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Tim Bergström

Eludamos: Journal for Computer Game Culture Volume 15, issue 1, pp. 7–48

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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), 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 (Internetstiftelsen, 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 thitherto 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 cismale 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 selfidentified 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 technomasculine 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.

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

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 awarenessthat 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 gatekeeping, 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.

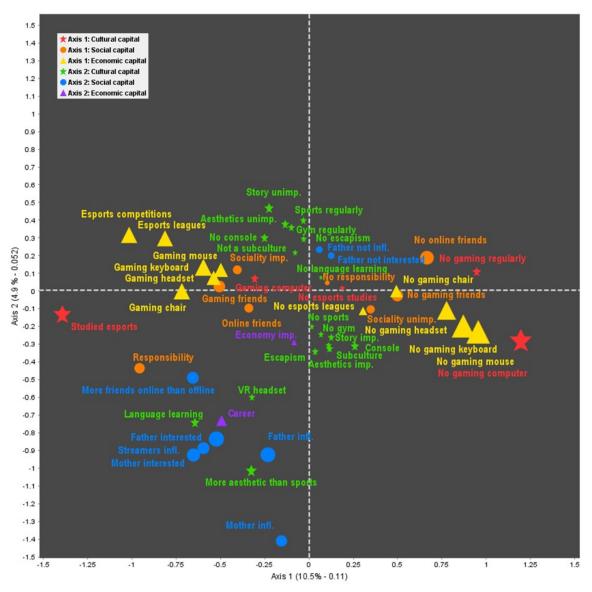


Figure 1. The Swedish gaming field. Cloud of categories in plane 1 & 2. Categories contributing above average to axis 1 and 2. Size of markers is proportional to their contribution.

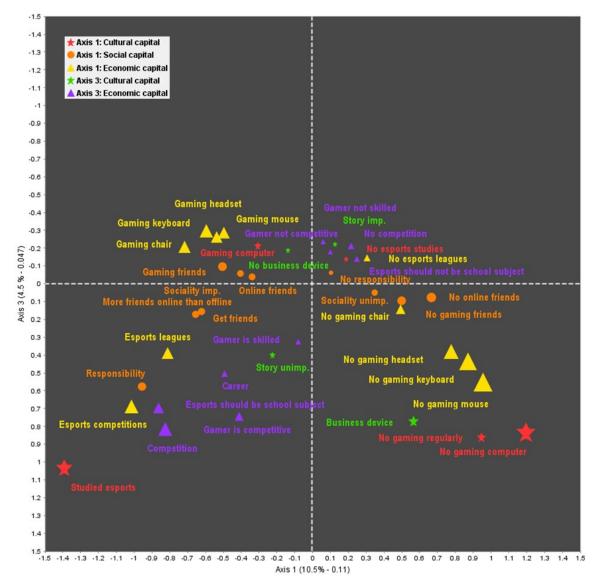


Figure 2. The Swedish gaming field. Cloud of categories in plane 1 & 3. Categories contributing over average to axis 1 and 3. Size of markers is proportional to their contribution.

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.

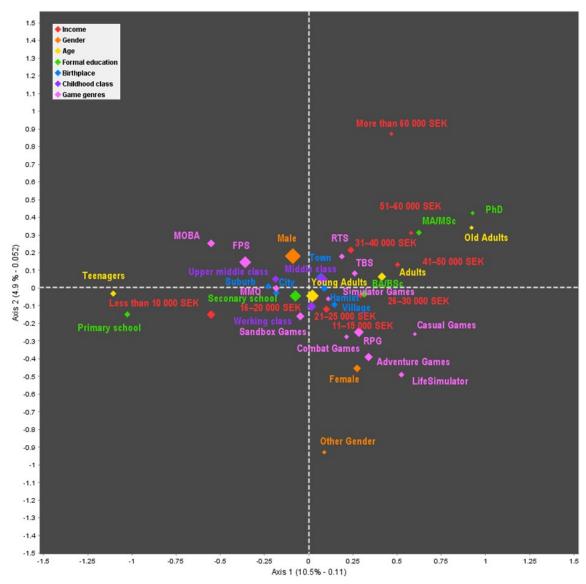


Figure 3. Cloud of categories (plane 1 & 2). Supplementary variables.

#### 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 professionality and hobbyism.

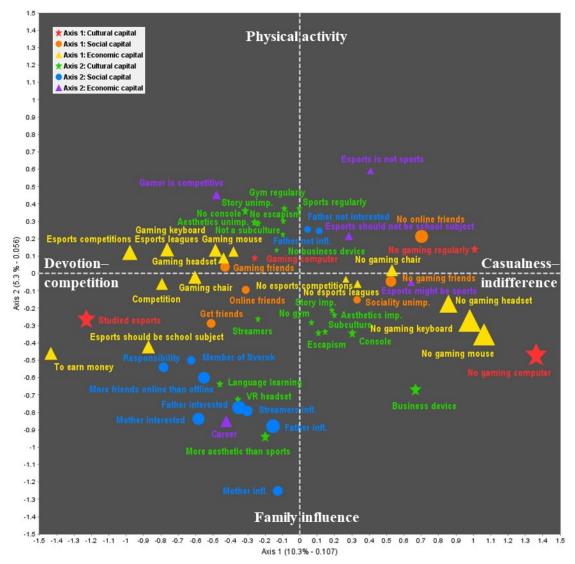


Figure 4. The Swedish gaming field. Cloud of categories in plane 1 & 2. Categories contributing over average to axis 1 and 2. Size of markers is proportional to their contribution.

