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Distinguishing the Players of the Digital Field

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Abstract

This article explores the field of contemporary gaming practices and preferences among players of various social backgrounds. From a Bourdieusian perspective based on the notion of different capital forms (economic, social, and cultural), the socialisation process of Swedish players of digital games ($n=1019$) is investigated through a multiple correspondence analysis on questionnaire data. The findings show that the contemporary Swedish gaming culture is clearly divided by gender and age, but not as visibly by social class, birthplace, or upbringing. The article concludes that the contemporary gaming culture restricts present dispositions and future trajectories among the agents of the gaming field.

Keywords

Bourdieu; gaming culture; socialisation; multiple correspondence analysis; Sweden; gender; player typologies; esports

Within game studies, the body of research on the players of digital games currently constitutes a plethora of perspectives, ranging from preferences and playstyles in-game through discourses and disorders out-of-game. The hitherto accumulated knowledge of digital players mainly consists of typologies based on preferences and motivations for play as a way of distinguishing players (Bartle, 1996; Juul, 2010; Kallio et al., 2011; Klevjer & Hovden, 2017; Manero et al., 2016; Muriel & Crawford, 2018; Yee, 2006). Other ways of typifying digital players include differentiation between gender and socioeconomic status (Vilasís-Pamos & Pires, 2022),

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Erratum 10 March 2025: The title in this article's metadata has been updated to reflect the correct title.

Erratum 1 June 2026: An error in the axis labelling and caption text has been corrected.

differentiation between gender and sexual or racial identity (Shaw, 2012), differentiation between age groups (Brown, 2016), differentiation by means of ludic habitus, i.e., previous play experiences (Jaćević, 2022), or differentiation by means of psychiatric definitions of Internet Gaming Disorder (Bowman & Chang, 2023; Monley et al., 2023; Rehbein & Baier, 2013) or through the discursive constructions of a female gamer identity (Kivijärvi & Katila, 2022; Shaw, 2013). However, an apparent dearth within the bulk of ludologic literature concerns the socialisation of players into the gaming cultures. As T. L. Taylor (2008) notes, “paths into game culture are vital” and understanding how people start engaging with games “is deeply informed by their social networks” (pp. 53–54). Yet, despite the smorgasbord of player typologies and identity formations, there is a gap within previous game studies regarding the socialisation processes active in leading the players into the practice of gaming. This is primarily seen in the fact that the established typologies of players do not yet account for the ways in which these players became the players they became.

Few attempts have been made to grasp the sociology of the wider gaming field, hinting that game studies constitute a discipline of necessary interdisciplinarity. Moreover, previous studies have mainly focused on understanding the sociology of one particular game, presenting it as a case study (Rimington et al., 2016; Välisalo & Ruotsalainen, 2022), or on comparing the same phenomenon within two different games (Reer & Krämer, 2014). Another crucial aspect pertaining to the gaming field in this regard is the rise of esports, which demands a regulation of the competitive gaming scene. Furthermore, this transformation of the gaming field spawns questions regarding the backgrounds and habits of the esports athletes, their socialisation into the subfield of esports, and indeed their distinction from the non-competitive players of the gaming cultures.

As a point of departure, this article assumes a Bourdieusian understanding of gaming as a field. Consequently, the article adds to the body of research pursuing an understanding of the gaming culture as a Bourdieusian field (cf. Berry et al., 2014; Crawford, 2011; Jaćević, 2022; Kirkpatrick, 2012; Klevjer & Hovden, 2017; Rimington, 2016; Vilasís-Pamos & Pérez-Latorre, 2022) by exploring the distinguishing features of Swedish digital players. Specifically, this article seeks to fill the current gap concerning the ways in which players of digital games become specific players of digital games by zooming in on the Swedish field of digital gaming and the ways in which contemporary players are socialised into the practice of gaming. This is done by taking into consideration both the sociodemographic backgrounds of the players and their game preferences, gaming habits, and their opinions about gamer identity and the wider gaming cultures. The choice to concentrate on the Swedish context is threefold. First, even though it is tempting to think that online cultures transcend national ones, it should be stressed that national contexts differ, as online gaming practices will differ depending on the offline context—for instance, cybercafés (e.g., López-Bonilla et al., 2016) are prominent features in Latin America, but are not as widespread in the Nordic countries. This fact is in alignment with Bourdieu’s own statement that his monumental work, *Distinction*, might certainly appear ‘French’ to

readers from outside of France (1984, p. xi). Second, Sweden, per se, forms an interesting national context for studying the digital gaming field, as the country has dug deep into the digitalisation of society. Sweden stands out from its Nordic neighbours in that it has had a “relatively smooth” transition into the digital age, due to extensive coverage of fibre-optic cables, and the country is referred to as the Northern (Silicon) Valley, due to being “home to several globally successful digital services”, and the Swedish state has “promoted a view on digital communication as a public good” (Lai & Flensburg, 2023, pp. 184–185). Third, Sweden is a nation wherein more than half of the population engages in playing digital social games, and among citizens born in the 2000s, nine out of ten play games online (Internetsiftelsen, 2023). Furthermore, Sweden has recently seen a groundbreaking change in the gaming scene, as per May 28, 2023, the Swedish Sports Confederation has officially recognised esports as a sport, thus awakening the issues of formalisation and professionalisation of a hitherto autonomous field of leisure in the country. Thus, the gaming field in contemporary Sweden, specifically, makes for a contentious and interesting field to study.

The purpose of this study is thus to describe, analyse, and understand the socialisation processes of the Swedish gaming world. These processes are explored through a digital survey directed towards Swedish computer, console, mobile, and virtual reality players from the age of fifteen. In this study, the gaming world is understood as a semi-autonomous field in the Bourdieusian sense. The study does not detail how individuals position themselves in the field. Rather, it focuses on the combinations of different forms of capital in relation to habitus, which is related to the demographic background of the players, their gaming habits, their opinions about the gaming culture, their parental situation, and their attitudes towards esports. Thus, the research problem inquires what distinctions are relevant in this field, and the main objective of this study is to map the distinctions of the digital gaming field. The following research question is posed: What distinctions define the Swedish field of gaming as a practice?

Previous research on the digital gaming culture

This section presents the results of previous investigations of the gaming field and their relevance to understand the socialisation practices of the gaming culture. Essentially, three different ways of understanding the digital gaming culture can be deduced from previous game research, namely gaming culture as a typified practice, a gendered practice, and a class-divided practice.

A typified practice

Previous research on the gaming culture has been mainly occupied with generating typologies for different sorts of players, combining preferences and motivations for play. Ever since Bartle (1996) introduced his four-type taxonomy of MUD players to aid game designers in their work, research in game studies has seen a boom in

attempts to create new categories of players. This tradition was continued by Juul (2010), who studied the emergence of so-called casual gamers. Similarly, Kallio et al. (2011) identified nine player mentalities, yet they concluded that most digital gaming is a balance of 'casual' relaxation and 'committed' entertainment—not a total immersion, which is thought of as the norm. In reality, the authors argued, gaming is marked by fluid mentalities, and the most serious problem in the contemporary discussions on players is that the gamer identities become impossible for real players to identify with. Despite this notion, player or gamer typologies have continued since, with Muriel & Crawford (2018) identifying five player identities in contemporary gaming culture.

Player typologies are not without criticism, however. Hamari & Tuunanen (2014), in their meta-synthesis of different player types, criticise player typologies as simplistic abstractions, calling for unified measurement scales to properly distinguish preferences over different game genres. Another criticism towards the typologies of digital players can be deduced from the notion that the typologies of players seem to be age dependent. For instance, Vilasís-Pamos & Pires (2022) identify two gamer categories based on gaming practices and three gamer categories based on cultural imaginaries. Manero et al. (2016) classify secondary school students into four gamer types, whereas Klevjer & Hovden (2017) study videogame preference among university students. At the other end of the age scale, Brown (2016) demonstrates that older players (age 60 to 77) and middle-aged players (age 43 to 59) show different game preferences, and that the relatively younger players cannot be assumed to grow into the same types of players as today's older players.

Despite the ever-broadening body of knowledge on player types, these typologies only focus on the games played and preferred by different players—not on how these players became interested in certain game genres due to their sociodemographic dispositions. This means that the different player types are taken as is or as existing a priori, without considering the ways in which these players became inclined to submit to one of the types. Dealing with gaming as an educational issue—i.e., the processes in which human beings are formed in different social, cultural, or historical contexts—this study aims to shed light on the ways in which players of digital games *become* players of digital games.

A gendered practice

From a socialisation perspective, it is important to keep in mind that the field of gaming has historically been viewed as a masculine field on account of its technological nature (Baxter-Webb, 2016). Furthermore, domestic and family-centred investigations of gameplay should also be taken into account when studying gaming culture (cf. Enevold, 2014; Jiow et al., 2018).

The gendered aspect of the gaming world remains a given perspective within academia, with notions of hegemonic masculinity influencing the gamer identity and toxicity permeating the masculine-coded gaming world (Gelūnas, 2022), acts of

symbolic violence being targeted against female players online (Gray et al., 2017), and oppression experienced by women of colour failing to conform to the white male norm in online gaming communities (Gray, 2011). Despite the dominating masculinity ascribed to the wider gaming culture, at least 48% of American gamers identify as female (Entertainment Software Association, 2022) and among Europeans, 48% of the players are women (Interactive Software Federation of Europe, 2022). According to Kirkpatrick (2012), the formation of the male-gendered gaming culture was framed in British gaming magazines from the 1980s and 1990s. In these magazines, the prototypical gamer was constructed as a boy. Kowert (2020), however, offers the telling aphorism that the contemporary understanding of gamers is that “all gamers are players, but not all players are gamers” (p. 1), suggesting a male-coded discourse dominating a unisex practice. Paaßen et al. (2017) conclude that the male gamer stereotype is only partially accurate in representing the wider gaming culture, as it is more common among men to identify as gamers and to perform their gamer identities visibly, whereas women are thought of as either a female or a gamer, which reinforces the idea that womanhood and gaming are essentially incompatible. De Grove et al. (2015) conclude that few players identify as gamers, as the socially constructed gamer identity is associated with stereotypical behaviours originating from a consumption logic. Furthermore, it is more common among younger male players who frequently play hardcore games (first-person shooters and roleplaying games) to self-identify as gamers. Stone (2019) notes that the traditional gamer stereotype—a white, heterosexual, socially inept and physically awkward cis-male who is deemed a ‘gamer’ due to his frequency of playing video games—is evolving among university students in the United States, as the leisure time practice of gaming is becoming more mainstream.

