

THE MARKET OF IDENTITY

A REVIEW ON VIDEO GAMES AND IDENTITY WORKS

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Transactions of the Digital Games Research Association December
22, 2024, Vol. 7 No 2, pp. 17-34. ISSN 2328-9422

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Abstract

This paper offers a review of the way that researchers, in the last decade, have analyzed the relationship between identity with games, and play. This is not a literature review to comply with the requirement to any work, to situate itself in a larger context of thought. I intend to show the different approaches, their central questions, and applications. On the other hand, I'll show the similar ways that they see games and the people around it. With some exceptions, game researchers usually see this topic in an uncontextualized or tensionless sense, as if identity and gaming operate in the

same way regardless of who is making and playing them, and where. Of course, this is due to factors related to the industry and the market, but also it reveals that much of the concern around the subject is determined by business necessities.

Keywords

identity, video games, commodification

Introduction

Games have been studied from different approaches, but one of the most commonly explored paths, which we could even call a common ground, is establishing the relevance of games in relation to the concept of culture. Since it has been an essential part of theoretical frameworks in anthropology, sociology, psychology, and pedagogy for understanding human development, both as individuals and as a collective, its significance has been taken for granted, thereby creating the impression that its value is established. What remains is simply to showcase the moments and places where it occurs, as well as all the nuances we may find.

However, it is my aim in this brief text to demonstrate the multifaceted nature of this relationship by reviewing how the connection between identity (an inherently cultural field) and video games has been explored from various angles. I am interested in understanding the concerns of researchers regarding this link, observing the approaches that have been taken, and ultimately identifying the relevant contributions that allow us to discern potential directions for future work. Additionally, I am keen on contrasting the approaches to the concept based on the market relations prevalent in contemporary societies, drawing on authors who have addressed issues of cultural identity within the frameworks of production and transaction that have become predominant.

This text is part of a larger effort to link studies on identity, memory, and social trauma with video game design. Initially, I

intended to conduct a comprehensive review of how these themes have been addressed (which remains my future objective), believing that focusing solely on the aspect of identity would be a manageable task. Clearly, there are texts that have become central to the discussion of the topic, however, efforts made since the 1990s have grown exponentially as we progress into the 21st century. Of course, this highlights an extremely important point that I will address in due course. It also led me to decide on an initial approach of focusing solely on the last 10 years, and attempting to offer a panoramic view to observe the overarching patterns guiding research on the topic. Thus, I am overlooking many of the fascinating nuances found in these works, and texts that have not been integrated will be addressed in subsequent works. The central question is to understand what kind of identity they are discussing, how they characterize it, and where these efforts might lead in the future.

The text is divided into five parts, with the first four referring to the general patterns I find in current production on the topic: 1) group identities; 2) identity as a gaming experience; 3) identity as a production tool; and 4) identity as a point of conflict. I conclude with a section where I attempt to connect cultural studies of the market with the vicissitudes of identification processes based on some arguments by Renato Ortiz (2014), Bolívar Echeverría (2010), and Arjun Appadurai (1991).

Gamer And Group Identities

One of the more common identities is to think of games as a social activity that also has the potential to create communities around itself, as an arena where people can display certain forms of being. At the core we can find the idea of games and play as socializing factors that are needed inside a human group: we play because we need to share a space and time to be with others. In this line, identity is the core concept to understand how playing creates bonds between individuals who previously did not have anything in common.

Some researchers lean towards games that are designed to

provide strong mechanisms of cooperation and communication between people involved. The study of "social" games currently pertains to those that reach unprecedented levels of participation. This is evident in MMOs (massively multiplayer online games), which have been the focus of studies recognizing them as privileged spaces to observe social dynamics among large groups of interconnected individuals in a virtual world. These studies originate not only from the social sciences but also from psychology, as noted by Caro Villegas and Marambio-Tapia (2023), Pearce (2009), and Bainbridge (2010).

