, we outline potential distinctions between different developmental stages of life. To this conversation, we add our thoughts about young adult college students who may be bereaved and the unique challenges grief poses to this population. Research has demonstrated that grief reactions among young adults are different from those of adults (Palmer, Saviet, & Tourish, 2016), and it is to this group that we direct our attention.

A. Bereavement in childhood

No one is ever truly "prepared" for the death of a loved one. But knowing of its imminence and inevitability seemingly softens the blow—studies of

Since the majority of the bereaved are able to adapt to loss without lasting psychological and physical health problems, routine formal interventions such as grief counseling, may not be necessary soon after the experienced death and do not have empirical support for their effectiveness (Jordan & Neimeyer, 2003; Schut & Stroebe, 2005). However, those experiencing complicated grief do benefit from interventions. For example, Boelen et al. (2007) found that cognitive restructuring and exposure therapy, two forms of cognitive behavioral therapy, are more effective in improving complicated grief symptoms and general psychopathology compared to supportive counseling. Bottomley, Burke, and Neimeyer (2017) also state that social support, particularly physical assistance, helped prevent problematic grief outcomes such as depression, anxiety, PTSD, and complicated grief from developing in African American participants bereaved by loss through homicide. Furthermore, a meta-analysis by Wittouck, Van Autreve, De Jaegere, Portzky, and van Heeringen (2011) has shown that treatment interventions rather than preventative measures alleviate CG symptoms in both the short- and long-term, with increases in alleviation over time. Therefore, these results suggest efforts to prevent CG symptoms from developing seem futile and that the focus of practitioners should be on treatment after onset.

bereaved adults have shown that mourning is aided by foreknowledge of death (Parkes, 2001); however, with children, the impact of the death of a close person, usually a parent or sibling, is significantly greater than the impact on adults because children lack the ability to fully comprehend death. By five years of age, children can understand the difference between temporary separation and death (Black, 1998). Young children are able to mourn for the loss of a parent or a sibling, although it has been observed that the form of their grief is different than that of adults and older children (Bowlby, 1980; Furman, 1974). Children's characteristic response to the death of a parent is usually an increase in activity, sometimes resulting in behavioral problems (Black, 1998). Due to their need for parenting, the loss of one parent may result in the child's development of anxiety over

the survival of the other parent (Black, 1998). In the long term, children who are bereaved early are more likely to develop psychosomatic disorders in later childhood and adulthood (Black, 1978).

In addition to eliciting a number of emotional responses such as shock, confusion, depression, anger, numbness, fear, and guilt, Balk (1983) found that the death of a sibling impacted young teenagers' interpersonal relationships with peers. In an interview study conducted with 33 young teenagers who lost a sibling, more than half reported that their interpersonal relationships with peers changed as a result of the death. More teenagers reported that their relationships worsened than teenagers who reported that their relationships with peers improved. This was due to the fact that many peers were uncomfortable with the situation and did not know how to interact with the bereaved teenager. In contrast, more teens reported that the death of their sibling led them to have strengthened relationships with their parents than those who reported that their parents were not supportive.

B. Bereavement in adulthood

The most common types of losses in adulthood are the death of a spouse or the death of a parent. There may also be the loss of a sibling. Although less common, the loss of a child may also be experienced by adult persons. All of these different types of losses may impact the bereaved adult in different ways. Much scholarship has been devoted to the study of marital bereavement—the loss of a spouse. A common distinction made among grieving adults is whether they knew their spouse was dying and whether the bereaved is a male or a female. Research suggests that the impact of a spouse's death is similar for men and women; however, their reactions are different: Women (widows) often emphasize a sense of abandonment whereas men (widowers) express feeling a sense of “dismemberment” (Glick, Weiss, & Parkes, 1974). The type of reaction to the loss of a spouse may serve as an indication of what the marriage may have meant for the widow or widower. The impact of a spouse's death tends to be more severe for whom the spouse's death came with little or no warning (Glick, Weiss, & Parkes, 1974). Being able to anticipate the death of a spouse may help to keep the response within certain bounds, but the death still has a strong impact (Kastenbaum, 1986).

Although the loss of a child does not occur as frequently as the loss of a spouse, it may be the most intense type of loss experienced by adult persons (Sanders, 1980). Illness and disability in children con-

tradict our very basic assumptions about life: Children are supposed to be vibrant, healthy, and have long lives ahead of them. Therefore, the prospect of children suffering and dying are almost unbearable (Ferrell & Coyle, 2008). The death of a child often leaves parents feeling helpless—they were unable to help their child during the dying process and they often have difficulty searching for meaning in their child's death (Keesee, Currier, & Neimeyer, 2008; Murphy, Johnson, & Lohan, 2003; Uren & Watsell, 2002). This often results in psychosocial problems in both the mothers and the fathers (Kaplan, Grobstein, & Smith, 1976; Binger, 1984; Mulhern, Lauer, & Hoffman, 1983).

The research on bereavement over a lost child has also generated findings showing that men and women grieve differently. Benfield, Leib, and Vollman (1978) found that fathers showed significantly lower grief scores than mothers. Fathers also showed fewer symptoms of depression than mothers (Wilson, Fenton, Stevens, & Soule, 1982). Furthermore, it has been suggested that fathers experience a shorter grief period than mothers (Helmrath & Steintz, 1978; Forrest, 1983; Raphael, 1984). Mothers generally face greater difficulties adapting to the death of a child than fathers (Rando, 1983; Schwab, 1996; Sidmore, 1999).

C. Bereavement in old age

The older adult is vulnerable to the deaths of many types of persons in his or her life: spouses, siblings, adult children, grandchildren, and even parents. In some ways, the longer a person lives, the more there is for him or her to lose, as the long-lived person is more apt to have survived more people to whom he or she was deeply attached. Multiple losses may lead to what has been called “bereavement overload,” a phenomenon an individual encounters when he or she is confronted with multiple losses and one loss cannot be accommodated before another one occurs (Neimeyer & Holland, 2006). Some older adults may have faced the loss of more than one child. There is some suggestion that those parents who have faced multiple deaths of children tend to report poorer outcomes than those who experienced a single loss (Rando, 1983). Furthermore, losses for older people may be heightened by other losses besides those attributable to death, such as cognitive and financial losses (Herriott & Kiyak, 1981; Kastenbaum, 1986) as well as a range of age-related physical, psychological, and psychosocial changes (Ward, Mathias, & Hitchings, 2007).

The death of a spouse has been cited as a major psychological issue that ranks as the life event needing

the most intense readjustment (Herriott & Kiyak, 1981; Stroebe, Schut, & Stroebe, 2007). In elderly populations, spousal bereavement is most frequent, with 45% of women and 15% of men over the age of 65 becoming widowed (Hansson & Stroebe, 2003). As a multidimensional process, bereavement may have an impact on a person's psychological, physiological, social, economic, and spiritual well-being. For older adults, bereavement has been cited as a risk factor for both depression and anxiety (Byrne & Raphael, 1997; Turvey, Carney, Arndt, Wallace, & Herzog, 1999). When an older adult loses a spouse, the most commonly experienced symptoms are sadness, tearfulness, insomnia, self-dissatisfaction, reduced appetite, and weight loss (Breckrenridge, Gallagher, Thompson, & Peterson, 1986; McKiernan, 1996). Loneliness is often cited as the most critical problem for the bereaved adult; bereavement in old age can intensify an older adult's existing sense of loneliness and contribute to the exacerbation of many physical problems (Kastenbaum, 1986).

D. Bereavement among young adult college students

Research suggests that at any one point in time, 40% to 50% of undergraduate students are within two years of the death of a loved one or significant other (Balk & Vesta, 1998; Balk, Walker, & Baker, 2010; Hardison, Neimeyer, & Lichstein, 2005). One study from 1985 found that 28% of students reported that they recently lost a loved one to death (LaGrand, 1986). For many, this is their first significant loss, and they have not had the experience of learning how to cope. Balk (1996) found that the stronger the attachment to the deceased, the more psychological distress the bereaved college students felt. The intensity of the emotions, coupled with their lack of experience in processing death can make it particularly difficult for college-aged young adults to cope with their loss (Toth, Stockton, & Browne, 2000). Students in the traditional age range of undergraduate students (17–23 years old) who are bereaved may be particularly vulnerable to physical and emotional problems (Osterweis, Solomon, & Green, 1984) and to additional stressors due to their maturational stage and the environment in which they are left to grieve (Toth, Stockton, & Browne, 2000). College students are experiencing crucial life transitions involving identity, independence, and intimacy (Erickson, 1959, 1963, 1968; Janowiak, Mei-Tal, & Drapkin, 1995). A life crisis, such as a

death, during this critical life transition period may lead to maladaptive development, particularly when resources to help with coping are inadequate (Balk, Tyson-Rawson, & Colletti-Wetzel, 1993).

Resolution of grief may be particularly challenging for college students due to the fact that they are often far away from friends and family who may provide social support. Other students who may be outsiders to the grief often become frightened and/or very uncomfortable when they learn that another student is grieving a death (Balk, Tyson-Rawson, & Colletti-Wetzel, 1993). Bereaved college students may thus be at greater risk for decreased academic performance and may end up leaving school, compared to their nonbereaved peers (Servaty-Seib & Hamilton, 2006). The desire to establish one's autonomous self during the college transition while trying to cope with grief may, in fact, lead a college student to more heightened levels of distress (Balk, 1996). They may also develop maladaptive behaviors as it has been found that the experience of a traumatic loss during young adulthood is associated with more psychological distress and less individuation from the family over the course of a lifetime (Bradach & Jordan, 1995; Dorney, 2016; Mead, 2018). Young women who are bereaved may experience different difficulties related to identity development than young men—they are generally more focused on the difficulty of having to redefine and develop an identity apart from the deceased (Toth, 1997). Kuk (1990) suggests that women tend to focus more on connectedness and compassion rather than individuation and separation from their families. Some also learn to find comfort in their continued attachment to their deceased siblings or parents by maintaining an emotional relationship with the deceased (Balk, 1996).

In addition to the potential loss of a family member or friend from home, college students may also lose peers. The most recent data suggest that there are 4–15 deaths per 10,000 students (anywhere from 5,000–18,750 students die) each year (Wrenn, 1989). Young adults may be particularly vulnerable to difficulties resulting from the death of a close friend. Given that young adults who are in college are undergoing the transition of individuating from their families, they may develop deeper connections to their friends they make in college than friends from home (Sklar & Hartley, 1990). The cause of death may also further complicate the bereavement process for young adults—sudden, violent, premature, or stigmatized deaths of a friend or loved one

may leave survivors with a high degree of emotional trauma and lead to complicated grief. Student suicides on campuses are one instance where the bereaved may experience heightened emotional trauma. While there are no national estimates on how many college students die by suicide, a recent study suggests that the rate is 6.17 per 100,000 students (Turner, Leno, & Keller, 2013). The Associated Press reported that out of the 100 largest U.S. public universities, 46 currently track suicides, including 27

that have consistently done so since 2007. Of the 54 remaining schools, 43 said they don't track suicides, nine could provide only limited data and didn't answer questions about how consistently they tracked suicides, and two didn't provide statistics (Associated Press, 2018). In addition to those students that die by suicide, 8.0% of full-time college students have had suicidal thoughts or have seriously considered suicide, 2.4% have made a suicide plan, and 0.9% has made a suicide attempt (CDC, 2016).

4. Communication During Grief and Bereavement

The end of a life may mark the start of a new reality for others—that of the family and friends left behind. Their grief experiences imply that death may be conceptualized as an ending of a relationship. Here, we'd like to draw the distinction between *scholarship on conversations at the end-of-life with those who are dying* (see Giles, Thai, & Prestin, 2014) and *communication about grief by and with the bereaved*, which is the topic of this essay. How do people communicate about these experiences? What are some of the issues surrounding conversations about the deceased? Though talking about grief can be helpful to the bereaved, these conversations may also be challenging for the bereaved and the person receiving the information (Basinger, Wehrman, & McAninich, 2016). In this next section, we provide a broad overview of the different areas of communication in which investigations of grief and bereavement have been explored. While this literature is important to our understanding of communication in grief and during bereavement, it is not specifically focused on young adult college students.

