K.P. Polivanova, E.V. Sazonova, and M.A. Shakarova

What Can Children's Literature and Games Tell Us about Today's Children?

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What Can Children's Literature and Games Tell Us about Today's Children?

The present article treats changes in the learning conditions of today's children as a deepening of the "childhood crisis." We believe that new research in the field of developmental psychology is needed in order to apply cultural-historical theory to new data. The article presents two studies: the first considers a preschool game based on contemporary cartoon plots, and the second considers how adolescents (eighth- to tenth-graders) read J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter *books. The preschool study shows that the game has developmental potential and that its plots reproduce complex human relations. The* Harry Potter *study shows that adolescents are attracted to hero stories with ambiguous and unknown outcomes. On the basis of these findings, we conclude that contemporary cultural texts for children imply a sophisticated audience who*

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> *interacts nondidactically with the text, and that these texts have developmental potential and should be included in the curriculum.*

Cultural-historical theory and contemporary childhood   30

Today, childhood is changing rapidly. Children are growing up in a new reality that is foreign to many adult. They interact less with their parents who are less informed than previous generations of their children's activities. On an everyday and professional-pedagogical level, we know that the knowledge and experience of   35
children are different than that of their parents; however, there is little scientific research in Russia dedicated to the condition of contemporary childhood itself. Unlike our Western colleagues, we do not have reliable data on this topic. This means that the addressee of the education system and social development is an   40
ideal abstraction of the child and adolescent.

Certain social and cultural spaces, which only a few decades ago seemed unshakable, are now undergoing complex transformation: all aspects of life are being individualized, economic instability is becoming the norm, the scope of the vertical-   45
hierarchical method of control is shrinking, the boundaries of information technology are being expanded, and a so-called pedagogy of consumption is beginning to appear (Van Undenhoven and Wazir 2010). Many of these transformations affect childhood (i.e., if childhood signifies the entire process   50
culminating in adulthood).

The term "cultural-historical theory" is used regularly, but to what extent is the essence of the theory still kept today? At the micro-level, for instance, when studying the values of children of different ages, we recognize the developmental differences   55
resulting from different social contexts and the important influence of parental interaction. But on the broader level, the new cultural-historical differences comprising the realities of contemporary childhood are recognized to a much lesser degree.

Unfortunately, we are more likely to judge contemporary   60
cultural changes than to understand them within the context of cultural-historical theory. It is commonly believed that around the

mid-1970s childhood was "good and correct," and today it is deteriorating—classical games, children's stories, and parental interaction are decreasing. This absolutization is hardly productive.

We believe that our task as researchers is not to judge these cultural changes but to understand them. It is crucial to conceptualize them as a *problem* that is, to identify the prevalent *contradictions*, which they produce. For instance, if we assume that fairytales (as ideal forms of children's games) are disappearing, then what it replacing them and how are these substituents linked to childhood development?

Compared with the early twentieth century (when cultural-historical theory was in its infancy), the historical conditions we are confronted with are quite different and extremely diverse. The question is how do these new realities affect childhood? How is childhood changing?

In 1993, a large-scale interdisciplinary and international project was launched called: Childhood as a Social Phenomenon. Within the project, different cultural and national models of childhood were described (Qvortrup 1993). The project was based on the idea of the social construction of childhood. This was essentially the idea of the *positioning* (or: predetermination, instead of determination) of childhood.

Going slightly outside the framework of this project, it can be argued that within cultural and social realities the idea of childhood is constructed and promulgated through a variety of channels and by different means. For instance, the legal age of adulthood is determined by the government, while childhood "spaces" are created in everyday life, defined by what is and is not appropriate for children. And this composite definition of the child is manifested in a variety of cultural products such as books, movies, and mass media.

Today, the social spaces in which children are socialized are eroding. This is true for both family and school spaces. The nuclear family is giving way to new forms of domestic organization. The context in which maturation takes place is changing and this significantly affects a child's formation of

identity and sense of self. The school environment is likewise   100
fragmenting: home school, distance learning, and other new forms
of education, as well as new age distributions (up to nineteen to
twenty years) have contributed to the deterioration of previously
normal scholastic mechanisms and patterns of socialization.