Although the common stereotypical characteristics of gamers persist among self-identified gamers and non-gamers alike, new and positive characteristics (such as perseverance, cognitive skills, and technical prowess) are also ascribed to the gamer stereotype. Yet, the heteronormative aspects of the gaming culture are visible in discussion forums, where hierarchies between “real” players (interested in gameplay mechanics) and “fans” (who are more interested in narrative aspects of the game world, which is not seen as valuable) relate to notions of gender-codes, as the appreciation of game mechanics is considered more masculine, and thus also deemed more important (Välisalo & Ruotsalainen, 2022). The wider gaming culture also continues to marginalise women and people of colour, as well as queer players or “gaymers” (Gray, 2017). Finally, in terms of conducting research on and with gamers, Jenson & de Castell (2008) stress that gender and gaming scholars have repeatedly rediscovered female marginalisation within gaming culture, instead of relaying disrupting and affirming examples of gender equality among players. Moreover, Taylor (2018) has noted that possessing a technomascuine subjectivity—that is, a privileged position to gaming, or acting as a “gamerbro,” which coincides with being straight, white, and male—can enable easier access to the field of study, but can also

contribute to the patterns of exclusion and marginalisation already prevalent within gaming.

A class-divided practice

A third way of approaching the digital gaming culture has been done by studying gameplay sociologically. For instance, console gaming is more common among the working class, whereas computer gaming is more common among the middle-class (Andrews 2008; Livingstone 2002). Vilasís-Pamos & Pérez-Latorre (2022) note how social class affects videoludic practices, identifying a videoludic divide in teenagers' gaming practices due to gender and social class. On that note, Berry et al. (2014) conclude that female players of *World of Warcraft* are more likely to favour cooperation than opposition, which suggests a gendered division between caring females and competitive males. The games themselves also seem to recruit masculine subjects to support neoliberal projects of "political, economic, and environmental subjugation" (Taylor & Voorhees, 2018, p. 4), actively priming the straight, white, masculine subject to participate in the projects of patriarchy, imperialism, and capitalism. This hints that the games industry has contributed to sustaining the notion that masculinity is best expressed through various forms of domination. This also affects "who is assumed to play and participate in gaming", rendering women and people of colour as anomalies (Richard & Gray, 2018, p. 128).

A self-reproducing practice?

As is evident, previous research on gaming has been primarily concerned with how elements from the gaming world enter the real world of the individual, rather than how the real-world individual enters the gaming world. In Bourdieu's words, "cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education", and tastes in the arts are primarily linked to educational level and secondarily to social origin (1984, p. 1). As the player of digital games does not exist as a priori category, but rather as a role into which one is fostered or socialised—in Shaw's (2013) borrowed Beauvoirian words: "one is not born a gamer, one becomes one"—it is surprising to note how little effort previous research has put into understanding how gamers become gamers. Although some studies exist on the topic—for instance, T. L. Taylor (2006) exploring women being introduced to MMOs by family members; Rambusch et al. (2007), concentrating on how new players are socialised into *Counter-Strike* as an act of situated learning; and Kirschner & Williams (2013), focusing on gameplay socialisation and symbolic interaction in *World of Warcraft*—there is a scarcity or lack of focus on gaming socialisation within game studies research. This could be interpreted as if the entrance into the gaming cultures is thought of as a naturally occurring process—some people become digital players, whereas others become gamers, whereas others do not become either of the two, and so what of it? Given its status as a leisure time activity enjoyed by almost half of the population, its sparked interest among investors and educators, and the many worries it evokes among psychologists, the digital gaming culture ought to be scrutinised from exactly

this standpoint: How do gamers become gamers? The focus of this paper, then, is the structural socialisation processes of the Swedish gaming culture.

Theoretical frame: Operationalising Bourdieu's forms of capital

In this study, Bourdieu's (1984) theory of practice is applied to understand the socialisation processes within Swedish gaming. Thus, gaming is understood as a social practice taking place within a relatively autonomous field (a social microcosm) governed by its own rules and logics. The field, in turn, is made up of the actions of different actors and their relational positions towards one another in said field. The relational positions of the agents and the hierarchy of the social field is explained by the notion of habitus, and the struggle over legitimacy in the field is understood through the accumulation of different forms of field-specific capital (economic, social, and cultural), which in turn can be exchanged through a process of social alchemy into symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1990, p. 129). As Bourdieu (2007) states, "to understand is first to understand the field with which and against which one has been formed" (p. 4). Thus, this study sets out to study the objective mechanisms of the Swedish gaming field to understand the structure of the field prior to exploring the different habitus of the Swedish players entering the field of Swedish gaming. Bourdieusian ways of studying the digital gaming culture have been conducted previously, but these studies have either been concentrated on one single game (Berry et al., 2013), or on sociocultural contexts different in than the Swedish one (Klevjer & Hovden, 2017; Vilasís-Pamos & Pérez-Latorre, 2022).

The field-specific concept of "gaming capital" (consisting of game-related knowledge and social relations in games) has been proposed by Mia Consalvo (2009). Crawford (2011), on the other hand, claims that the original forms of capital proposed by Bourdieu are sufficient to understand contemporary gaming culture, as the interplay of capital across different fields becomes impossible if new field-specific forms of capital are constantly developed. For this study, the original Bourdieusian (1986) capital forms (economic, social, and cultural) were thus used, and they were operationalised to fit the field-specific world of gaming—with the ambition not to postulate certain aspects as 'highbrow' or 'lowbrow' culture. Thus, a general understanding of things constituting 'cultural', 'social', and 'economic' capital was followed (see Table 1). The three forms of capital were operationalised as follows prior to the distribution of the questionnaire (see Table 1).

Cultural capital was concretised by inquiring about the possession of elementary gaming gear (gaming computers, business computers, consoles, or VR headsets), the importance of aesthetics in-game, along with questions relating to creative output or language learning through gaming, and whether the respondents have studied esports or not. Furthermore, questions relating to the physical body—such as

engaging in physical sports or hitting the gym—were coded as expressions of cultural capital.

Capital	Classification	Definition	Operationalisation
Cultural	Embodied	Internalised tastes and manners	Artistic or aesthetic aspects important for gaming
	Objectified	Material assets	Possession of elementary gaming gear
	Institutionalised	Educational qualifications	Possession of an esports education
Social	Material	Membership in a group	Possession of relations to other digital players
	Instituted	A common name of a tribe	Social aspects important for gaming
Economic	Immediate	Directly convertible to money	Participation in esports; possession of luxury gaming gear
	Institutionalised	Property rights	Competitive elements important for gaming

Table 1. Operationalisation of the forms of capital (cf. Bourdieu, 1986).

Social capital, on the other hand, was concretised by inquiring about the possession and importance of friends offline and online, along with questions relating to the importance of parents, siblings, friends, and guilds or groups in games, as well as membership in gaming associations.

Finally, economic capital was concretised by inquiring about desires to compete in esports, as well as posing questions regarding betting on or making money through games, the importance of the price of a game, and the possession of certain luxury gaming gear. For instance, the variables gaming mouse, gaming keyboard, gaming chair, and gaming headset were coded as belonging to economic capital, as these assets do not function as portals into the gaming world, but rather as luxury objects which improve gameplay, and which can thus be seen as enhancing the experience of an esports athlete.

Attributes found outside of the gaming field, such as monthly income before tax, social class during childhood, and the highest educational degree, were regarded as supplementary variables which do not constitute the activity of gaming, and thus not as expressions of economic, social, and cultural capital within the gaming field, respectively. Income, specifically, was not regarded as a measurable form of economic capital within the gaming field, as many teenagers do not possess an income, but are reliant on their parents to financially support their leisure activities. Instead, possession of pricy gaming gear was regarded as better indications of economic

capital. Moreover, unlike Bourdieu's (1984) analysis of the social space of taste based on classification of certain films, songs, and paintings as bearers of low or high cultural value, the different game genres played by the Swedish players were regarded as supplementary variables rather than expressions of high or low cultural capital.

Method and data

Data set and coding

The questionnaire was open between March 20, 2023, and August 29 the same year, generating legitimate cases from 1019 respondents. The data were collected through the questionnaire software Survey & Report (www.artologik.com). The choice of a web-distributed questionnaire was motivated by the convenience of reaching out to a digital culture.

The design of the questionnaire was originally inspired by the questionnaire utilised by Bourdieu (1984) to study the judgement of taste among the French people of the 1970s and reported in *Distinction*. Some adjustments were done to fit the questionnaire to the Swedish field of gaming in the 2020s. For instance, the questionnaire was divided into six interrogative areas: background variables, gaming habits, gaming culture questions, parental questions, and esports questions. The survey was directed at Swedish players of digital games from the age of fifteen, and it was estimated that fifteen minutes were required by the individual respondent to complete the questionnaire.

Sample

Since no official register of Swedish players—in any digital game genre—exists, no random sampling could be drawn. Moreover, given the philosophy of geometric data analysis (which stipulates that descriptive analysis of data should always be conducted prior to any testing of probability), mainstream regards to sampling issues were not taken into consideration (cf. Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004, p. 10).

Of the 1019 respondents, 74% identified as male, 23% as female, and 3% as non-binary. Young adults between 20 and 30 years old constituted the predominant age group at 54%, followed by adults (aged 31–49) at 29%. A secondary school degree was the most common formal education completed (48%), followed by possession of a bachelor's degree (24%). Regular physical activity was fairly equally distributed among the respondents, with 40% going to the gym regularly and 34% practicing physical sports frequently. The majority of the respondents grew up in towns (32%) or hamlets (21%) and most of them identified as middle class during their childhood (45%). Most of the respondents were students (47%) or white-collar workers (30%) and the majority had a monthly income below 10 000 SEK before tax (29%) or an income between 11 and 15 000 SEK before tax (20%). No vetting was conducted prior to sending out the link, as the aim of the study was not to concentrate only on

recruiting professional players, but, instead, to reach out to a varied player base of professionals and novices, hardcore gamers and casual gamers alike. This was done in awareness that the default mode of conducting player studies solely with professional players has been criticised (e.g., Kirschner & Williams, 2013), and that previous studies have already been part and parcel in maintaining the definitions of 'real' games and 'real' gamers (e.g., Consalvo & Paul, 2019). Of the 1019 respondents, 61% answered that they self-identified as 'gamers', meaning that the final sample consisted of players playing digital games in varying ways—either in the form of active identity work or as a less reflected leisure activity. Some of the reasons respondents chose not to label themselves as 'gamers' were specified in their open text answers. Some did not wish to identify with toxic male stereotypes or racist and sexist gate-keeping, others did not regard themselves as gamers as a 'gamer' is thought to engage in the more competitive or social forms of gaming. Some questioned the utility of the English word 'gamer' to describe a Swedish player of digital games by comparing the word to cinema enthusiasts not labelling themselves "moviers" (both words, furthermore, do not blend in easily with the morphology of the Swedish language). Finally, as the open text answers hint, the English word 'gaming' itself might have excluded some respondents from even feeling targeted by the survey.

