Issue 18 (2023)

articles

Silence, Distance and Disclosure. The Bleed Between the Far-Right and Gaming by Imo Kaufman, 1

The White Peril. Colonial Expressions in Digital Games by Haryo Pambuko Jiwandono, 38

reports

Gaming the Nation. A Research Report by Kathrin Trattner, 75

interviews

Interview with Per Backlund, Professor of Informatics, in the Division of Game Development at the University of Skövde, Sweden by Lissa Holloway-Attaway, 92

reviews

Returning to My Appalachia. The Resurgence of *Fallout 76*. A Game Review by Nicholas Bowman, 110

The White Peril. Colonial Expressions in Digital Games

Haryo Pambuko Jiwandono

Abstract

This article studies expressions of orientalism and white supremacy through analyses of action-adventure games. It will discuss the historical bias of the adventure genre and its connection with orientalism and white supremacy, followed by framing them in a digital games' context. It is expected to enrich the discourse of colonialism in media by providing a systematic conceptualization of colonialist expression in digital games. This article ultimately aims to map the positions of action-adventure games, orientalism, and white supremacy as building blocks of colonialist narratives, their causes, and contexts, while also offering a critical reading of digital games' colonialism.

Keywords: Digital Games, Colonialism, White Supremacy, Orientalism, Simulation, Representation, gamevironments

To cite this article: Jiwandono, H. P., 2023. The White Peril. Colonial Expressions in Digital Games. *gamevironments* 18, 38-74. Available at https://journals.suub.uni-bremen.de/.

A Backdrop of Colonialism

I am motivated by the persistence of colonialist values in the action-adventure genre of digital games. The adventure genre tells a story of white universality that is synonymous with "moral, social and physical mastery of the colonizers over the colonized" (Hall 2015, 171). Additionally, formal properties of adventure narratives such as setting, characterization, and themes are also rooted in the hegemony of white supremacy. Uncloaking the invisibility of white supremacy requires a perspective that dismantles its misguided universality. Orientalism (Said 1977, 54) is a

network may protecting while to all of the selection independent and independe

useful lens to critically examine the aforementioned premises.

Orientalism frames Africa and Asia as perilously captivating places, where the thrill of adventures and prospects of glory become worthy offsets for hazards (Macfie 2002, 5). It also frames those regions as savages' lands which must be civilized by European civilization (Curtis 2009, 30). Orientalism romanticizes white invaders' subjectivities as wise and nobles, and disproportionately objectifies the non-western location and people (Said 1977, Dyer 2017).

The self-serving conception of white supremacy serves as a driving motivation for colonialism and its narrative (Bonds and Inwood 2016). White supremacy institutionalises the baseless exceptionality of white privilege and forces it upon the indigenous setting. It creates social praxis that normalises the white hegemony. In turn, it creates sociocultural environments where Eurocentric values, material products, and praxis are accepted as norms (Addy 2008, Dyer 2017).

White supremacy has created an exceptional notion that whiteness is universally default (McIntosh 2002, Addy 2008, Dyer 2017). The exceptionality of white and the alienation of others is the core tenet of colonial narratives (Bhabha 1994, McIntosh 2002, Dyer 2017). It is present in various forms of cultural artefacts that set out from and materialise whiteness (Bhabha 1994, Hall 2015, Dyer 2017, Mukherjee 2017). Digital games are examples of such artefacts: global in presence (Dovey and Kennedy 2006, Penix-Tadsen 2019) and constructed within the cultural circuit of colonial whiteness (Fron et al. 2007, Harrer 2018).

White supremacy and orientalism are materialized in digital games because expressions of colonialism are the status quo in digital games; a casual empire where

colonial hegemony permeates the epistemology of digital games (Harrer 2018, 20-21). Rules and stories of digital games are mostly rooted in colonial cultural institutions' unnegotiable legacies, which players are required to embody to play the game (Mukherjee 2017, Mukherjee 2018). In the context of action-adventure games, simulations of white protagonists often take place in an exotic hazardous setting, and focus on the narrative of white protagonists while muting the cultural identity of indigenous settings. Peeling multiple layers of whiteness in action-adventure digital games will show how their ludic simulation and cultural representations are deeply intertwined with concepts of white supremacy and orientalism. My article aims to complement pre-existing literature on digital games and postcolonialism which tend to focus on a single aspect and overlook interrelation between various aspects of postcolonialism in digital games.

The method of this article is qualitative content analysis (Bryman 2012, 557), with orientalism and white supremacy as its main coding categories (Bryman 2012, 578). Digital game examples for this article are *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune* (2007), *Far Cry 3* (2012), and *Shadow of the Tomb Raider* (2018). They are selected due to their classification as adventure games which fulfil the genre's premises, and due to their status as triple-A digital games which enforce the white hegemony status quo of digital game culture (Fron et al. 2007, 310-311). All of them simulate the adventure of white protagonists with Western game conventions in South American and Southeast Asian settings, which serve no bigger purpose than being backdrops filled with obstacles to be overcome, and resources to be collected.

White Supremacy and Digital Games

At its core, there are two main tenets of white supremacy: invisibility and normative

retwo relay from the set of the spin most needown and the spin spin set of the spin spin set of the spin set o

enforcement. Its invisibility is related to a social context in which white is the only group who are not signified by shallow stereotypes compared to other social groups. White is exempted from the exoticism that objectifies the view of other racial groups. In the context of media and society, Hall (2015, 168-170) and Dyer (2017, 36) provide examples by arguing that white characters are often portrayed as protagonists with complex backstories and trajectories. Said portrayal facilitates whiteness to become a blank sheet for audiences' embodiments where they project themselves into a white avatar and develop emotional affirmation with a whiteness narrative.

White supremacy's invisibility creates a norm that acknowledges white as a group of default human beings with subjective individuality, while assigning otherness to non-white (Dyer 2017, 43). White supremacy portrays values such as purpose, struggle, and personal development as exclusive to white, and it deliberately overlooks those values' inherent attachment to white's identity as a racial group. Their identity is marked by whites' historical oppression toward identity articulations of other races (Said 1977, Bhabha 1994). The historical oppression and their sociotechnical capital in the global media ecosystem (Fron et al. 2007, Mukherjee 2017, Harrer 2018) more easily allows white as a group to enforce its values as universally acceptable.