A. Interpersonal communication

Interpersonal communication can perform a vital role in grief-reduction by aiding the deprived individual to comprehend the fact of the loss (German, 1981). A death is ultimately the loss of a relationship (Bosticco & Thompson, 2005); thus, managing the relationship with the deceased becomes a key issue for the bereaved. Whether the death was sudden or expected may impact what types of relational maintenance behaviors are enacted. Frost and colleagues (2017) found that those who experience the sudden loss of a loved one may use more modern forms of communication such as social media to grieve and seek support,

but may also be more disappointed in the type of support they receive compared to those experiencing an expected loss. For those grieving a more expected loss, specific communication strategies are recommended to help with the grief (Wilder, 2016). In an interview study conducted with later-life widowed adults, Wilder (2016) found that older widowers recommended that people talk to their spouses/partners about how to prepare for the death; that they seek out supportive interactions with other people; that they spend time remembering and sharing the good times; and that they must find a balance between dealing with grief and maintaining an active life.

Research has shown that engaging in conversations about one's grief can alleviate the emotional distress that results from the grief experience (Rosenblatt & Elde, 1990; Sedney, Baker, & Gross, 1994). Rosenblatt and Elde (1990) interviewed 16 adults who recently lost a parent and found that the ability to share stories about the deceased and reminisce about them with siblings helped with processing their grief, and also helped siblings become closer to one another. When parents lose a child, it has also been found that being able to talk about their deceased children helps grieving parents' recovery. Giannini (2011) found through in-depth interviews with bereaved couples that three key forms of communication support contributed to their recovery: acknowledgement (recognition, rather than avoidance, in talking about the death); compassion (expressing understanding and empathy for the situation); and inclusion (including the parent in their other identities besides as a bereaved parent).

Besides sharing stories with one another, humor has also been shown to play a role in alleviating symptoms of grief and in helping the bereaved cope

and can be seen as “an interpersonal emotional management strategy” (Francis et al., 1999, p. 158). In their survey research, Booth-Butterfield and colleagues (2014) found that whether a person is able to perceive or produce humor can contribute to greater coping efficacy, reduced negative physical symptoms, reduced psychological symptoms, and overall negative impacts of grief.

B. Family communication

Families facing the death of a loved one are confronted with challenging and complicated processes. While most grief reactions occur at the intrapersonal level, family members who openly talk about the death generally fare better than those who are less open with their communication, which may be affected by whether they are encouraged to talk about the death by the family (Black, 1998). Family communication patterns are defined as the underlying models that guide how individuals communicate both within and outside of the family (Vogl-Bauer, 2003). There are two cognitive orientations of family communication patterns: conformity orientation, defined as concern with how much (or little) families stress homogeneity; and conversation orientation, defined as how much (or little) family members encourage participation within the family (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2006). Using family communication patterns as a guiding framework to predict how families might grieve, Carmon and colleagues (2010) found that conversation orientation was shown to predict personal growth following the death.

Much of the research on the role of communication, and more specifically, story-telling, on families during bereavement has been summarized by Bosticco and Thompson (2005). They concluded their review with the poignant idea that grief and bereavement do not occur in isolation and cannot be viewed as purely psychological processes. “They are manifest and negotiated through communication, primarily through communication within family units and sub-units” (p. 274). The loss of a sibling, particularly to suicide, raises many issues for the surviving sibling. The uncertainty that comes with the loss leads to different kinds of uncertainty management strategies, including information avoidance, information gathering, information seeking about the suicide, disseminating information about suicide, seeking social support, connecting with others impacted by suicide, and communicating positive memories (Powell & Matthys, 2013). All of these uncertainty management

strategies are related to wanting to achieve a feeling relief from blame for the suicide.

One particular study that highlights this idea of story-telling in bereaved families investigated the impact of photographs of deceased newborns. Some families choose to have professional photographs of their dying or deceased babies taken, and a study was conducted to understand the meaning of these photographs for the bereaved families. Martel (2017) found that these photographs come to be seen as treasured family memory objects that also allow the bereaved to share their deceased family member with others. The process of sharing the newborn photo, allowed for the bereaved to tell a story about it, which helped the bereaved families to process and grieve their loss with others.

When parents lose a child, issues of identity arise, and parents must negotiate new identities from being parent of a child who is alive to being the parent of a child who is deceased (Toller, 2008). Toller (2005, 2008, 2011; Toller & Braithwaite, 2009) has studied the effects of a deceased child on bereaved parents and on the relationship between the parents. Her research has found that there are many tensions that bereaved parents face, including the physical loss of the child yet still feeling an emotional bond (Toller, 2005); being open or more closed when talking to others about the deceased child (Toller, 2005); shifting from being a parent with a child to a parent without a child (Toller, 2008); and grieving the child as an individual versus together as a couple with a partner (Toller & Braithwaite, 2009). In investigating what types of messages would be most helpful for bereaved parents, Toller (2011) found that tangible aid support (support to aid the individuals in day-to-day needs) was helpful, while informational support (support in the form advice giving or factual input) was seen as unhelpful. Titus and de Souza (2011) also explored tensions among parents related to the loss of a child. Their research found that the death of a child presented a time where there was both chaos and control; disruption yet also normalcy in everyday life; heartening and disheartening experiences with others; and senselessness and meaning in death.

The death of a child presents not only a renegotiation of identity for the parent, but also the sibling of the deceased child. When parents have a surviving child, they must also manage supporting the bereaved child in addition to dealing with their own grief. Rossetto (2015) investigated parents’ strategies and reactions in support-

ing their surviving children and identified several strategies such as direct conversation, concealment, sharing space and time, enabling outside communication, and commemoration. Parents play a key role in their surviving children's ability to adapt to the loss of a sibling and other family members. Toller and McBride (2013) found that parents wanted to make sure their children understood what happened to their family member and what they could expect when it came to the funeral and other events surrounding the death. At the same time, they also wanted to protect their children from some of the issues surrounding the death. Thus, the decisions of what information to share with their children were dictated by the desire to guide them through what to expect and the desire to protect them from harmful or hurtful information.

There has also been work conducted on the loss of a child through miscarriage, particularly in what types of messages are helpful and not helpful. Meyer (2015, 2016) discusses the idea of "timing" and how expressions of it "not being the right time" are not helpful. Messages suggesting that the pregnancy was "not a real baby" and that life is "better off" without the lost baby are hurtful and do not help the bereaved cope. To this end, Wilkum and MacGeorge (2010) found that personal experience with pregnancy loss, along with time

since the loss, and one's gender, may be related to knowing how to construct messages that are supportive.

C. Privacy issues

Issues of privacy may complicate how and with whom people discuss their grief. Using Communication Privacy Management theory as their framework, Basinger and colleagues (2016) found that young adults who had lost a parent or sibling thought about their grief as something that they owned. They applied privacy rules in terms of who they communicated with and the topics of conversation. Some were reluctant to share their grief with others, while others only focused on the positive characteristics of the deceased when sharing information. Issues of privacy may also play a role in what people choose to share about the death of a loved one in the workplace. Bauer and Murray (2018) interviewed bereaved white collar employees about their sense-making experience within their workplaces. Key findings showed that bereaved employees must grapple with how to maintain their professional identities while also negotiating the changes to their identity in relation to their loss. Bauer and Murray (2018) found differences in how bereaved employees negotiated these identities between genders as well as in different types of organizational cultures.

5. Supporting Grieving Students

Bereaved individuals of all ages use various coping strategies and interventions to try to reduce their grief symptoms following their loss. Interventions can include both formal and informal methods, depending on the severity of grief symptoms and other contributing factors surrounding the death and characteristics of the bereaved person. Some interventions have been shown to better reduce symptoms of complicated grief while being ineffective or interfering with the ordinary uncomplicated grief process. In the succeeding section we summarize a number of potential interventions for the bereaved as well as provide suggestions that academic institutions, in particular, can take to prepare for the death of a student as well as offer support to young adult college students who may be grieving.

A. Social support/"presence"

The literature suggests that social support is one of the most helpful things to offer the bereaved after

the passing of a loved one or loss in general. Few bereaved college students will seek out professional services to handle their grief while many find talking to loved ones, such as family and friends, helpful (Floerchinger, 1991; Toth, Stockton, & Browne, 2000). Vickio, Cavanaugh, and Attig (1990) found in a sample of 123 undergraduate students that 31.5% of them identified talking with others as the most helpful way of coping with grief, 38.2% said they would be present with those who are grieving, and 26.5% of them identified being present as one of the most helpful behaviors. In addition, almost half of the participants perceived talking with the bereaved about their grief and offering support as helpful acts (Vickio, Cavanaugh, & Attig, 1990). LaGrand (1981) noted in his descriptive analysis that 71.9% of 1,139 undergraduate students from nine different New York institutions identified talking and expressing their feelings as a mechanism used to cope during reported losses

of various causes. LaGrand (1981) also stated that, "Acceptance of emotion tends to promote understanding; it provides a sense of security and trust, allowing the griever to behave in a manner that is painful for the listener" (p. 243).

Communication plays a significant role in the success or failure of social support. LaGrand (1981) stressed the importance of openness and honesty during exchanges between those who are grieving and those who offer their support. The trust between both parties allows for the resolution of grief and transition into the healing process. Balk, Tyson-Rawson, and Colletti-Wetzel (1993) also mentioned that interaction in support groups fosters trust and that cohesion between group members develops quickly, due to members' mutual understanding of painful thoughts and feelings. In this particular college student support group, members were able to take a problem-solving approach by listening to the troubles of other members, such as alcohol abuse, and offering potential solutions to resolve them. The group leader, a graduate student in marriage and family therapy, connected the presented issues back to the loss, which gave other members a chance to think about and apply it to their own experiences and grasp the potential consequences (Balk, Tyson-Rawson, & Colletti-Wetzel, 1993).

Toth, Stockton, and Browne (2000) gathered clinical observations from a variety of professionals who worked with grieving students or taught about grief and loss. One of their conclusions focused on the importance of grievers confiding in a trusted other. They described the advantage of having an empathetic listener as a way for the griever to make sense of the loss by finding meaning in it. Furthermore, they acknowledged confiding in others does not have to be in the form of verbal conversation but can be expressed through writing, drawing, or other artistic methods (Toth, Stockton, & Browne, 2000). In a seven-session support group of four female college students, Janowiak, Mei-Tal, and Drapkin (1995) described the developing openness in their conversations throughout the program. Over time, the students felt as if they could express less "acceptable" feelings such as guilt, selfishness, and anger and agreed that sharing feelings of sadness were helpful.

Although the benefits of social support seem clear, other researchers have cast doubts on its effectiveness. A review by Stroebe, Zech, Stroebe, and Abakoumkin (2005) found that there is inconsistent evidence that social support buffers the impact of loss

or helps those recover from bereavement. Issues with social support can often be attributed to inappropriate responses from those supposed to be offering support to the bereaved. In Vickio, Cavanaugh, and Attig's (1990) study of the perceptions of grief among college students, participants cited a variety of behaviors that were deemed unhelpful to the bereaved. These behaviors ranged from suggesting how the bereaved should feel or act, explaining or judging the experience the bereaved were going through, actions preventing the bereaved from facing grief-related thoughts and feelings, being overbearing, and forcing self-disclosure. Other studies have found that comments that direct the bereaved to feel and act a certain way, rationalize the loss, and minimize their emotions come off insensitive and judgmental rather than comforting (Herkert, 2000; Servaty-Seib & Burleson 2007; Toth, Stockton, & Browne, 2000). Bereaved participants in a study by Goodrum (2008) learned that if they displayed grief at the wrong time and place or to the wrong person, they would be met with negative reactions by others. Other people would respond to the bereaved by either ignoring the topic through changing the subject of conversation or avoidant body language, crying and being overly dramatic, and saying "it's time for you to move on." The bereaved often restrained their grief and pretended to feel good to fit in with emotion norms and to prevent upsetting others (Goodrum, 2008). When trying to provide social support to bereaved individuals, particular statements should be avoided. Verbal messages that have been deemed to be unhelpful include, "You should keep busy," "Do not take it so hard," "You'll get over it. Time heals all wounds," and "You must get a hold of yourself. He/she would want you to" (Herkert, 2000; Servaty-Seib & Burleson 2007).