Another pathway can be understood through the sociological perspective emphasizing the inherent socialization within all games. Significant efforts have been made to comprehend how and why games often foster relationships, or thrive as core social practices essential today for community functioning. Since the 1960s, we can assert this based not only on characteristics studied in sociology and anthropology, but also due to market mediation and communication technologies. This is also where we observe instances of social dynamics permeating the gaming world. Ethnographic studies on how players interact during gameplay have provided a platform for examining masculinities and violence within gaming practices (Healy, 2016; Kiourti, 2019). Following Healy (2016), we can argue that the gaming world is not entirely separate from our own; it simply offers alternative ways to experience it. Therefore, existing forms of socialization and identification outside the virtual world can also be found within it. Other significant efforts to explore socialization within and outside of games include the work of Caro Villegas and Marambio-Tapia (2023), who critically examine online identification processes, contextualizing them to illustrate how they impact our perceptions of offline relationships as well.

Lastly, we have the study of gamer communities and individuals. This has been an area of interest since the emergence of video games as a mass medium. Gamer communities have been studied as a contemporary form of identity creation, akin to any fan group of cultural merchandise, often viewed with optimism. Currently, we

benefit from the work of Daniel Muriel (2018), who synthesizes a large portion of ideas regarding gamer identity over the past decades, incorporating diverse perspectives from players, developers, journalists, and content creators. Emphasis is placed on viewing games, not merely as a practice embedded in sociocultural dynamics, where identity formation is one aspect, but also as a realm where new forms of meaning construction are taking shape. The diverse voices included in the study attest to the multiplicity that contests the notion of a gamer, which can be understood not only polysemically but also from various positions articulated by individuals with differing interests in the term. Ultimately, the characterizations of gamers reflect different ways of appropriating both the act and the playful object.

In my view, one of the most significant aspects of these works is the development of a framework that explains how virtual relationships are formed within a ludic interaction environment. The distinction between what we observe in virtual identities, for instance, on a social network versus in a video game, although seemingly obvious, requires further elaboration and understanding. The gaming dynamics establish a series of frameworks that allow for specific identities through their distinct characteristics. On the other hand, some authors highlight the impossibility of considering them as isolated phenomena in cyberspace or within ludic diegesis. Social phenomena, both globally and locally, play a significant role in shaping patterns of socialization and self-presentation. Nonetheless, I find problematic the works that rely on how individuals who play games make their hobby a distinguishing aspect from those who do not. While it has been demonstrated that it can be profoundly significant for a group of individuals to find solace and meaning in gaming, it is concerning to cease questioning what this is replacing, what kinds of bonds and patterns of interaction are being left out, especially when considering our youth.

Identity As Ludic Experience

The second major field in the relationship between identity and gaming revolves around observing how players perceive themselves within the game's narrative. This relates to the concept of mimicry, extensively studied, which pertains to the games' ability to make us feel like someone else or simulate being in a different situation. It's the realm of fiction, of "as if," where one assumes the role of another and ceases to be oneself. Building upon the previous point, here we also encounter studies on the co-creation of identity, which emphasize how players' identities are generated intersubjectively during the gaming experience. In other words, the presence of others influences how someone acts.

Once again, we can observe that research can focus on specific games that provide guidelines for this to occur as the center of the ludic experience, with the most studied case being role-playing games and studies of avatars. The most cited work is that of Gee (2007), who introduces the concept of projective identity, referring to how players often identify with video game characters through interaction. Others delve into specific mechanics aimed at engaging players with their own decisions, not only in terms of dialogue but also through various other types of interactions.

There are studies seeking to understand this phenomenon beyond role-playing games, focusing on how game narratives and interactivity systems facilitate this process in various ways. The work of Taylor and Bell (2015) delves into processes of identification or affiliative modes that can be seen as reflections of the self. They identify three main modes: the mirror (where the character is empty and filled by the player's desires and emotions), the vehicle (where players consciously project intentions into the digital world that may be constrained in everyday life), and altered affiliations (temporary and contingent identification with the avatar). These modes arise from the internal experience within a telltale-type game. They propose viewing identification as an ongoing and endless process, where its status is never stable and is not guided by a single logic. Through this

ethnographic approach, we understand that the way players relate to their avatars, and the actions they undertake through them, is multifaceted.

Ståhl and Rusk (2020) studied how certain design decisions influence the way identification unfolds, using e-sports as a case study. They demonstrate how, within an online competitive game, the complexity of identification can be observed. They examine how players perceive themselves and others based on their mastery of knowledge and skills, the statistics and ranks provided by the game, the utilization of customization tools, and the use of specialized language produced and used within the game's context. However, they also emphasize how social dynamics surrounding race and sexuality determine how they are perceived by players. Being a white heterosexual man is seen as the "norm," dictated by external criteria, so any deviation from this norm is met with hostility. This is crucial, as the dynamics among group members also directly impact how localization will be carried out. Following the insights of Ståhl and Rusk (2020), we might consider that the normalization patterns within these groups are decisive in this task and, therefore, will condition how the game is received and who is "welcomed" in it.