The invisibility of white supremacy and its wide ideological dissemination create white hegemony. White hegemony can be understood as a state of whiteness as normal (Dyer 2017, 38-40) to the detriment of non-white groups, who often become unwilling participants of its cultural circuit (du Gay et al. 1997, 3-5). White hegemony creates a social circumstance where the world is defined by whiteness and gives white advantages in a manner which is often difficult to be articulated by non-white people (Spracklen 2013, Dyer 2017).

networm 13) Curbons while to all the SPIs most needown and the second se

A critical examination of cultural power relations requires an understanding of the epistemology of white supremacy's hegemony. Dyer (1997, 38-40) argues that identifying white hegemony requires acknowledgement of white's perceived exceptionalism, peculiarity, and limitation based on their culture and history. In doing so, white's identity will become more contextual and contradicts the supposed notion in opposition to white universality. At the same time, identifying white supremacy would also dismantle whites' perceived unbound subjectivity by mapping correlations between their unwarranted supremacist thoughts and actions with their sociocultural contexts.

Additionally, it is worth examining anti-blackness as a concept that can provide a wider perspective on white supremacy. Anti-blackness refers to the suffering of blacks' and other minorities' cultural codes from inauthentic articulations which generally represent whites' indirect experience of blackness (Wilderson III 2010, 55-58). Cinema is an exemplary communication medium in which anti-blackness often occurs through representations of stereotypical characters which contrast subjective representation of white characters. Anti-blackness is best understood as a communication epistemology which enforces white supremacy ideology (Wilderson III 2010, 60-67). Ultimately, a combination of both concepts and ideology creates white exceptionalism.

In the context of media and communication, white exceptionalism socially constructs images of races, and reinforces those images through text productions and articulations (Hall 2015, 170). There is a historical homogeneity in representing races which often portrayed minorities as malicious or weak (Hall 2015, 171-172). This representation peaked in the late 19th century and early 20th century popular culture through novels such as *Gone with the Wind* (1936), which portrays highly

network ortan production while the strong Let's Pla more need with the north strong of the strong of

caricaturized representations of black Americans, and *Heart of Darkness* (1899), which portrays Africa as an uncivilized place (Hall 2015, 170-172). The racial undertone of those eras' popular media materialized both racism and white supremacy, as they are both overt and hegemonic (Hall 2015, Mukherjee 2017). Popular media of that era contained vast amounts of racist narratives and imagery, which was largely possible due to the prevalence of white supremacy.

As society progressed, overtly racist expressions in popular media became unacceptable, and perpetrators will usually, and rightfully so, be punished. However, white supremacy remains. *Star Trek: The Original Series* (2009), originally aired between 1966 and 1969, is a good case. On the surface, *Star Trek* expresses a postracial interstellar society with women and aliens as minorities involved in the show, yet a closer inspection reveals a strict hierarchy among the show's main characters. Namely, the show positions white male characters as subjective beings with a higher degree of agency (Spracklen 2013, 73-75). Even by the beginning of the 21st century, the *status quo* of white supremacy is still maintained via the massive popularity of the *Harry Potter* film series (2001-2011) and its whitewashing fantasy of pre-multicultural Victorian Britain (Spracklen 2013, Raha 2020). In consuming *Harry Potter*, the series teaches their audience "to be white" (Spracklen 2013, 69).

The internalization of whiteness in media texts requires a critical discussion on the production of whiteness in the media. Most dominant brands are western based and use whiteness as their basic ideology (Hall 2015, 168-170) for commodification. As a result, whiteness often becomes a metaphor of ideal states of commodities, which are imported globally (Spracklen 2013, 27-46). The commodification of whiteness entrenches its hegemony in popular media. Through the perpetuation of white hegemony, an ecology which consists of production assemblage, uncritical

consumption, and internalization is formed (Spracklen 2013, Hall 2015).

White hegemony is identifiable in digital games. In digital games, the term *hegemony* of play is a critique of technological, commercial, and cultural power structures which entrench the status quo while at the same time alienating minorities (Fron et al. 2007, 309-310). The hegemonic assemblage is dominated mostly by white males, who additionally dominate the production process, technological evolution, and the cultural positioning of games and gamers in the global culture of play (Fron et al. 2007, 315-316). They represent the powerful elite of digital game industries who dominate the corporate and creative dimensions of digital games. Consequently, they are also located in the upper echelon of digital games assemblage.

The hegemony of play manifests white supremacy's invisibility, as it is seen as the norm within social, economic, and cultural contexts of digital games (Fron et al. 2007, 310-312). The power structures of the hegemony of play also perpetuate particular white normative values and practices concerning games and gameplay which tend to ghettoize minorities (Fron et al. 2007, 315). The hegemony of play's adherence to white masculinity is the main factor behind mainstream popular digital games' ontological fit into the hegemonic conventions.

The white supremacy elements of the hegemony of play are manifested in digital games' ludic boundaries, which create whiteness as a norm in a non-negotiable digital play ecosystem. Dietrich (2013, 89-94) argues that character representations in digital games are biased toward the physical features of white people, with special attention to games' avatars. Numerous role-playing games have limited character creation options which often force non-white players to embody whiteness (Dietrich 2013, 97). Said ludic affordance has a strong potential to internalize whiteness among

network ortan production while the strong Leas Pla month normal with the normal part of the strong o

players to reinforce "normative whiteness" (Dietrich 2013, 83) and "virtual white habitus" (Dietrich 2013, 83) which, in turn, positions whiteness as a default.

The aforementioned biased mode of representation is problematic for players', and general audiences', perception of digital games. Monolithic representations can create a one-dimensional acknowledgement of the represented matters (Shaw 2014, 158-166). Consequently, the acknowledgement becomes a default reception that can cause a one-dimensional reproduction of the message (Shaw 2014, 201-209), thus creating a cycle of hegemony (Mukherjee 2017, 56-58).