If certain messages are not helpful, what messages from others are helpful in consoling the bereaved? A meta-analysis by High and Dillard (2012) sought to answer this question. They found that verbal person-centered messages were associated with positive social support outcomes. If a communicator's statements acknowledge the thoughts and feelings of the bereaved individual, then those statements are perceived to be more compassionate. In a study on bereaved adolescents, support-intended statements that were more aligned with person-centeredness were also viewed as the most helpful (Servaty-Seib & Burleson, 2007). Helpful statements were ones that offered one's presence, expressed a willingness to listen, and expressed care and concern and included

statements such as, “I am here for you,” “If you want to talk, I will listen,” and “I really care about how you are doing” (Servaty-Seib & Burlison, 2007). Herkert (2000) found consensus with similar phrases such as, “I’m sorry,” “I’m here if you want to talk,” and “How are you doing?” Messages that convey the communicator is there for the bereaved and cares about them and what they are feeling seem to be the most successfully received.

B. Support groups/counseling/therapy

In Schut and Stroebe’s (2005) review, they limit types of intervention to include only organized or institutionalized counseling or therapy. Conclusions from this review, as well as other studies, have shown that providing interventions simply because someone is experiencing bereavement is not empirically supported (Jordan & Neimeyer, 2003; Schut & Stroebe, 2005). The authors suggest that this may be because counseling and therapy interventions shortly after bereavement can interrupt an individual’s natural grieving process. Therefore, they do not recommend using an outreach approach towards the bereaved but rather, waiting for those to actively seek out treatment interventions themselves (Schut & Stroebe, 2005). Even those who do seek out help may not benefit from treatment. In Balk’s (1997) examination of a group of bereaved college students, five out of the 18 students sought professional help to manage grief symptoms while only one reported it as being helpful. Assessed from their own clinical experiences, Jordan and Neimeyer (2003) suggest that the optimal time for treatment may be between six to 18 months after a death, but this timeframe should be examined for accuracy and other factors relating to characteristics of bereaved individuals and circumstances surrounding the death. While professional therapies may not provide the necessary treatment for those experiencing uncomplicated grief, many bereaved people seek some type of support from those close to them or others who are experiencing similar situations.

As previously discussed, social support is one of the most helpful interventions to cope with bereavement. The want and need for social support from those who understand and are there for bereaved individuals is apparent in studies assessing the matter. While family and friends may try to do their best to provide support, the bereaved often seek support from groups of people who are also faced with the pain of losing someone. The motivation to provide the bereavement group “Living with Loss” at Indiana University of Pennsylvania was due to concerns of bereaved individ-

uals that they were not receiving the necessary support and understanding from family, friends, or roommates; confusion about if they were grieving the “right” way due to implications from peers or professors that they should “get over it” or “move on”; and wanting advice from those experiencing the same thing (Janowiak, Mei-Tal, & Drapkin, 1995). Since that support group had a small number of members, the group moved away from a more structured approach and was able to explore new topic areas important to them. Evaluations from the four female college students identified the most valuable element was meeting with other students who are grieving (Janowiak, Mei-Tal, & Drapkin, 1995). Feedback from a professionally led peer support group of 50 relatives of deceased school shooting victims was highly positive, as it allowed members to express emotions and experiences with each other (Turunen & Punamäki, 2016). Bonds created in support groups are not limited to just in-person meetings but can also be made in online communities. Hartig and Viola (2016) found that those who joined internet-based support groups reported less psychological distress, which increased over time, and those who remained in the group for a year or more reported less severe grief symptoms than those who stayed for a lesser amount of time. In a related study, while bereavement group facilitators preferred in-person support groups compared to online ones, a vast majority of facilitators were still willing to refer clients to online communities due to the need to increase presence and availability of grief services (Lubas & De Leo, 2014). These facilitators are aware of challenges that both types of groups face. Participant recruitment and time were the top challenges for in-person groups while safety and concern over the clinical benefits of the groups were prominent for online support groups (Lubas & De Leo, 2014).

C. Digital communication tools

Due to the increasing reliance on technology, communicating through electronic means has become a vital and important resource for those experiencing grief. Social networking, texting, emailing, and other online activities are being utilized by the bereaved as an intervention to resolve their issues and work through their grief. Hartig and Viola (2016) attribute the presence of virtual online grief communities to individuals having trouble talking about the death to close friends and family, difficulty in expressing their feelings during face-to-face interactions, or needing an empathetic listener at a moment’s notice. Other studies have found

that the bereaved regard these online spaces as “safe havens” or “safe rooms” in which they feel like they can freely express themselves without the fear of rejection from others (Christensen, af Segerstad, Kasperowski, & Sandvik, 2017; Döveling, 2017).

In a study combining cognitive-behavioral therapy and technology, individuals with complicated grief communicated with therapists strictly through e-mail (Wagner, Knaevelsrud, & Maercker, 2006). Patients were assigned two weekly 45 minute writing tasks over a five week period. These writing assignments were broken up into phases: exposure to bereavement cues, cognitive reappraisal, and integration and restoration. After the completion of the second weekly essay, patients would receive feedback and instructions from their therapist. This intervention showed to be useful for those suffering from complicated grief as there were reductions of symptoms for complicated grief (i.e. intrusion, avoidance, and failure to adapt), depression, and anxiety, and improvements in general psychological functioning (Wagner, Knaevelsrud, & Maercker, 2006).

Technology can also serve as a reminder of those who have passed away. In a sample of undergraduate nursing majors who had lost a classmate, many had acknowledged that the lack of text messaging from their deceased classmate was an added reminder that he was gone (Dorney, 2016). Balk, Zaengle, and Corr (2011) noted that news of a peer’s death can reach many online friends instantly by just one post on Facebook. Facebook and other social media sites now play an important role in communicating about the death of a loved one, or even more distantly, a celebrity. For example, Facebook created an option to memorialize an account once the person has passed away (Facebook, n.d.-b). Family members can either choose this option or request Facebook to delete the deceased’s account permanently. Facebook users can also choose someone to manage their memorialized account after they pass away, also known as a legacy contact (Facebook, n.d.-a). Friends and family also have the option to create a group page on Facebook to remember deceased loved ones. Getty et al. (2011) found that the language used by bereaved individuals on posts to deceased loved one’s Facebook profiles contained more words related to grief and sorrow, referred to others in a collective sense, and referenced positive memories of the deceased. This implies that the bereaved use memorialized Facebook profiles as a public expression of grief used to act out their social roles. They also

suggest that posting on memorialized Facebook profiles offers a new way for the bereaved to understand the new relationship they have with the deceased by maintaining their bond (Getty et al., 2011). The same could be said for other social media platforms, such as Instagram and Twitter.

Another way of widening the private information of grief into the public sphere can be seen in instances of selfies on Instagram. Meese et al. (2015) collected and examined 525 selfies on Instagram with the hashtag #funeral. They found that while most were not being disrespectful by taking selfies at a funeral service, many of the photos acted as a form of “presencing” by letting followers know their current situation and communication of their emotional circumstances (Meese et al., 2015). Thimm and Nehls (2017) similarly investigated German Instagram posts with the same funeral hashtag and found that users either focus on their emotional states; use the death of the person in a secondary role to what they are wearing in the photo; use their grief as a side topic for other aspects of their identity, with no direct reference to their bereavement; or use it to tell a story about the relationship with the deceased. While also a means of communication, these Instagram posts served as mediated memory objects and as a way for users to realize the reality of the experience (Thimm & Nehls, 2017). An obvious criticism of #funeral selfies is that it is an inappropriate gesture that can take away from the significant emotional aspect of grief. Nansen et al. (2017) affirms that the controversies that come along with #funeral selfies shows that social media use regarding funerals is not widespread or accepted as a norm for memorializing the dead.

Social media platforms allow for “continuing bonds” (Silverman & Klass, 1996), wherein the bereaved have some way of maintaining a bond with the deceased and others who knew the deceased. Pennington (2013) argues that on Facebook specifically, behaviors can be enacted that are correlates to the enactment of behaviors to continue bonds in the offline world: visiting a profile is like visiting a grave; posting on the page to connect with others is like talking to friends who knew the deceased; and sending private messages to the deceased is like having an inner dialogue with the deceased. Morehouse and Crandall (2014) state that sites like these provide more intense and frequent interaction with the bereaved that keep the death of their loved one more present, as seen in the examples above. While social

media sites may serve as a way to help the bereaved cope, the existence of such a space could also complicate the grief process, and potentially lead to complicated grief, given that there is a constant reminder of the person who has died (Pennington, 2017; Rossetto, Lannutti, & Strauman, 2015).

With sites like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter dominating much of our social interaction, websites that are solely dedicated to grief and bereavement might serve as a better option for those who seek to find other people who have lost a loved one. The bereaved can often feel judged or ignored by others when displaying grief online and these types of mourning websites act as a connection for all users that have lost someone. Leonard and Toller (2012) described MyDeathSpace.com as a website in which users can post articles like obituaries about MySpace.com members who have died and assure them of anonymity and privacy when doing so. The authors did note that the personal nature of the shared information on the website can intensify both positive and negative aspects of messages exchanged by users (Leonard & Toller, 2012). Another website that has both advantages and disadvantages is Tributes.com. This website allows users to remember the deceased by preserving their memory through obituaries, lighting virtual candles, guest books, posting written memory or recording an audio memory, making donations, and so on (Nansen et al., 2017). Nansen et al. (2017) states that while these types of sites present themselves as more personal spaces, unlike Facebook, their interfaces are outdated and messy and do not allow for sharing across different social media platforms.

While online platforms can offer the bereaved another opportunity to grieve, they are not without challenges. When choosing to grieve online, mourners make the choice to share private information with the public sphere and this has the potential to reach unintended and unexpected audiences, who may also choose to contribute in these grieving practices (Giaxoglou et al, 2017; Marwick & Ellison, 2012; Meese et al., 2015; Morehouse & Crandall, 2014; Nansen et al., 2017; Sabra, 2017; Thimm & Nehls, 2017). Giaxoglou et al. (2017) refers to this as the “spectrum of visibility” in which some bereaved users either control sharing and minimize their presence online or overshare their emotions. Depending on if users choose more open communities or more closed ones, reception from others can vary. This range of visibility can open the door to context collapse.

Context collapse refers to “. . . individuals representing multiple social contexts (e.g., work, family, high school acquaintances, close friends) are ‘collapsed’ into the flat category of ‘friends’ or ‘contacts’ on social media sites . . .” (Marwick & Ellison, 2012, p. 379). To manage this, the bereaved may use strategies like only sharing information appropriate for all audience members or deleting critical and offensive comments (Marwick & Ellison, 2012). In one study, context collapse was only brought to a head if the cultural values of users were in conflict with each other’s understandings of the deceased and if the deceased was spoken badly about. Negotiations to enforce norms of appropriateness of comments and posts involved legitimacy, status, and validation of users related to the deceased (Marwick & Ellison, 2012). This meant that if users were family or close friends, they were considered more legitimate or the more important parties in the community that could enforce norms for others. In another study by Sabra (2017), context collapse manifested when users distributed unwanted information, such as his or her deepest inner feelings, and displayed inauthentic grief reactions, either on the part of distant friends or in the limited self-representation that comes with using Facebook.

Other potential challenges that bereaved individuals may run into online are “trolls” and abusive or critical comments. “Trolls” are “people who post deliberately inflammatory messages with a disruptive intent, usually under a pseudonym” (Marwick & Ellison, 2012, p. 379). On Facebook memorial profiles, trolls purposefully made comments to provoke emotions of anger, disgust, confusion, and grief among emotionally involved users and even expressed pleasure in the person’s death. To remedy the situation, participants would try to silence “trolls” by deleting their comments, blocking them, or reporting offensive photos. Some participants would engage “trolls” by calling them names or sometimes threatening them with violence (Marwick & Ellison, 2012). Thimm and Nehls (2017) also identified abusive comments under German Instagram posts, with one “troll” finding amusement in the passing of one user’s grandmother and commenting that she “always hated” him (p. 342). While they noted these were exceptions in their data, harassment is one of the most extreme and anti-social behaviors exhibited online (Thimm & Nehls, 2017). In an examination of suicide-related posts on MyDeathSpace.com, the deceased were often judged because of their parental status, life choices, alleged

guilt or innocence in criminal investigations, and intelligence or lack thereof (Leonard & Toller, 2012). Family and friends were also judged for not stopping the deceased from committing suicide or for somehow being the cause of it (Leonard & Toller, 2012). Because suicide can be stigmatizing, the lack of sympathy from other commenters can be heightened.