#### Axis 1: Devotion-competition vs casualness-indifference

The categories contributing above the mean to the formation of the first axis revolve around the opposition between being aligned with the esports part of the gaming field (having studied esports, playing to earn money, valuing competition, following esports leagues) and not being aligned with said part. Moreover, having luxury gaming equipment (gaming chairs, gaming keyboards, gaming computers, gaming mice) is opposed to not requiring such equipment to carry out one's gaming activities. Interestingly, the axis also opposes having friends online and pursuing gaming in order to get friends with not having online friends. The axis can thus be interpreted as distinguishing high economic and social capital on the left side and overall low economic and social capital on the right. This distinction between the devoted form of gaming as entertainment and the more casual form of gaming as relaxation reflects the depiction provided by previous research (cf. Kallio et al., 2011).

#### 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 sporty solo players.

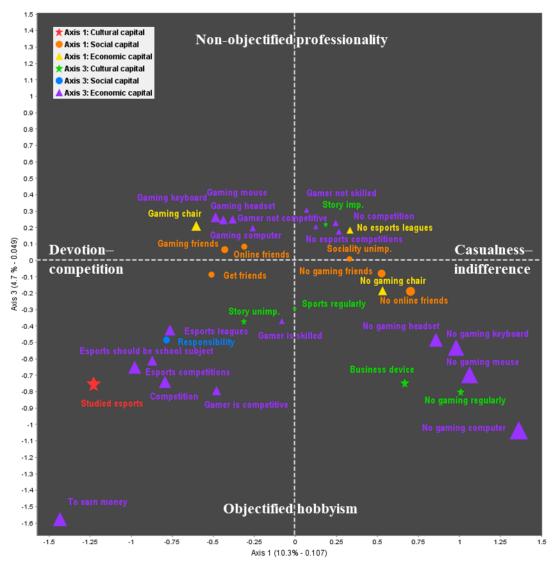


Figure 5. The Swedish gaming field. Cloud of categories in plane 1 & 2. Categories contributing over average to axis 1 and 2. Size of markers is proportional to their contribution.

#### Axis 3: Non-objectified professionality 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 professionality 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).

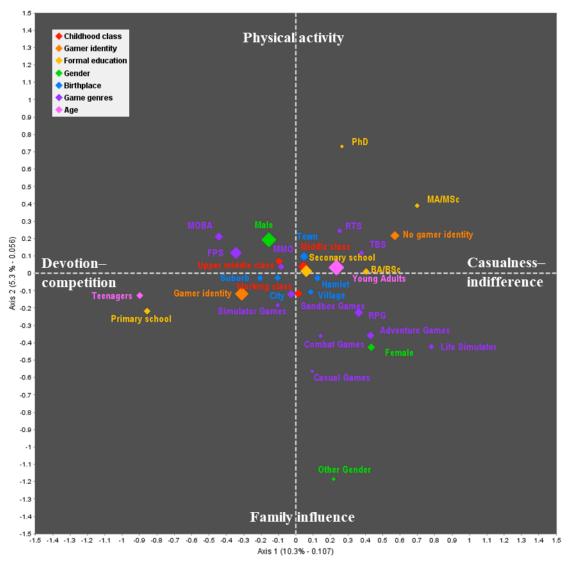


Figure 6. Cloud of categories (plane 1 & 2). Supplementary variables.

#### 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 agegated, 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-distinguished 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.

#### Acknowledgements

The author wishes to express his sincerest gratitude to his colleagues Kent Löfgren and Magnus Ferry at the Department of Education, Umeå University, for their valuable introduction to the theory and method of Multiple Correspondence Analysis. Special thanks are also expressed to Tobias Dalberg at the Department of Education, Uppsala University, for his input on the early draft of the manuscript, and for administering an eye-opening course devoted to the theory and method of Geometric Data Analysis. Finally, many thanks are expressed to the supervisors of the author, namely Fanny Pettersson and Jörgen From at the Department of Education, Umeå University, for insightful comments and discussions.