This is especially true because even as digital games become increasingly inclusive with regard to genders, white supremacy remains under-addressed. Many female protagonists such as the LGBTQ Ellie from *The Last of Us* duology (2013-2020) still become a node for white universality through detailed characterization and subjectivities inside white personhood, in a fragmented society which is still dominated by white people (Murray 2019, 120-122). Even as Lara Croft becomes more modest and humane (MacCallum-Stewart 2014) in recent titles in the *Tomb Raider* series (2013-2018), the expression of white supremacy persists because of her detailed characterizations as a white British woman in exotic foreign settings, the embodiment of players into her, and the games' goals which affirm Lara Croft's white universality (Murray 2019, 133-138).

White supremacy is correlated to the concept and practices of orientalism. While white supremacy perceives whiteness as a subjectivity, orientalism perceives other socioracial groups as fascinating objects. Orientalism commodifies cultures and characteristics of other socioracial groups as commodities by applying stereotypical essentialist attributes to them, and teaches audiences to consume them as *others*

(Spracklen 2013, Dyer 2017, Harrer 2018, Mukherjee 2018). The next section of this article will explore the concept of orientalism, its main signifiers, and its application in media and digital games.

Orientalism in Digital Games – Playing Otherness

Orientalism can be understood as a paradigm that perceives non-western regions as the other – geo-cultural regions with *different* narratives, politics, and production processes – which contrast with the West (Said 1977, Macfie 2002, Curtis 2009). The other, as orientalism describes, is deprived of subjectivities and assigned rigid essentialist attributes which position the other in stereotypes (Said 1977, Macfie, 2002). Orientalism has three signifiers: discourse, despotism, and production model. The discourse of orientalism is the understanding and articulation of non-western cultures in western cultural frameworks (Said 1977, Macfie 2002, Curtis 2009). Orientalism often represents non-western cultures as despotic and uncivilized, which requires western intervention to bring civilization (Said 1977, Macfie 2002, Curtis 2009) that is based on European whiteness (Spracklen 2013, 27-46). To that end, orientalism often portrays the implementation of western cultural values and instruments in a non-western locus.

Orientalism often manifests in popular media by constructing a clear dichotomy between white as selves and non-white as others. An example of a literary work on orientalism is Joseph Conrad's seminal *Heart of Darkness* novel which portrays white European colonizers' thoroughly superior humanity over black Africans (Fatima, Jamil and Hanif 2015). The novel presents African natives as stereotypically barbaric and foolish other (Fatima, Jamil and Hanif 2015). The title itself is a reference to Africans' sub-humanity, compared to White Europeans (Fatima, Jamil and Hanif 2015).

<u>46</u>

network 1939 Comboning while to all the SPIs more incompany to the SPIs mor

In contrast, *Heart of Darkness'* depictions of its white characters are highly subjective. The actions of the novel's central characters, Marlow and Kurtz, are driven by their backgrounds, intrinsic values, and motivations (Fatima, Jamil and Hanif 2015). This is also exemplified in their contrasting roles: Marlow is the protagonist who explores African jungles and sympathizes with Africans while he is also terrified by the continent; and Kurtz exploits African despotism (Fatima, Jamil and Hanif 2015).

Modern games themselves are proverbial fertile soil for orientalism. Table-top games such as *Dungeon and Dragons* (1985) feature rigid characterizations of non-white characters, which are rooted in orientalist perceptions including the stereotypical Japanese samurai and Arabian princess (Trammel 2016). Additionally, the Eurogame genre in tabletop games tends to simulate European violent colonial history in an uncritical manner that further strengthens the embodiment of whiteness as being and non-white as the other (Foasberg 2016).

Games historically teach gamers to play otherness (Leonard 2003, 4-5). Gamers are being adjusted to project their identities into white normativity. Many digital games have difficulty in holistically articulating non-white identities, and any attempts would usually express hybrid forms of white supremacy and/or orientalism (Mukherjee 2017, 62-65). Non-western regions are also often objectified as uncharted regions to be full of mysteries, perils and conflicts, yet rewarding (Harrer 2018, 9-14).

Other scholars focus on rigid othering where non-white characters are expressed as peripheries or even opponents. Black characters in digital games are often positioned as thugs and criminals through digital games such as in the *Grand Theft Auto* series (1997-2013), which reproduce post-civil rights movement stereotypes of black

Americans (Everett 2005, 316). In other cases, Middle Eastern characters are almost always represented as opponents in post-9/11 shooter games (Šisler 2008, 204). Both arguments exemplify how orientalism complements white supremacy by clustering non-white people into categories which are characterised by shallow essentialism and stereotypes.

Racially and culturally problematic digital games are normally located within the globally distributed and highly profitable triple-A production (Fron et al. 2007, Harrer 2018). On a meta-textual level, whiteness is a norm in digital games culture because whiteness has become the foundation of a virtual ecosystem, which accepts European and Anglo-American colonial legacy as its overarching ideology (Patterson 2020, 1-13). This ecosystem teaches players to create distinctions between white and non-white in a politically asymmetrical position through embodiment of whiteness and othering of non-white (Patterson 2020, 1-13).

Methodology

This article uses a qualitative-inductive approach within a constructivist paradigm. It will systematically construct new knowledge based on data, which are to be collected and analysed. The data collecting method of this article is document analysis (Bryman 2012, 557). Document analysis is a qualitative research method in which documents are the main sources of data to find clues, bind them together and make conclusions (Bryman 2012, 557).

There are two types of documents which are to be collected and analysed: mass media documents and virtual documents. As texts, commercial digital games fulfill both criteria. They are audiovisual documents which are mass-produced through

et Les SPA most nuesque principal de la companya de

formal institutions which are digital game companies, and afford simulations/representations of their creators' political standpoints (Dovey and Kennedy 2006, Fron et al. 2007, Harrer 2018). They are also digital artefacts where interactions mainly occur in their virtual world which also facilitates interaction from players which reproduce political standpoints (Dovey and Kennedy 2006, Bryman 2012).

The selected documents must have relevance to the theme and aim of this article, and are not specifically designed for scientific research purposes (Bryman 2012, 558). There are three commercial action-adventure digital games selected as research objects of this article: *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune, Far Cry 3*, and *Shadow of the Tomb Raider*, due to their strong simulation/representation of white supremacy and orientalism and their adherence to mainstream conventions of digital games which perpetuate white hegemony (Leonard 2003, Šisler 2008).

