Relevant Rhetoric

Playing for Change: Rhetorical Strategies in Human Rights Video Games

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Introduction

Playing video games is a popular activity and has "become part of the cultural mainstream" with roughly half of Americans ever playing, according to Pew Research Center's video game research.[1] The Pew study finds that American adults, ages 18-49, play video games equally by gender, with 50% of adult men and 48% of adult women playing, and the study finds no differences by race and ethnicity.

This rise in video game popularity is attributed to the explosion of digital interactivity and "domestication" of video games as they moved into homes.[2] This popularity makes the rise in the study of video games and game play unsurprising. In the early 2000s game theory and the field of game studies emerged as scholars sought to answer questions related to the impact of video game playing.[3] While many studies have focused on the wildly popular games, sometimes called commercial games, some video games scholars have turned to study "a new serious area."[4] Gaming scholarship on the prosocial impact of video gaming has increased.[5] Additionally, there are a growing number of video games designed to achieve prosocial goals. This new direction makes sense. When televisions entered homes, similar questions of the medium's benefits and harms to society emerged. In a literature review of

studies specifically about video game play and prosocial behavior, communication scholars Passmore and Holder found that the many studies show, "playing video games can promote prosocial behaviors."[6] They continue, "[I]nnovative thinkers are now realizing the educational opportunities" available through game play, and the potential of games to promote prosocial skills such as civic engagement and empathy.[7]

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Those who study video games for social change do not indicate these games function differently than commercially popular games (video game play is video game play) or that the games are growing in popularity. What is growing is the recognition of the medium's prosocial potential be they designed for profit or for social change. For example, a rhetorical analysis of the ritual of video game play as a way to learn about civic life was published in 2014 by rhetorical scholars Davisson and Gehm. The six games they used for analysis were not chiefly designed as prosocial games. One was designed to recruit for the military *(America's Army),* three were political games designed for use in classrooms or public education *(Win the White House, The Race for the White House, and Vote!!!),* and two were from the *Fallout* series designed for mainstream gaming audiences *(Fallout 3* and *New Vegas).* Davisson and Gehm argue that these games can mimic civic life, offering players opportunities to imagine themselves as part of

a larger citizenry. In another study, playing the video game, *World of Warcraft*, which was not designed to promote social change, but as the scholar who studies video games and social change was able to show, allowed players the ability to play more than one character which increased empathy.[8] Continuing this line of inquiry into the prosocial element of video games, our interest is in 27 video games that address various issues related to human rights.

The video games on the Games for Change (GFC) website use the medium of the video game to raise awareness about real-life issues. Founded in 2004, GFC aims to create social change on a variety of pressing problems, like war, poverty, and immigration. The mission in their words is to empower "game creators and social innovators to drive real-world change using games that help people to learn, improve their communities, and contribute to make the world a better place."[9] One way GFC accomplishes its mission is through training educators to teach game design. Another way is through "incubator projects" like game design competitions. Although it is hard to know exactly how popular these games are, the existence of the site from 2004 and the continued success of the annual GFC Festival suggest that there is an audience for these games. In 2017, the festival had over 1000 participants.

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Currently, GFC offers 173 games. These video games are categorized by age level and by topic area such as gender, STEM, environment, poverty, and human rights. As shown in the literature and supported here, the video games for social change are small in number compared with commercial video games. In its thirteen-year history, GFC has released one or two new video games a year in the human rights category, with 2005 yielding the highest (5 games) and 2007 and 2009 the lowest (0 games).

Nonetheless, we are encouraged and intrigued by GFC's efforts to both offer video games and promote the design of video games that advocate for human rights. Given the medium's prosocial potential for building empathy and increasing civic engagement, we explore the rhetorical strategies of human rights game designs, the way these games appear, and the worlds that players are invited to inhabit as they play. Our aim is to contribute to this emergent field of study. According to Passmore and Holder, scholarship on the prosocial benefits of video game play is new, and because of this, there are many gaps to fill.[10]

Table 1 lists the twenty-seven games that are categorized as games that address human rights issues.