General perceptions and attitudes about grieving online have been studied in Danish Facebook users (Sabra, 2017). By surveying both observers and mourners, Sabra (2017) found that 12% had positive attitudes, 42.5% had negative attitudes, 37.7% had neutral attitudes, and 7.8% had indecisive attitudes towards using social media as an outlet for grieving. Participants had different views on what was considered acceptable to grieve online. If the death was unexpected, sudden, tragic, and violent, some participants thought they were more acceptable to mourn while others thought they were too emotional and intense to share on social media sites (Sabra, 2017). For gradual, more anticipated deaths, participants found them more legitimate to share online but would also only be allowed a moderate grieving process limited to emotional displays of remembrance (Sabra, 2017). Furthermore, participants thought that sharing grief online should be restricted to memorial pages or groups that are relevant to the deceased person, keeping in mind boundaries of social etiquette, and that mourners should be careful to regulate their emotions so as not to display ones too intensely that would disturb other users (Sabra, 2017). In line with this, Halliwell and Franken (2016) found that bereaved siblings in three different online support groups felt judged by family and friends for ongoing grief and received both implied or spoken messages that placed a limit on how long a person should grieve. Grieving as a deviant behavior versus grieving as a normal process was one of the main struggles these bereaved siblings dealt with. More investigation into these attitudes in different populations can provide us with more information on what is deemed acceptable online mourning practices.

Since college students make up a large percentage of social media users, it is important to consider how they use these platforms to communicate about grief. Wandel (2009) analyzed a focus group of 37 bereaved college students to determine what is advantageous and disadvantageous of online peer communication using Facebook. Advantageous elements included the opportunity to obtain support, the communication of sympathy and care, posted messages by diverse people from

different stages of life, and the ability to communicate with those from their hometown (Wandel, 2009). On the other hand, elements that were considered disadvantageous were being overwhelmed by sympathies and feeling the need to respond to everyone, perceptions of judgments by others if they were seen online, sentiments lacking anything substantial in terms of comfort, and wishing for more frequent attention from family and friends (Wandel, 2009). Participants saw Facebook as a good way for friends to reach out if they were not comfortable talking to bereaved in person by allowing them more time to craft a more appropriate, empathetic response other than using the common phrase "I'm sorry" (Wandel, 2009). Facebook also acted as a reminder that life goes on, which can both hurt the bereaved but also be comforting to them (Wandel, 2009). Overall, using social media sites to mourn have both benefits and drawbacks and should be further studied to understand its nuances.

D. Interpersonal cognitive behavioral therapy

While cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) is known for its treatment of psychological issues like anxiety disorders and depression, various forms of this therapeutic approach are more recently being applied to the experience of grief. Powers and Wampold (1994) found that four cognitive-behavioral coping strategies determined widows' adjustment to bereavement, with this association maintained even when factors like age, physical health status, and availability and satisfaction of social support were considered. These coping strategies included participants' attributing their own personal meaning to the death, differentiating the process of grief resolution from the process of forgetting the deceased, engaging in grief-related activities while also practicing normal life activities, and engaging in health-promotion practices (Powers & Wampold, 1994). Evidence for the efficacy of CBT has mainly been found in the treatment of complicated grief. Boelen, de Keijser, van den Hout, and van den Bout (2007) demonstrated that compared to supportive counseling, exposure therapy and cognitive restructuring were more effective in improving both complicated grief and general psychopathology. Additionally, patients who completed writing tasks involving CBT and communicated with their therapists exclusively through e-mails were shown to have improved complicated grief, depression and anxiety, and mental state (Wagner, Knaevelsrud, & Maercker, 2006). Not only does CBT

show to be effective in both in-person and through electronic communication, it is also effective in reducing symptoms in different age groups. Cohen, Mannarino, and Staron (2006) conducted a pilot study of modified CBT on children with childhood traumatic grief (CTG), a combination of PTSD and complicated grief symptoms. After 12 weeks of individual child and parent sessions, children showed improvement in CTG, PTSD, depression, and anxiety in post-treatment while parents noticed improvements in their own PTSD symptoms as well as in their children's PTSD and internalizing and externalizing behavior (Cohen, Mannarino, & Staron, 2006). Like other interventions, cognitive-behavioral therapy may benefit those with more complicated grief rather than individuals who are able to adjust and cope successfully with their grief symptoms.

E. Writing

As previously recognized by other researchers, writing can be a useful intervention to cope with bereavement (Toth, Stockton, & Browne, 2000; Wagner, Knaevelsrud, & Maercker, 2006). To assess if writing lessens grief symptoms in undergraduate students following suicide, Kovac and Range (2000) had 40 students complete writing assignments four times over a two-week period. Researchers randomly assigned students to conditions in which students either wrote about profound topics, such as events and emotions surrounding their loss, or about trivial topics, such as describing their bedroom, what they ate that day, what they had done since they woke up, and what they planned on doing after completing the writing assignment. Results from this intervention showed a reduction in suicidal grief for participants in the profound topics condition, but both groups had the same amount of overall impact of bereavement and general grief (Kovac & Range, 2000). As previously mentioned, Wagner, Knaevelsrud, and Maercker's (2006) combined writing and CBT intervention reduced complicated grief symptoms, depression and anxiety, and general mental health in individuals suffering from complicated grief. Improvements for the treatment group were also sustained at the three-month follow up (Wagner, Knaevelsrud, & Maercker, 2006). The first of three experiments done by Norton and Gino (2014) investigated the effect of rituals on perceived control and grief. Participants were prompted to recall and write about a loss either through the ending of a relationship or through death for 5–10 minutes and then some were assigned to write further

about an everyday ritual they performed to cope with said loss. Researchers found that those who continued to write about a particular ritual had more perceived control when thinking back about the time they originally performed it and had reduced grief (Norton & Gino, 2014).

F. Rituals

In Norton and Gino's (2014) studies, writing was not the only significant aspect of their interventions. Rituals were the main component under examination. Rituals act to preserve social order and are a way to understand the complexities of human life (Romanoff & Terenzio, 1998). Romanoff and Terenzio (1998) suggest that to properly resolve bereavement there must be a transformation of the person's sense of self, transition of the person's pre-death and post death social status, and maintenance of the connection with the deceased in a communal context. Rituals can aid in achieving these concerns but characteristics like the type of death and relationship with the deceased individual need to be considered beforehand. With that said, performing rituals has appeared to be beneficial to those going through bereavement by alleviating grief symptoms. Rituals encompass a wide range of actions, which can include anything from attending the funeral or memorial service of the deceased, engaging or not engaging in activities done by or shared with the deceased, religious ceremonies, gifting flowers, donations, and so on (Balk, Zaengle, & Corr, 2011; Norton & Gino, 2014; Turunen & Punamäki, 2016). Norton and Gino's (2014) other two experiments went on to demonstrate that both a new ritual assigned by a researcher after losing a lottery and the provided information that people engage in rituals after loss, coupled with the act of performing a ritual was effective in increasing perceived control and reducing grief. Rituals integrated into a professionally led support group aided in members' resolution of bereavement in a two-year process consisting of five weekend sessions (Turunen & Punamäki, 2016). Relatives of deceased young adults and adults from a Finnish school shooting participated in sessions that consisted of psychoeducation and small peer group activities. Common rituals included the Power Circle, in which members held hands as a symbol of group cohesion and togetherness, preparing a memorial item to reflect unique memories of the deceased, expressing thoughts and feelings of the future in a mural, lighting candles in memory of the deceased, building memory boxes, taking part in a memorial service, and other ritualistic behaviors

(Turunen & Punamäki, 2016). An examination of nursing students bereaved by the death of a classmate highlighted different ritualistic activities they engaged in (Dorney, 2016). After their classmate's death, the nine nursing students participated in rituals such as holding card writing events, eating the favorite potato chips of the deceased, wearing bracelets in remembrance of the deceased, organizing a memorial service, and so on (Dorney, 2016). Rituals, done individually or communally, are another way to help the bereaved cope with their loss and resolve their grief.

G. Medication

In necessary cases, medications or pharmacotherapy may be useful for the treatment of grief symptoms. In a review of a variety of bereavement interventions conducted by Forte, Hill, Pazder, and Feudtner (2004), pharmacotherapy was the only intervention category

identified to provide significant benefits to bereaved individuals in reducing depression and improving sleep quality. Other interventions such as CBT, support groups or counseling, and psychotherapy provided mixed results on their overall effectiveness. Medication can be helpful to the small number of bereaved individuals who need it but they must be evaluated by a licensed medical professional and patients may potentially suffer from adverse effects. For example, Balk (1997) conducted in-depth interviews with 18 undergraduate students about their bereavement. Two of these students remarked that they took prescribed medication for their grief. While one student claimed it was helpful, the other was distressed by the medication saying that it “stopped me from feeling” (Balk, 1997). While most bereaved people do not require medication to recover from their grief-related symptoms, a small few can substantially benefit from its use.

6. Implications for Practice

Given that college students are experiencing bereavement in specific institutions, many scholars and clinicians have proposed strategies that educational institutions could implement and use when supporting bereaved students. Student members of a university bereavement support group pointed out why institutions are not the best at providing support to their students (Balk, Tyson-Rawson, & Colletti-Wetzel, 1993). They cited pressure to perform socially and academically while experiencing the emotional and physical turmoil of bereavement, implicit messages that they should “get over it,” and feelings of isolation from others around them. While 22–30% of undergraduate students are in their first year of grieving the death of a family member or friend, many would expect university administrators to have policies and procedures in place to support these students but that may not always be the case (Balk, 2008). So, what can institutions do to help bereaved college students cope? Balk (2008) suggests that institutions should assess the needs of bereaved students on campus through a brief questionnaire or other method rather than assuming what they need or leaving them to figure it out on their own. While listening to the needs of students is essential, researchers advocate for different types of institutional interventions. Psychoeducation and training, outreach, bereavement policies, bereavement centers, support

groups, and continued research have been proposed to make the bereavement process easier and more helpful for both students and the university.

A. Psychoeducation and training

A number of studies have suggested providing educational materials or training to students, faculty, and staff so that they may effectively interact with bereaved students (Balk, 2001; Balk, Zaengle, & Corr, 2011; Dorney, 2016; Floerchinger, 1991; Toth, Stockton, & Browne, 2000). Balk (2001) suggests to build training upon the principles of being an empathetic listener and awareness of the grief process so that students can become certified peer helpers. The training would address why people do not offer support to those who are grieving like being overwhelmed by the other person's grief, being unsure of what to say to the griever, and feeling like they do not have an obligation to the griever. Another suggestion Balk (2001) included was to raise consciousness about bereavement on campus by sponsoring a conference on bereavement, inviting guest lecturers, and publishing articles in university newspapers and websites. Topics could cover ways and opportunities for faculty, staff, and non-bereaved students can help bereaved students, the prevalence of college student bereavement, and actions taken by the university to

reach the needs of the bereaved. Similar calls for educating a variety of students and faculty groups on grief and bereavement have been made (Balk, Zaengle, & Corr, 2011; Dorney, 2016; Floerchinger, 1991; Toth, Stockton, & Browne, 2000). Simple handouts, brochures, and booklets are good resources to have available for both bereaved and non-bereaved students to obtain on their own (Balk, Zaengle, & Corr, 2011; Floerchinger, 1991). Suggestions on what to address in these materials involve types of losses, the needs of the bereaved, appropriate responses, how to best provide support, and creating supportive intimate environments (Floerchinger, 1991; Toth, Stockton, & Browne, 2000).

While research has shown that person-centered messages are perceived as more helpful and compassionate, how might we actually go about teaching people how to come up with and deliver person-centered messages? Owlett (2018) designed a class activity in which students practice developing person-centered messages in support of those who may be experiencing grief in an online context. The activity includes writing a supportive message in response to a prompt, as well as an analysis of other messages that one might see, to highlight the differences between person-centered messages that might be helpful versus those that are not. This example suggests we could be training people on the specifics of what to say and what not to say.