These three games express adventures of white protagonists' narratives in non-Western settings, yet they implement values and mechanisms of white exceptionalism, which is rooted in European and Anglo-American identities while objectifying non-white characters. These expressions are rooted in the history of white supremacy and orientalism in popular culture (Spracklen 2013, Dyer 2017). Additionally, each game has unique expressions in various foci of white supremacy, which make them distinct from one another.

The data analysis method of this article is thematic analysis (Bryman 2012, 578-581) with colonialism as its main theme. This article argues that white supremacy and orientalism are colonialism's formative elements, and contribution to new knowledge about digital games and colonialism will be synthesized through analysis of those

formative elements. White supremacy and orientalism are this article's analytical units, and the collected data will be analysed in accordance with their coding categories. Analytical categories for white supremacy as an analytical unit are invisibility and norm, while analytical categories for orientalism as an analytical unit are discourse, despotism, and production model. Relevant observed features from this article's research objects will be classified into their responding analytical categories, to be discussed in the following section.

Discussion

Expressions of White Supremacy

The Invisibility of White Supremacy in Digital Games

The most apparent expression of white invisibility in action-adventure digital games is the representation of white characters as playable protagonists, which are often constructed with positive qualities and not treated critically. Consequentially, the historical oppressive root of white supremacy becomes less visible to gamers. There are three foci of white supremacy's invisibility discussed in this section: subjectivity, ludic structure, and comparison to other sociocultural issues. Players are also being enabled by developers to subjectively connect with Nathan Drake from *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune,* Jason Brody from *Far Cry 3* and Lara Croft from *Shadow of the Tomb Raider* due to their developed characterizations, which are highly subjective. Their identities are not explicitly rooted in their nationalities, or their socioracial characteristics. White characters are often considered as persons, unbounded by objective categorization of races (McIntosh 2002, Dyer 2017). This privileged subjectivity of digital games' commonly white protagonists enables players to embody ludic whiteness. Through the simulation of invisible whiteness in digital games, players become accustomed to experiencing fair skin and blue eyes, in

network may professory while we are great Leas Pla month norm with the norm of the control to th

addition to an Anglo-American English accent as normal features of digital games.

More importantly, players need to play as white characters to progress in the game. This is a significant process of internalization and camouflaging of white supremacy that is exclusive to digital games' ludic structure. Digital games' mediality provides unique qualities in immersions of players toward digital games as designed and experienced systems (Sicart 2009, Rigby and Ryan 2011). Using a theatrical analogy, players play roles of actors and actresses which meaningfully impact a digital game's procedurality, while at the same time being exposed to its text akin to audiences of a theatre (Newman 2004, Neitzel 2005, Bogost 2010). In literature such as *Heart of Darkness*, players read and embody whiteness through mental imagination. In digital games, however, players not only embody whiteness but also produce ergodic texts of whiteness through ludic interaction with digital game text. More conventional media teach audiences to *witness* whiteness, whereas digital games teach players to be white.

The whiteness of digital games often becomes invisible as games are often imbued with values which are often construed as positive but are, in actuality, rooted in western civilization's values, such as self-determination and the pursuit of personal goals. Nathan Drake of *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune* is a good example of this argument. Drake as a treasure hunter has little regard for local customs, environments, and human lives. Drake's adventures often express pillaging, which often leads to environmental damage in non-western settings in addition to armed conflicts, and players as Drake need to simulate acts of murder toward non-playable, often non-white, characters to complete the game's ergodic narrative.

Yet the game emphasizes heavily Drake's charisma, resourcefulness, strength, and

networm 13) Curbons while to all the SPIs most needown and the second se

overall positive human qualities, without affording players a critical expression to evaluate the oppressive colonial roots of those expressions' association with whiteness. The whiteness of *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune* gains invisibility because of two elements. The first is how the context of whiteness becomes malleable toward the intrinsic identities of players, which are enforced through its rules. *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune* enforces rules which only allow players to interact with its ergodic texts via a white cisgender male of American nationality and European ancestry as an avatar. Flow theory (Csikszentmihalyi 1991, Hsu and Lu 2004, Harvey 2009) argues that a balance between digital games' tasks and gamers' mastery will create a flow that momentarily fully transfers their consciousness to embody ergodic texts that they are interacting with. Playing *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune* on a textual level only affords players with an embodiment of whiteness.

The second level is the subtle yet profound expression of white exceptionalism. Aside from the playable Nathan Drake, the game features Sully and Elena as supporting protagonists and Roman as its main antagonist. All of them are white characters of North American and European origins, and have more fleshed-out characterizations compared to the Peruvian Atoq Navarro and the Indonesian Eddy Raja. As is the norm in popular culture artefacts with colonial adventure narratives, *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune* represents conflicts between white people in non-western settings with non-white characters as auxiliary characters (Fatima, Jamil and Hanif 2015, Hall 2015).

While simulations and representations of white characters emphasize their aspirations and subjectivities, expressions of Atoq Navarro and Eddy Raja are more stereotyped. Both are portrayed as antagonists. Representations of Navarro focus on a white saviour narrative between him and Roman, while Raja is depicted as an incompetent

et les Pla mont noncomb and no

simpleton as well as a comic figure. The game does not provide complex backgrounds for Navarro and Raja, nor does it frame the ergodic text of treasure hunting in their perspective, based on their cultural identities, which are different from Eurocentric backgrounds of the game's white characters. Instead of representing Navarro as a sympathetic villain, who seeks to defend the cultural legacy of his Native Peruvian heritage, *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune* represents him as a villainous treasure hunter in opposition to the game's white protagonists.

The invisibility of whiteness in *Far Cry 3* is expressed in its first-person camera and its ludo-narrative structure. This is because the projection of consciousness in embodying a first-person avatar will lead to stronger immersion (Gee 2008, 256-261). Farrow and lacovides (2014, 223-224) present related arguments, stating that stronger immersion will occur when there is less noise between players and the virtual world which they embody. The first-person camera offers a more direct projection in embodying the character (Calleja 2011, 79). *Far Cry 3* affords players to play the game as Jason Brody, an American who is stranded on the fictional Rook Island with his friends and family. Rook Island itself is an oversimplified amalgamation of Indonesia and Malaysia. Geographically, Rook Island is located around the real-life Indonesian Nusa Tenggara Island. However, it is inhabited by Indonesian fauna from both branches of the Wallace Line, Komodo dragons and Sumatran tigers; two species which do not coexist in true Indonesian wildlife.