Table 1. Human Rights Games

Title	Year	Theme
1979 Revolution: Black Friday	2016	Moral Choices in Time of Crisis
A Closed World	2011	LGBTQ
Against All Odds	2005	Refugees
Aviti: The Cost of Life	2006	Children, Poverty, Education
Cloud Chasers - Journey of Hope	2015	Migration
Dafur is Dying	2006	Refugees
Dys4ia	2012	Transgender identity
Half the Sky Movement: The Game	2013	Women's rights
Homeland Guantanamos	2008	Prisoners of war
ICED – I Can End Deportation	2008	Immigration
Inside the Haiti Earthquake	2010	Disaster & Relief
Endgame: Syria	2012	War
Liyla and the Shadows of War	2016	Children & War
Mainichi	2012	Transgender/Women
Mars Generation One: Argubot Academy	2014	Critical thinking and persuasion
Neocolonialism	2013	Politics
Never Alone (Kisima Ingitchuna)	2014	Atmosphere/Environment
On the Ground Reporter: Darfur	2010	War, Investigation, Communication
Parable of the Polygons	2014	Moral Choices
Phone Story	2011	Social/Politics, Video Games
Syrian Journey	2015	Refugees
Sweatshop	2011	Ethics, child & cheap labor
That's Your Right	2014	Human Rights
The Migrant Trail	2014	Migrants & Border Patrol
This War of Mine	2014	War
We Are Chicago	2017	Violence & Income inequality
Wildfire	2010	United Nations Millennium Development Goals

Games can be accessed through the GFC website. However, each game has its own site in which players can access the games. While the majority of games are free to play, some games do require purchase in order to access the games.

Ludology

Ludology is the word for video game studies, and signifies a rejection of a once-common assumption that games are "held together by a narrative structure."[11] Ludology includes game design, mechanics, and the narrative dimensions of a game.[12] Ludologists recognize video games as both representational like traditional media and simulational since each time they are played, player actions alter games and outcomes. In Frasca's words, "games are just a particular way of structuring simulation, just like narrative is a form of structuring representation."[13] Ludology includes an eye toward game design, mechanics, *and* the narrative dimensions of a game.[14] In many ways, then, ludology helps scholars interested in the study of video games account for the fact that video games are more than rules, objectives, and story, like board games are, they are simulations. Additionally, video games are complex rhetorical mediums because they often include narrative worlds, missions, rules, and engaged simulations.

Ludology and Rhetoric

The early ludology theorist, Frasca, locates the rhetoric of ludology in ideology because "simulations can be manipulated to convey ideology" on three levels in video game play.[15] These three levels can be likened to a three-act structure. In the first act, rules are acknowledged. At this level, narrative and simulation are shared as the scene is set through objects, characters, backgrounds, and settings. In the second act, players perform and there is the establishment of goals, or what the player is able to do within the game. In the third act, the game concludes and there is a line drawn between winners and losers. Frasca writes that these different acts or levels in simulations convey ideology. Understanding how these different levels work together is a useful way to analyze human rights video games, since the majority of the games were morally charged. Many of the games place the player in a position of disempowerment and through the process of playing the game, players must make difficult choices in order to survive. By establishing goal rules of winners and losers, these games convey moral messages about the realities of war, immigration, and inequality.

To put an even finer point on these three categories, we included ludus and paidia. "*Paidia* refers to the form of play present in early children (construction kits, games of make-believe, kinetic play) while *ludus* represents games with social rules (chess, soccer, poker)."[16] Where these distinctions mat-

ter in video games is at the ideological level because, as Frasca explains, in ludus, "you must do X to achieve Y and therefore become a winner," which means the author of the game designed winning scenarios as good and valuable and losing scenarios as bad or undesirable.[17] Paidia games leave much of the goal and outcome to the player, and with "fuzzier logic and its scope beyond winners and losers, [paidia] can provide an environment for games to grow in their scope and artistry."[18] We did not want to ignore winning/losing or open-ended options as we thought about the persuasive design of human rights games.