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#### **Appendix**

**Table 2**47 active variables and 96 categories with absolute (*n*) and relative (%) frequencies (*n*=1019).

1. Esports education   121   11,9   Get friends-yes   223   21,9   Co   Esports studies-no   898   88,1   Get friends-yes   223   21,9   Co   22, Physical sports   19, Spouse or child   35   Sphysical sports-yes   341   33,5   Family infl-yes   32   3,1   Esports studies-no   678   66,5   Family infl-no   987   96,9   Esports-yes   412   40,4   Online friends   344   33,8   Esports-yes   412   40,4   Online friends-yes   675   66,2   Esports-yes   675   66,5   Esports-yes	CONOMIC CAPITAL	
Esports studies-yes         121         11,9         Get friends-yes         223         21,9         Co           Esports studies-no         898         88,1         Get friends-no         796         78,1         Co           2. Physical sports         19. Spouse or child         32         3,1         Esphysical sports-yes         341         33,5         Family infl-yes         32         3,1         Esphysical sports-yes         66,5         Family infl-no         987         96,9         Esphysical sports-yes         676         66,2         Esphysical sports-yes         675         66,2         Esphysical sports-yes         675         66,2         Esphysical sports-yes         40,4         Online friends-yes         675         66,2         Esphysical sports-yes         412         40,4         Online friends-yes         675         66,2         Esphysical sports-yes         412         40,4         Online friends-yes         675         66,2         Esphysical sports-yes         412         40,4         Online friends-yes         675         66,2         Esphysical sports-yes         40         Auditory-yes         189         19,4         Ske Goming-yes         148         149,4         Ske Goming-yes         148         149,4         Ske Goming-yes         141         40,4         S	/ariables/Categories n	%
Esports studies-no         898         88,1         Get friends-no         796         78,1         Co           2. Physical sports         19. Spouse or child         35           Physical sports-yes         341         33,5         Family infl-yes         32         3,1         Es           Physical sports-no         678         66,5         Family infl-no         987         96,9         Es           3. Gym visits         20. Online friends         36         Gym visits-yes         412         40,4         Online friends-yes         675         66,2         Es           6 Gym visits-no         607         59,6         Online friends-no         344         33,8         Es           4. Gaming regularly         21. More than offline         37         66,5         Es           4. Gaming-yes         923         90,6         More offline-yes         198         19,4         St           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38         19,4         St         58,6         Sk         58           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38         147         14,4         Co         58,6         Sk         58         58         Sverok-yes         147         14,4	34. Compete esports	
2. Physical sports Physical sports-yes Signature sports-yes Remaining infl-yes Remaining infl-no Remaining regularly Remaining-yes Rem	Compete-yes 186	18,3
Physical sports-yes         341         33,5         Family infl-yes         32         3,1         Es           Physical sports-no         678         66,5         Family infl-no         987         96,9         Es           3. Gym visits         20. Online friends         36         36         36         37         66,2         Es           3. Gym visits-yes         412         40,4         Online friends-yes         675         66,2         Es           4. Gaming regularly         21. More than offline         37         344         33,8         Es           4. Gaming-no         96         9,4         More offline-yes         198         19,4         Sk           Gaming-no         96         9,4         More offline-no         821         80,6         Sk           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38         38         56,6         Co           Streamers-yes         414         40,6         Sverok-yes         147         14,4         9,6         Sk         56         Co         66         Gamir is erudite         23. Team spirit imp.         87,6         Co         Co         66,6         59,4         Sverok-yes         147         14,4         0,6	Compete-no 833	81,7
Physical sports-no         678         66,5         Family infl-no         987         96,9         Es           3. Gym visits         20. Online friends         3. Gym visits         20. Online friends         66,2         Es           6. Gym visits-yes         412         40,4         Online friends-yes         675         66,2         Es           4. Gaming regularly         21. More than offline         344         33,8         Es           4. Gaming-no         96         9,4         More offline-yes         198         19,4         Sk           Gaming-no         96         9,4         More offline-no         821         80,6         Sk           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38         147         14,4         Co         Sk           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38         56,6         Co         Sk         60         Sk         60         Sk         60         Sk         60         Sk         62         62         62         62         66         Co         66         Gamer is erudite         23. Team spirit imp.         39         29,7         Co         66         Gameris erudite         23. Team spirit imp.         47         72,6	35. Esports subject	
Section	sports subject-yes 161	15,8
3. Gym visits         20. Online friends         36           Gym visits-yes         412         40,4         Online friends-yes         675         66,2         Es           Gym visits-no         607         59,6         Online friends-no         344         33,8         Es           4. Gaming regularly         21. More than offline         37           Gaming-yes         923         90,6         More offline-yes         198         19,4         Sk           Gaming-no         96         9,4         More offline-no         821         80,6         Sk           S. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         Streamers-ryes         414         40,6         Sverok-yes         147         14,4         Co           Streamers-no         605         59,4         Sverok-no         872         85,6         Co           6. Gamer is erudite         23. Team spirit imp.         39         303         29,7         Co           Erudite-yes         279         27,4         Team spirit-no         716         70,3         Co           7. Creativity imp.         24. Mother infl-yes         62         6,1         Mc           Creativity-yes         589         57,8         Mother infl-yes </td <td>sports subject-no 672</td> <td>65,9</td>	sports subject-no 672	65,9
Gym visits-yes         412         40,4         Online friends-yes         675         66,2         Es           Gym visits-no         607         59,6         Online friends-no         344         33,8         Es           4. Gaming regularly         21. More than offline         324         33,8         Es           4. Gaming-no         96         9,4         More offline-yes         198         19,4         Sk           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38         28,6         Co           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38         85,6         Co           6. Gamer is erudite         23. Team spirit imp.         39         28,6         Co           6. Gamer is erudite-yes         279         27,4         Team spirit-yes         303         29,7         Co           6. Gamer is erudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-yes         303         29,7         Co           6. Gamer is erudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-no         716         70,3         Co           7. Creativity-yes         589         57,8         Mother infl-no         957         93,9         Mc           Creativity-yes         589	sports subject-may 186	18,3