As in the case of *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune, Far Cry 3* enforces white exceptionality. The game provides detailed background and characterizations for its white characters, but it presents its non-western, non-white elements in monolithic and stereotypical manners. Furthermore, the game combines orientalist narratives in a white hegemonic ludic structure in which players embody white characters saving

other white characters, while interacting with native and non-white characters in antagonistic and transactional manners. The first-person camera and the open-world structure afford players with abilities to perceive and interact with non-western settings strictly from the point of view of a white man. White supremacy is invisible because it becomes the driving logic that overarches what is considered the standard formula of the open-world action-adventure genre. Despite the series becoming more inclusive in future *Far Cry* games, *Far Cry 3* remains a good example of whiteness' pervasiveness as a logic and key element of digital game expressions.

Owing to its status as a longstanding series in digital game culture, it is noteworthy that no academic research so far has focused on *Tomb Raider*'s expressions of white supremacy. The rebooted *Tomb Raider* series manages to express a more holistic version of Lara Croft. Croft evolved from a one-dimensional sex symbol to a heroine with complex emotions and character development. Yet the narrative of the white saviour remains a strong presence in the series. As the general theme of the series, *Shadow of the Tomb Raider* expresses a ludo-narrative of treasure hunting in which Lara Croft travels to non-western settings in search of historical artefacts, often encountering supernatural phenomena in the process. In the game, Lara travels to Mexico and Peru to find apocalyptic pre-Columbian artefacts in a race against the Trinity, the rebooted series' main antagonists, who seek to use them for world domination. Like *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune* and *Far Cry 3*, the location and narrative backgrounds of *Shadow of the Tomb Raider* reproduce the message of white subjectivity, which consequently strips non-white characters of their agency.

Despite being away from her geo-cultural origin, Lara Croft is depicted as being physically, tactically, and culturally superior to indigenous characters in the game, due to *Shadow of the Tomb Raider*'s pre-set narratives and the player only being able to

play as Lara Croft with her white adventurer heritage. A prime example of this expression can be found in Lara Croft's interaction with the fictional indigenous Paititi's populations. Like in its prequel, *Rise of the Tomb Raider* (2015), *Shadow of the Tomb Raider* is a semi-open world game, where players can complete side activities. Several of those activities include interaction with Paititian non-playable characters (NPCs). *Shadow of the Tomb Raider* affords a more complex form of interaction with Paititian NPCs, as compared to its prequel. Lara Croft not only takes missions from them but is also able to learn about their culture and history.

This becomes problematic, however, because indigenous characters are portrayed as not having enough agency for self-determination. Lara Croft is simulated as a problem-solver for them. In various side activities, Croft undertakes missions for Paititian NPCs, which should not be problematic for them due to their proximity to such activities. Yet the game's developers omit what could be a holistic representation of non-white socioracial groups, and fail to display how white characters such as Lara Croft can synergize with them instead of taking control. A good example of this argument is in a side mission in which Croft obtains an elite bow from an Paititian NPC. Instead of using the treasured bow themselves, they grant Lara Croft the status of champion. This side mission is an expression of white exceptionalism narrative devices (Spracklen 2015, Hall 2015, Dyer 2017) where white characters' adventures in a non-white setting focus on their triumph against adversaries and overall superiority to indigenous characters.

Shadow of the Tomb Raider has several moments where it seemingly subverts the subordinating expression of non-white characters. Jonah, Lara Croft's loyal companion who had shown unwavering support over the past two games, is noticeably more critical toward Croft's actions, which he deems as jeopardizing local

communities where the artefacts are located. Whereas Croft is concerned with stopping Trinity at all costs to protect her father's legacy, Jonah is concerned with protecting non-Western communities who have nothing to do with the Croft family and Trinity. This dynamic begins as early as the prologue part of the game, when Lara Croft accidentally unleashes a tsunami on a Mexican town as she searches for artefacts.

Yet the critique is mainly irrelevant because of two aspects. The first is Jonah's identity as an individual of Pacific Islander ancestry. Instead of delegating the subversive agencies to members of the game's Paititian community, *Shadow of the Tomb Raider* creates a blanket category for non-white characters. While white characters such as Lara Croft and Trinity's members have unique subjectivities, non-white characters are generic. The role of Lara Croft's minority counterpart can be represented by any non-white characters. Secondly, the game's critique is hampered by its structures. The game's storytelling of Paititian power struggle adds depths to their representation, but only within a narrow framework of the colonial noble savage narrative (Said 1977, Hall 2015, Mukherjee 2017). The interactivity of *Shadow of the Tomb Raider* still revolves around Lara Croft and her privileged white European background, which the players need to embody to complete the game.

At this point, I have discussed how whiteness is often hidden in digital games through expressions of narrative and simulations of rules, which are the norm. The next section of this article will discuss how such norms are uniformly applied in all three researched games, and how they perpetuate white invisibility and white supremacy in general.

network night control of the control

The Norm of Whiteness in Digital Games

The norm of whiteness refers to a set of values which is based on white culture (Dyer 2017, 5-8). It can be based on white history, white experience, white politics, among others (Dyer 2017, 8-14). The norm of whiteness functions to legitimize white culture as a universally acceptable set of values (McIntosh 2002, Spracklen 2013, Dyer 2017). To do so, the norm must be internalized by audiences through reproductions and receptions of the message (Spracklen 2013, 56-63). Hegemony of play (Fron et al. 2007) is a useful critical framework to investigate the formation of white norm in digital games. As discussed earlier, hegemony of play is strongly associated with values of whiteness as white male is the most politically powerful socioracial group in digital games (Fron et al. 2007, 309-310). Hegemony of play design specific conventions of digital games, and then frame them as universal through their implementation in highly popular digital games (Fron et al. 2007, 310-312). Consequentially, hegemony of play attempts to divorce those conventions from their dominant sociocultural origins. This section discusses the intersection between the hegemony of play-produced digital gaming norms and the colonial narrative which is oriented around whiteness.