The impact of these phenomena on childhood development and   105
socialization has not been investigated. The experience of today's
children is very different from the early experiences and
circumstances of their parents. Thus, what can parents convey to
their children, if the adult's experience is incongruous with that of
the child's? If before the adult(child relationship was defined in   110
terms of the informed and uninformed, then today it is defined by
two different cultures: each group knowing something different.

The role of family and school socialization is reduced, and has
been replaced by a variety of cultural forms—peer groups, youth
subculture, recreational education, mass media, and the Internet.   115
In an effort to bolster established authority and order,
representatives of the school and family have imposed stricter
measures of control. Children are expected to be independent,
while the space in which their independence would develop is
reduced.   120

The existing process of maturation that takes place via a
stratification of socially organized (ritual and symbolic) spaces is
gradually changing. Longstanding practices are disappearing,
indicating the need for increased individual reflexivity, while
simultaneously, the space for individual reflection is shrinking.   125

Referring to D.B. El'konin, it can be said that we are in the
midst of a crisis of childhood (El'konin 1989)—a historical
period when a rupture separates the community of children and
adults, replacing it with more complex mediating relationships.
Prior to posing any specific research questions, let us consider two   130
general ones: How can the form and substance of these mediating
relationships be described? How are they different from those that
were present in the middle of the twentieth century?

Traditionally, cultural-historical theory held that development
occurred when the child was presented with an ideal cultural form   135
(e.g., fairytales, rituals, games). Next, according to B.D. El'konin,

a "double shift" of familiar/other and real/ideal (El'konin 2001) occurred. This act of development was bolstered and amplified by cultural entities, and most importantly by the mediating actions of adults. Thus, adults (or the cultural entities themselves) introduced the child to the other and the ideal.

Today, this teleological development (mediated by specific means) is being replaced by the rhizomatic—a chaotic process of "peripateticism" (of an individual or group) within an unstructured network of social and cultural spaces. Contemporary childhood is captured in the image of "superficial gliding" (as in "surfing" the internet). In the broadest sense, the child's process of maturation used to involve a finite set of developmental problems, which had their corresponding finite set of solutions, whereas today the field is much more chaotic with many more possibilities.

The present social and historical-cultural situation poses serious challenges to the classical models of Russian psychology, both cultural-historically and pragmatically. Institutionalized forms of maturation, the adult as a central figure of national psychology, and the ideal as a conception of the future are all disappearing. All this is dissolving in a heterogeneity of new developmental forms and practices.

In the field of psychology (and potentially in others), one way of studying the current situation is by gathering empirical data from past decades and comparing them with present observations. It is important to describe and explain points of divergence on the basis of psychological facts. However, the task of empirically studying the psychology of contemporary children within the framework of cultural-historical theory presents at least two challenges. First, there is little reliable data on the psychology of children and adolescents from previous decades. The sample sizes and procedures of data analysis make the data and conclusions of this research highly suspect. Second, the methods themselves raise questions of reliability. For example, changes in adolescent values may be attributed to the expansion of the boundaries of socially desirable answers during surveying, which should be considered when interpreting these changes.

The problem of unreliable data raises methodological questions, which require innovative solutions, especially when it comes to studying the interaction of children and contemporary cultural products. In this indirect way, we attempt to recreate (or as it may be to reconstruct) the relevant psychological qualities. 175

We proceed from the assumption that today's childhood is different from that of previous decades. The essence of the difference lies in the erosion of ritual, cultural, and symbolic space—particularly the family and the school. The very prospect of growing up and the desire to become an adult may be called into question. In this sense, the idea of adulthood is less appealing and harder to define. Previously, the adult served as a role model and mediated a large part of the child's life, and now the exceptional status of the adult is diminishing. The widening gap between adults and children is being filled with new cultural products and texts. 180 185

The study of new childhood is a broad and daunting research task. It requires theoretical revision of childhood development research, new valid research methods, and unbiased analysis of the results. 190

New childhood should also be recognized by the education system. This is possible only on the basis of understanding the problem of development: What can be presented to today's child? How can it be presented? In what form does he or she interact with the world of contemporary culture? How should education be constructed? There are many questions and problems. This article is a first step toward their resolution. 195

Below we consider two studies: one of children's games and one of adolescent reading. The methods used in these studies are based on the interaction of preschool children and adolescents with new cultural products. The results are interesting, and the possibility of their pedagogical application is discussed in the conclusion. 200 205