Gym visits-no         607         59,6         Online friends-no         344         33,8         Es           4. Gaming regularly         21. More than offline         37           Gaming-no         96         9,4         More offline-yes         198         19,4         Sk           Gaming-no         96         9,4         More offline-no         821         80,6         Sk           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38         38,6         Co           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38         36,6         Co           5. Follows streamers-no         605         59,4         Sverok-yes         147         14,4         Co           6. Gamer is erudite         23. Team spirit imp.         39         29,7         Co         6.6         Gemer is erudite         23. Team spirit-no         716         70,3         Co         6.6         Gemer is erudite         23. Team spirit-no         716         70,3         Co         70.7         Co         6.6         6.6         6.6         6.6         6.6         7.0         30         29,7         Co         6.7         7.0         7.0         7.0         7.0         7.0         7.0         7.0         7.0 </td <td>36. Esports is sports</td> <td></td>	36. Esports is sports	
## Section	sports sports-yes 718	70,5
4. Gaming regularly       21. More than offline       37         Gaming-yes       923       90,6       More offline-yes       198       19,4       Sk         Gaming-no       96       9,4       More offline-no       821       80,6       Sk         5. Follows streamers       22. Sverok member       38         Streamers-yes       414       40,6       Sverok-yes       147       14,4       Co         Streamers-no       605       59,4       Sverok-yes       147       14,4       Co         6. Gamer is erudite       23. Team spirit imp.       39       29,7       Co         6. Gamer is erudite       23. Team spirit imp.       39       29,7       Co         Frudite-no       740       72,6       Team spirit-no       716       70,3       Co         Frudite-no       740       72,6       Team spirit-no       716       70,3       Co         7. Creativity-no       430       42,2       Mother infl-no       957       93,9       Mc         Creativity-no       430       42,2       Mother infl-no       957       93,9       Mc         8. Learn languages       25. Father infl-no       813       79,8       Pri	sports sports-no 128	12,6
Gaming-yes         923         90,6         More offline-yes         198         19,4         Sk           Gaming-no         96         9,4         More offline-no         821         80,6         Sk           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38           Streamers-yes         414         40,6         Sverok-yes         147         14,4         Co           Streamers-no         605         59,4         Sverok-no         872         85,6         Co           6. Gamer is erudite         23. Team spirit imp.         39         29,7         Co           6. Gamer is erudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-ino         716         70,3         Co           Frudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-ino         716         70,3         Co           Fudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-ino         716         70,3         Co           7. Creativity imp.         24. Mother infl.         40         40         72,6         Team spirit-ino         957         93,9         Mc           Learn languages         25. Father infl.         41         42         Mother infl-no         957         93,9         Mc	sports sports-may 173	17,0
Gaming-yes         923         90,6         More offline-yes         198         19,4         Sk           Gaming-no         96         9,4         More offline-no         821         80,6         Sk           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38           Streamers-yes         414         40,6         Sverok-yes         147         14,4         Co           Streamers-no         605         59,4         Sverok-no         872         85,6         Co           6. Gamer is erudite         23. Team spirit imp.         39         29,7         Co           6. Gamer is erudite         23. Team spirit-imp.         39         29,7         Co           Frudite-yes         279         27,4         Team spirit-imp.         716         70,3         Co           Frudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-imp.         40         24,1	37. Gamer is skilled	
Gaming-no         96         9,4         More offline-no         821         80,6         Sk           5. Follows streamers         22. Sverok member         38           Streamers-yes         414         40,6         Sverok-yes         147         14,4         Co           Streamers-no         605         59,4         Sverok-no         872         85,6         Co           6. Gamer is erudite         23. Team spirit imp.         39         29,7         Co           Erudite-yes         279         27,4         Team spirit-no         716         70,3         Co           Frudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-no         716         70,3         Co           Frudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-no         716         70,3         Co           7. Creativity imp.         24. Mother infl.         40         40         42.4         Mother infl-no         957         93,9         Mc           Creativity-no         430         42,2         Mother infl-no         957         93,9         Mc           Language-yes         96         9,4         Father infl-no         813         79,8         Pri           Language-no         9	Skilled-yes 430	42,2
5. Follows streamers       22. Sverok member       38         Streamers-yes       414       40,6       Sverok-yes       147       14,4       Co         Streamers-no       605       59,4       Sverok-no       872       85,6       Co         6. Gamer is erudite       23. Team spirit imp.       39         Erudite-yes       279       27,4       Team spirit-no       716       70,3       Co         Erudite-no       740       72,6       Team spirit-no       716       70,3       Co         7. Creativity imp.       24. Mother infl.       40	Skilled-no 589	
Streamers-yes         414         40,6         Sverok-yes         147         14,4         Co           Streamers-no         605         59,4         Sverok-no         872         85,6         Co           6. Gamer is erudite         23. Team spirit imp.         39         29,7         Co           Erudite-yes         279         27,4         Team spirit-yes         303         29,7         Co           Erudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-yes         303         29,7         Co           7. Creativity imp.         24. Mother infl.         40         Co         Ce         6,1         Mo           Creativity-yes         589         57,8         Mother infl-yes         62         6,1         Mo           Creativity-no         430         42,2         Mother infl-no         957         93,9         Mc           R. Learn languages         25. Father infl.         41         41         41         42         40         42         40         42         40         42         40         42         40         42         40         42         41         42         40         42         41         42         41         42         44	38. Is competitive	
Streamers-no         605         59,4         Sverok-no         872         85,6         Co           6. Gamer is erudite         23. Team spirit imp.         39           Erudite-yes         279         27,4         Team spirit-yes         303         29,7         Co           Erudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-no         716         70,3         Co           7. Creativity imp.         24. Mother infl.         40           Creativity-yes         589         57,8         Mother infl-yes         62         6,1         Mc           Creativity-no         430         42,2         Mother infl-no         957         93,9         Mc           8. Learn languages         25. Father infl.         41         41         41         41         41         41         41         41         41         41         41         42         42         42         42         42         42         42         42         44         42         44         42         44         42         44         44         42         44         44         44         44         44         44         44         44         44         44         44         44	Competitive-yes 198	19,