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In later theorizing about the rhetoric of video games, Ian Bogost introduced a model called procedural rhetoric, which is consistent with early ideas about the rhetoric of ludology. Because video games are a form of computer software, they operate through process, or what Bogost calls procedural representations. As he writes, "to write procedurally, one author's rules generate many instances of the same type of representation, rather than authoring the representation itself."[19] According to Bogost, "procedural rhetoric is a general name for the practice of authoring arguments through processes…its arguments are made not through the construction of words or images, but through the authorship of rules of behavior."[20]

Analysis

To analyze the strategies in which GFC use the medium of video games to achieve prosocial goals through play, we used a typology from previous research. For each game, we examined the narratives, which includes the simulation and game narratives, the goals, or choices available to players in the game), and the goal rules, or what the player does in order to win.[21] We also included aesthetics because we know that how a game looks and feels influences the reception of its message.

Narratives

First, we looked at the narrative elements of the games. These elements are the places, activities, characters, and situations that constitute the story of the games. Importantly, at this level, narrative and simulation do not appear different, which according to Frasca, is one reason the simulation aspect of gaming evaded many video game scholars. Four kinds of narrative/simulations emerged: educational, survival, problem solving and experiential.

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The eleven educational narratives are *1979 Revolution Black Friday, Neocolonialism, Never Alone (Kisima Ingitchuna), On the Ground Reporter: Darfur, Inside the Haiti Earthquake, Homeland Guantanamos, Phone Story, Sweatshop, Half the Sky Movement: The Game,* and *We Are Chicago.* These educational games take

place in Iran, Chicago, Alaska, Darfur, Haiti, detention centers, Vietnam, Kenya, Afghanistan, and India. In many cases, the characters in these places are involved in serious struggle. Players must become informed about the nature of the struggle before they can make effective decisions to solve the problems and advance in the game. They have to learn about the history of Darfur's political struggle, for example, or learn Department of Homeland Security policy. Some characters are journalists or aid workers who have either been driven underground as a result of revolution or have had their homeland destroyed by an earthquake. Some players adopt the character of a high school teen who must try to graduate high school against obstacles like mean streets and bullies. Other games have players become a Native Alaskan girl who must learn her cultural values to survive a blizzard. One game has a player catch exploited workers trying to escape factory work by jumping from buildings. This game narrates the harsh realities of sweatshop work as the player moves the buttons to catch the falling workers. The activities and situations involve hardships people face in Asia, the Middle East, the Caribbean, Africa, and America, as a result of disasters both natural and political.

The nine survival narratives are *Migrant Trial, Against All Odds, Ayiti: The Cost of Life, Cloud Chasers, Darful is Dying, ICED, Liyla, Syrian Journey,* and *This War is Mine.* The majority of these games have players take on char-

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acters who are resource poor people of color. They are soldiers, immigrants, migrants, children, or refugees all trying engaged in the action and activity of

survival. The places or scenes players enter as they engage the game are far away from the everyday realities of people who live secure lives. These places are the Syria, Darfur, Haiti, the Gaza Strip, deserts, urban war-torn cities, the U.S.-Mexico border, and detention centers. Situations are bleak. Characters need to live, or defend themselves, or both. Activities involve finding water, dodging bombs, maintaining a hideout, evading snipers, and avoiding capture. Educational narratives immerse players in knowledge whereas survival narratives immerse players in action.

The four problem-solving games are *Endgame: Syria, Mars Generation One: Argubot Academy, Parable of the Polygons*, and *Wildfire*. Characters in these games are a happy or unhappy shape, a pre-teen student, or a Syrian rebel. As these characters, players arrange different shapes into positions they will be happy in, or they evaluate proposals for arguments' strength, or they balance the costs and benefits of fighting a war with accepting a peace agreement. In one game, a player must coordinate volunteers to work on one or more of the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDG). With the exception of Syria, the places of these games are not identifiable. The problem-solving games have players decide how a new civilization on Mars will be built, or how

to make different shapes happy together, or how and when to both end and win a war. In one instance, a player experiences the complexity of coordinating others to reach MDG solutions.
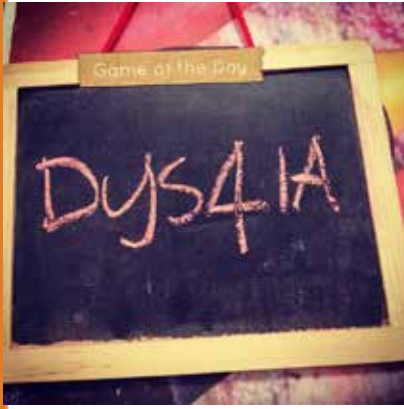