Distribution

In an attempt at reaching out to as many and to as different players as possible—in order to map the contemporary Swedish gaming culture—and given the lack of a national register of all active players of digital games in Sweden, a link to an open, self-administered digital questionnaire was spread in a myriad of fields. As the aim of the study was to analyse the gaming phenomenon, rather than to simply quantify it, purposeful sampling, in combination with snowball sampling, was used when spreading the questionnaire among diverse player groups. Initially, the link to the questionnaire was sent out to all the administrators at all universities in Sweden, with the hopes that the link would be spread among faculty members as well as students, to ensure a geographical spreading. The link to the questionnaire was also sent to teachers at all upper secondary schools in Sweden with an esports profile at the time, as well as to employees at some of the leading retail companies dealing in gaming gear, in order to reach out to respondents outside of academia. Moreover, the link was spread to some Swedish game design studios to gather voices from the professional gaming scene in Sweden. Finally, the link was spread among the Swedish Esports Confederation and the Swedish gaming association Sverok, as well as at different Swedish Internet forums dedicated to digital gaming. In total, the questionnaire was initiated by 1401 individuals, of which 1022 individuals completed the survey and sent in their answers.

Data cleansing and missing values

Of the 1022 responses, one informant expressed null interest in gaming, and was thus removed from the final sample. Additionally, responses to all questions

presented on the six pages of the questionnaire were initially required for the respondents to progress in the questionnaire. However, some respondents were somehow capable of skipping certain questions. Thus, a few missing values appeared in the harvested data. In two cases, these were irreparably large, and thus these two respondents were excluded from the final sample ($n=1019$). In the other few cases of missing values, these instances were interpreted as negative replies to the specific questions asked. After completed data cleansing, the response rate reached 72%.

Questions with response alternatives on the five-point Likert scale were re-coded into three alternatives instead. Questions regarding game genres played (Table 4) or occupations of the respondents and their parents (Table 5) were clustered into new categories based on genre similarities and colours of different collars, respectively. As social status is felt rather than registered, the respondents were asked to specify their social status during their childhood. Of these, 25 (2,5%) were unsure of their social status. These cases were placed in their respective class categories depending on the collars of their parents (white–white=upper middle class; white–blue=middle class; white–pink=middle class; blue–blue=working class; pink–pink=working class; blue–pink=working class). If the parents were unemployed, they were coded as working class.

Smartphone or tablet users were likewise few at only 25 respondents (2,5%). These were clustered with business computer or business laptop users to form the category business device, given that smartphones and tablets constitute business necessities rather than private luxuries in contemporary Sweden.

Correspondence analysis

Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) was chosen as the methodological vehicle to analyse the data, given the attested exploratory power of the method to discern patterns in large amounts of data of a vast and varied character (cf. Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004, p. 14).

Following Bourdieu (1984), a relational approach to the gaming field was followed. In MCA, the scattered points plotted out in the graph are not fixed coordinates. Rather, their position is dependent on the position of the other variables. The MCA was carried out in Coheris Analytics SPAD 9.2 (www.chapsvision.com).

The questions used in the construction of the space were structured to have about an equal number of variables and modalities, to avoid a disproportionate magnitude of some questions (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004, p. 214). The modalities were further grouped into three batteries based on Bourdieu's (1986) notions of cultural, social, and economic forms of capital (see Tables 1 & 2).

The response modalities were checked for infrequency (response rates less than 5%; Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004, p. 216) and modalities with less than 5% response

rates were clustered with similar modalities to reduce outliers. The supplementary variables chosen as structuring factors of the cloud of individuals (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004, p. 237) were based on typical socioeconomic background variables, such as gender, age, income, birthplace, childhood class, occupation, parents' occupation, and game genres played (see Table 3). Finally, concentration ellipses (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004, pp. 237–241) were drawn around the variables gender, game genre, and esports education in order to summarise the subclouds (see figures 7 & 8 in the appendix). For information about the variances of the axes and the contributions of the categories, see tables 8–13 in the appendix.

Analysis

Primary analysis

In the primary analysis of the data, responses from all 1019 respondents were taken into account when constructing the gaming field (Fig. 1 & 2) and the cloud of individuals inhabiting it (Fig. 3). The analysis incorporated 47 active variables and 96 categories. When interpreting the position of the variables in Fig. 1, the first axis appears to oppose the possession of luxury gaming gear and the importance of social aspects with a total lack and disinterest in said aspects. The second axis seems to oppose parental interest in one's gaming activities and the importance of cultural aspects in one's gaming activities with a complete disinterest in the same.

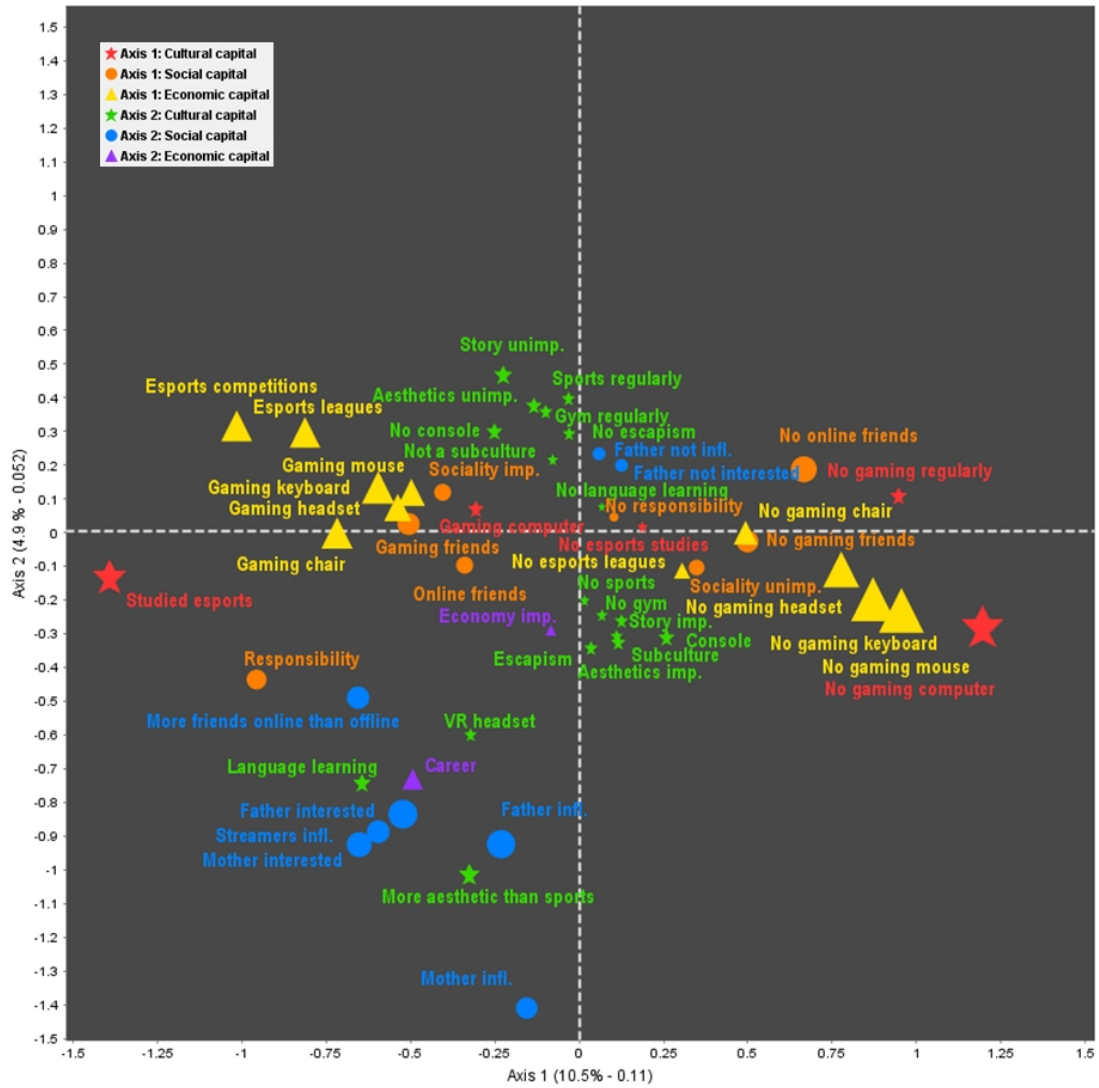


Figure 1. The Swedish gaming field. Cloud of categories in plane 1 & 2. Categories contributing above average to axis 1 and 2. Size of markers is proportional to their contribution.

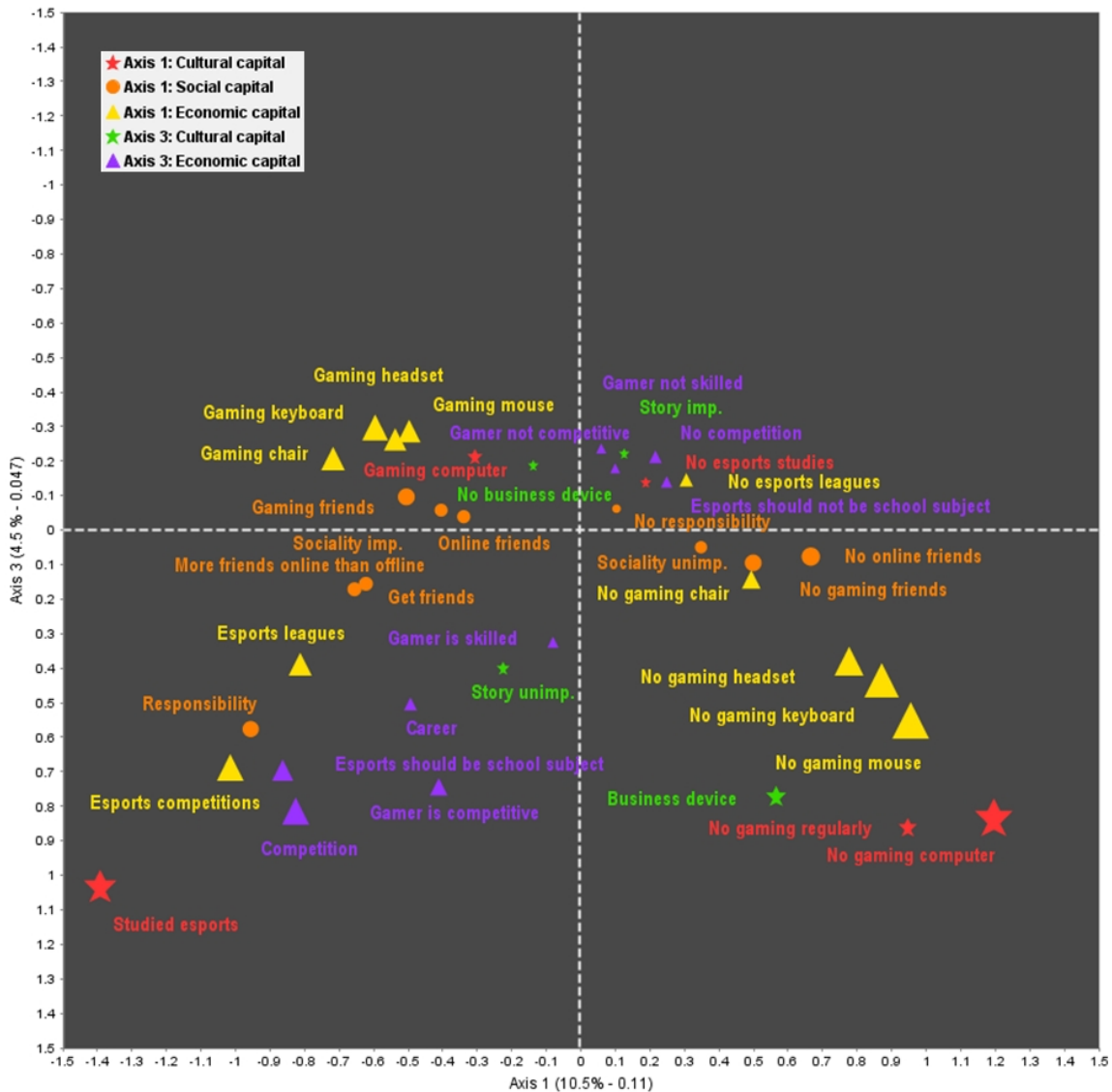


Figure 2. The Swedish gaming field. Cloud of categories in plane 1 & 3. Categories contributing over average to axis 1 and 3. Size of markers is proportional to their contribution.