Uncharted: Drake's Fortune, Far Cry 3, and Shadow of the Tomb Raider have similarities in both themes and gameplay. The theme of these three games represents a journey of white characters in non-western settings, with key narrative differences. Uncharted: Drake's Fortune focuses on a narrative of treasure hunting and blatant disregard of the local contexts. Drake is expressed as only caring about his ancestry and his fellow white companions, while having little concern with the ethical implication of his enterprises toward local communities. Shadow of the Tomb Raider provides a superficially more inclusive representation, by assigning identities to the indigenous Paititian society. However, a deeper investigation will reveal how said

network ortan production while the strong Leas Pla month normal with the normal part of the strong o

subjectivity is superficial, as the game's narrative reproduces the white saviour narrative, which strips Paititians of their agency as they become dependent on Croft to solve problems.

Far Cry 3 puts white identities in direct confrontation with the othering of Rook Islanders (Said 1977, Bhabha 1994). Its narrative creates a dichotomy between the modernized Jason Brody and his fellow American and the mystical, primordial Rook Islanders, while still delegating the status quo to Jason Brody with his white identity. There is also a stark contrast between Far Cry 3 and the two other games discussed in this article. Whereas the main narratives of Uncharted: Drake's Fortune and Shadow of the Tomb Raider are treasure hunting, Far Cry 3's narrative focuses on survival. These diverse representations of socioracial relations, however, are unified through a hegemonic embodiment of white characters by players that become key interactive elements. As discussed above, white hegemony is maintained through limitations of the avatars in the form of white characters, which forces players to embody them and immerse into their white socioracial identities. One of the primary identities is gun violence. Gun ownership has become a cornerstone of American culture due to the nation's long history of permissive gun laws (Witkowski 2013, 5).

Gun culture in the United States is in harmony with American right-wing ideologies, which enable white supremacy (Witkowski 2013, Schwartz, 2017). Gun ownership and gun use have become a part of the fabric of identity for vocal portions of white conservative Americans, who will defend gun rights from stricter measures of control (Witkowski 2013, 7-8). American white supremacists also reproduce gun culture through popular culture artefacts (Witkowski 2013, 11-15). Indeed, gun violence becomes a significant ludic element of popular digital games such as *Grand Theft Auto V* (Jiwandono 2015, 211).

Uncharted: Drake's Fortune, Far Cry 3, and Shadow of the Tomb Raider all express gun use as vital part of the narrative and use guns as ludic devices. Most segments require players to kill in-game opponents using guns; this cannot be negotiated as nonlethal options are often unavailable. Those games also do not have a morality system that would punish players should they simulate gun violence. Uncharted: Drake's Fortune and Shadow of the Tomb Raider's stories are linear, while Far Cry 3's narrative's point of divergence does not involve critical expressions of gun violence. The symbolic devaluation of human lives by gun violence mirrors the insistence by vocal portions of white conservative Americans to preserve gun rights despite the fact that gun violence costs lives in the country, and despite the brutal history of firearms usage in oppressing indigenous population across the globe (Witkowski 2013, Schwartz 2017). By expressing gun violence uncritically through their formal texts, digital games contribute to internalizing white supremacy as a commonplace.

Another form of white supremacy manifestation in digital games is white personhood, which perpetuates colonial legacy in digital games. Despite the emergence of a more inclusive expression of women as minorities, whiteness is still the norm. Many women protagonists in recent digital games are still white characters of European ancestry. In addition, Eurocentric liberal democratic values such as self-determination, capitalism, and putting one's interests above others are expressed as signifiers of digital games' protagonists in both storytelling and gameplay mechanism. Mukherjee (2017, 63-65) argues that even when digital games attempt to express non-white as protagonists, they will still embody values and practices which are rooted in whiteness. This makes non-white protagonists in digital games hybrids (Mukherjee 2017, 68-70) at best, or tokens at worst.

Orientalism is a concept that overarches the praxis of othering in digital games as it creates an asymmetrical relationship between the civilized West and the savage non-West (Said 1977, 53, 61-64). The next section of this article will discuss how three dimensions of orientalism are expressed in *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune, Far Cry 3*, and *Shadow of the Tomb Raider*.

Expression of Orientalism

Discourse of Orientalism – Whites and Others

All three games simulate adventures of white protagonists in non-western settings, which are represented as dangerous yet fruitful. The objectification of the orient is one of orientalism's core discourses (Said 1977, 61-64). The discourse of orientalism itself would construct non-western settings within the culture of white oriented west (Said 1977, 81-84). The discourse of orientalism will create a dichotomy between west and non-west through the implementation of western attributes in non-western settings (Said 1977, Curtis 2009). The criteria of good or bad are measured based on western values, with little consideration for local culture (Said 1977, Curtis 2009).

<u>60</u>

In *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune*, non-white characters are portrayed as pirates, in contrast to the diverse representations of its white characters. Likewise, they are solely portrayed as the game's antagonists. This is noticeable as the other games discussed in this article still express non-white supporting characters, despite strong tokenism. *Far Cry 3* expresses an even starker contrast, by explicit representations of Rook Islanders as a stereotypically backward and violent society. In *Shadow of the Tomb Raider*, the Paititian are expressed as an oppressed society until Lara Croft's arrival and taking charge of the society's problem solving, using her capabilities which are rooted in her privileged European backgrounds.

Regardless of those different representations, non-white characters in these games are equally lacking agencies, both in terms of narrative and gameplay. They embody a fixed category with essentialist roles, which are subordinate toward white characters. Non-white characters in these three games are designed as means to propel the ludo-narrative progression of white characters. This creates a monolithic othering of non-white characters as peripheral. The discourse of orientalism leads to the idea of orientalist despotism (Said 1977, Macfie 2002, Curtis 2009). Orientalist despotism itself is a social construction, which constructs non-western settings as inherently different from the west. At best, a non-western society; the orient, is constructed as a backwards yet well-meaning society (Mukherjee 2017, 13-15). At worst, it is constructed as a hotbed for violence (Harrer 2018, 7-8). The next subsection will discuss the expressions of orientalist despotism in *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune, Far Cry 3*, and *Shadow of the Tomb Raider*.