B. Outreach

Soon after a student death, the university or college should make contact with the family of the deceased student, faculty and staff, and the student body through various communications. University officials should be in contact with the deceased's family about their preferences in addressing those who work and live on campus (Balk, Zaengle, & Corr, 2011). Balk, Zaengle, and Corr (2011) advised using these guiding questions to interact with the deceased student's parents: (1) "Is there another sibling in the school?", (2) "What information regarding the teen's death should be shared with students and what information should be shared with the larger student body and community?", and (3) "Which (if any) formal 'rituals' would the family prefer students participate in, such as a wake or memorial service, a gift of flowers, or a donation to a charity in the name of the deceased?" (p. 152). In their article, researchers used a framework for the death of an adolescent in high school but these questions should also be considered in the event of the death of a college student.

Communication with the deceased's family offers guidelines to what is respectable and appropriate in light of a very sensitive situation. When informing others about the passing of a student, Balk, Zaengle, and Corr (2011) states that information about the death should be brief and factual, to reduce the likelihood of speculation, and should also include any information on intended funeral services or other rituals. Floerchinger (1991) recommended having an institutional policy in place to inform others when a death occurs so mistakes can be avoided and institutions can express their concern and sensitivity. Dorney (2016) also encouraged the sensitivity of the institution on student deaths by suggesting the removal of the deceased's name from different forms of communication by the university, such as electronic correspondence and sign-up and attendance sheets.

C. Bereavement policies

Researchers have suggested the use of bereavement policies for students affected by the death of a loved one. Accommodations for assignments and attendance, especially in the week following the death, are a couple of recommendations that have been suggested for bereaved college students (Dorney, 2016). Cousins, Servaty-Seib, and Lockman (2017) found that low family support in a group of bereaved college students was associated with lower social adjustment and institutional attachment. The authors suggest that bereavement policies may possibly strengthen family connections and support due to students' time away from the university and academic work. Although some have pushed for institutions to establish such policies, some universities already have bereavement policies in place but the problem lies in communicating to students that they exist. Balk (2008) talked to college administrators and faculty as well as counselors and mental health professionals at college counseling centers to find more conclusive evidence for the prevalence rate of grieving college students. In his search, one anecdotal remark he received was that bereaved students may sometimes need time away from the university, using medical withdrawal. The unfortunate reality is that they either become so overwhelmed that they do not attend class and do not submit assignments, resulting in failing grades, or many of them are unaware of such policies to begin with (Balk, 2008). Bereavement policies can offer bereaved students much needed respite from the stressors following the death of a loved one but communication and assistance for their utilization are also needed.

D. Bereavement centers

There has also been the suggestion of the establishment of bereavement centers on university campuses (Balk, 2008). Balk (2008) outlines that the mission of the centers should be, “to discover knowledge about bereavement; to design, implement, and evaluate the effectiveness of interventions to assist the bereaved; and to educate about bereavement” (p. 10). Establishing a bereavement center on campus can act as the first point of contact for bereaved students to learn about bereavement and what they are feeling and possibly take advantage of evidence-based interventions to resolve grief symptoms. Potential framework for bereavement centers could include training non-bereaved students to act as peer support; providing interventions, like support groups, to bereaved students; raising awareness on campus by utilizing various outlets; and conducting research on different populations and topics regarding bereavement (Balk, 2001).

E. Support groups

Young adults may feel especially isolated on college campuses after a loss. Since few college students will seek out counseling services when experiencing grief, Balk (2001) suggests an alternative service in support groups, where bereaved students can share their experiences and connect with others who are undergoing similar situations. Dorney (2016) also suggested that college administrators may want to organize student-led meetings for those experiencing collective grief. While college support groups can be established in a more formal context, Floerchinger (1991) recommends providing an informal support group on campus that is available full-time to bereaved stu-

dents. These can be subgroups of various classes, organizations, and clubs. All authors suggest having a knowledgeable facilitator, such as a marriage and family therapist or counselor present to guide groups if needed (Balk, 2001; Balk, Zaengle, & Corr, 2011; Dorney, 2016; Floerchinger, 1991). Facilitators are needed to help guide students through challenges in identity formation and to keep discussions positive so that the group can work towards healing (Balk, Zaengle, & Corr, 2011; Mead, 2018). Trained facilitators are also able to provide bereaved young adults with education about bereavement and how to cope in a healthy way if there is any indication members may be struggling in these areas. Mead (2018) acknowledges that “Grief support groups for younger individuals appear to be more directive than adult groups to address the specific unhealthy coping being used. Emerging adults appear to need psychoeducation about healthy coping” (p.11). Researchers in another study assumed college student members of a support group would be interested in receiving education on bereavement but by the third meeting, members were offering their personal information without insistence from group leaders and were only provided educational material when requested (Janowiak, Mei-Tal, & Drapkin, 1995). Depending on characteristics and bereavement knowledge of group members, psychoeducation may be incorporated into the support group process. As social support is the main benefit from support groups, students do not necessarily need to consistently attend meetings to receive it. Mead (2018) noted that many members acquired each other’s contact information and met outside of the formal group to continue sharing and connecting.

7. Implications for Research

Research on communication about grief and bereavement among young adult college students with their particular challenges is largely lacking. While bereavement research on the young adult college student population overall remains scant, research first needs to address who is grieving. The most recent statistics on college students who are grieving are from over two decades ago. In order to best serve the needs of grieving students, more continual assessment of which and how many students are grieving is neces-

sary. Federal agencies and other organizations should consider including items to assess grief in their data collection efforts on surveys such as the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System Survey. Educational institutions should also include items in their regular assessments of students and their experiences of loss. Loss may also include pets; people can develop a strong attachment and significance to the relationship they have with their pets, and sensitivity should be used in such circumstances as well (Dawson &

Campbell, 2009; Floerchinger, 1991). Balk (2008) suggests the use of longitudinal studies to track bereavement in college students and studies that use stratified random sampling instead of convenience sampling.

Once we have a better sense of who is grieving, better understanding how to communicate with others about grief is needed. More research on the communication challenges grieving students face in talking about their grief, who they are talking to, who they want to be talking to are all areas of potential research. Research that illuminates how best to talk to grieving students can also be beneficial, as much of the research in this area has thus far been conducted with other demographic groups.

As mentioned above, young adult college students face unique challenges trying to individuate while also learning a new lifestyle in college. This process can be further exacerbated if there are additional factors influencing identity formation and adjustment. Thus, investigation into understudied groups within the college student population is also warranted. LGBTQA+ students, international students, religious students, those with terminal illnesses are all groups that can potentially be examined to better understand their grief reactions in a college environment (Floerchinger, 1991). The combination of various stressors may lead these students to develop complicated grief and understanding the grief process may help us better understand how to design effective support programs and interventions.

The event of a suicide on a campus can shock the entire community. In those instances, it is not only the students who may be affected, but staff, faculty, and administrators may also feel the effects of the loss. Thus, how a campus can prepare itself for such an unfortunate event needs to be better understood. How can resources be put in place so that all campus community members can be supported in the aftermath? What kinds of communication strategies would be

most effective to communicate a loss to the campus community? What communication would be most effective to support grieving students? In these cases, shock and trauma may supercede grief, and other forms of support may be needed to help with coping. Thus, greater understanding in how to communicate during these types of campus crisis events may be beneficial in ensuring that information is being disseminated in a timely and appropriate manner.

While many strategies have been suggested for how to support grieving young adult college students, research on whether these strategies are effective remains scant. More work is needed in the design of support programs and interventions and assessing the impact of them. It may be useful to think about larger frameworks of how to classify these interventions and focus on one specific level or area. Schut and Stroebe (2005) identified three levels of bereavement prevention interventions that are tailored to specific groups of the bereaved. Primary prevention interventions are for all of those who have experienced the loss of someone through death and exhibit ordinary, uncomplicated grief. More research on how social media or other digital communication technologies can be used to cope with grief can help us better design interventions that may include these modalities. In contrast, those who have a high likelihood of developing complicated grief symptoms are better suited for secondary prevention interventions, such as formal support groups. Lastly, tertiary prevention interventions involving psychotherapeutic treatment techniques are designed for those who experience complicated grief or other associated depressive disorders. To this, we suggest adding a pre-loss level, where psychoeducation and training might be delivered to help people understand what grief might look like and how to support someone else they might encounter who is grieving. This may include training on what to say and what not to say.

8. Conclusion

Grief is something that will inevitably affect us all; however, grief among young adult college students presents unique challenges, and how to best support these students is not well understood. While many students may be experiencing grief at any given time, we

may not be effectively supporting them through this process. It is imperative for us to continue to learn more about how grieving students are affected and what strategies produce the most impact so that we can assist during difficult times.

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Book Reviews

Athique, Adrian. *Transnational Audiences: Media Reception on a Global Scale*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. 2016. Pp. 213. ISBN: 978-0-7456-7021-8 (cloth) \$69.95; 978-0-7456-7022-5 (paper) \$24.95

The notion of “cultural imperialism,” despite its slipperiness, implies pernicious effects on global diversity. This is especially true when applied to the perceived threat the American entertainment industry poses to national identities and regional cultures. In 1993 both Spain and France imposed quotas on American films and programming; recently, the Russian Cultural Minister called for quotas on American cultural exports. Such laws are also enacted for economic reasons, to protect local cultural industries. For example, during the 2013 U.S.-E.U. Trade Negotiations, at France’s insistence, cultural goods were off the table

Transnational Audiences offers a thorough and multi-layered analysis of how American entertainment products are received abroad. The author, Adrian Athique, an Associate Professor at the University of Queensland, makes a case that the threat of cultural imperialism is unproven and exaggerated. Studies show that far from erasing regional cultures and national identities, American entertainment is merely a malleable commodity, shaped and understood by global audiences in line with their own values and moral codes.

Athique couches his argument in the language of “transnationalism,” by which he means—after the anthropologist Steven Vertovec—the “multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states.” Axiomatic for Vertovec is that “transnational popular cultures have implications for socialization at a very personal level” (pp. 4–5). In other words, on a fundamental, individual level, transnational media is used as a channel or personal conduit “through which personal social networks are maintained” (p. 6). That is, American cultural imports don’t colonize minds; rather people use these for *their* ends.

Transnational Audiences refutes the highbrow and anti-democratic prejudice against mass culture and popular entertainment as ruinous to the human psyche. This is precisely what the critical theorists Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer argue—dourly and dismissively—in *The Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944) and elsewhere. The term “culture industry” is their coinage. As Athique puts it rather mildly and too recently:

The assumption that media usage influences personal identity in some fundamental fashion has been the orthodox view of popular culture since the 1970s. This has shaped our approaches to all forms of media audiences to the extent that we now rarely question the socializing effect of media consumption and its determining role in the making of each generation. . . . If we apply [certain lines of thinking] to a rise in artistic transnationalism, then it does appear reasonable to assume that national aesthetics and idioms are threatened with disruption by the mixing and merging of cultural codes. . . . Consequently, the specter of cultural confusion and the loss of our distinctive human heritages is frequently overlaid with anxieties about political loyalties and public morality. (p. 5)

Yet such anxieties don’t trouble the masses, who lap up foreign imports. “Indeed, where it has been restricted, a black market for such goods has quickly come into being. However enthusiastic consumers may be, most academic commentary on media imports is essentially defensive, if not downright negative” (p. 96).

The international reception of *Dallas* is instructive on these points. The one-hour melodrama about greed, power, and lust ran from 1978 to 1991 and was broadcast globally. Perhaps the global fanaticism it engendered stemmed from the evolving story-line’s primal, mythic dualities, the stark portrayal of good vs. evil against a backdrop of dynastic wealth. *Dallas* reflects a paradoxical attitude toward American culture abroad (and at home too): While many hate its excess, its garishness, its monomaniacal worship of Mammon, they love American entertainment, American popular culture. Take for example, the Dutch cultural studies scholar Ien Ang, who gathered audience data in the Netherlands to determine, in part, if “her own enjoyment of [*Dallas*], and her conscious dislike of its underlying ideology, resonated with the experience of others” (p. 98). Ang published her study, *Watching Dallas*, in 1985, finding no evidence of “Americanization.” Rather, the “broadly critical position taken by these viewers towards everything that *Dallas* appeared to represent was not substantively altered by the simple fact they enjoyed it so much” (p. 98).