Photo Credit: https://www.flickr.com/ photos/urustar/8364036683/in/pho- tolist-dK6SH2

Three human rights games are experiential narratives *(Dys4ia, Mainichi, and A Closed World)* where players are non-gender or transgender. These characters engage in activities such as shaving or trying to fit into ill-fitting clothes, or trying to use gendered restrooms or get ready to meet a friend for coffee. In one game, a player must fight "demon" attacks with the weapons of ethics and intelligence to achieve the acceptance of

forbidden relationships. Locations include forests, no location, or a home and neighborhood. Each situation has players experience the frustration of living life according to a non-conforming sexual orientation or gender identity.

In two of the educational games and one of the problem-solving games *(Parable of the Polygons,* Sweatshop *and* Neocolonialism*),* we noted a narrative of dissonance wherein players make something worse through actions, not better. In other words, they achieve anti-social ends. Characters play as the boss of a sweatshop or a person trying to accumulate wealth at the expense of others. Characters are still learning or problem-solving, but the activity of winning culminates in world domination or worker exploitation. The description of

Neocolonialism on the GFC website is, "[y]ou have 12 turns to ruin the world – for your own personal gain" is a great example.

Goals

Goals, as Frasca's typology describes, are the choices game designers make available to players in the games. Our analysis revealed three kinds of choices. The first was competition and mastery, wherein the players had to make successful choices

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to survive the dire circumstances or learn about human rights issues. The second type of choice was cooperation. Five games, *Endgame: Syria, Mars Generation One: Argubot Academy, Never Alone, This War of Mine, and Wildfire,* included this choice. Finally, three games *(A Closed World, Dys4ia,* and *Mainichi)* placed the player in the role of the other with the intent of increasing empathy, shifting perspectives on the choices available to marginalized people.

Choices are part of the simulation process, since players encounter different scenarios based on their choices in the games. In these games, we found that the goals of the human rights games was competition, which are similar to those of popular mainstream video games, wherein ultimately winning or losing according to the games' rules is the goal. Unlike mainstream video games, playing human rights games means engaging in competition based on real issues and realities, such as war, immigration, poverty, or women's rights. For example, in the game, *Ayiti: The Cost of Life*, players are tasked with managing the

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health and welfare of a family living in Haiti. Players make choices about the resources that the family has access to or how to allocate their resources. Each choice has immediate consequences. If players do not consider how their choices impact the family's health, for example, one of the family members could end up dying. In *Liyla and the Shadows of War*, players are tasked with bringing a family to safety during the war in 2014 in Gaza. Throughout the journey, players must solve puzzles, respond to the environment, and make decisions in order to survive. In *Against All Odds*, players take on the role of a refugee and experience a series of steps they have to go through in order to flee one's home country to arrive in a new land. Here, the player is competing against structural problems that can negatively impact refugees. In *ICED: I Can End Deportation*, players take on different identities of people impacted by immigration laws, including legal permanent residents, asylum seekers, students, and undocumented people. Based on the identity of the character played, players make moral choices about how to answer questions by immigration officers and must answer accordingly or risk being thrown in detention.

While many of the choices presented in the games were intended to impact individual players and scenarios, through competition, there were a few games in which problems were solved cooperatively. For example, in the game *This War of Mine*, the game is set in a war-torn country in which players' choic-

es impact an entire group. Players take on the identity of a group of civilians living in a war-torn city. Players make choices, such as sending out a civilian to look for food, that impact the entire group. In *Wildfire,* players take on the role of a central character who tries to solve issues related to the United Nations Millennium Development goals, such as ending hunger, improving education, or furthering maternal health. In the game, the main character seeks out volunteers and gives them resources to address these challenges. In *Never Alone,* the main character, an Iñupiat girl named Nuna, works cooperatively with her companion, a fox, to find the source of a blizzard that threatens her survival.