As the distinctions identified in the primary analysis were mostly related to age differences and thus generational shifts in taste and socialisation practices (see Fig. 3), a continued analysis was carried out, in which the case of younger players was taken into consideration.

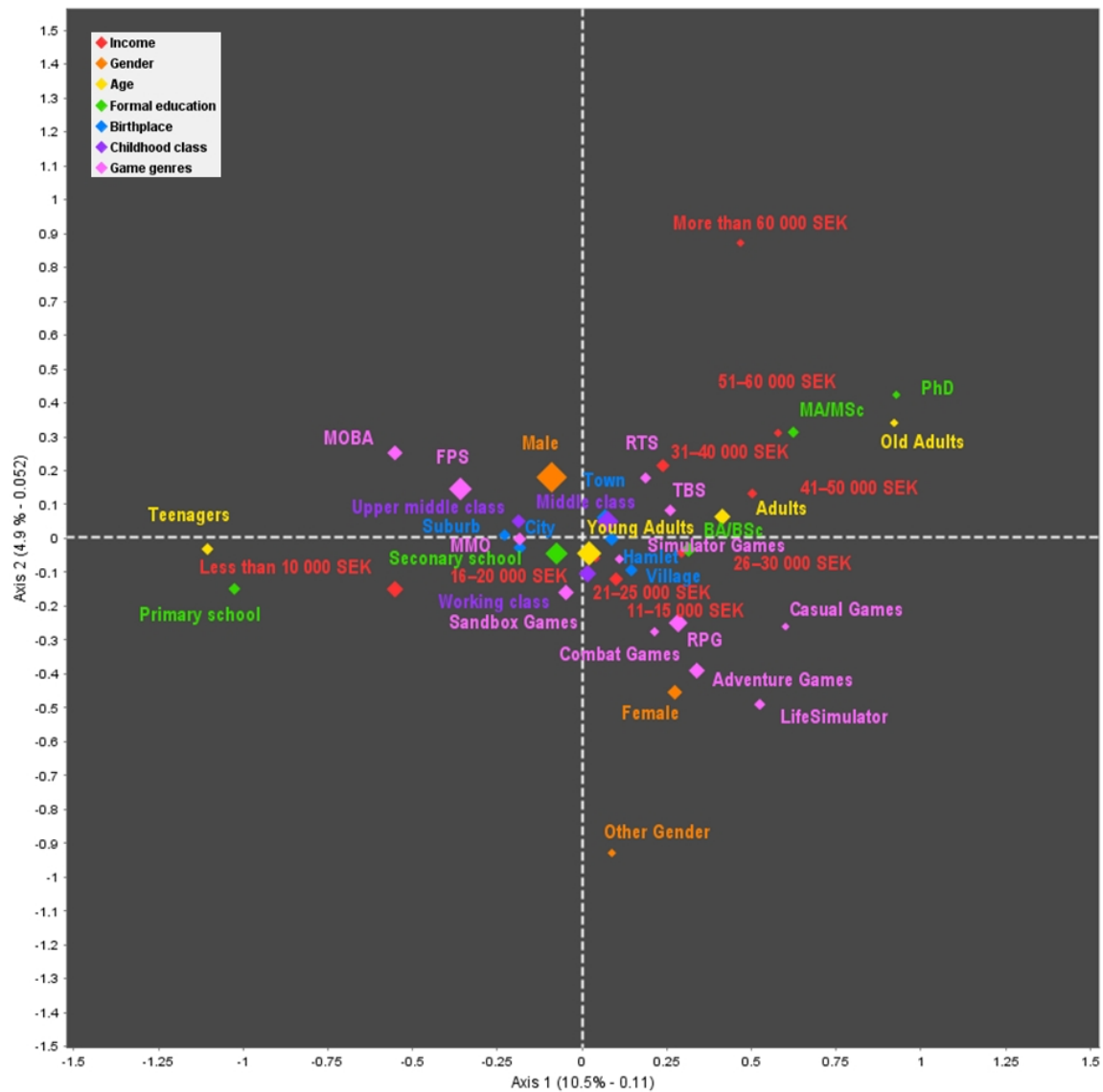


Figure 3. Cloud of categories (plane 1 & 2). Supplementary variables.

Continued analysis

For the second analysis, young Swedish players aged 15–30 years old ($n=699$) were selected from the total number of responses to the survey ($n=1019$). The analysis was based on the same 47 active variables and 96 categories as earlier, based on an operationalisation of the concepts cultural, social, and economic capital (see Table 1). When interpreting the cloud of categories, the first principal axis seems to oppose devotion–competition and casualness–indifference, whereas the second axis seems to oppose family influence and physical activity (see Fig. 4). The third axis (Fig. 5) seems to oppose professionalism and hobbyism.

Axis 2: Family influence vs physical activity

The categories contributing above the mean to the formation of the second axis revolve around the opposition of family influence and physical activity. The lower pole of the axis shows notions of family influence and various forms of social capital (responsibility for one's gaming friends, membership in Sverok or other gaming associations, and having more friends online than offline) and cultural capital (aesthetics of the game and the pursuit of learning languages being important in one's reason for gaming). At the higher pole of the axis, a lack of family interest in one's gaming activities is seen, along with an emphasis on physical sports and gym visits in between one's gaming sessions. The second axis, thus, can be said to distinguish between high social and cultural capital in the lower pole, and low social and cultural capital (but high bodily capital) in the higher pole. In terms of typology, the analysis reveals a distinction between cultural family players and sparty solo players.

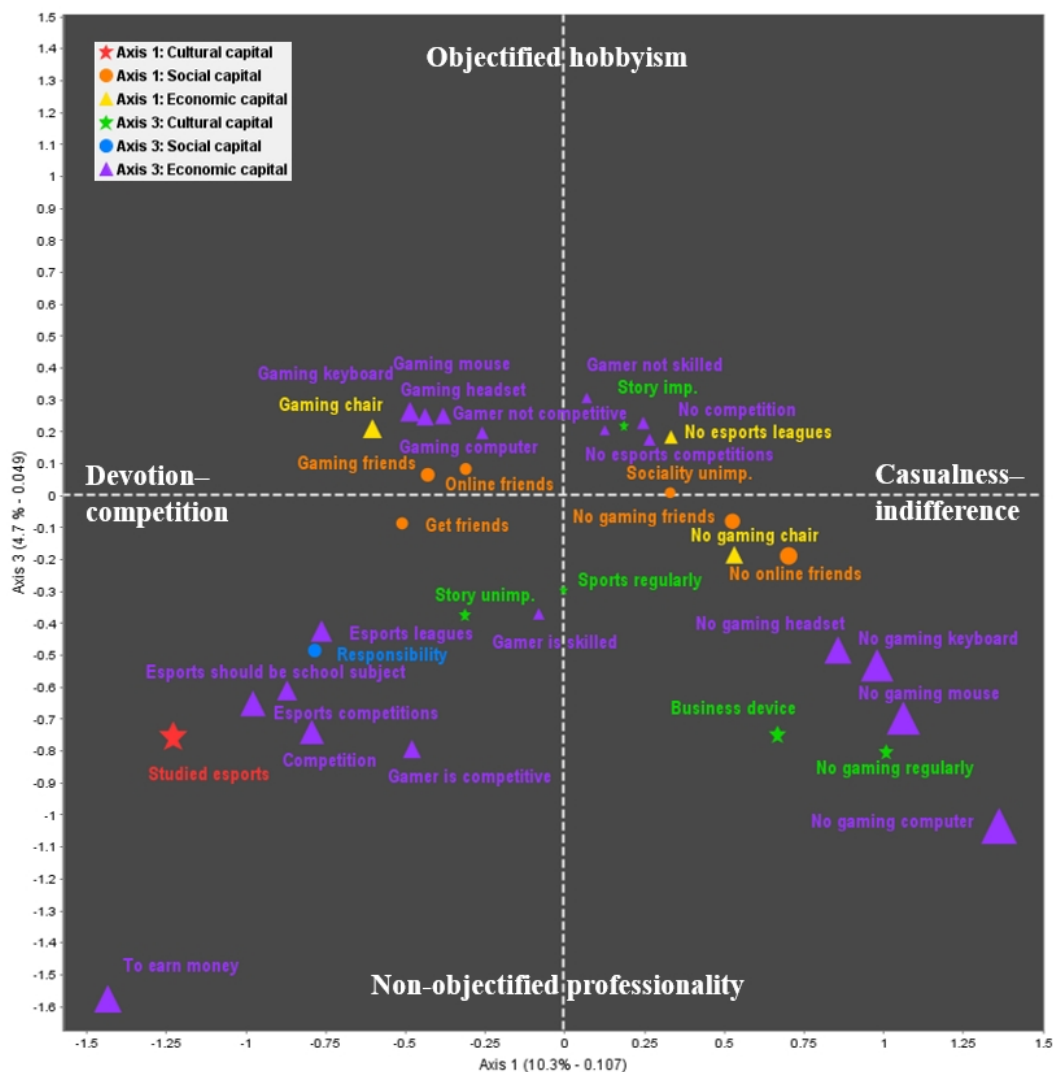


Figure 5. The Swedish gaming field. Cloud of categories in plane 1 & 3. Categories contributing over average to axis 1 and 3. Size of markers is proportional to their contribution.