We can also consider the gaming experience as a constant negotiation between the player and the character being operated, i.e., they are self-designed by the creators and the mechanisms that allow us to interact with them. Schäfer (2022) outlines how the narrative of our avatar owes itself to the design of interfaces and the systems that enable us to make decisions in a game, shaping the elements of this dialogue. Identification cannot be viewed as something established hierarchically, where the player imposes their desires, whether consciously or not, nor as the tyranny of the developer through false agency. It is the synthesis process that occurs in the exchange of expectations and possibilities. It is also in this same sense where we can observe how role-playing games have established certain patterns in game design that aim to create this phenomenon in their players for a better experience, as demonstrated by Nielsen (2015).

Efforts to work with gamification dynamics are not far behind,

and we can observe attempts to understand identification within games, and for exploitation in other contexts. Bacalja (2020) conducts a study of this nature with the classroom in mind. He proposes that through significant decision-making and the agency that this theoretically triggers, one can achieve a transcendence of the self and develop a commitment to one's own virtual self. This work oscillates between the idea of games as a means for expressing one's own identity and the exploration of alternate identities stemming from fiction.

Here we also approach studies of performance, which focus on actions to understand that narrative not only revolves around how the game tells us who we are or how we are, but also how ludic interactions enable us to be otherwise. Studies dedicated to this approach offer a contribution that is incredibly relevant for understanding any issue arising from and influenced by games: recognizing that interaction is the cornerstone of the gaming experience. When studying games, we must always start with the actions they enable, condition, and prohibit, and the creative decisions they prompt. This process opens up certain ways of being and behaving within virtual worlds while simultaneously closing off others. The relationship between creator and player thus becomes a constant negotiation of intentions and imaginaries, with the game acting as an imperfect mediator.

Identity As A Tool For Production

One of the less explored aspects in these studies is considering gamer identity and the collective and individual identities of players as important factors that game developers should consider at all stages of development. Here, we find studies focusing on language and the culture of the target audience as a sales strategy and for localization efforts. We can also observe efforts that appeal to geopolitical configurations as determinants to understand the video game market.

In a highly insightful article, Fontolan, Malazita, and Pamplona (2022) shed light on how research to understand the target players, their culture, and language has yielded significant results in the localization of video games. While experts in this post-production work

are the ones most concerned with understanding these aspects of players, it is important to note that the final outcome of this effort significantly influences the way the gaming experience will unfold for end users. For the authors, this practice represents a scenario where players can exert a certain level of agency in shaping the marketing strategies and ultimately the success of a work. This tension primarily arises between the audience and the publishers, with localizers acting as mediators in this relationship when there are groups of players who do not fit within the cultural framework of the creators. Echoing the points discussed earlier, gaming "communities" or fan groups serve as a valuable source of information.

This is linked to the broader issue addressed by cultural industry policies globally, in terms of how they shape their vision of the audience, and how the market has been shaped by global cultural dynamics (Puşkin, 2023). The market for entertainment is formed on established ideological foundations. Answering the question of who plays involves a process of selection and enactment of social values that pertain to authority over the use of technology and the consumption of certain themes and narratives.

Identity As Conflict In Production And Use

Lastly, we encounter another major approach that seeks to analyze the medium, the industry, and its players considering the specificities of historical and social contexts. In other words, the issue of identity is observed in its human complexity. This cautious approach reminds us not to view the interaction of groups and individuals with the symbols and narratives surrounding gaming and its industry as operating in their own dimension, as if their emergence has created a particular rupture that halts and nullifies global and local historical processes.