Study of a children's game

The method of using a plot-oriented game to develop the preschool child makes this study particularly interesting. The plot

of a children's game is often derived from the real lives of the adults surrounding the child and representations of adult life in cultural texts (El'konin 1989; Polivanova 2004). For instance, the fairytale is considered a cultural prototype of a developed form of the plot-based role-playing game (El'konin 1999). 210

Today, however, the fairytale is losing popularity and is gradually being replaced by new cultural products (e.g., animated series, TV series, online shows, computer games). And if preschoolers do interact with the fairytale, they prefer to watch it on a screen. The present study was conducted based on contemporary animated series. The content of contemporary animation differs greatly from traditional literary genres, and is also quite diverse. Different cartoons represent different models of reality. The question arises: How might cartoons be used to structure a preschool children's game? Can they be used to structure a plot-based game? What are the features of a game based on the plot of a cartoon? 215 220 225

The mechanisms of child development in the plot based role-playing game depends on the quality of the game and the recreation of the basic conflict situation (real or imagined in the text). A well-constructed game has: (a) a binary structure and (b) a specific level of role play. 230

The binary structure. First the role's action is triggered, which is tied to a conflict (e.g., a fight, being lost, an accident); then the response to the initial action is played out, like a call and response (El'koninova 2004).

The type of game interaction. The game has three levels of interaction: the role in action, the role in plot, and the role in relation. The highest level is the role in relation; at this level of the game, the relation of the performer to other performers is maintained by staying in character (i.e., the general idea of the game's plot is expressed through performance) (Gudareva 2005). 235 240

We sought to identify the material in the cartoons that most affects the child. In a sense, this is a classic esthetic question. Our interest, however, is not merely in how children perceive a text, but to what the extent a contemporary cultural text can be used to develop a complete and binary children's game. 245

Two animated series were selected for the study: the Russian *Smeshariki* and the American *Tom and Jerry*. The choice was based on the significant difference between the two texts, and their models of reality, characters, structure of basic conflict, boundaries of semantic fields, and the semantic fields themselves. The scope of the characters in *Smeshariki* accounts for many representations of the world. There is a multiplicity of different positions and points of view regarding the characters themselves, others, and the world. Division is not based on the principle of "familiar/close vs. unfamiliar/hostile," but on the principle of "I vs. other." *Tom and Jerry*, on the other hand, offers two fixed spaces. Jerry's space (familiar/close) is juxtaposed to Tom's space (unfamiliar, hostile). There are no major and minor characters in *Smeshariki*, and no negative characters—no image of an enemy. Each character has their own point of view of the world and themselves. The points of view and positions of the characters are not strictly specified, and are constantly changing during the process of communication and interaction. In *Tom and Jerry*, the main characters are an absolutely fixed set of stereotypical characters and functions. Regardless of how the plot is developed, the function and characteristics of the main characters are never changed.[1]

From the beginning of our study, we believed it was possible to model a game on a contemporary videotext. We observed the game as it was played by a pair of children, an adult (researcher) and a child, and a child alone playing with toys depicting characters from the videotext. Each game consisted of one or more *game episodes*, which is a segment of the game with one plot point. Based on our analysis of 94 game episodes, we concluded that the videotexts have a significant influence on children in the contemporary cultural field, as they allow them to perform different roles in different social and interactive situations.

The main study involved 60 children of ages four to seven years. After a preliminary discussion, the children's games were observed. (All observations were filmed.) First, the child was asked to play act the cartoons in general—"Let's play *Smeshariki*/

Tom and Jerry"—and then to play act a specific episode. Additionally, toys corresponding to the cartoon characters were used to simulate the game and/or specific scenes from the cartoons that were viewed. In the study, 165 role-playing games were analyzed, and 334 game episodes were identified. Each child was observed over the course of several viewings. One viewing was followed by one, rarely two games. The observation of one game lasted approximately 30 to 60 minutes. The unit of analysis was one game episode.

The study confirmed that it is possible to construct a role-playing game around today's cartoons, including advanced binary plot games. Preschooler games based on contemporary animated series reproduce traditional everyday conflicts and/or professional interaction between characters (significantly less). The more varied the plot of the cartoon episode, the more varied the plot of the game.