Axis 3: Non-objectified professionalism vs objectified hobbyism

The categories contributing above the mean to the formation of the third axis are similar to the ones structuring the first and second axes, but distinguishes non-objectified professionalism from objectified hobbyism, in the sense that economic capital (luxury gaming gear) and ideas of the gamer not being competitive are opposed to a lack of luxury gaming gear and yet, at the same time, a highly competitive idea of the gamer identity. This indicates that players may indeed possess the gear needed to indulge in gaming without regarding the gaming activity as an intrinsically competitive one. This coincides with the findings put forth by Rambusch et al. (2007) in their study on professional competitive Counter-Strike players, who “don’t put too much faith into the connection between equipment and performance”, stressing instead that being a professional player “is to be able to perform well with any (combination of) equipment” (p. 160).

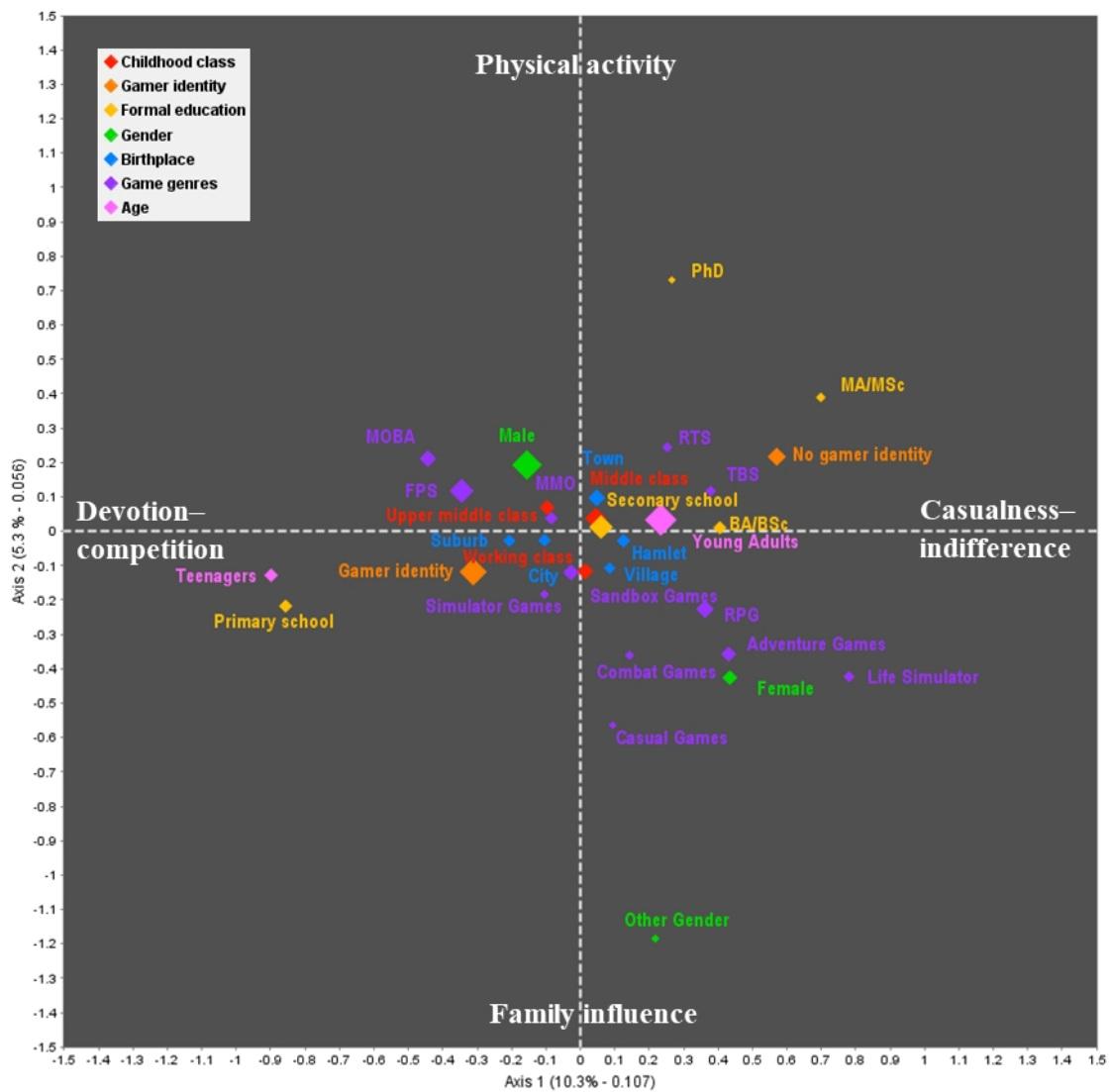


Figure 6. Cloud of categories (plane 1 & 2). Supplementary variables.

Adding the supplementary variables to the Euclidean space

When adding the supplementary variables to the gaming field (Fig. 6), the following becomes apparent: there is a difference between, on the one hand, the gaming habits of male players, and on the other, the gaming habits of female players and non-binary players, which indicates a gender-distinguished practice. For instance, in terms of socialisation, the entrance into and the sustainment inside the gaming culture is free from family influence for male players, whereas female and non-binary players report a feeling of interest in their gaming activities shown by their parents—and in terms of esports education, it is clearly a male-exclusive area. Male players also exhibit playstyles which generate a high social capital in that they have many friends to play with and they choose to play multiplayer online games, whereas female players and non-binary players exhibit playing styles which lean more towards singleplayer games. This closeted gaming identity among female and non-binary players is cognate with Taylor's notion that these players often do not even know that their friends play (cf. Taylor, 2008).

Additionally, in terms of accumulated economic capital, male players are distinguished in the sense that they are keener to invest in luxury gaming gear, whereas female players and non-binary players seem content in playing more casually on business devices. Moreover, in relation to the gender distinction, there is a difference between game genres played, with the genres MOBA and Life Simulator being the farthest away from each other—suggesting a gender-distinguished preference for competitive games among male players and construction-and-caring games among female players and non-binary players (cf. Berry et al., 2014; Kowert et al., 2017). In addition, the distinction between the online and multiplayer nature of male-preferred genres and the offline and singleplayer nature of female-preferred and non-binary-preferred ones suggests a field logic wherein social aspects seem more important among male players than among female players and non-binary players. Male players also exhibit a preference for physical sports and going to the gym—that is, a high bodily capital—whereas female players and non-binary players are positioned in proximity to the ludic importance of aesthetics (a high cultural capital). Taken altogether, this hints that, in the typology suggested by Muriel & Crawford (2018), Swedish male players position themselves as hardcore subcultural gamers whereas Swedish female players and Swedish non-binary players position themselves as ludic foodie-connoisseurs or casual gamers. Similarly to the distinctions of Norwegian players expressed in Klevjer & Hovden (2017), Swedish male players play games because of an interest in action and sport, whereas Swedish female players and Swedish non-binary players play games from an artistic or cultural interest. Put differently, male players engage in “militainment”—enjoying FPS, MOBA, and MMO (cf. Taylor & Voorhees, 2018)—whereas female players and non-binary players engage in “edutainment” (Life Simulator, RPG, Sandbox Games). The reification of the distinction between “boy games” and “girl games” and “non-binary games”, thus, is visible in the analysis (cf. Taylor, 2008).

Interestingly, however, birthplace and class identity during childhood are all found around the origin of the axes, hinting that the Swedish gaming culture would transcend class barriers. This is arguable from the point that the overall volume of accumulated gaming-related capital does not follow social class or monthly income (see Fig. 3). In contrast, if contemporary gaming culture is regarded as a ‘middle-brow’ form of art in the Bourdieusian sense (1985), this apparent lack of class distinctions within the Swedish gaming field could be explained by the need for game designers to reach out to a wide public, thereby inhibiting a production and consumption logic determined and limited by social class. Regardless, contrary to previous research (cf. Andrews, 2008; Livingstone, 2002; Vilasís-Pamos & Pérez-Latorre, 2022), clear class distinctions are not seen in the gaming habits of Swedish players, as the present analysis does not capture any field mechanisms based on social class distinctions dictating the selection of agents entering the field.

Furthermore, there are apparent age distinctions, in the sense that teenagers are more devoted to their gaming activities than older players, and that younger people are keener to label themselves as ‘gamers’. This is also an expression of the gendered division of the gamer identity: male players more often identify as gamers than female players and non-binary players do (cf. Paaßen et al., 2017). This means, then, that the self-identifying gamers—associated with stereotypical behaviours originating from the gender-distinguished consumption logic—are males who can more easily, naturally, or effortlessly enter the field of gaming (cf. De Grove et al., 2015). Moreover, as the analysis shows, young males who frequently play first-person shooters and massive multiplayer online roleplaying games are the ones among Swedish players who more often self-identify as gamers, which suggests that the traditional male gamer stereotype exists as more than a mere stereotype (cf. Stone, 2019). This implies a gender-distinguished and an age-related gap in gaming practices, which restricts present dispositions and future trajectories among the agents of the gaming field, in that entrance to the field remains gender-gated and age-gated, and that securing a higher position (by means of accumulating field-specific capital) becomes an unequal project, as new male players already start out in a privileged position given the logics of the gaming field.

Conclusions

The point of departure for this study was to identify the distinctions which define the Swedish field of gaming as a practice. As the multiple correspondence analyses have shown, the Swedish gaming practice is distinguished primarily by an absolute devotion to the gaming pastime alongside a conviction of the importance of competition within gaming, which is contrasted to a more casual or indifferent way of gaming. Moreover, the gaming activity is distinguished by parental influence and social values versus more individualistic forms of gaming (which incidentally includes a higher focus on physical activity outside of gaming).

The analysis has furthermore led to three major results regarding the players themselves. First, the contemporary field of Swedish gaming is still a gender-distinct practice, where players of different gender identities prefer different games and play them with different amounts of ambition and devotion. More specifically, male players are predominantly positioned close to the esports genres of MOBA and FPS, as well as the community-driven genre MMO. In contrast, female players and non-binary players are positioned closer to the single-player genres of RPG, adventure games, and life simulators. Secondly, class habitus does not seem to dictate one's gaming preferences, hinting that the digital gaming culture transcends class habitus, or, to put it differently, that one's online habitus is not necessarily dependent on one's offline habitus. This is seen in how all three felt classes during childhood are found at the origin of the cloud of supplementary categories. Birthplaces are likewise scattered alongside the origin. Thirdly, gamer identity is something which pertains to the youngest players—teenagers proudly declaring that they describe themselves as gamers, whereas young-adult players refrain from applying the epithet.

In conclusion, some light on the peculiarities of the inner workings of the digital gaming field has been shed—and we now know that primary socialisation does direct practices in certain ways—but, as Kirschner & Williams (2013) note, focusing “on players who have already been socialised into a game ... is to miss pivotal moments in the socialisation process” (p. 16). Thus, the search for the answer to the question of *how gamers become the gamers they become* continues.