6. Gamer is erudite       23. Team spirit imp.       39         Erudite-yes       279       27,4       Team spirit-yes       303       29,7       Co         Erudite-no       740       72,6       Team spirit-no       716       70,3       Co         7. Creativity imp.       24. Mother infl.       40         Creativity-yes       589       57,8       Mother infl-yes       62       6,1       Mc         Creativity-no       430       42,2       Mother infl-no       957       93,9       Mc         8. Learn languages       25. Father infl.       41       41         Language-yes       96       9,4       Father infl-yes       206       20,2       Pri         Language-no       923       90,3       Father infl-no       813       79,8       Pri         Janguage-no       923       90,3       Father infl-no       813       79,8       Pri         Janguage-no       923       90,3       Father infl-no       813       79,8       Pri         Janguage-no       923       90,3       Father infl-no       325       31,9       Ca         Graphics-imp.       548       53,8       Siblings infl-yes       325       31,9 <td>Competitive-no 821</td> <td>80,</td>	Competitive-no 821	80,
Erudite-yes         279         27,4         Team spirit-yes         303         29,7         Co           Erudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-no         716         70,3         Co           7. Creativity imp.         24. Mother infl.         40           Creativity-yes         589         57,8         Mother infl-yes         62         6,1         Mother infl-yes           Creativity-no         430         42,2         Mother infl-no         957         93,9         Mother infl-no           8. Learn languages         25. Father infl.         41         41         41         41           Language-yes         96         9,4         Father infl-yes         206         20,2         Pri           Language-no         923         90,3         Father infl-no         813         79,8         Pri           9. Graphics imp.         26. Siblings infl.         42         42         44         42         44         42         42         44         42         42         44         42         44         42         42         42         42         42         42         42         42         42         42         42         42         42         42	39. Competition imp.	
Erudite-no         740         72,6         Team spirit-no         716         70,3         Co           7. Creativity imp.         24. Mother infl.         40           Creativity-yes         589         57,8         Mother infl-yes         62         6,1         Mother infl-yes           8. Learn languages         25. Father infl.         41         41           Language-yes         96         9,4         Father infl-yes         206         20,2         Pri           Language-no         923         90,3         Father infl-no         813         79,8         Pri           9. Graphics imp.         26. Siblings infl.         42         42           Graphics-yes         548         53,8         Siblings infl-yes         325         31,9         Ca           Graphics-no         471         46,2         Siblings infl-no         694         68,1         Ca           10. Story imp.         27. Friends infl-yes         678         66,5         Es           Story-yes         655         64,3         Friends infl-yes         678         66,5         Es           Story-no         364         35,7         Friends infl-no         341         33,5         Es	Competition-yes 211	20,
7. Creativity imp.       24. Mother infl.       40         Creativity-yes       589       57,8       Mother infl-yes       62       6,1       Mother infl-yes         Creativity-no       430       42,2       Mother infl-no       957       93,9       Mother infl-no         8. Learn languages       25. Father infl.       41       41         Language-yes       96       9,4       Father infl-yes       206       20,2       Pri         Language-no       923       90,3       Father infl-no       813       79,8       Pri         9. Graphics imp.       26. Siblings infl.       42         Graphics-yes       548       53,8       Siblings infl-no       694       68,1       Ca         Graphics-no       471       46,2       Siblings infl-no       694       68,1       Ca         10. Story imp.       27. Friends infl-no       341       33,5       Es         Story-yes       655       64,3       Friends infl-no       341       33,5       Es         Story-no       364       35,7       Friends infl-no       341       33,5       Es         Story-no       364       35,7       Friends infl-no       341       33,5       Es <td>Competition-no 808</td> <td>79,:</td>	Competition-no 808	79,:
Creativity-yes         589         57,8         Mother infl-yes         62         6,1         Mother infl-yes           Creativity-no         430         42,2         Mother infl-no         957         93,9         Mother infl-no           8. Learn languages         25. Father infl.         41           Language-yes         96         9,4         Father infl-yes         206         20,2         Pridering           Language-no         923         90,3         Father infl-no         813         79,8         Pridering           9. Graphics imp.         26. Siblings infl.         42         43         43         43         43         43         43         43         43         43         43         43         43         43         43         44         44         44         44         44         <	<u> </u>	
Creativity-no         430         42,2         Mother infl-no         957         93,9         Mother infl-no           8. Learn languages         25. Father infl.         41           Language-yes         96         9,4         Father infl-yes         206         20,2         Pri           Language-no         923         90,3         Father infl-no         813         79,8         Pri           9. Graphics imp.         26. Siblings infl.         42         42           Graphics-yes         548         53,8         Siblings infl-yes         325         31,9         Ca           Graphics-no         471         46,2         Siblings infl-no         694         68,1         Ca           10. Story imp.         27. Friends infl.         43         43         43         44         43         43         43         43         44 <td>10. Moneymaking</td> <td>г о</td>	10. Moneymaking	г о
8. Learn languages       25. Father infl.       41         Language-yes       96       9,4       Father infl-yes       206       20,2       Pri         Language-no       923       90,3       Father infl-no       813       79,8       Pri         9. Graphics imp.       26. Siblings infl.       42         Graphics-yes       548       53,8       Siblings infl-yes       325       31,9       Ca         Graphics-no       471       46,2       Siblings infl-no       694       68,1       Ca         10. Story imp.       27. Friends infl.       43         Story-yes       655       64,3       Friends infl-yes       678       66,5       Es         Story-no       364       35,7       Friends infl-no       341       33,5       Es         11. Is a subculture       28. Streamers infl-yes       119       11,7       Ch         Subculture-yes       423       41,5       Streamers infl-yes       119       11,7       Ch         Subculture-no       596       58,5       Streamers infl-no       900       88,3       Ch         12. Game computer       29. Father interest       45         Gaming comp-no       208       20,4	Money imp-yes 59	5,8