Here, the focus lies in questioning the universalizing imagery of information and communication technologies, along with entertainment industries and markets. On one hand, it might seem that the virtual realm and the presence of cultural commodities nearly ubiq-

uitously in urban industrial and post-industrial societies erase the specificities of the places and individuals involved in their use and exchange. Works concerning identity as a tool for companies do touch upon the theme, but instead of considering the tensions and issues this may raise, they see it only as an obstacle to success in sales and the unrestricted consumption of a work in different contexts. While theories and works aiming for a general understanding of identity-related topics in and around games help create conceptual tools that can be used to reach quick answers or to easily think about phenomena with clear differences, it is also necessary to pay attention to the nuances presented in specific cases. The socio-historical context can be viewed from the perspective of gamers: how groups of people in different regions, beyond the similarities in their views on gaming, can have different experiences with the same game. While some articles may address how certain communities behave in a particular city (Cuenca, 2017), without contrasting with other societies or conducting a diachronic analysis, it is difficult to arrive at a contextualized understanding.

When considering these issues from the perspective of game developers and their works, it is common to encounter analyses that position developers according to their own life experiences. We often find significant concerns related not only to the material reality that gives rise to the emergence of games, but also to life experiences that are often intertwined with relevant social or global events. A work that clearly illustrates this point is the effort to establish a line of study where games become autobiographical and auto fictional mediums (López, 2021; Poirier-Poulin, 2021). Games, then, can appear as a means to channel the dilemmas and experiences that define an individual, making it possible to showcase the multiple tensions that shape them, as demonstrated by the interview conducted by Poirier-Poulin (2021) with Kristopher Poulin-Thibault. Meanwhile, López (2021) directly addresses the topic of narrative identity, where her theoretical framework demonstrates how autobiographical ludic interaction operates, providing critical tools for understanding cases of individual experience.

Other approaches delve into the symbols and narratives of identity and how they are encoded within video games, offering interesting readings from political and anthropological perspectives and valuable tools and ideas. The quest for representation is a point that helps us understand how the video game industry is part of a series of ideological tensions that extend beyond the production and situated work of a studio into broader contexts of interpretation. Villahermosa Serrano (2023) and Mukherjee (2017) open up video games to postcolonial critique, with this being one of the most common approaches from the last two decades for researchers seeking an analytical framework to understand cultural issues within their socio-historical context. Although this is just one of the possible paths that enable a critical reading of games, their production, and use, it has proven to be particularly fertile in emphasizing the context of tension and conflict that exists both symbolically and materially among different societies that do not share a generalized, neutral, and equitable environment.

There are also efforts in the production of games that give rise to significant tensions around processes of collective identification, which can be linked to national, ethnic, or regional identities of various kinds, such as, for instance, the European Union and the challenges of establishing unifying narratives due to its recent administrative-political figure (Boyle, et al., 2021). We can observe characterizations of games as a point where nuances or challenging representations of canonical narratives about a collectivity can be presented (Villalobos in López, 2021; González Manrique, 2017; Sosa, 2021), or how games can be seen as a trench in which a particular identity is defended, as is the case with the preservation and dissemination of a specific culture (Hidayat, 2015). Further narrowing the focus on the search for identity tensions, we encounter efforts to create and understand games that seek to create a collective bond with particular spaces (Valasiadis, et al., 2017).

The *use* of identity (understood as social practices of appropriation of the imposed) in video games becomes a field where groups and individuals are able to self-narrate, often sparking complaints

when done inappropriately. Historically, games have served as platforms for hegemonic narratives and identities of the post-Cold War capitalist discourse, but gradually throughout this century, various agents have taken it upon themselves to seize the stage to create a different kind of work, with languages, narratives, characters, and conflicts that are their own. The use of games as a medium has diversified, providing a platform for others who were previously unable to express themselves.

This schematic and rapid overview of various academic approaches to the relationship between identity, identification, and games (including their development, use, and distribution) allows observation of the significant progress made in just the last decade. To summarize, I will highlight the key points that I find central. Firstly, it is essential to understand that the processes of gamer identification serve as a means to comprehend how contemporary societies, particularly among young people, construct fleeting affiliations. Interactions and relationships within the game are intricately linked to external forms of socialization. The design of game mechanics and systems plays a pivotal role in how players engage with the work, its characters, and avatars. Conflict often arises between players and creators through the work. Identity serves as a tool that must be considered in the processes of production and sale. Over the course of this century, games have evolved into a battleground for identities (experiences and narratives) that were previously deemed invalid.

However, I acknowledge several points that still warrant further attention, particularly concerning research on how pre-existing conflicts, external to the gaming field, are generated, yet present opportunities for dispute within it, to self-narrate as a collective, and to reflect on ourselves in light of the global influences of the cultural market. While the majority of the works I have outlined speak from a conception of the gaming industry as something global that establishes its own rules and patterns of behavior and thought, it is clear that it is far from being neutral, detached from historical processes that may have been developing for centuries, and that, despite aspirations for neutrality, have not ceased or become innocuous.