Also in 1985, the Israeli mass communication scholars Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz published a comparative study of *Dallas*’s cross-cultural reception among ethnically diverse audiences: Arabs, Sephardic Jews, Eastern European Jews, Moroccan Jews, Kibbutzniks, and Russian immigrants. Liebes and Katz found that each ethnic group “translated” or filtered *Dallas* with the aid of or through the screen of idiosyncratic values and beliefs:

For example: Arab viewers tended to describe the show in terms of the tensions within a patriarchal family structure, Russian immigrants tended to describe it in more sociological terms, and Kibbutzniks tended to apply a more Freudian frame of analysis to the narrative. On this basis, the central claim of the research was that the international popularity of the text rested upon its capacity to engage themes of universal human concern, but that the meanings ultimately derived from watching the show were

primarily determined by the moral frameworks specific to each ethnic group. (p. 99)

More specifically and interestingly, shared perspectives exist along with outliers:

Arabs and Moroccan Jews were seen as being more concerned with moral values than dramatic conceits. Equally, these groups were perceived to read the text more literally, to take its message more seriously, and to conceive of the program from a largely patriarchal perspective. In direct contrast, the Kibbutzniks (mostly European immigrants) and the Americans were seen to comprehend the text in ways that were more ironic, critical, and playful, and they demonstrated a greater capacity to identify with the characters at a more personal level. (p. 99)

As to the outliers, Russian immigrants “tended to perceive the text as an ideological whole and to assess the characters as ideal types,” owing perhaps to their Soviet origins and “the influence of Marxist teaching” (p. 99).

Transnational Audiences reminds us of the richness of popular culture as a field of study, and also its geopolitical significance. Television, as the British sociologist Anthony Giddens noted, “had already played a key role in the opening up of Eastern Europe in 1989, and Western popular music, as Joseph Nye recalls, had done much to promote democratic freedoms behind the iron curtain” (p. 58).

Indeed, American popular culture is the closest thing to a global *lingua franca*. Lowbrow, and thus readily accessible, it co-exists with local cultures across the globe, its rebellious strains resonating especially loud with those living under oppression.

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Carlsson, Ulla and Reeta Pöyhtäri (Eds.). *The Assault on Journalism: Building Knowledge to Protect Freedom of Expression*. Göteborg: Sweden: NORDICOM, 2017. Pp. 378. ISBN 978-91-87957-50-5 (paper) 280 kr, €30.

The editors introduce this collection of essays about protecting journalists with the fact that “more than 800 journalists, media workers, and social media producers have been killed during the past 10 years” (p. 12). Most of these killings have occurred in wars, although a significant number have taken place in various countries as ways to intimidate the press or silence

journalists. Ulla Carlsson and Reeta Pöyhtäri contrast this with the right of freedom of the press and the ongoing need for the role of the press in democratic societies. A number of the papers in his collection originated in a conference associated with World Press Freedom Day in 2016, with other papers original to this collection. The editors organize the collection itself into sections on the status of journalistic safety, case studies on safety of journalists in various regions and countries, and studies of the safety of journalists and their sources. Each section of the book contains both overview pieces and research articles. The editors conclude the volume with reprints of several important documents: First, “Time to Break the Cycle of Violence against Journalists. Highlights from the UNESCO Director-General’s 2016 Report on the Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity (Paris: UNESCO, 2016); and, second, two UN publications: (1) the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity and (2) UNESCO’s Towards a Research Agenda on the Safety of Journalists.

Simon Cottle opens with a general overview of the topic, with a review of killings of journalists engaged in what he calls the responsibility to report. He points out how violence against journalists has increased in recent years either due to war or due to people who wish their illegal or self-interested deeds to remain hidden. Moreover, he regards this as the “dark side” of globalization. “In a globalized world, violence and war conducted on the basis of fundamentalist beliefs and deep-seated religious and/or ideological enmities spill across borders and the perpetrators of collective violence no longer necessarily recognize nation states or differentiate between combatants and civilians—or journalists. International criminal networks, as much as contemporary warlords, are globally enmeshed and often supported from afar” (p. 23). With a brief history of the development of journalism since the Enlightenment, he highlights the importance of the journalistic function, particularly for democracy, that is, the need for someone to monitor the doings of society so the democratic populations can make better choices. He also points out the role of journalism within the civil sphere and the need for ongoing information throughout society.

Guy Berger reviews “why the world became concerned with journalistic safety.” In this chapter he provides a history of journalistic safety and also identifies a number of key dimensions within which to evaluate journalism. These include “media freedom,

pluralism, independence, gender, and digital matters” (p. 33). Each of these five dimensions contributes to the success of journalism and its various service roles. However, safety becomes the key concern and in some ways the condition for the other areas. In another introductory chapter, Silvia Chocarro Marcesse describes “the United Nations’ role in promoting the safety of journalists from 1945 to 2016.” This chapter provides an excellent historical review about the different conventions of war, how journalists have been covered by the Geneva conventions, and more recently how they have appeared in various United Nations proposals. She lists the UN efforts taking place in the security council as well as those in UNESCO. She also provides a very helpful table that lists the various UN resolutions about journalists and the safety of journalism—a total of 54 documents between 1970 and 2016.

One significant contemporary difference in war journalism involves its changing gendered nature. Past eras had an almost exclusively male journalism corps, but today both women and men cover front lines. Berit von der Lippe and Rune Ottosen (“Gendering War and Peace Journalism: New challenges for media research”) examine the experiences of male and female reporters, noting in particular safety concerns. More perceptively, they ask how female reporters may change the tone of the coverage, with a greater focus, for example, on victims and on peace processes. Thomas Hanitzsch suggests that another change results from greater collaborative work among international journalists. After describing three models of collaboration (centralized, correspondent, and coordinated cooperation), he describes in detail an example of the latter in the *Worlds of Journalism* study.

The second part of the book looks to the future with reflections, reports, and research articles. Several describe the working conditions of journalists facing threats from war or civil restrictions: Elisabeth Eide (Afghanistan—war); Pradip Ninan Thomas (India—intolerance); Ramon R. Tuazon, Paz H. Diaz, and Therese Patricia C. San Diego (the Philippines—more positively, with multidisciplinary research on journalistic safety); Reeta Pöyhtäri (the UNESCO research agenda of journalists’ safety); Jackie Harrison (establishing networks to set a research agenda); and Magda Abu-Fadil (the need for safety courses in schools of journalism).

Several reports in this section provide statistics and information on the threats to journalists. Katharine

Sarikakis offers an overview of assaults on journalists, with comparative charts of journalist deaths around the world and by region. As a complement to this, Sara Torsner goes over some methodological challenges in counting or calculating risks to journalists, so that these include not just assaults but also arbitrary arrests, exile, and censorship. A very perceptive part of her work calls attention to the case of Europe: Even this bastion of democracy has seen a growing threat to journalists, typically from increasingly authoritarian governments which seek to silence critics.

Research articles in this section include studies of the threats to tribal journalists in Pakistan (Syed Irfan Ashraf and Lisa Brooten); two studies of journalists in Nigeria (Umaru A. Pate and Hamza Idris, on the field experience and risk management strategies in northeast Nigeria, faced with the Boko Haram movement; and Lilian Ngusuur Unaegbu, who focuses on gender dynamics in other parts of the country in the face of organized crime and communal violence); a study measuring the well being of journalists who face psychological threats in Iran (Anthony Feinstein and Bennis Pavisian); a study of indigenous journalists in Colombia and Latin America working in local communities under threat from globalizing forces—with data rooted in 76 semi-structured interviews (Roy Krøvel); and, perhaps surprisingly, a study of the dangers found in sports journalism (Kirsten Sparre). This last research report notes that 2% of all journalists killed since 1992 worked the sports beat. The research indicates that in the 78 reports studied, sports journalists suffered “verbal abuse, assaults, attacks, personal and social media harassment, detention, legal pressure, and killings.” Among the perpetrators “were fans, athletes, and coaches, owners and officials of sports clubs and national associations, international sports federations, and authorities in authoritarian regimes hosting sports mega-events” (p. 205).

Other studies examine the risks of fear and self-censorship among European journalists, with the report based on a convenience sample of 940 journalists (Marilyn Clark and Anna Grech); internal threats from within media organizations against journalists in India—these included suspension, demotions, non-assignments of work, and transfer of place or work (Sriram Arulchelvan); oral histories of risks to Australian news photographers in danger zones (Fay Anderson); and the psychological dangers to those covering traumatic events (Trond Idås and Klas Backholm).

The second major section of the volume looks at protection of journalists and sources. The tenor of these reports differ from those in Part 1, as they explore not only dangers to journalists but different aspects of reporting. Stig A. Nohrstedt and Rune Ottosen suggest that war journalism should also cover the legal aspects of conflict, particularly when that conflict involves non-state actors. What kinds of information should journalists provide, for example, about the threats to humanitarian organizations functioning with refugees in war zones? Another disputed issue for journalists arises from the modern practice of embedding journalists with troops (Leire Iturregui Mardaras, María José Cantalapiedra González, and Leire Moure Peñín). While the situation has advantages for journalists, it also clearly limits what they can do. Another new situation arises with the rise of citizen journalists (Mariateresa Garrido Villareal). These, usually local men and women, often lack the protection merited to journalists representing the world press, though they often provide the key information for them. As case study presents the story of threats to activist journalists in Turkey (Bora Ataman and Bariş Çoban). Threats to journalists also appear against those reporting on democratization conflicts, as witnessed through interviews with those working in Egypt, Kenya, Serbia, and South Africa (Judith Lohner and Sandra Banjac). Finally, Sallie Hughes and Mireya Márquez-Ramírez look at the “unsafe contexts and overlapping risks” revealed through survey results of journalists in Mexico.

The last section of the book offers several additional studies of models of journalism in danger zones. Giovanna Dell’Orto offers lessons from collaborative work between foreign correspondents and local journalists while Sadia Jamil provides a snapshot of working conditions for journalists in Pakistan. Finally, Olunifesi Adekunle Suraj and Olawale Olaleye sketch out a contradiction between Nigerian journalists’ knowledge of digital threats and lack of security strategies. “Most do not encrypt sensitive data, hardly ‘disable cookies,’ and tend to be careless about their passwords’ (p. 329).

This collection provides an excellent resource on one important aspect of the state of journalism today. By illustrating the extent and variety of threats to journalism (whether from war and civil strife or from political and business interests or from popular prejudice), the volume calls attention to patterns that undermine one of the foundations of democracy. And

in identifying the threats, the authors also begin the process of protecting against those threats. The individual authors, however, tend to take a generally unproblematic view of journalists and do not include any of the criticism that those threatening the journalistic enterprise may use to justify their actions. That balanced picture would help the reader better understand just what journalists face.

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Carter, Christopher. *Rhetorical Exposures: Confrontation and Contradiction in US Social Documentary Photography*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press. 2015. Pp. 199. ISBN 978-0-8173-1862-8 (cloth) \$44.95; 978-0-8173-8810-2 (eBook) \$44.95.

One vein of critical thinking that burst open in the 1970s and 1980s, i.e., under the catch-all term “post-modernism”—(taken from architecture)—ossified into the doctrine that reality is a social construct, that is, sort of a tacit agreement among the like-minded to accept this or that narrative to account for “what is.” Much like Marx’s critique of Hegel’s conception of history (or “reality”), Nedra Reynolds inverts this dogmatic assertion. She argues that it is actually reality—which includes the fabricated or the reified—that shapes or “constructs the social world” (in 2004’s *Geographies of Writing: Inhabiting Places and Encountering Difference*). Reynolds uses the term “material rhetorics” to ground this axiom.