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N04/15539102970/

These games in which cooperation is valued sends the message that choices are made within certain contexts and some human rights-related problems are best achieved through alliances. Also, players' choices have group impact, which is not readily apparent to people living in individualist cultures. The goals of the game, then, are to show the collective potential of different choices.

Other games had the goal of exposing the player to different perspectives as a strategy for creating empathy. For example, in the game *A Closed World*, players enter into a forest and encounter different scenarios. The choices here were designed to encourage players to address certain societal and family fears about coming out as homosexual. In *Dys4IA*, the goal of the game is to experi-

ence what it is like to be transgendered and the choices made every day to navigate a world that does not support transgendered people.

Goal Rules

The third level of analysis looked at the games' goal rules. Goal rules are what the player does in order to win the game. Goal rules differ from goals in that while goals are about the game mechanics, including how players navigate through the game, the goal rules determine what the player needs to do to win the game. Goal rules are "what the author states as mandatory within the simulation."[22] In these games, we found the goal rules were either to survive under seemingly impossible circumstances or to solve a mystery. Our analysis also revealed a win/lose game design, in most cases. To survive under seemingly impossible circumstances means many characters do not survive. For example, in *Darfur is Dying*, the object of the game is to gather water to bring back to the refugee camp. In the process, the player experiences dire circumstances, like avoiding the military and the difficulty of finding water in a desert land.

Water is necessary for survival and the game illustrates how difficult it can be to survive under these conditions. Many of the characters do not survive, since they are unable to overcome the obstacles. In the process, the game sends the message of how dire the situation in Darfur is. In *Endgame: Syria*, the game is played from the perspective of Syrian rebels. Throughout the game, players

make strategic political and military choices that have consequences for the war. Here, the goal rule is to decide when and if the time is right to accept a peace treaty. This goal rule sends the message that peace is the ultimate goal to the Syrian war. Through the experience of trying to survive, players can gain empathy for those who are experiencing these conditions in the real world.

Some games had the goal rule of mystery. For example, in *Homeland Guantanamos*, players win by uncovering the mystery of a detainee at Guantanamo Bay that died under mysterious circumstances. Throughout the game, players interview prisoners and come across documents. The game is based on real-life events. In *1979 Revolution: Black Friday*, players take on the role of a photojournalist and document the real-life events of the Iranian Revolution. Winning is learning about the Revolution.

As outlined, goal rules in the human rights games mostly follow what Frasca described as ludus or the win/lose design. The win/lose design resembles popular commercial mainstream video games like *Grand Theft Auto* and *Halo* even as they do not reinforce a number of social problems that top-selling video games perpetuate. Video game scholars' research of these popular games show the way these games promote competition and winning as well as violence and problematic fantasy worlds.[18] Research of popular video games reinforce negative gender stereotypes. Female characters in mainstream video games tend to

be hypersexualized and play passive roles, such as damsels in distress or background decoration.[19] Previous research shows that, like other forms of popular culture, the process of video game play is not superficial entertainment but instead is problematic cultural pedagogy. The value of competition is promoted in both human rights games as well as the popular video games through the procedure and design of winning the games.

Aesthetics

Lastly, we included aesthetics. Game aesthetics are the look and feel of the games. Contemporary video games have the CGI animation and look slick. This means the level of detail is closer to real-life representations and, visually, is more like a movie experience. Early video games had simplistic animation so that images had perceivable pixelation and slow response time. Because we know that how a game looks and feels influences the reception of its message, so along with the game descriptions, we analyzed game aesthetics.

We found that the human rights games make up a continuum from low-tech video games to games with actual film footage of real people, places, and events – a realistic aesthetic. In the middle of the continuum, are games that look like early game systems and games that look like arcade games, and

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high-quality animation. *1979 Revolution: Black Friday* includes realistic footage from the Iranian Revolution. This game is based on the life of Michel Set-

boun, who was a photojournalist during the revolution. In this game, players take photos of their surroundings and are given historical background of the events. There are also actual speeches from the Ayatollah Khomeini embedded in the game. *Homeland Guantanamo* uses photos and evidence from prisoners at Guantanamo to have players uncover a true story of an immigrant who died in the prison.