Limitations

This study is not without limitations. For instance, the sample was not drawn from a randomised portion of the population, which could lead to a sampling bias. However, no registered population of digital players or gamers exists in Sweden, which renders such a criterion impossible to satisfy. Moreover, as the number of internal non-responses (382) was quite high, the response rate is relatively low (72%). This likewise risks contributing to a skewed sample, as some respondents might have felt excluded by the focus of certain questions (such as the themes stressing social interaction in gaming), or the language employed (specifically the words ‘gamer’ and ‘gaming’ themselves). Furthermore, no measures of statistical significance have been carried out, and thus the results cannot be generalised to the larger population. However, correspondence analysis does not deal with the statistical concept of significance and representativity. Rather, it is to be thought of as a qualitative method, in the sense that it shows patterns and identifies themes. Moreover, the results of this study cannot be tested without a theory, i.e., a priori, but must be tested a posteriori.

Now that patterns have been identified, hypotheses can be made about the Swedish digital players and gamers. One way of continuing the work based on these findings

would be to utilise unbound random samples on all the registered students in digital game design or pupils enrolled in esports training programmes. Another way to continue the analysis would be to concentrate on interpreting the third axis by adding the supplementary variables into it.

Defending the methodology employed in this study by pointing out that Bourdieu himself did the same thing is certainly tempting, but an altogether too fervent belief in past masters would be akin to cargo cult science.

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Appendix

Table 2

47 active variables and 96 categories with absolute (*n*) and relative (%) frequencies (*n*=1019).

CULTURAL CAPITAL			SOCIAL CAPITAL			ECONOMIC CAPITAL		
Variables/Categories	<i>n</i>	%	Variables/Categories	<i>n</i>	%	Variables/Categories	<i>n</i>	%
1. Esports education			18. Getting friends			34. Compete esports		
Esports studies-yes	121	11,9	Get friends-yes	223	21,9	Compete-yes	186	18,3
Esports studies-no	898	88,1	Get friends-no	796	78,1	Compete-no	833	81,7
2. Physical sports			19. Spouse or child			35. Esports subject		
Physical sports-yes	341	33,5	Family infl-yes	32	3,1	Esports subject-yes	161	15,8
Physical sports-no	678	66,5	Family infl-no	987	96,9	Esports subject-no	672	65,9
3. Gym visits			20. Online friends			Esports subject-may		
Gym visits-yes	412	40,4	Online friends-yes	675	66,2	Esports is sports	186	18,3
Gym visits-no	607	59,6	Online friends-no	344	33,8	Esports sports-yes	718	70,5
4. Gaming regularly			21. More than offline			Esports sports-no		
Gaming-yes	923	90,6	More offline-yes	198	19,4	Esports sports-may	128	12,6
Gaming-no	96	9,4	More offline-no	821	80,6	Esports sports-may	173	17,0
5. Follows streamers			22. Sverok member			37. Gamer is skilled		
Streamers-yes	414	40,6	Sverok-yes	147	14,4	Skilled-yes	430	42,2
Streamers-no	605	59,4	Sverok-no	872	85,6	Skilled-no	589	57,8
6. Gamer is erudite			23. Team spirit imp.			38. Is competitive		
Erudite-yes	279	27,4	Team spirit-yes	303	29,7	Competitive-yes	198	19,4
Erudite-no	740	72,6	Team spirit-no	716	70,3	Competitive-no	821	80,6
7. Creativity imp.			24. Mother infl.			39. Competition imp.		
Creativity-yes	589	57,8	Mother infl-yes	62	6,1	Competition-yes	211	20,7
Creativity-no	430	42,2	Mother infl-no	957	93,9	Competition-no	808	79,3
8. Learn languages			25. Father infl.			40. Moneymaking		
Language-yes	96	9,4	Father infl-yes	206	20,2	Money imp-yes	59	5,8
Language-no	923	90,3	Father infl-no	813	79,8	Money imp-no	960	94,2
9. Graphics imp.			26. Siblings infl.			41. Price imp.		
Graphics-yes	548	53,8	Siblings infl-yes	325	31,9	Price imp-yes	327	32,1
Graphics-no	471	46,2	Siblings infl-no	694	68,1	Price imp-no	692	67,9
10. Story imp.			27. Friends infl.			42. Gamer is career		
Story-yes	655	64,3	Friends infl-yes	678	66,5	Career-yes	154	15,1
Story-no	364	35,7	Friends infl-no	341	33,5	Career-no	865	84,9
11. Is a subculture			28. Streamers infl.			43. Follows esports		
Subculture-yes	423	41,5	Streamers infl-yes	119	11,7	Esports leagues-yes	278	27,3
Subculture-no	596	58,5	Streamers infl-no	900	88,3	Esports leagues-no	741	72,7
12. Game computer			29. Father interest			44. Gaming chair**		
Gaming comp-yes	811	79,6	Father interest-yes	197	19,3	Chair-yes	415	40,7
Gaming comp-no	208	20,4	Father interest-no	822	80,7	Chair-no	604	59,3
13. Business laptop*			30. Mother interest			45. Game mouse**		
Business comp-yes	200	19,6	Mother interest-yes	122	12,0	Mouse-yes	670	65,8
Business comp-no	819	80,4	Mother interest-no	897	88,0	Mouse-no	349	34,2
14. Game console			31. Friends imp.			46. Game keyboard**		
Console-yes	502	49,3	Friends imp-yes	506	49,7	Keyboard-yes	605	59,4
Console-no	517	50,7	Friends imp-no	513	50,3	Keyboard-no	414	40,6
15. VR headset			32. Responsibility			47. Game headset**		
VR-yes	105	10,3	Responsibility-yes	99	9,7	Headset-yes	602	59,1
VR-no	914	89,7	Responsibility-no	920	90,3	Headset-no	417	40,9
16. Is more aesthetic			33. Sociality imp.					
Aesthetic-yes	109	10,7	Sociality imp-yes	471	46,2			
Aesthetic-no	910	89,3	Sociality imp-no	548	53,8			
17. Escapism imp.								
Escapism-yes	472	46,3						
Escapism-no	547	53,7						

* The variable business laptop contains business laptops, business computers, digital tablets, and smartphones, that is, digital devices primarily associated with workplace settings rather than informal settings.

** The variables gaming mouse, gaming keyboard, gaming chair, and gaming headset were coded as belonging to economic capital, as these assets do not function as portals into the gaming world, but rather as luxury objects which improve gameplay, and which can thus be seen as enhancing the experience of an esports athlete.

Table 3

Demographic data of the gamers, divided into perceived social standing during childhood. 1,019 respondents. Percent in parentheses.

	Working class <i>n</i> 332 (32,6)	Middle class <i>n</i> 469 (46,0)	Upper middle class <i>n</i> 218 (21,4)	Total <i>n</i> 1019 (100)
Gender				
Male	235 (70,8)	364 (77,6)	153 (70,2)	752 (73,8)
Female	84 (25,3)	92 (19,6)	60 (27,5)	236 (23,2)
Other	13 (3,9)	13 (2,8)	5 (2,3)	31 (3,0)
Gamer identity				
Identifies as gamer	210 (63,3)	272 (58,9)	139 (63,8)	621 (60,9)
No gamer identity	122 (36,7)	197 (42,0)	79 (36,2)	398 (39,1)
Age group				
Teenagers (15–19 yrs)	34 (10,2)	70 (14,9)	40 (18,3)	144 (14,1)
Young Adults (20– 30 yrs)	172 (51,8)	248 (52,9)	135 (61,9)	555 (54,5)
Adults (31–49 yrs)	114 (34,3)	137 (29,2)	39 (17,9)	290 (28,5)
Old Adults (50–65 yrs)	12 (3,6)	14 (3,0)	4 (1,8)	30 (2,9)
Formal education				
Primary school	36 (10,8)	67 (14,3)	36 (16,5)	139 (13,6)
Secondary school	156 (47,0)	217 (46,3)	111 (50,9)	484 (47,5)
BA/BSc	93 (28,0)	112 (23,9)	40 (18,3)	245 (24,0)
MA/MSc	38 (11,4)	60 (12,8)	27 (12,4)	125 (12,3)
PhD	9 (2,7)	13 (2,8)	4 (1,8)	26 (2,6)
Income before tax				
< 10 000 SEK	85 (25,6)	132 (28,1)	78 (35,8)	295 (28,9)

11–15 000 SEK	63 (19,0)	101 (21,5)	44 (20,2)	208 (20,4)
16–20 000 SEK	17 (5,1)	23 (4,9)	11 (5,0)	51 (5,0)
21–25 000 SEK	17 (5,1)	24 (5,1)	13 (6,0)	54 (5,3)
26–30 000 SEK	34 (10,2)	45 (9,6)	12 (5,5)	188 (8,9)
31–40 000 SEK	70 (21,1)	83 (17,7)	35 (16,1)	82 (18,4)
41–50 000 SEK	31 (9,3)	34 (7,2)	17 (7,8)	30 (8,0)
51–60 000 SEK	11 (3,3)	15 (3,2)	4 (1,8)	30 (2,9)
> 60 000 SEK	4 (1,2)	12 (2,6)	4 (1,8)	20 (2,0)

Birthplace

Hamlet	93 (28,0)	93 (19,8)	24 (11,0)	210 (20,6)
Village	62 (18,7)	81 (17,3)	26 (11,9)	169 (16,6)
Town	95 (28,6)	152 (32,4)	74 (33,9)	321 (31,5)
Suburb	35 (10,5)	64 (13,6)	41 (18,8)	140 (13,7)
City	47 (14,2)	79 (16,8)	53 (24,3)	179 (17,6)

Occupation

White-collar	115 (34,6)	130 (27,7)	58 (26,6)	303 (29,7)
Blue-collar	26 (7,8)	28 (6,0)	6 (2,8)	60 (5,9)
Pink-collar	49 (14,8)	70 (14,9)	24 (11,0)	143 (14,0)
Student/no job	142 (42,8)	241 (51,4)	130 (59,6)	41 (4,0)

Works within gaming

Gaming work	11 (3,3)	18 (3,8)	13 (6,0)	42 (4,1)
Non-gaming work	321 (96,7)	451 (96,2)	205 (94,0)	977 (95,9)

Father's occupation

White-collar	56 (16,9)	200 (42,6)	161 (73,9)	417 (40,9)
Blue-collar	191 (57,5)	141 (30,1)	26 (11,9)	358 (35,1)
Pink-collar	31 (9,3)	87 (18,6)	25 (11,5)	143 (14,0)
No job/not present	54 (16,3)	41 (8,7)	6 (2,8)	101 (9,9)

Mother's occupation				
White-collar	48 (14,5)	149 (31,8)	113 (51,8)	310 (30,4)
Blue-collar	41 (12,3)	21 (4,5)	2 (0,9)	64 (6,3)
Pink-collar	197 (59,3)	250 (53,3)	91 (41,7)	538 (52,8)
No job/not present	46 (13,9)	49 (10,4)	12 (5,5)	107 (10,5)
Three main game genres*				
MOBA	78 (23,5)	107 (22,8)	65 (29,8)	250 (24,5)
MMO	69 (20,8)	87 (18,6)	25 (11,5)	181 (17,8)
FPS	150 (45,2)	241 (51,4)	111 (50,9)	502 (49,3)
RTS	34 (10,2)	57 (12,2)	30 (13,8)	121 (11,9)
TBS	37 (11,1)	72 (15,4)	27 (12,4)	136 (13,3)
RPG	133 (40,1)	162 (34,5)	80 (36,7)	375 (36,8)
Sandbox	79 (23,8)	141 (30,1)	46 (21,1)	266 (26,1)
Life Simulator	44 (13,3)	49 (10,4)	27 (12,4)	120 (11,8)
Combat	28 (8,4)	25 (5,3)	8 (3,7)	61 (6,0)
Adventure	95 (28,6)	122 (26,0)	157 (72,0)	278 (27,3)
Casual	2 (0,6)	7 (1,5)	5 (2,3)	14 (1,4)
Simulator	22 (6,6)	38 (8,1)	5 (2,3)	65 (6,4)

* Negative responses omitted.