The animated series *Smeshariki* represents more plot options. Games based on *Tom and Jerry* usually have a repetitive plot structure, and rarely have a complete form. In some *Smeshariki* games, elements of the plot structure (semantic space, transition, etc.) are meaning laden. On the one hand, this indicates the children's sensitivity to specific semantic relationships (e.g., interacting points of view and reversal of roles) that are the essential plot points of the cartoon; on the other hand, this makes it possible to conclude that the prototype of a plot based role-playing game can be a cultural text the plot of which is not based on physical events (as in the fairytale), but semantic comprehension.

Animated series where human relations are central (e.g., *Smeshariki*) are more suitable for plot-based role-playing games than animated series in which these relations are blurry or stereotyped (e.g., *Tom and Jerry*). The structure of the game coincides with the structure of the animated series. The most developed type of game (role in relation) occurs more often when the game is based on a cartoon with a large number of characters who perform a variety of functions corresponding to a variety of

different plot points (e.g., *Smeshariki*). Most games based on *Tom and Jerry* are of the "role in action" type.   320

Toys and/or concurrent viewing of a particular episode can be helpful when playing a game, provided that the cartoon has developmental potential; otherwise, the viewing is not productive.

Based on the present study, it can be argued that other   325
videotexts, encountered by children in their everyday lives, could likewise be used for creating children's games with developmental potential.

A cultural prototype for a plot-based role-playing game can be a text, the plot of which is based not on physical events (as in the   330
fairytale), but notional sense: semantic space and the meaningful crossing of the boundaries of that space. This shows that contemporary preschoolers are sensitive to plots where semantic fields intersect (e.g., when Ivan Tsarevich decides to leave the safe place and delve into the mysterious forest), and that they are   335
capable of understanding and recreating the complex system of relations in a game where the relationships are ambiguous and complex, where there are no easy answers, obvious villains, or indisputably correct positions.

Thus, modern culture continues to provide children with the   340
material for substantive, developmental games. Although, the organization of these games requires extra attention—screening, selection, and support; otherwise, negative conclusions about the arbitrariness of contemporary preschool games (Sazonova 2010) will continue to be made.   345

Study of adolescent reading

The book *Pedology of the Adolescent* [Pedologiia podrostka] begins with the following words: "The key to the problem of the psychological development of the adolescent is the *problem of interests* during the transitional age" (Vygotskii 1984). In this   350
sense, the emergence of the *Harry Potter* books and their extraordinary popularity became a challenge to contemporary

Russian psychology. What made a relatively unread adolescent population so interested in these works?

Obviously, the books fulfill some pressing adolescent need. Having identified the "point of resonance," we get a glimpse into the inner emotional world of the adolescent, which is inaccessible by other research methods. Conversations, interviews, and questionnaires alone do not provide the same results, because the respondents simply answer: "Because that is interesting." Younger teens who read J.K. Rowling cannot articulate why they like the books, and older teenagers are embarrassed of their former preoccupation.

Based on analysis of Internet forums and individual interviews with adolescents, we found that the most popular *Harry Potter* themes are the following:

(1) The mediums of magic (wands, spells, brooms, etc.);
(2) The Forbidden Forest and Quidditch;[2]
(3) The magic duel as the culmination of the entire work.

We conducted surveys on Internet forums such as *HogwartsNet* (www.hogwartsnet.ru), *Harry Potter and the Magical Forum* (www.harrypotter.com.ua), *The Russian Harry Potter Club* (hpclub.ru), and various *Harry Potter* groups started on the social networking site *VKontakte*. We likewise conducted face-to-face interviews with students offline. Respondents were asked to complete questionnaires with incomplete sentence questions (e.g., "I want … in the magic world") and free-association questions.

An online survey was conducted with forum participants (1,052 people) and individual interviews were conducted with classroom study participants (53 people). The respondents associated the appeal of the books with the ability to juxtapose the real and the magic worlds. They described the real world as gray, monotonous, and routine, while the magic world was described as unusual, dangerous, and imbued with meaning. In the magic world, the characters have a goal, while in the ordinary world the goals are veiled and vague. The most important features of the

magic world are the opportunities that it provides for its heroes, including the possibility of self-realization, freedom, and the lack of ordinary restrictions and limitations. Life in the wizarding world is perceived as more interesting and less difficult. According to some respondents, the world of *Harry Potter* gives an impression of the fullness of life, and provokes the reader to consider the meaning of their own life. The books are a key to entering the invented world, and a means of transcending this one. 390 395