Christopher Carter, a Professor of English at the University of Oklahoma, makes creative use of Reynolds’ “metaphysics” to anchor his treatise on visual rhetoric or visual literacy. *Rhetorical Exposures* treats such seemingly disparate artifacts as Jacob Riis’s photography and Paul Klee’s painting (*vis-à-vis* Walter Benjamin’s *The Arcades Project*). A salient theme is the dialectic between visual—especially photographic—and verbal modalities. Carter dismisses the old saw that “seeing is believing.” There is no such thing as visual “neutrality,” he argues; rather, ways of seeing are a function of cultural conventions and learned habits. In this, he leans heavily on Kristie Fleckenstein’s “activist-inflected definition of rhetorical practice” (p. 2). Fleckenstein, a Professor of rhetoric and composition at Florida State University, emphasizes “the rhetorical disposi-

tion of images,” arguing that ““The prevailing means of persuasion within a period cannot be excised from the shared ways of seeing”” (p. 3).

In other words, habit and convention partition reality in ways that embed particular ideologies. As Carter puts it, “Those visual habits are also rhetorical habits in that they frame and construct experience for individuals and cultures alike, causing social subjects to confuse the frame with neutral perception” (p. 81). This may be seen in the photographs of Ted Streshinsky, who worked for

such establishment mainstays as *Time*, *Life*, the *Smithsonian*, and the *Saturday Evening Post* [and] regularly trained his lens on antiestablishment activities, taking his most jarring pictures during the counter-cultural uprisings of the 1960s. . . . he covered the Free Speech Movement, the Black Panthers, Ken Kesey’s Merry Pranksters, the National Farm Workers Association [NFWA, led by Cesar Chavez]. (p. 75)

However, dominant ideologies perpetuate habitual ways of seeing that can subvert the “objective” proof of injustice captured in Streshinsky’s photojournalism. His shots of NFWA labor rallies, workers’ hovels, and landowners served as inserts for journalist John Gregory Dunne’s book *Delano: The Story of the California Grape Strike* (1967). The photograph of a prominent vineyard owner, Jack Pandol, exposes the means of subversion, the familiar sophistic arguments used to maintain the status quo. The *prima facie* proof of exploitation seems incontrovertible, with Pandol “looking confidently” into the lens “as the work of the harvest goes on in the background—employees in motion, grape crates piling up, vine rows stretching far into the distance.” The photo’s cut line is a Pandol quote, ““All Chavez is trying to do is replace my power structure with his”” (p. 78). The grower’s rhetorical strategy is to undermine the *logos* of the strike as “irrational” in that both the strike and Chavez are “revolutionary,” i.e., a code word for Communism, a foreign virus infecting the sacrosanct body of “free enterprise.” (The latter term itself the spawn of a concerted and successful rhetorical move by American business in the 1930s to conflate unchecked profiteering with the foundational language of American independence. “Free” indeed.)

Carter elaborates,

As a level-headed businessman, Pandol shows contempt for a movement that disputes his right to farm his land as he sees fit, and at whatever

wages will attract workers. From the grower’s perspective, Chavez’s failure to recognize such a right proves his irrationality. Facing the camera without discomfiture, Pandol grounds his authority over labor in the private command of the land on which it occurs. In his view, the NFWA’s belief that workers should control the conditions of their labor has no comparable basis. (p. 78)

And

Chavez’s pursuit of increased pay and safe working conditions appeared to the agricultural establishment an offense against market freedom, and his tactics of work stoppage and boycotting amounted to a declaration of war. Ceding ground to Chavez or allowing his movement to influence the existing power structure looked to Pandol like a betrayal of national ideals and a relinquishing of what it meant to be American. (pp. 79–80)

Thus, Carter’s claim, following Fleckenstein, that the grower’s vision of reality is not some blind, isolated justification of vested interests, but is “shared by broad sectors” of the population. And this “dominant vision of political economic reality” is, “at the very least, pervasive enough to overpower alternative ways of seeing” (p. 80).

The rhetorical tandem of image and word found in *Delano* has a Gilded Age antecedent in writer-photographer Jacob Riis’s decades-long fight to expose and alleviate the sordid conditions of Manhattan slum life. The analysis of Riis’s work is centered on several iconic photographs, *Bandit’s Roost*, *Five Cents a Spot*, and *Tramp in Mulberry Street Yard*, all from *How the Other Half Lives* (1890). On one level, *Rhetorical Exposures* is a paean to Karl Marx—a master rhetorician, if not the greatest. The book’s examples of labor conflict and abject poverty reflect Marx’s adages that the truth of any society is found in its bottom strata, and the cause of human misery is economic. Carter quotes Riis describing what still obtains today: Killing someone with an axe, “or sticking a knife into him, goes against the grain. Slowly poisoning a hundred so that the pockets of one be made to bulge may not even banish a man from respectable society” (p. 31).

Furthermore, the geography of space, the way cities are laid out and sectorized, “the material rhetoric of class division,” precludes any but “cosmetic improvements” (p. 20), because anything more would require the voluntary loss of power and privilege, which are

never relinquished without struggle. Engels explains how urban design shield poverty from view in the description of Manchester (in *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*) he wrote in 1845, one year after he met Marx:

The town itself is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working-people's quarter or even with workers, that is, so long as he confines himself to his business or to pleasure walks. This arises chiefly from the fact, that by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as with outspoken conscious determination, the working-people's quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middle-class; or, if this does not succeed, they are concealed with the cloak of charity. (pp. 29–30)

Engels's sentiments are echoed in the reception Riis's work received:

the sympathies of an audience anxious to soften the material rhetoric of class division without forgoing privilege themselves. The softening occurred in part through replacing tenement blocks with parkland, a technique that produced cosmetic improvements in some urban areas yet failed to touch the problem of mass poverty. (p. 20)

Rhetorical Exposures is noteworthy for illustrating the power of rhetorical analysis to demonstrate the subjective factors that taint—in some eyes—the documentary evidence of “objective” journalistic photographs. For example, Carter quotes Peter Hales on Riis (from 2004's *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization, 1839-1915*): Riis worked assiduously “to create the telling angle—by bending, readjusting, and sometimes sitting ‘to produce the perfect relationship between picture, frame, and content.’” As Carter notes, if Riis's “rhetoric of candidness” raises doubts today, “it is from readers' awareness that documentary work does not escape politics” (p. 22).

—Tony Osborne
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Christensen, Christa Lykke and Line Nybro Petersen (Eds.). (2017). *Being Old in the Age of Mediatization*. Göteborg, Sweden: *NORDICOM Review*, 38(1).

This special issue of the *NORDICOM Review* focuses on ageing, the use of media, and how media

affects the aged and their sense of self. Using the theoretical perspective of mediatization, the contributors to this volume “examine media dynamics in the lives of older people and how these dynamics influence the perceptions of old age, ageing, and older people” (p. 3). The editors note that most frequently those using mediatization theory examine other aspects of life: politics, religion, conflict, or perhaps parenthood, sport, and children's play. With this collection they turn to another aspect of human life, namely the aged and ageing itself.

In the opening essay Christa Lykke Christensen examines the ageing population and health. She notes that for many older people the media provide health information as well as suggestions as to how people might maintain their health. Using a qualitative interview method she examined men and women between 65 and 86 years old, asking them about their health experiences as well as the various roles that the media might play in growing old. She found, among other things, that the elderly “all agreed that ageing and health belong together; that health involves the conscious effort to become healthy and improves your chances of a good old age” (p. 13). Directly relevant to the topic, she also found that several people in her study “unequivocally identified the media as a resource that plays a crucial role in the maintenance of their healthy lifestyle” (p. 16).

Line Nybro Petersen provides an interesting case study of the production of two television shows for the Danish television channel. These shows target an older age group and offer an understanding of how broadcasters look upon the older age group and how they in effect create a model of the age group in their production process. Her overall approach again uses the mediatization theory. Among the findings is an understanding that conviviality appears as the media logic in these productions for an older group. This sense of conviviality characterizes not only the program planning but also the impact that the producers wish to have upon the audience.

As with much valuable communication research, the actual contact with media users often explodes some theoretical presuppositions. Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol, Kim Sawchuk, and Line Grenier interviewed octogenarians and nonagenarians about their media practices. “Their descriptions of their changing uses of media throughout the lifetime, and their encounters with mobile phones, computers, newspapers, television, radio, and landline phones,

are presented as a set of ‘techno biographies’ that challenge binary divisions of use and non-use, linear notions of media adoption, and add texture to the idea of ‘the fourth age’ as a time of life bereft of decisional power” (p. 39).

The older cohort has some experience with and exposure to new communication technologies; this also means that they did not grow up with many of the current technologies. And that in turn suggests that they have steadily adapted to new technology. Cecilie Givskov interviewed a number of older women, asking them about how they have integrated some of these technologies into their lives. In her report on these interviews she argues “that the newer media infrastructures extend the scope and need for reflexivity and augment the reflexive ageing associated with the continued activity and autonomy of the third age” (p. 53). Noah Lenstra also looks at a communication infrastructure for the older cohort. Instead of the personal infrastructure of technology in the home, he examines the public libraries and senior centers found in a U.S. city. The results of his investigation show that older individuals actively seek out the technologies as well as the technological training afforded by the senior centers, rather than simply waiting for someone to either show them the technology or to use it for them.

Annika Bergström presents some surprising results about the digital divide. Often times, people presume the digital divide separates income groups or even age groups. Her study among seniors does support the latter; however, it indicates that the digital divide occurs between older oldsters and younger oldsters. She writes “based on longitudinal, representative surveys, the present study finds that there is a clear gap between younger and older seniors, and that it is closing only very slowly” (p. 79). She also found some evidence for a division between male and female users, with males more likely to make use of the new communication technologies.

Thorsten Naab and Christian Schwarzenegger investigate the use of communication media among older people, and reinforce the sense that this is more a matter of ageing than a matter of chronological age. There are some older people who work steadily with new technology according to a German national survey, while others have very little contact. This may depend more on a state of mind of regarding themselves as aged. They concluded that their studies “substantiated the claim to understand media generations in

the sense of ageing as an ongoing process rather than in the sense of the completed status of being old” (p. 104).

The concluding article in this collection by Andreas Hepp, Matthias Berg, and Cindy Roitsch offers a new theoretical perspective on the idea of ageing in the media generation. Though they do not necessarily draw on the other studies in the collection, their theoretical rethinking comes to many of the same conclusions. An older generation does indeed experience an interaction of communication and ageing; the generation is a more active user of new communication media than some might expect; and the older generation shows divisions both in how they use media and how they see themselves reflected in media content.

This small collection provides some very valuable information about an older generation and media use. It also invites us to reflect upon the larger questions of interactions with the communication media. The studies themselves offer a variety of methodologies ranging from interviews to observation to survey research. It demonstrates how valuable it is to focus on simply one segment of the larger population, going in depth into the analysis of available data.

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Houck, Davis W. and David E. Dixon (Eds.). *Rhetoric, Religion, and the Civil Rights Movement 1954-1965 (Volume 2)*. Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2014. Pp. 499. ISBN 978-1-60258-965-0 (paper) \$49.95

As a social movement, the American Civil Rights Movement provided many opportunities for the development of rhetorical strategies simply by the number of rhetorical situations associated with the time period. When it comes to speeches, many expect to hear of the speeches by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, or even Stokely Carmichael. However, among those voices, a number of individuals may have been considered “unfamiliar” who offered rhetoric in a variety of settings during this time period. This volume continues to introduce some of those “unfamiliar” voices who offered rhetorical appeals grounded within religion.

Specifically, *Rhetoric, Religion, and the Civil Rights Movement 1954-1965 (Volume 2)* presents a compilation of 50 speeches. The edited book is the 15th title in the Studies in Rhetoric & Religion series

published by Baylor University Press. This speech anthology is organized around 11 years beginning with 1954 and ending with 1965—the year 1959 is excluded. Volume 1 was published in 2006 and contained 130 speeches.