Orientalist Despotism – Civilised Whites and Savage Others

Expressions of despotism in non-western settings can be observed in all three games. *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune* expresses lawlessness in the country of Panama and the South American region, as both protagonists and antagonists of the game can arguably conduct criminal activities with ease. Law enforcement is not expressed at all in the game, with the implication that Panamanian and South American law enforcements are incompetent. Other instalments in the series, such as *Uncharted 4: A Thief's End*, outright depict South American law enforcers as corrupt. This contrasts with digital games which take place in modern day, non-apocalyptic, North America or Western Europe, such as *Grand Theft Auto V* (2013) or *Watch Dogs: Legion* (2020), in which law enforcement is a vital expression. Even digital games which take place in rural areas of the western world, such as *Far Cry 5* (2018), still express law enforcement as its vital narrative and ludic rules. *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune* enforces

networking rether while the strong Let spla most most with the first splan for the spl

an orientalist view of lawlessness beyond the western world, and at the same time constructs non-western regions as free-for-all lands.

The orientalist despotism is a main ludo-narrative element of both Far Cry 3 and Shadow of the Tomb Raider. Far Cry 3's Rook Island is expressed as a lawless zone that is rife with violence and conflict as the game progresses. The main conflict of Far Cry 3 is between Hoyt Volker's privateer faction and the Rakyat insurgent tribe led by Citra Talugmai. The background of Far Cry 3 is Volker's conquest of Rooks Island, which is later transformed into his base for human trafficking and illegal weapons and drug trades. The game expresses clearly that the Rakyat insurgent is inferior to Volker's privateers, and the player's actions are required to reach the desirable goal. Furthermore, despite being expressed as the oppressed, the Rook Islander society is also one with a belief in human sacrifice: an abhorrent action by modern western standards. Indeed, players, such as Jason Brody, would eventually have to confront Citra Talugmai and the Rook Islanders in the game's final segment. Citra Talugmai's occidental fascination of Jason Brody's whiteness is an interesting expression. Yet Citra Talugmai's personal motives are not well-developed. Instead, it is the prophecy of the Rook Islands that becomes her motivation. As such, Citra Talugmai and the Rook Islanders are unable to escape the divisive othering that positions them in a despotic category.

In *Shadow of the Tomb Raider*, the Paititian are represented as a much nobler community compared to the Rook Islanders, as they never attempt to use Lara for their own gain. Yet they are still trapped in a violent successor dispute between the Trinity-controlled incumbent and the rightful heir to the Paititian throne. The Paititian's dispute is ultimately secondary to the ongoing conflict between Lara Croft and the Trinity. As such, again, the interest of non-white characters is subordinate to

et Les SPA most nuesque principal de la companya de

white characters' interests. The Paititian are also expressed as being unable to solve their own problem without intervention from Lara Croft. In *Shadow of the Tomb Raider*, the savagery of the Paititian is located in their decadence (Said 1977, Macfie 2002, Curtis, 2009); once a mighty warrior tribe, they have been reduced to an isolated community by white people's conspiracy, only to be liberated by other white people.

Orientalist Production Model

In orientalism, the process of implementing white values and practices in a non-western setting is called an orientalist production model (Said 1977, Macfie 2002, Curtis 2009). It has two significances. Firstly, an orientalist production model enforces white hegemony, as it maintains whiteness as the status quo. Secondly, an orientalist production model has a transformative capability in subordinating a social environment in non-western setting.

The orientalist production model of *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune* is located in violent treasure hunting as a status quo, and how non-white characters such as Atoq Navaro and Eddy Raja embody the role on the villainous spectrum. Avoiding orientalist expressions requires a more holistic expression of non-white characters. Navaro could be portrayed as an indigenous mole within Roman's treasure hunting organization, whose endgame was to protect his ancestor's legacy. Instead of being depicted as a pirate with little nuance, Raja could be portrayed as a victim of child trafficking, which would provide context for his violent way of life and also his strong sense of camaraderie with his crew.

Instead, Navaro becomes a hybrid, a criminal mastermind who replaces Roman as the main antagonist during the final segment of the game. Atog Navaro embodies

artic rita communication of the second communication of th

Roman's whiteness, which in turn suppresses his indigenous Peruvian identity. Eddy Raja perfectly fits the mould of orientalist othering by his expression as a one-dimensional character throughout the game. The implementation of a white-oriented production model is a strong formative element, which enables white supremacy to become invisible and legitimize itself as a norm, as can be found in *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune*.

Far Cry 3 expresses a clear dichotomy between Hoyt Volker's privateer faction and Rook Islanders. The white-led privateers are depicted to be far superior combatants to Rook Islanders, who only managed to gain the upper hand after players such as Jason Brody complete the game's missions. By becoming the *de facto* ruler of Rook Island, the white South African Hoyt Volker has managed to establish the apartheid cultural and political system on the Island, where he exploits local inhabitants and the environment for his own benefit.

This creates segregation (Said 1977, Macfie 2002, Curtis 2009) between the superior white and inferior indigenous. The segregation is reproduced once the player as Jason Brody progress further in the game and becomes a vital part of the Rook Islander insurgency. He would become the *de facto* leader of Rook Island until near the end of the game. As such, the game delegates the agency of native non-white citizens to agents of western civilization, such as Jason Brody.

A similar case also occurs in *Shadow of the Tomb Raider*. Trinity infiltrated Paititian society centuries before the game's event. Therefore, the city of Paititi and the Paititian become an extension of Trinity. Trinity's ideologies and practices would be accepted as norms among Paititians for centuries, as the society's majority accepted Trinity's rules and the rebels are minorities. The game attempts to deliver a critique of

network miles of the service of the

white invisibility by expressing Trinity as an invisible actor. But it is ultimately irrelevant due to Paititian's dependence on Lara Croft as the tiebreaker in their conflict: a white saviour expression which *Shadow of the Tomb Raider* also shares with *Far Cry 3*. Ultimately, *Shadow of the Tomb Raider* expresses an orientalist production model by asymmetrically positioning Lara Croft as the master and the Paititians as followers in a conflict in which white agendas are at stake.

Conclusion – Critical Engagement

Based on this article's discussion, I argue that colonial expression in games is maintained by romanticising orientalist themes and entrenching the white hegemony of play to be accepted as a norm. *Uncharted: Drake's Fortune, Far Cry 3*, and *Shadow of the Tomb Raider* exemplify the subtle yet prevalent and ubiquitous expression of colonialism, which is rigid and malleable at the same time. A question needs to be asked: how can we as players critically engage whiteness?