Language-yes       96       9,4       Father infl-yes       206       20,2       Pri         Language-no       923       90,3       Father infl-no       813       79,8       Pri         9. Graphics imp.       26. Siblings infl.       42         Graphics-yes       548       53,8       Siblings infl-yes       325       31,9       Ca         Graphics-no       471       46,2       Siblings infl-no       694       68,1       Ca         10. Story imp.       27. Friends infl.       43         Story-yes       655       64,3       Friends infl-yes       678       66,5       Es         Story-no       364       35,7       Friends infl-no       341       33,5       Es         11. Is a subculture       28. Streamers infl-yes       119       11,7       Ch         Subculture-yes       423       41,5       Streamers infl-yes       119       11,7       Ch         Subculture-no       596       58,5       Streamers infl-no       900       88,3       Ch         12. Game computer       29. Father interest       45         Gaming comp-yes       811       79,6       Father interest-yes       197       19,3       Mc	Money imp-no 960	94,
Language-no         923         90,3         Father infl-no         813         79,8         Pri           9. Graphics imp.         26. Siblings infl.         42           Graphics-yes         548         53,8         Siblings infl-yes         325         31,9         Ca           Graphics-no         471         46,2         Siblings infl-no         694         68,1         Ca           10. Story imp.         27. Friends infl.         43           Story-yes         655         64,3         Friends infl-yes         678         66,5         Es           Story-no         364         35,7         Friends infl-no         341         33,5         Es           11. Is a subculture         28. Streamers infl.         44           Subculture-yes         423         41,5         Streamers infl-yes         119         11,7         Ch           Subculture-no         596         58,5         Streamers infl-no         900         88,3         Ch           12. Game computer         29. Father interest         45           Gaming comp-yes         811         79,6         Father interest-yes         197         19,3         Mc           Gaming comp-no         208         20,4	I1. Price imp.	20
9. Graphics imp. 26. Siblings infl. 325 31,9 Ca Graphics-yes 548 53,8 Siblings infl-yes 325 31,9 Ca Graphics-no 471 46,2 Siblings infl-no 694 68,1 Ca 10. Story imp. 27. Friends infl. 343 Story-yes 655 64,3 Friends infl-yes 678 66,5 Es Story-no 364 35,7 Friends infl-no 341 33,5 Es 11. Is a subculture 28. Streamers infl. 442 Subculture-yes 423 41,5 Streamers infl-yes 119 11,7 Ch Subculture-no 596 58,5 Streamers infl-no 900 88,3 Ch 12. Game computer 29. Father interest Gaming comp-yes 811 79,6 Father interest-yes 197 19,3 Mc Gaming comp-no 208 20,4 Father interest-no 822 80,7 Mc 13. Business laptop* 30. Mother interest Business comp-no 819 80,4 Mother interest-yes 122 12,0 Ke Business comp-no 819 80,4 Mother interest-no 897 88,0 Ke 14. Game console 31. Friends imp. Console-yes 502 49,3 Friends imp-yes 506 49,7 He Console-no 517 50,7 Friends imp-no 513 50,3 He	Price imp-yes 327	
Graphics-yes         548         53,8         Siblings infl-yes         325         31,9         Ca           Graphics-no         471         46,2         Siblings infl-no         694         68,1         Ca           10. Story imp.         27. Friends infl.         43           Story-yes         655         64,3         Friends infl-yes         678         66,5         Es           Story-no         364         35,7         Friends infl-no         341         33,5         Es           11. Is a subculture         28. Streamers infl.         44         44         Subculture-no         596         58,5         Streamers infl-yes         119         11,7         Ch           Subculture-no         596         58,5         Streamers infl-no         900         88,3         Ch           12. Game computer         29. Father interest         45           Gaming comp-yes         811         79,6         Father interest-yes         197         19,3         Mc           Gaming comp-no         208         20,4         Father interest-no         822         80,7         Mc           13. Business laptop*         30. Mother interest         42         48           Business comp-no         819 </td <td>Price imp-no 692</td> <td>67,</td>	Price imp-no 692	67,
Graphics-no         471         46,2         Siblings infl-no         694         68,1         Ca           10. Story imp.         27. Friends infl.         43           Story-yes         655         64,3         Friends infl-yes         678         66,5         Es           Story-no         364         35,7         Friends infl-no         341         33,5         Es           11. Is a subculture         28. Streamers infl-         44           Subculture-yes         423         41,5         Streamers infl-yes         119         11,7         Ch           Subculture-no         596         58,5         Streamers infl-no         900         88,3         Ch           12. Game computer         29. Father interest         45           Gaming comp-yes         811         79,6         Father interest-yes         197         19,3         Mc           Gaming comp-no         208         20,4         Father interest-no         822         80,7         Mc           13. Business laptop*         30. Mother interest         46           Business comp-yes         200         19,6         Mother interest-yes         122         12,0         Ke           Business comp-no         819         <	l2. Gamer is career	
10. Story imp.       27. Friends infl.       43         Story-yes       655       64,3       Friends infl-yes       678       66,5       Es         Story-no       364       35,7       Friends infl-no       341       33,5       Es         11. Is a subculture       28. Streamers infl.       44         Subculture-yes       423       41,5       Streamers infl-yes       119       11,7       Ch         Subculture-no       596       58,5       Streamers infl-no       900       88,3       Ch         12. Game computer       29. Father interest       45         Gaming comp-yes       811       79,6       Father interest-yes       197       19,3       Mc         Gaming comp-no       208       20,4       Father interest-no       822       80,7       Mc         13. Business laptop*       30. Mother interest       46         Business comp-yes       200       19,6       Mother interest-yes       122       12,0       Ke         Business comp-no       819       80,4       Mother interest-no       897       88,0       Ke         Business comp-no       819       80,4       Mother interest-no       897       88,0       Ke	Career-yes 154	,
Story-yes         655         64,3         Friends infl-yes         678         66,5         Es           Story-no         364         35,7         Friends infl-no         341         33,5         Es           11. Is a subculture         28. Streamers infl.         44           Subculture-yes         423         41,5         Streamers infl-yes         119         11,7         Ch           Subculture-no         596         58,5         Streamers infl-no         900         88,3         Ch           12. Game computer         29. Father interest         45           Gaming comp-yes         811         79,6         Father interest-yes         197         19,3         Mc           Gaming comp-no         208         20,4         Father interest-no         822         80,7         Mc           13. Business laptop*         30. Mother interest         46           Business comp-yes         200         19,6         Mother interest-yes         122         12,0         Ke           Business comp-no         819         80,4         Mother interest-no         897         88,0         Ke           Business comp-no         819         80,4         Mother interest-no         897         88,0	Career-no 865	84,
Story-no         364         35,7         Friends infl-no         341         33,5         Es           11. Is a subculture         28. Streamers infl.         44           Subculture-yes         423         41,5         Streamers infl-yes         119         11,7         Ch           Subculture-no         596         58,5         Streamers infl-no         900         88,3         Ch           12. Game computer         29. Father interest         45           Gaming comp-yes         811         79,6         Father interest-yes         197         19,3         Mc           Gaming comp-no         208         20,4         Father interest-no         822         80,7         Mc           13. Business laptop*         30. Mother interest         46           Business comp-yes         200         19,6         Mother interest-yes         122         12,0         Ke           Business comp-no         819         80,4         Mother interest-no         897         88,0         Ke           Business comp-no         819         80,4         Mother interest-no         897         88,0         Ke           14. Game console         31. Friends imp.         47         He           Console-no	l3. Follows esports	