The persistence of identity debates, to which many game scholars have contributed since the 1990s, as demonstrated in the preceding sections, reveals a concern that has been foundational since the late twentieth century and continues to resonate with us. As Hall asserts (2011), this resilience, even amidst deconstructive trends, illustrates a necessity of contemporary societies that is challenging to evade. Despite the challenge in defining the term, it is evident that it denotes a collective endeavor that is undergoing a crisis due to significant technological and political upheavals experienced by human societies. In essence, the persistence of identity stems from the prevailing political conditions and the imperative for agency, mobilization, and transformation that societies grapple with in today's tumultuous era.

Firstly, I aim to underscore the contributions of anthropology and philosophy to studies on culture and the market. Much of this scholarship has centered on operating within specific contexts, emphasizing points of conflict and underlying issues that permeate all fields equally. The concepts of modernity and modernization hold particular relevance, as they address processes of change and imposition of local values that are asserted as global. According to Renato Ortiz (2014), the relationships between the global and the local are pivotal for understanding contemporary cultures in certain contexts, which can be conceptualized as varying forms of modernity or as a division between societies that have achieved modernization (completed) and those still undergoing modernization (yet to be fulfilled). From a business perspective, the world can be perceived as both unified and diverse. On one hand, it is construed under the logic of 'world-modernity,' characterized by a single value scheme governed by the market, while the plurality of local contexts is viewed as an obstacle. Therefore, comprehending cultures, and consequently, processes of identification, serves as a means of navigating through these complexities (Ortiz, 2014, p. 160-161).

In this context, it is imperative to perceive identity as a contested terrain, not only due to the crisis of nation-States as predominant models for comprehending the world, groups, and individuals, but

also because the market and the pervasive commodification of culture present novel dilemmas that should not be overlooked. Every interaction between games and identity is imbued with this logic, thus each of the themes explored by researchers does not occur in isolation. The moment-to-moment utilization of video games, the manner in which players exhibit specific behaviors, or how they engage with the narrative through the avatar and its mechanics, are not solely dictated by the design and creative efforts of the individuals behind them. These practices solidify within a framework of transactions. A role-playing experience or an interactive encounter is not fashioned for an informed, neutral audience to passively receive; it is crafted based on principles of consumption, capitalizing on purchasing trends regarding perceived market success, target demographics, as well as consumer literacy regarding commodities.

In this scenario, identity can be viewed as a commodity, a prospective encounter that can be commodified to 'become someone else.' As a fluid, multifaceted, and divergent element, the market perpetuates a continual state of flux for individuals, where integrity becomes contingent. Consequently, there exists a societal pressure to embrace change and divergence in identity: a world and an individual characterized by qualitative instability (Echeverría, 2010). Much like tourists, we transition from one persona to another, from one experience to the next, and from one identity to another, without enduring commitment, as it merely serves its purpose within the space-time of the game. However, research has unveiled the potential for a virtual identity, albeit necessitating games that facilitate meaningful interaction, requiring an investment of effort, and above all, time. The incorporation of the virtual into our value system stems from its emergence in the market as an economically significant element; previously, it was solely perceived as a subculture.

The connections within and beyond the game—communities, guilds, social interactions, and even political activism—are subject to the same treatment. They operate amidst tensions with game developers and other players. In this context, being a gamer is just one among many possibilities, disposable components programmed to

become obsolete quickly. Being a gamer thus represents a mastery of knowledge and skill over a range of products that supplant other aspects of human connection: preferences and consumption habits, with all their nuances, become defining factors. Consequently, the nature of these gamer communities is shaped by the available products and the potential for their production.

Viewing the scenario from the producer's standpoint, they operate within a framework of selectively crafting or reproducing aspects of themselves capable of navigating the video game market. They undergo a process of self-narration, interactivity, and commodification based on consumption dynamics. Ultimately, their value hinges on the capacity that transactions confer upon the version of themselves they have crafted. The modes of production and distribution should be perceived as a language (Echeverría, 2010). Ultimately, identity serves as an attribute of creators, users, and the ludic objects themselves, subject to continual scrutiny and ongoing endeavors of construction and reconstruction in the contemporary world.

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