Low Tech   Early Systems   Arcade   Animation   Realistic
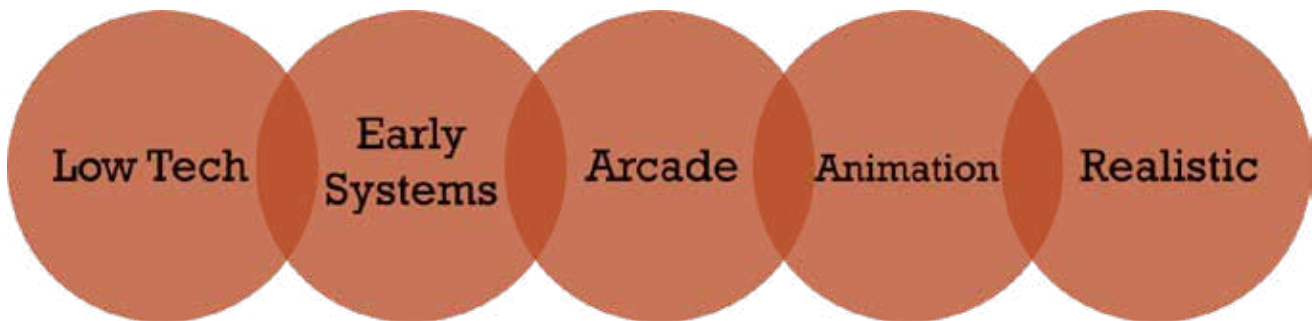
Discussion

Interested in contributing to the emerging area of scholarship on prosocial video games and curious about how GFC's human rights games use the medium of video games for social change, we pursued our questions and analysis of game descriptions, game objectives, and aesthetics. Bogost's procedural rhetoric illustrates arguments games' processes make and our method of analysis reveals three levels of ludological ideology. In the end, we found both problems and potential of the human rights game designs at every level.

The narrative-simulation level has game players see and feel that generally people in the non-western world are living lives of oppression –they are

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displaced and unwelcome, they are starving and fighting. Oppression and hardship causes human suffering, which human rights ideologies oppose. Whether the game is designed to simulate the experience of surviving with limited choices against unreasonable odds or whether the game is designed to help people in crisis through learning why such crisis is a reality in the first place, these games hold some potential for furthering prosocial goals for players who play them since players are learning in embodied ways.

On the other hand, using theory and research we see the following problems. The first problem is with a player's ability to identify with the characters in the game narratives. Communication theorist Walter Fisher's narrative paradigm offers reasons players may not find the human rights stories persuasive. Humans, as Fisher describes, are storytellers, and ...rationality is determined by the nature of persons as narrative beings."[23] This means the stories humans tell and engage, such as those within the human rights video games, carry a logic, and as Fisher stated, depending on a story's fidelity and coherence, this logic may or may not be persuasive. We think Fisher's narrative fidelity may render player-character identification, difficult. Narrative fidelity means that for a story to be believable, a person must be able to relate to it. When people cannot connect a story to their own experience, it is not convincing. Also, while players

have the option of playing different characters, this lack of identification may not lead to increased empathy of the real situation. We noted the educational narratives, for example, assume an audience is unfamiliar with the global realities of suffering and what resource poor people are up against. This is the education they gain through the game play. It is likely that narrative worlds players are invited to enter are too different and therefore not persuasive. Worse, they may further other the "other" rather than create empathy and connection as desired.

A second and related problem is from Davisson and Gehm's study of video games and citizenship. They write that "the identity of citizen is both a status conferred by the state and a vision of self that must be adopted and acted on by members of that state in order that a society might sustain itself. The process of adopting the identity requires the ability to imagine oneself as a member of a community of individuals among whom there may be very little in common beyond a shared location."[24] In considering how our findings comport with Davisson and Gehm's work, our finding that the narrative realities might further other the other would make it difficult to adopt the narrative identity that can expand the way people imagine citizenship. As activism, few games included explicit calls to action or ways of merging solutions with game play. The ones that did have more potential for advancing citizen-

ship goals on human rights issues. At the level of raising awareness, however, we see the ways exposure to the narrative worlds and obstacles to overcome to survive could improve civic education. In other words, players taking on identities may not result in a changed player, but may result in more knowledge, which is not insignificant. Because of this, future studies should examine audience identification and reception of these games.