11. Is a subculture       28. Streamers infl.       44         Subculture-yes       423       41,5       Streamers infl-yes       119       11,7       Ch         Subculture-no       596       58,5       Streamers infl-no       900       88,3       Ch         12. Game computer       29. Father interest       45         Gaming comp-yes       811       79,6       Father interest-yes       197       19,3       Mo         Gaming comp-no       208       20,4       Father interest-no       822       80,7       Mo         13. Business laptop*       30. Mother interest       46         Business comp-yes       200       19,6       Mother interest-yes       122       12,0       Ke         Business comp-no       819       80,4       Mother interest-no       897       88,0       Ke         14. Game console       31. Friends imp.       47         Console-yes       502       49,3       Friends imp-yes       506       49,7       He         Console-no       517       50,7       Friends imp-no       513       50,3       He	Esports leagues-yes 278	
Subculture-yes     423     41,5     Streamers infl-yes     119     11,7     Ch       Subculture-no     596     58,5     Streamers infl-no     900     88,3     Ch       12. Game computer     29. Father interest     45       Gaming comp-yes     811     79,6     Father interest-yes     197     19,3     Mo       Gaming comp-no     208     20,4     Father interest-no     822     80,7     Mo       13. Business laptop*     30. Mother interest     46       Business comp-yes     200     19,6     Mother interest-yes     122     12,0     Ke       Business comp-no     819     80,4     Mother interest-no     897     88,0     Ke       14. Game console     31. Friends imp.     47       Console-yes     502     49,3     Friends imp-yes     506     49,7     He       Console-no     517     50,7     Friends imp-no     513     50,3     He	Esports leagues-no 741	72,
Subculture-no         596         58,5         Streamers infl-no         900         88,3         Ch           12. Game computer         29. Father interest         45           Gaming comp-yes         811         79,6         Father interest-yes         197         19,3         Mo           Gaming comp-no         208         20,4         Father interest-no         822         80,7         Mo           13. Business laptop*         30. Mother interest         46           Business comp-yes         200         19,6         Mother interest-yes         122         12,0         Ke           Business comp-no         819         80,4         Mother interest-no         897         88,0         Ke           14. Game console         31. Friends imp.         47           Console-yes         502         49,3         Friends imp-yes         506         49,7         He           Console-no         517         50,7         Friends imp-no         513         50,3         He	l4. Gaming chair**	
12. Game computer       29. Father interest       45         Gaming comp-yes       811       79,6       Father interest-yes       197       19,3       Mode         Gaming comp-no       208       20,4       Father interest-no       822       80,7       Mode         13. Business laptop*       30. Mother interest       46         Business comp-yes       200       19,6       Mother interest-yes       122       12,0       Ke         Business comp-no       819       80,4       Mother interest-no       897       88,0       Ke         14. Game console       31. Friends imp.       47         Console-yes       502       49,3       Friends imp-yes       506       49,7       He         Console-no       517       50,7       Friends imp-no       513       50,3       He	Chair-yes 415	40,
Gaming comp-yes         811         79,6         Father interest-yes         197         19,3         Moderand           Gaming comp-no         208         20,4         Father interest-no         822         80,7         Moderand           13. Business laptop*         30. Mother interest         46           Business comp-yes         200         19,6         Mother interest-yes         122         12,0         Ke           Business comp-no         819         80,4         Mother interest-no         897         88,0         Ke           14. Game console         31. Friends imp.         47           Console-yes         502         49,3         Friends imp-yes         506         49,7         He           Console-no         517         50,7         Friends imp-no         513         50,3         He	Chair-no 604	59,3
Gaming comp-no         208         20,4         Father interest-no         822         80,7         Mode           13. Business laptop*         30. Mother interest         46           Business comp-yes         200         19,6         Mother interest-yes         122         12,0         Ke           Business comp-no         819         80,4         Mother interest-no         897         88,0         Ke           14. Game console         31. Friends imp.         47           Console-yes         502         49,3         Friends imp-yes         506         49,7         He           Console-no         517         50,7         Friends imp-no         513         50,3         He	15. Game mouse**	
13. Business laptop*       30. Mother interest       46         Business comp-yes       200       19,6       Mother interest-yes       122       12,0       Ke         Business comp-no       819       80,4       Mother interest-no       897       88,0       Ke         14. Game console       31. Friends imp.       47         Console-yes       502       49,3       Friends imp-yes       506       49,7       He         Console-no       517       50,7       Friends imp-no       513       50,3       He	Mouse-yes 670	65,8
13. Business laptop*       30. Mother interest       46         Business comp-yes       200       19,6       Mother interest-yes       122       12,0       Ke         Business comp-no       819       80,4       Mother interest-no       897       88,0       Ke         14. Game console       31. Friends imp.       47         Console-yes       502       49,3       Friends imp-yes       506       49,7       He         Console-no       517       50,7       Friends imp-no       513       50,3       He	Mouse-no 349	34,2
Business comp-yes     200     19,6     Mother interest-yes     122     12,0     Ke       Business comp-no     819     80,4     Mother interest-no     897     88,0     Ke       14. Game console     31. Friends imp.     47       Console-yes     502     49,3     Friends imp-yes     506     49,7     He       Console-no     517     50,7     Friends imp-no     513     50,3     He	l6. Game keyboard**	
Business comp-no         819         80,4         Mother interest-no         897         88,0         Ke           14. Game console         31. Friends imp.         47           Console-yes         502         49,3         Friends imp-yes         506         49,7         He           Console-no         517         50,7         Friends imp-no         513         50,3         He	Keyboard-yes 605	59,
14. Game console       31. Friends imp.       47         Console-yes       502       49,3       Friends imp-yes       506       49,7       He         Console-no       517       50,7       Friends imp-no       513       50,3       He	Keyboard-no 414	
Console-yes         502         49,3         Friends imp-yes         506         49,7         He           Console-no         517         50,7         Friends imp-no         513         50,3         He	17. Game headset**	
Console-no 517 50,7 Friends imp-no 513 50,3 He	Headset-yes 602	59,
·	Headset-no 417	
	icaaset iis	
VR-yes 105 10,3 Responsibility-yes 99 9,7		
VR-no 914 89,7 Responsibility-no 920 90,3		
16. Is more aesthetic 33. Sociality imp.		
, ,		
Aesthetic-no 910 89,3 Sociality imp-no 548 53,8		
17. Escapism imp.		
Escapism-yes 472 46,3 Escapism-no 547 53,7		