Based on the survey results, we can conclude that adolescents are drawn to the actions possible in the *Harry Potter* world and the representation of the difficulties in the real world. These actions are made possible by unique spaces (e.g., the Forbidden Forest and the field of Quidditch) and unique means (magic power and magic wands). 400

The adolescent relates to the magic duel and Quidditch, which constitute the hero's power, strength, and success, on the one hand, but his defeat, pain, injury and even death, on the other. The sport of Quidditch, and the action of the duel are both emotionally charged and this charge has two valences: joy and excitement, and fear and tension. In fact, the main quality of the action, according to survey participants, is ambiguity—it is never certain which of the heroes will win. 405 410

In the *Harry Potter* books and movies the central, emotionally charged action relates to the uncertainty and ambiguity of the characters' fates. It is precisely these qualities that describe important stages of the adolescent developmental crisis (Polivanova 1996). 415

It is impossible to act without confidence and faith in oneself. For the adolescent, the process of and reason for committing an action is most important then the result of the action itself. The space in which the action takes place (the world of magic, the Forbidden Forest, etc.) is associated with fear, intrigue, danger, and mystery. The world of magic is interesting, sensational, and full of action, while at the same time remaining simple, archaic, and understandable. The Forbidden Forest and world of magic itself are the necessary environments for action, because it is 420

impossible to act in a meaningless, "empty" space without   425
specific structure and meaningful boundaries.

   To confirm the results obtained in the survey, we conducted the
following part of our research. The most popular associations
were used as scale descriptors of semantic differentiation.
We analyzed the following words and phrases: "magic wand,"   430
"flying broom," "Forbidden Forest," "Quidditch," "magic spell,"
"magic world," "magician," "magic match," "real world," and
"real person."

   On a scale of 0 to 5, adolescents were asked to rate how much
each of these associations corresponds with or could serve as   435
a characteristic of each evaluated object. Based on the results,
we constructed matrixes representing the averages of three
respondent groups. Then this group data were subjected to
principal component analysis.

   The study was conducted in person with school children who   440
had watched at least one *Harry Potter* movie or read at least
one book, and online with forum participants. The first group
of respondents was comprised of 68 online participants (ages
thirteen to eighteen) belonging to *Harry Potter* Internet forums.
Individual correspondence was established with each participant   445
via email and the social network *VKontakte*. All the respondents
had been fans of the *Harry Potter* films and movies for several
years. The second group was comprised of 75 eighth-grade
students (ages thirteen(fourteen). The third group was comprised
of 71 ninth- and tenth-grade students (ages fifteen to sixteen).   450

   Factorial analysis of the data obtained from online forum
participants identified four significant factors: 34.5 percent,
21.2 percent, 16.1 percent, and 14 percent, of the total variance
respectively. Analysis of the data obtained from the group of
eighth grade students identified five significant factors: 39.3   455
percent, 29.4 percent, 11.1 percent, 8.2 percent, and 5.2 percent.
Analysis of the data obtained from the group of ninth and tenth
grade students identified four significant factors 34.2 percent,
26.4 percent, 10.5 percent, and 8 percent.

   The heaviest factors were nearly identical in all three groups.   460
These related to the juxtaposition of the real world and real people

with magic and magicians. All participants associated the real world and real people with boredom, sadness, impotence, routine, laziness, and dullness. Eighth-grade students and high school students juxtaposed the discouragement and routine of the real world with the unpredictability, power, and extraordinariness of the world of magic and wizardry. The world of magic is more perfect than the real world. It is eventful and unpredictable— endowing goals with added meaning. Adolescents believe there is no place for action and event in the real world. The events or the authorial human act are associated with the experience of miracle and surprise. The event, according to Iu.M. Lotman, results not from a confluence of circumstances, but in spite of their confluence. In the real world, adolescents experience uncertainty and see no goal, which means that they cannot act and realize themselves. 465 470 475

The central, most important act of the hero in the *Harry Potter* books is the magic duel and Quidditch. Participants in the study perceived the heroes' actions as binary, ambiguous, and unpredictable. Actions within a conflict can either be noble or destructive and evil. The essential quality of a hero in a situation of uncertainty is initiative. Foremost, adolescents focus on resoluteness of the hero, his ability to "solve the problem," rather than the actual process of solution (i.e., they focus on the plan, while the effectiveness of the action fades into the background. 480 485