Table 4

Clustering of game genres.

1	MOBA
2	MMO
3	FPS
4	RTS
5	TBS
6	Life Simulation (including city-building)
7	RPG (including ARPG and Roguelikes)
8	Sandbox

9	Combat (combining fighting games, platformers, and brawlers)
1	Adventure
0	
1	Simulator (combining racing, sports games, rhythm games, and flying simulators)
1	
1	Casual (including puzzle games)
2	

Table 5

Clustering of occupations.

1	Healthcare/care	Pink-collar
2	Culture/media/design	White-collar
3	IT/engineering	White-collar
4	Student	Student
5	Unemployed	Unemployed
6	Academia	White-collar
7	Retail	Pink-collar
8	Manual labour	Blue-collar
9	Social work/religious work	Pink-collar
10	Formal education	Pink-collar
11	Administration/economy	White-collar
12	Transport/distribution	Blue-collar
13	Military/police	Blue-collar
14	Restaurants/hotels	Pink-collar
15	Construction/HVAC/electricity	Blue-collar
16	Self-employed	White-collar
17	Natural sciences	White-collar
18	Service	Blue-collar
19	Gaming	White-collar
20	Physical sports	Pink-collar
22	Medicine	White-collar
23	<i>Parent not present</i>	<i>Parent not present</i>

Table 6

Eigenvalues, percentages, and cumulated percentages for Axes 1–12 in the primary analysis.

Axis	Variance of the axis (eigenvalue)	Percentages of explained variance	Cumulated percentages	Benzécri's modified rates
1	0,107	10,3	10,3	77,2
2	0,056	5,3	15,6	11,7
3	0,049	4,7	20,3	7,6
4	0,040	3,8	24,1	3,4
5	0,034	3,3	27,4	1,6
6	0,033	3,2	20,5	1,3
7	0,029	2,8	33,3	0,6
8	0,029	2,8	36,1	0,5
9	0,027	2,6	38,7	0,4
10	0,026	2,5	41,2	0,3
11	0,026	2,5	43,7	0,2
12	0,025	2,4	46,1	0,1

Table 7

Eigenvalues, percentages, and cumulated percentages for Axes 1–12 in the continued analysis.

Axis	Variance of the axis (eigenvalue)	Percentages of explained variance	Cumulated percentages	Benzécri's modified rates
1	0,110	10,5	10,5	77,7
2	0,052	4,9	15,5	9,0
3	0,047	4,5	20,0	6,7
4	0,037	3,5	23,6	2,4
5	0,033	3,2	26,7	1,4
6	0,032	3,0	29,8	1,1
7	0,028	2,7	32,5	0,5
8	0,028	2,6	35,1	0,4
9	0,027	2,6	37,7	0,3

10	0,026	2,4	40,1	0,2
11	0,025	2,4	42,5	0,1
12	0,024	2,3	44,8	0,1

Table 8

Coordinates of the variables contributing above average (10.53%) to the formation of Axis 1 in the primary analysis.

Category	Weight	Coordinate	Contribution
To earn money	59,000	-1,511	2,6
Studied esports	121,000	-1,392	4,5
Esports competitions	186,000	-1,016	3,6
Responsibility	99,000	-0,956	1,7
Esports should be school subject	161,000	-0,864	2,3
Competition	211,000	-0,826	2,7
Esports leagues	278,000	-0,813	3,5
Gaming chair	415,000	-0,718	4,1
More friends online than offline	198,000	-0,656	1,6
Get friends	223,000	-0,623	1,6
Gaming keyboard	605,000	-0,596	4,1
Gaming headset	602,000	-0,538	3,3
Gaming friends	506,000	-0,506	2,5
Gaming mouse	670,000	-0,498	3,2
Sociality imp.	471,000	-0,405	1,5
Online friends	675,000	-0,339	1,5
Gaming computer	811,000	-0,307	1,5
No esports leagues	741,000	0,305	1,3
Sociality unimp.	548,000	0,348	1,3
No gaming chair	604,000	0,493	2,8
No gaming friends	513,000	0,499	2,4
Business device	200,000	0,565	1,2
No online friends	344,000	0,666	2,9
No gaming headset	417,000	0,777	4,8

No gaming keyboard	414,000	0,871	6,0
No gaming regularly	96,000	0,947	1,6
No gaming mouse	349,000	0,955	6,1
TOTAL			81,7

Table 9

Coordinates of the variables contributing above average (4.94%) to the formation of Axis 2 in the primary analysis.

Category	Weight	Coordinate	Contribution
Mother infl.	62,000	-1,410	5,0
More aesthetic than sports	109,000	-1,012	4,5
Mother interested	122,000	-0,925	4,2
Father infl.	206,000	-0,923	7,1
Streamers infl.	119,000	-0,886	3,8
Father interested	197,000	-0,835	5,6
Language learning	96,000	-0,741	2,1
Career	154,000	-0,730	3,3
VR headset	105,000	-0,599	1,5
More friends online than offline	198,000	-0,489	1,9
Esports might be school subject	186,000	-0,397	1,2
Business device	200,000	-0,389	1,2
Escapism	472,000	-0,341	2,2
Aesthetics imp.	548,000	-0,325	2,3
Console	502,000	-0,310	2,0
Subculture	423,000	-0,306	1,6
Economy imp.	327,000	-0,289	1,1
Story imp.	655,000	-0,261	1,8
No gym	607,000	-0,244	1,5
No sports	678,000	-0,200	1,1
Father not interested	822,000	0,200	1,3
Not a subculture	596,000	0,217	1,1
Father not infl.	813,000	0,234	1,8
Gamer is skilled	430,000	0,275	1,3

No escapism	547,000	0,295	1,9
No console	517,000	0,301	1,9
Gym regularly	412,000	0,360	2,2
Aesthetics unimp.	471,000	0,378	2,7
Sports regularly	341,000	0,398	2,2
Story unimp.	364,000	0,469	3,2
Esports is not sports	128,000	0,531	1,5
Gamer is competitive	198,000	0,614	3,0
TOTAL			79,4

Table 10

Coordinates of the variables contributing above average (4.54%) to the formation of Axis 3 in the primary analysis.

Category	Weight	Coordinate	Contribution
Gaming keyboard	605,000	-0,298	2,4
Gaming mouse	670,000	-0,287	2,4
Gaming headset	602,000	-0,263	1,8
Gamer not skilled	589,000	-0,237	1,5
Story imp.	655,000	-0,222	1,4
Gaming computer	811,000	-0,213	1,6
No competition	808,000	-0,213	1,6
No business device	819,000	-0,188	1,3
Gamer not competitive	821,000	-0,179	1,2
Gamer is skilled	430,000	0,325	2,0
No gaming headset	417,000	0,379	2,6
Esports leagues	278,000	0,388	1,8
Story unimp.	364,000	0,400	2,6
No gaming keyboard	414,000	0,435	3,5
Career	154,000	0,503	1,7
No gaming mouse	349,000	0,551	4,7
Responsibility	99,000	0,576	1,4
Esports competitions	186,000	0,687	3,9
Esports should be school sub-	161,000	0,696	3,4

ject			
Gamer is competitive	198,000	0,743	4,8
Business device	200,000	0,770	5,2
Competition	211,000	0,814	6,2
No gaming computer	208,000	0,832	6,3
No gaming regularly	96,000	0,860	3,1
Studied esports	121,000	1,031	5,7
To earn money	59,000	1,828	8,7
TOTAL			82,9

Table 11

Coordinates of the variables contributing above average (10.25%) to the formation of Axis 1 in the continued analysis.

Category	Weight	Coordinate	Contribution
To earn money	51,000	-1,434	3,0
Studied esports	117,000	-1,229	5,0
Esports competitions	149,000	-0,979	4,1
Esports should be school subject	128,000	-0,872	2,8
Competition	165,000	-0,794	3,0
Responsibility	81,000	-0,785	1,4
Esports leagues	212,000	-0,764	3,5
Gaming chair	327,000	-0,604	3,4
More friends online than offline	153,000	-0,552	1,3
Get friends	186,000	-0,511	1,4
Gaming keyboard	467,000	-0,486	3,1
Gaming headset	462,000	-0,439	2,5

Gaming friends	384,00 0	-0,431	2,0
Gaming mouse	514,00 0	-0,382	2,1
Online friends	484,00 0	-0,312	1,3
Gaming computer	587,00 0	-0,260	1,1
No esports competitions	550,00 0	0,265	1,1
Sociality unimp.	343,00 0	0,330	1,1
No esports leagues	487,00 0	0,333	1,5
No gaming friends	315,00 0	0,525	2,5
No gaming chair	372,00 0	0,531	3,0
Esports might be sports	111,00 0	0,641	1,3
Business device	117,00 0	0,666	1,5
No online friends	215,00 0	0,701	3,0
No gaming headset	237,00 0	0,856	4,9
No gaming keyboard	232,00 0	0,979	6,3
No gaming regularly	54,000	1,008	1,6
No gaming mouse	185,00 0	1,061	5,9
No gaming computer	112,00 0	1,362	5,9
TOTAL			80,9

Table 12

Coordinates of the variables contributing above average (5.34 %) to the formation of Axis 2 in the continued analysis.