<sup>\*</sup> 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.

<sup>\*\*</sup> 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 n 332 (32,6)	Middle class n 469 (46,0)	Upper middle class n 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 (39)	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)
ММО	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)

<sup>\*</sup> 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)

10	Adventure
11	Simulator (combining racing, sports games, rhythm games, and flying simulators)
12	Casual (including puzzle games)

**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	Parent not present	Parent not present

**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
<b>Esports leagues</b>	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

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \textbf{Table 9} \\ \textbf{Coordinates of the variables contributing above average (4.94\%) to the formation of Axis 2 in the primary analysis.} \\ \end{tabular}$ 

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

517.000		
317,000	0,301	1,9
412,000	0,360	2,2
471,000	0,378	2,7
341,000	0,398	2,2
364,000	0,469	3,2
128,000	0,531	1,5
198,000	0,614	3,0
		79,4
	471,000 341,000 364,000 128,000	412,000       0,360         471,000       0,378         341,000       0,398         364,000       0,469         128,000       0,531

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \textbf{Table 10} \\ \textbf{Coordinates of the variables contributing above average (4.54\%) to the formation of Axis 3 in the primary analysis.} \end{tabular}$ 

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 subject	161,000	0,696	3,4
Gamer is competitive	198,000	0,743	4,8

Business device         200,000         0,770           Competition         211,000         0,814           No gaming computer         208,000         0,832	ΕЭ
·	5,2
<b>No gaming computer</b> 208,000 0,832	6,2
	6,3
No gaming regularly 96,000 0,860	3,1
<b>Studied esports</b> 121,000 1,031	5,7
<b>To earn money</b> 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	384,000	-0,431	2,0
Gaming mouse	514,000	-0,382	2,1
Online friends	484,000	-0,312	1,3
Gaming computer	587,000	-0,260	1,1
No esports competitions	550,000	0,265	1,1
Sociality unimp.	343,000	0,330	1,1
No esports leagues	487,000	0,333	1,5
No gaming friends	315,000	0,525	2,5
No gaming chair	372,000	0,531	3,0

Esports might be sports	111,000 0,641	1,3
Business device	117,000 0,666	1,5
No online friends	215,000 0,701	3,0
No gaming headset	237,000 0,856	4,9
No gaming keyboard	232,000 0,979	6,3
No gaming regularly	54,000 1,008	1,6
No gaming mouse	185,000 1,061	5,9
No gaming computer	112,000 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

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \textbf{Table 13} \\ \textbf{Coordinates of the variables contributing above average (4.7 \%) to the formation of Axis 3 in the continued analysis.} \end{tabular}$ 

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

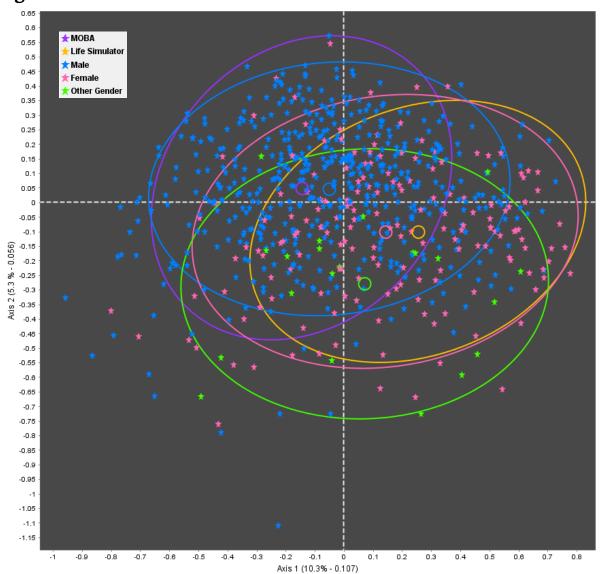


Figure 7. Concentration ellipses of the variables MOBA and Life Simulator along the variable gender in the cloud of individuals.

#### Figure 8

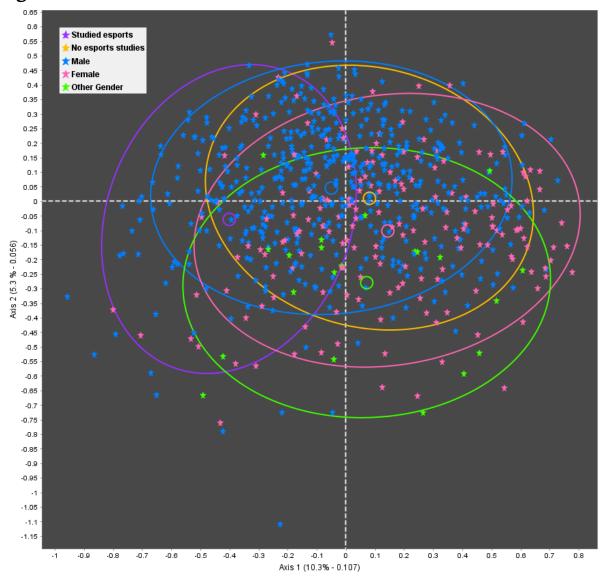


Figure 8. Concentration ellipses of the categories Studied esports and No esports studies along the variable gender in the cloud of individuals.