To win a magic duel or match of Quidditch requires magic means. The worst thing for a wizard is the loss of the magic wand and, therefore, power. During a battle, fight, or entrance into the Forbidden Forest the hero can act only if they possess confidence, security, and power. Magic facilitates the hero, allowing them to be creative, persistent, and focused in the face of surrounding danger. The main purpose of magic is to mask the means by which the battle or test was overcome. 490

The opposition of the real world and the real person with magic and wizards is characteristic of both *Harry Potter* fans and high school students whose familiarity with the fantastic world is usually limited to one or two books or films. The participants of 495

online forums have their own particularities. For them, precision, clarity, and comprehension of the magic world is not sufficient to perform an action. They have a need for stronger, more extreme experiences—the Forbidden Forest. Perhaps, this category of teenagers most acutely feel the absence and insufficiency of their real lives, compensating for the dullness of reality by participating in online forums, reading books, and writing and reading fanfiction (putting themselves inside the stories of the book).

Dependent behavior (e.g., computer or drug addiction) at any age primarily results from the need to "be the subject of free choice, of one's own purpose," which is a typical condition of adolescence. In particular, drugs stimulate the individual's internal perception of themselves as a subject of unlimited potential: "I know it all," "I feel it all," and "I can do it all." The fact that online forum participants stated that the Forbidden Forest, with its more rigid and clear boundaries, was the most suitable location for heroic action may indicate that for this group of respondents to express their "I" in the real world is more difficult than for the high school students, who are not diehard *Harry Potter* fans. It is possible that this reception of the text is a sign of an emerging dependence that is particularly evident in spaces such as the *Harry Potter* Internet forums.

To sum up, the particular features of the *Harry Potter* books that adolescents find so appealing are the hero's initiative in achieving their goal. In order to complete an action the following are necessary:

(1) Personal effort (agility, ability, desire to win, and commit-ment);
(2) Magic paraphernalia facilitating power, capability, secur-ity, and freedom;
(3) A distinct space that is unpredictable, dangerous, difficult, and imbued with meaning.

The world of magic facilitates action (although, only in the imagination); the real world is perceived by adolescents as vain, gray, dull, and devoid of meaning.

Adolescents are attracted to the conditions required for heroic   535
action in the world of magic; they describe the proactive course of
heroic action as a form of subjectivity, which is a necessary part
of authorial action, which we believe to play a structuring role
during adolescence (Polivanova 1996).

We can assume that classic adolescent texts (e.g., A. Gaidar's   540
Timur and His Team) once produced the same responses, but such
a claim would require a valid literary analysis.

Conclusion

The childhood of today's children differs significantly from that
of their parents and grandparents. To what extent the external   545
details of childhood affect the psychology of the child is yet to be
fully understood.

The two above studies are examples how children interact with
new developmental material.

For the time being, the question concerning the extent to which   550
this material is really new we leave unanswered. The fact is that
both of these cultural texts have much in common with their
predecessors—fairytales and juvenile adventure novels.

We were able to show that preschool children are sensitive to
the ambiguities of human relationships when the space of the text   555
and the game is not divided along a dichotomy of "good vs. bad,"
but according to character differences, worldview, and other such
parameters. A character might become offended even when no
one explicitly offends them, or become angry even when there is
no specific reason to be anger. Children are sensitive to this and   560
recreate it in the game.

Adolescents perceive the unpredictable world of magic as
more suitable for their own action than the real world. Reading
the books, they feel more significant than in the mundane and
transparent world of adults.   565

In its best form, children's mass culture can and should be
integrated into the education system. Today's children live in a
nonuniform, "blurred" world of relative values and disappearing
role models. The development of self-reliance in these conditions

is not a trivial task. What can help the formation of personality in such difficult circumstances? We believe one answer is the use of popular culture texts as the basis of a dialogue with the child and teenager.

Contemporary texts are written for a much more sophisticated audience compared with the past decades, and provide the audience with much more freedom and possibility, and offer situations in which the action is much more ambiguous and uncertain. It is fundamentally a *nondidactic* type of interaction.

Notes

1. Today a child is faced with a wide variety of cultural texts, both complex and simple. Our choice of text was determined by the research objectives and not assumptions about the quality of the product.

2. Quidditch is a game played on a flying broom by characters in *Harry Potter*.

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