Category	Weight	Coordinate	Contribution
Mother infl.	48,000	-1,252	4,1
More aesthetic than sports	90,000	-0,938	4,3
Father infl.	156,000	-0,879	6,6
Career	112,000	-0,851	4,4
Mother interested	100,000	-0,837	3,8
Streamers infl.	115,000	-0,792	3,9
Father interested	168,000	-0,772	5,5
VR headset	73,000	-0,725	2,1
Business device	117,000	-0,667	2,8
Language learning	77,000	-0,636	1,7
More friends online than offline	153,000	-0,600	3,0
Responsibility	81,000	-0,540	1,3
Member of Sverok	90,000	-0,500	1,2
No gaming computer	112,000	-0,466	1,3
Esports should be school subject	128,000	-0,422	1,2
No gaming mouse	185,000	-0,351	1,2
Console	323,000	-0,343	2,1
Escapism	328,000	-0,342	2,1
Subculture	280,000	-0,335	1,7
No gym	398,000	-0,282	1,7
Streamers	287,000	-0,262	1,1
Aesthetics imp.	382,000	-0,239	1,2
Story imp.	440,000	-0,212	1,1
Esports should not be school subject	450,000	0,216	1,1
Not a subculture	419,000	0,224	1,1
Father not interested	531,000	0,244	1,7
Father not infl.	543,000	0,253	1,9
Aesthetics unimp.	317,000	0,288	1,4
No console	376,000	0,295	1,8
No escapism	371,000	0,302	1,9
Story unimp.	259,000	0,360	1,8
Gym regularly	301,000	0,373	2,3

Sports regularly	237,000	0,374	1,8
Gamer is competitive	144,000	0,453	1,6
Esports is not sports	78,000	0,592	1,5
TOTAL			79,7

Table 13

Coordinates of the variables contributing above average (4.7 %) to the formation of Axis 3 in the continued analysis.

Category	Weight	Coordinate	Contribution
To earn money	51,000	-1,576	7,9
No gaming computer	112,000	-1,034	7,4
No gaming regularly	54,000	-0,802	2,2
Gamer is competitive	144,000	-0,793	5,6
Studied esports	117,000	-0,752	4,1
Business device	117,000	-0,747	4,1
Competition	165,000	-0,739	5,6
No gaming mouse	185,000	-0,696	5,6
Esports competitions	149,000	-0,651	3,9
Esports should be school subject	128,000	-0,609	3,0
No gaming keyboard	232,000	-0,531	4,1
Responsibility	81,000	-0,485	1,2
No gaming headset	237,000	-0,483	3,4
Esports leagues	212,000	-0,423	2,4
Story unimp.	259,000	-0,372	2,2
Gamer is skilled	317,000	-0,370	2,7
Sports regularly	237,000	-0,295	1,3
No esports competitions	550,000	0,176	1,1
Gaming computer	587,000	0,197	1,4
Gamer not competitive	555,000	0,206	1,5
Story imp.	440,000	0,219	1,3
No competition	534,000	0,228	1,7
Gaming headset	462,000	0,248	1,8
Gaming mouse	514,000	0,250	2,0

Gaming keyboard	467,000	0,264	2,0
Gamer not skilled	382,000	0,307	2,2
TOTAL			81,5

Figure 7

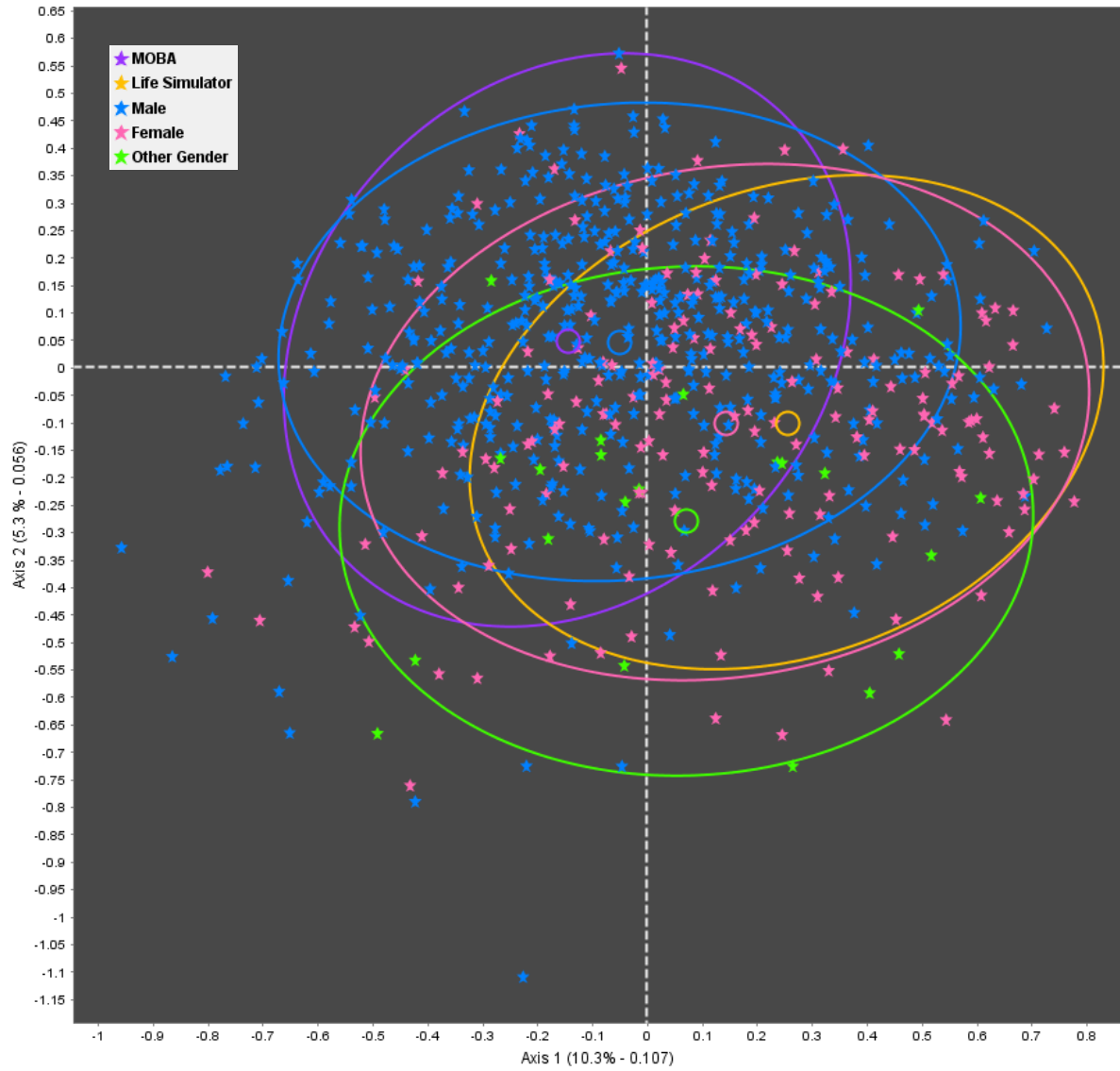


Figure 7. Concentration ellipses of the variables MOBA and Life Simulator along the variable gender in the cloud of individuals.

Figure 8

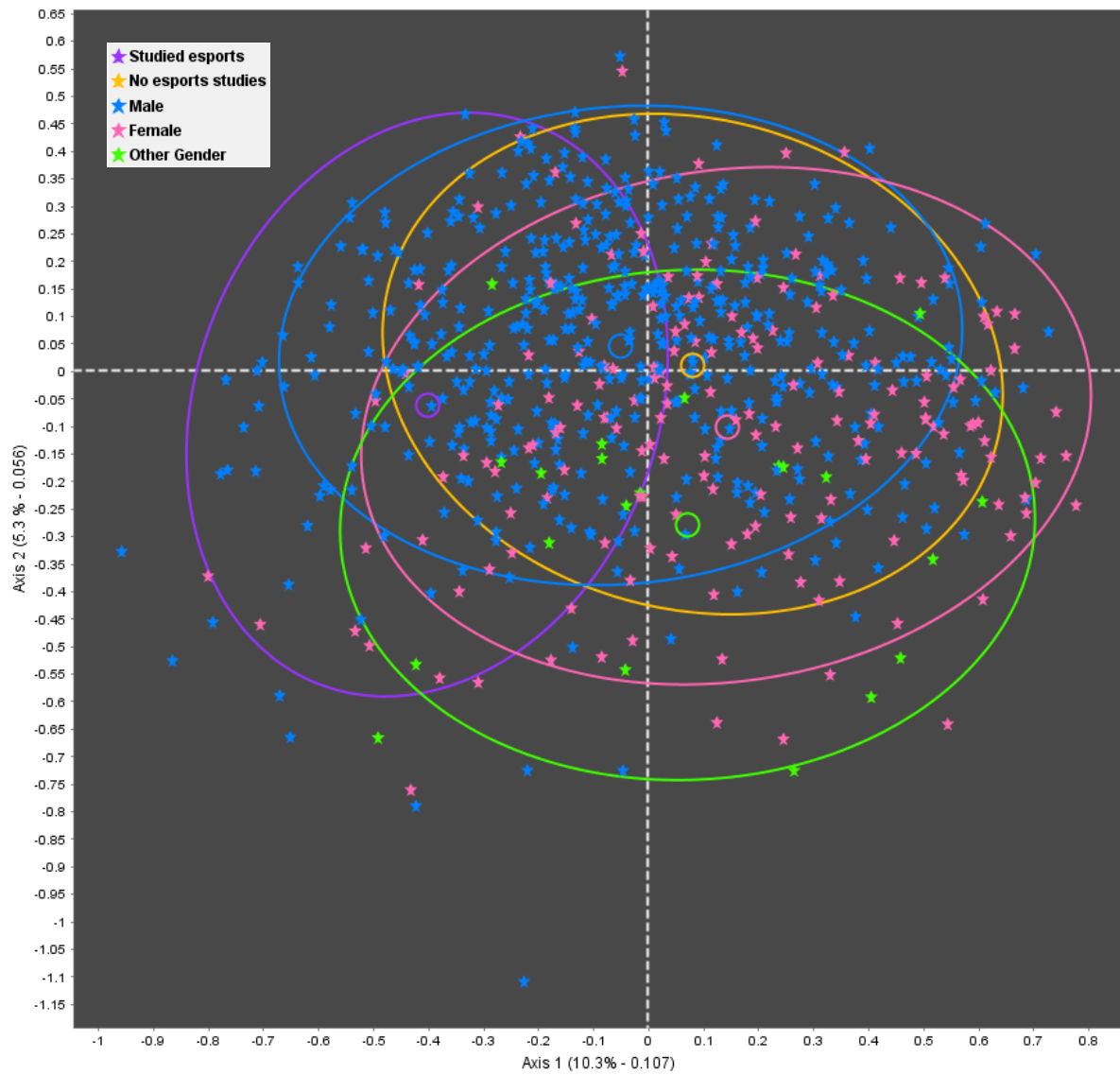


Figure 8. Concentration ellipses of the categories Studied esports and No esports studies along the variable gender in the cloud of individuals.