The collection begins with a **1954** sermon titled, *Proclaim Liberty*, written by Rabbi Simcha Kling for his congregation. **1955** has four speeches including (1) an address by Thomas Buford Maston titled *I Have Not a Dream* that was given before the Southern Baptist's Christian Life Commission (p. 34); (2) an address by Rabbi Leo A. Bergman titled *God Looks on Mississippi and Emmett Till*; (3) an address titled *A View of the Race Issue* by pastor Clyde Gordon, given at First Baptist Church in Poplarville, Mississippi (p. 5); and (4) an address titled *Those Who Have Felt the Lash of the Taskmaster* by Rabbi Herbert M. Baumgard, which was given in Miami “before fellow Jews gathered to celebrate the High Holy Days” (p. 63). The **1956** chapter has a single speech titled, *The Tallahassee Bus Protest Story*, delivered by the Rev. Charles Kenzie (C. K.) Steele in Tampa, Florida. The editors state that the speech was expected to be by invitation of Florida NAACP's leader, Robert W. Saunders (p. 72).

The collection continues with a dozen of speeches written in 1957 and 1958. **1957** has six speeches that contributed to the movement. Specifically, the addresses include speeches by Dr. Aubrey Neblett Brown, titled *The Church in Southern United States*; Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, titled *To Fashion as We Feel*; Thurgood Marshall, titled *The Good People Sat Down*; Charles C. Diggs Jr., titled *The Star Beckons Again*; the Rev. Clinton Owen (C. O.) Inge, titled *No Time for Cowards*; and the Rev. Joseph Armstrong (J. A.) De Laine, titled *God Himself Fights for You*.

1958 also has six speeches that contribute to bringing religious rhetoric to the forefront. The speeches include those written by Ralph Emerson McGill, titled *Send Not to Know for Whom the Bell Tolls*; Rabbi William B. Silverman titled *We Will Not Yield*; Harry L. Golden, titled *The Struggle to End Racial Segregation in the South*; Milton Arthur Galamison titled *Ties in Times of Tension*; the Rev. Paul Leonard Stagg, titled *Here I Stand*; and Rabbi Jacob Mortimer Rothschild, titled *And None Shall Make Them Afraid*.

Within the 1960s, a five-year period during the civil rights era was embedded with religious rhetoric designed to contribute to rhetorical change. This anthology collects a selection of those speeches. Specifically, **1960** has four speeches that were deliv-

ered in a variety of contexts. The section opens with a speech by Edward P. Morgan, who was recognized for his accomplishments as a journalist. The speech titled *Gandhi in Greensboro* was Morgan's acceptance speech for the Hillman Prize for his journalistic efforts of 1959 (p. 185). Other event-related speeches include Thomas F. Pettigew's *Religious Leadership and the Desegregation Process*, presented at the Race Relations Institute; John W. Deschner's *Christian Students and the Challenge of Our Times*, given to the World Student Christian Federation in Strasbourg, France (p. 206); and Lillian Eugenia Smith's *Are We Still Buying a New World with Old Confederate Bills?* delivered at the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Conference (p. 217).

1961 has two speeches that were sermons. First, a sermon by the Rev. O. Merrill Boggs titled *This Time of Testing* delivered at College Hill Christian Church in Cincinnati, Ohio (p. 227); and a sermon by the Rev. William Bryan Selah titled *Brotherhood* delivered to parishioners at Galloway United Methodist Church, Jackson, Mississippi (p. 236).

1962 has six speeches that draw from the media and educational settings. The section begins with a radio address by the Rev. William Sloane Coffin Jr., titled *The Prophetic Role* (p. 246). Next, it provides an address at the College of the Bible (today Lexington Theological Seminary (p. 256), titled *Race Relations in Mississippi*, which was delivered by Dr. Adam Daniel Beittel. The chapter also includes addresses by Andrew Jackson Young Jr., titled *The Church and Citizenship Education of the Negro in the South*, which is described as an account of his work with the SCLC's [Southern Christian Leadership Conference] Citizenship School Program (p. 268). Finally, three speeches from this same year conclude the section. They include Dr. John David Maguire's *The Church in Race Relations*; William Hodding Carter Jr.'s, *The Why of Mississippi*; and Bishop Alex D. Dickson's *The Right to a Free Pulpit*.

1963 has eight speeches that provide insight into the movement, its people, and some effects on the rhetors. For example, the section includes an address by Dr. Roy C. Clark, titled *Coming to Grips with the Real Issue*. The editors explain that “eight months after he delivered this bold message, and by mutual consent, Dr. Clark left his pulpit at Capitol Street Methodist” (p. 308). Another example is the rhetoric used by James Baldwin, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Thomas Kilgore in their address titled *The Face of Christ*. The editors state

that “this dialogue comes courtesy of the Protestant’s Council’s production *The Meaning of the Birmingham Tragedy*, which aired September 22, 1963, one week after the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombing, which killed four girls during children’s week Sunday School activities” (p. 342). In addition, the editors state that “the men and women of the Albany movement have yet to receive their rhetorical due” (p. 360). Thus, they included the address by Slater Hunter King, titled *A Rebirth of Albany*. This section also includes addresses titled *Religion and Race* by Robert Sargent Shriver Jr.; *A Nation of Silent Onlookers* by Dr. Joachim Prinz; *Sick at Heart: Kaddish for Bombing Victims* by Rabbi Milton Louis Grafman; *Their Blood Cries Out* by John Henry Newman Beecher; and *What Would Jesus Do?* by William Harrison Pipes.

1964 has seven speeches that detail some of the intersections of religion, rhetoric and the movement. The section begins with an address by Dr. Vincent Gordon Harding, titled *Decade of Crisis*. The editors state that “in 1964, at a conference on Mennonites and race in Atlanta, Georgia, Harding, the only African American Mennonite who spoke, delivered a vivid, haunting speech, a speech seared with pain” (p. 374). Also, dealing with more of the religion and rhetoric are speeches by Mathew H. Ahmann, titled *Race: Challenge to Religion*; by Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld, titled *Earning the Kingdom in an Hour*; and by Dr. Theo O. Fisher, titled *Wearing Another Man’s Shoes*. Other speeches included within this year are Stephen Gill Spottswood’s *He Being Dead Yet Speaketh*; Leon A. Jick’s, *Which Side Are You On?*; and Dr. Cecil Albert Roberts Jr.’s *The Christian Ethic and Segregation*.

1965 has speeches that bring to the forefront the marches. For example, the section includes Dr. Ralph J. Bunche’s speech titled *The March on Montgomery*. The editors state that “at the personal invitation of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Bunche participated in the historic Selma-to-Montgomery march and spoke at its conclusion on the steps of the state capitol” (p. 455). In addition, the section a speech delivered by Rabbi Stanley Yedwab, titled *Memorial Eulogy for Mrs. Viola Liuzzo*. “Before an interdenominational and interracial gathering in Lakewood, New Jersey, Rabbi Yedwab eulogizes only the latest martyr in the civil rights movement. Detroit housewife and mother of five Viola Liuzzo had come to Selma” (p. 458). In addition, the section includes Clarence Leonard Jordan’s speech titled *Loving Our Enemies*; Daniel Victor Germann’s speech titled *What Our Amen Means*; and Clifford

Judkins Durr’s autobiographical address (p. 467) titled *The Relevance of Morality*.

The editors’ explanation of which speeches they included within the volume is thorough and well-articulated. In addition, the editors also include several explanatory statements that contextualize the compilation. For example, the editors state that “readers of this volume . . . will note that many speakers base their claims for racial justice and integration on the New Testament, specifically the parable of the Good Samaritan, Christ’s encounter with the woman at the well, the second greatest commandment, to love your neighbor as yourself, and most often, it seems, the apostle Paul’s teachings in the 17th chapter of the book of Acts” (p. 21).

Each chapter offers a brief biographical description of the speaker with details including birth, education, and other relevant information. The book also includes a subject index that is very detailed including facts, events, and people mentioned within the compiled speeches. For example, Thaddeus Stevens appears in the index. Stevens is not one of the speakers but is mentioned in the midst of Clarence Jordan’s speech titled *Loving Our Enemies* (p. 453).

Overall the editors were successful in compiling speeches that help readers learn more about the Civil Rights Movement. The editors were purposeful in compiling voices that offered rhetorical response, rhetorical comfort, and rhetorical sense-making. A major strength of the book is the inclusion of many religions such as Zionist, Mennonites, Presbyterian, Methodist and others. At the same time, the rhetoric is compiled from media, academic settings, church settings, and Civil Rights rhetorical situations. Thus, the book would serve as an excellent book in history, social movements, and rhetoric courses.

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Jenkins, Jacob J. *The Diversity Paradox: Seeking Community in an Intercultural Church*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014. Pp. 211. ISBN 978-0-7391-8351-9 (cloth) \$92.00; 978-07391-8352-6 (eBook) \$87.00.

The phrase “shared attribute” commonly comes to mind when thinking about the word “community.” *The Diversity Paradox: Seeking Community in an Intercultural Church* is a book that both acknowledges (1) the decline in the sense of community within the

United States; and (2) the way “community” as an organizational metaphor has been used in response to the decline. The book is divided into three parts.

Part One has two chapters—“Introduction” and “Relevant Literature.” The first chapter clearly introduces the ethnographic study of a faith-based organization with an intercultural congregation in Tampa Bay, Florida. The introduction prepares the way for an overview of three views of community—community as physical space, community as disembodied concept, and community as communicative process—which kicks off Chapter 2. Chapter 2 also provides a context of relevant literature focused on “the social construction of race/ethnicity, the sense making process, organizational metaphor, metaphoric understanding, tension-centered approach, and dialectical theory” (p. 3).

Part Two focuses on the research design. Specifically, Chapter 3, “Research Context,” provides three levels of discussion—historical, contemporary, and organizational contexts. The author clearly uses literature to situate the contexts. Chapter 4, “Research Methods,” begins with the researcher discussing positionality. Next, methodology is outlined including entry, approach, procedures, and analysis. First, the researcher acknowledges previous research within a religious congregation but that was not the intent of this visit to Central Community Church (pseudonym used for the study). Thus, the researcher clearly explains the process into how the visits turned into a four-year ethnographic study using two approaches—culture-centered and Action Research (p. 52)—and a variety of qualitative research methods including participant observations, semi-structured interviews, photography-driven interviews, and World Café (p. 54). The researcher used Janice M. Morse’s (1994) four-stage conceptualization of data analysis.

Part Three has six chapters. Chapter 5, “Communicating Community,” contains the details of four themes of community that “emerged as to what defined community among Central Community’s racially/ethnically diverse leaders and members: (a) articulations of common cause, (b) representations of cultural diversity, (c) act of genuine relationship, and (d) opportunities for crossing social categories” (p. 65). Chapter 6, “Disciplining Discourses,” focuses on “the way organizational discourses of Central Community required its members to deny certain desires and preferences associated with their own race/ethnicity in

order to achieve the superordinate goal of creating a diverse community” (p. 81). Chapter 7, “Traversing Tensions,” provides an interesting discussion of three specific ways that difference emerged as members attempted to traverse dialectical tensions including (1) individuality-community, (2) valuation-devaluation, and (3) inclusion-exclusion (p. 91). Chapter 8, “Defy(ning) Diversity,” reveals the researcher-articulated phenomenon—*diversity paradox* (p. 101). Specifically, “*the diversity paradox* is an organizational emphasis placed upon one potential understanding of diversity, which, paradoxically, de-emphasizes alternative expressions of difference” (p. 101). The researcher discusses six interrelated ways that the paradox occurred among Central Community’s leaders and members.

The researcher provides a clear discussion at the end of Chapters 6, 7 and 8, to outline theoretical implications. Thus, Chapter 9, “Implementing Implications,” goes further to discuss how each was implemented and collaboratively strategized into future directions including member-generated content, increased virtual interaction, and the formation of a creative arts team (p. 113). Finally, the conclusion provides a clear summary of the study and offers future direction of research.

Each chapter offers significant Action Research along with insight as to how the study can be “recontextualized to other organizational contexts” (p. 119). The book has seven appendices that detail the research methods and offer samples of ethnographic notes collected. The book also includes a detailed reference listing and subject index.

Overall the author was successful in detailing this four-year ethnographic study. The author was purposeful in developing the theoretical concept called the *diversity paradox*. A major strength of the book is the amount of relevant research literature used throughout the study. Thus, the book would serve as an excellent book in qualitative research and organizational communication research courses.

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Reference

- Morse, J. M. (1994). “Emerging from the data”: The cognitive processes of analysis in qualitative inquiry. In J. M. Morse (Ed.), *Critical issues in qualitative research methods* (pp. 23–43). London: Sage.