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The games immerse players in situations of struggle and equip them with a set of choices to improve global human rights problems. Similar to narrative findings, the goals and goal rules findings of the games are useful in some ways and problematic in others. For example, we found competition as the most common game choice. Though some games had the choice to cooperate to win, individual competition was dominant. Competition is common in popular commercial videogames. In this context, the competition argues you are on your own and you have a chance.

We also found ludus, or win/lose, as the most common goal rule. Ludus simulations have a clear value in the win/lose dimension, though winning may mean living or winning may mean learning, ideologically, the win/lose structure creates a dichotomy where there are only two choices. As Frasca argues,

these dichotomies are morally charged, suggesting that the winning scenario is valued over the losing scenario. This is prosocial in that the winning scenario is preferable, but the design of win/lose carries drawbacks. One drawback is that while the game may be designed as win/lose, the win becomes the ultimate goal and empathy is secondary. However, these games have potential to engage players in scenarios that

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https://www.flickr.com/photos/lemasney/4768199155

they wouldn't encounter otherwise. The second drawback to the win/lose design is that human rights scenarios are complicated and there are a number of grey areas involved in solving problems, such as immigration or starvation. By emphasizing the win/lose structure, these games may send the message that complicated human rights issues can be solved more easily than is possible. Future studies could interrogate the values in these human rights wins as well as empathy building in the win/lose structure. Additionally, design structures that make use of paidia, or open-ended goal rules, could offer opportunities for

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http://hechingerreport.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/IMG_0485-2-960x600-c-default.jpg

players to move beyond the win/lose binary and come to player-driven conclusions.

The dire narrative worlds players experience as they try to survive serve to educate, raise awareness, and in some cases, create empathy. While important, this finding may not reach the

GFC goals of social change. With the exception of a few, these games do not include a call to action, which is not normal for the genre of video games, but important in achieving social change.

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The GFC games include important stories about human rights abuses and realities, but lose seriousness in the sights and sounds and aesthetics of many of the games. The games at the lower end of the continuum may end up trivializing the story's intention. The games that fall on the higher quality end are more inviting to enter. We argue games that include real film footage have the most power to carry the seriousness of the story. Photographs and moving images contribute to belief through the photographic myth of truth.[25]

While we find these games are designed mainly to educate audiences through teachers who use them as lesson companions, more work is needed to understand if audiences find these narratives engaging and educational. When used in the classroom, there is a potential to appeal to younger audiences who may see video games as a preferred medium. The most effective location to use *these* games to achieve their intent is via educators who can have players who might not encounter them otherwise, play. Players, as a first step, would learn the language important to refugee movement or the language of supply chains or the language of immigration status.

Notes

[1] Maeve Duggan. "Attitudes About Video Games," para 1. December 15, 2015, http://www.pewinternet. org/2015/12/15/attitudes-about-video-games/

[2] Tulia Maria Casvean. "What is Game Studies Anyway? Legitimacy of Game Studies Beyond Ludo-centrism vs. Narrato-centrism." *Romanian Journal of Journalism and Communication*, 1, (2016): 48-59.

[3] Casvean, "What is Game Studies Anyway? Legitimacy of Game Studies Beyond Ludo-centrism vs. Narra-to-centrism."

[4] Casvean, "What is Game Studies Anyway? Legitimacy of Game Studies Beyond Ludo-centrism vs. Narra-to-centrism."

[5] Holli-Anne Passmore and Mark D. Holder. "Gaming for Good: Video Games and Enhancing Prosocial Behavior." Journal of Communications Research, vol. 6, no. 2, (2014):199-224.

[6] Passmore and Holder, "Gaming for Good: Video Games and Enhancing Prosocial Behavior," 214.

[7] Passmore and Holder, "Gaming for Good: Video Games and Enhancing Prosocial Behavior," 210.

[8] Posso, as cited in Passmore and Holder, "Gaming for Good: Video Games and Enhancing Prosocial Behavior," 214.

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