Whiteness is the logic of digital games. It is the dominant cultural root of digital games' semiotic dimensions and formal texts. Digital games' stories are written based on Eurocentric social constructions, and their pre-existing reproductions in various forms of popular media. Likewise, the convention of digital games' virtual experience is based on phenomena which are common in white-dominated societies. This includes but is not limited to individual competence, technological mastery, and capitalism. Expressions of rules and narratives in digital games fetishize the identity of whiteness and frame it as universal.

The prevalence of white supremacy and orientalism in digital games is rooted in societal and technological hegemony. The long history of white-dominated arts and

entertainment by the western world has accrued both financial and social capital, which enable them to herd the public discourse and market logic. These, in turn, enabled the western world to accrue human capital in the arts and the entertainment industry, and digital games are no exception. The white hegemony of digital game workers hinders the industry from expressing digital games within the framework of blackness, and the frameworks of other socioracial groups. As whiteness becomes the logic of digital games, it will remain supreme and orientalist expressions will persist, no matter how subtle.

Critical engagement with whiteness needs commitment toward criticism of digital games' epistemology. We need to be aware about the cultural root of digital games' dominant conventions, to study how they are biased toward politically and economically dominant social groups such as white. We need to critically examine how digital games' expressions entrench dominant values while alienating less-dominant values. It requires a fragmentation of game culture into localized expressions. This is exceptionally crucial to escape a reproduction of whiteness into the shell of non-white characters and/or settings.

This also means diversifying digital games' expression by re-formulating the role of non-white characters in digital games. This includes the development of authentic conventions in digital games which are specifically non-white, instead of merely appropriating digital game norms, which are inherently white. Critical engagement with whiteness in digital games requires a development of a new logic which acknowledges the contexts of whiteness in digital games and their oppression, and actively resists them. Whiteness needs to be understood as deeply contextual as opposed to universal, and the colonialization of digital games' spaces and culture needs to be reclaimed.

network new contracts while the stress of Let's Pla inort indead with the stress of th

References

Addy, N., 2008. White privilege and cultural racism. *New Zealand Journal of Counselling*, 28(1), 10-23.

Bhabha, H., K., 1994. The location of culture. London and New York: Routledge.

Bogost, I., 2010. Persuasive games. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Bonds, A. and Inwood, J., 2016. Beyond white privilege: Geographies of white supremacy and settler colonialism. *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(6), 715-733.

Bryman, A., 2012. Social research methods. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Calleja, G., 2011. *In-game: From immersion to incorporation*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Conrad, J., 1899. Heart of Darkness. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Curtis, M., 2009. *Orientalism and Islam: Thinkers on Muslim government in the Middle East and India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Csikszentmihalyi, M., 1991. *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience*. New York: Harper Perennial.

Dietrich, D. R., 2013. Avatar of whiteness: Racial expression in video game characters. *Sociological Inquiry*, 83(1), 82-105. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/soin.12001.

network night remained while the strong Let sells more necessary to the night remained with the night

Dovey, J. and Kennedy, H. W., 2006. *Game cultures: Computer game as new media*. New York: Open University Press.

Dyer, R., 2017. White. London: Routledge.

Everett, A., 2005. Serious play: Playing with race in contemporary gaming culture. In: Raessens, J. and Goldstein, J., ed. *Handbook of computer game studies*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Far Cry 3, 2012. [video game] (Xbox 360) Ubisoft Montreal, Ubisoft.

Far Cry 5, 2018. [video game] (PlayStation 4) Ubisoft Montreal and Ubisoft Toronto, Ubisoft.

Farrow, R. and locavides, I., 2014. Gaming and the limits of digital embodiment. *Philosophy & Technology*, 27(2), 221-233. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/s13347-013-0111-1.

Fatima, A., Jamil, A. and Hanif, S., 2015. Othering Africans in European literature: A postcolonial analysis of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. *European Journal of English Language and Literature Studies*, 3(5), 40-45.

Fickle, T., 2019. *The race card: From gaming technology to model minorities*. New York: New York University Press.

Foasberg, N., 2016. The problematic pleasure of productivity and efficiency in Goa and Navegador. Analog Game Studies, 3(1). Available at

https://analoggamestudies.org/2016/01/the-problematic-pleasures-of-productivity-and-efficiency-in-goa-and-navegador/, accessed 29 March 2022.

Fron, J., Fullerton, T., Morie, J. F. and Pearce, C., 2007. The hegemony of play. In: DiGRA (Digital Game Research Association), *Situated Play*. Tokyo, Japan, 24-28 September 2007.

du Gay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., Madsen, A. K., Mackay, H. and Negus, K, 1997. *Doing Cultural Studies: The story of Sony Walkman*. London: SAGE Publications.

Gee, J. P., 2008. Video games and embodiment. *Games and Culture*, 3(3-4), 253-263. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/155541200831730.

Grand Theft Auto V, 2013. [video game] (Xbox 360) Rockstar North, Rockstar.

Hall, S., 2015. The white of their eyes: Racist ideologies and the media. In: Dines, G. and Humez, J. M., eds. *Gender, race and class in media*. 4th ed. Boston: Sage Publications.

Harrer, S., 2018. Casual empire: Video games as neocolonial praxis. *Open Library of Humanities*, 4(1), 1-28. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16995/olh.210.

Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone, 2001. [film] Directed by Chris Columbus. USA: Warner Bros. Pictures.

Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets, 2002. [film] Directed by Chris Columbus. USA: Warner Bros. Pictures.

network ortan production while we are girled splan more necessary and an experience of the control of the contr

Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban, 2004. [film] Directed by Alfonso Cuaron. USA: Warner Bros. Pictures.

Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire, 2005. [film] Directed by Mike Newell. USA: Warner Bros. Pictures.

Harry Potter and the Order of Phoenix, 2007. [film] Directed by David Yates. USA: Warner Bros. Pictures.

Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince, 2009. [film] Directed by David Yates. USA: Warner Bros. Pictures.

Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows – Part 1, 2010. [film] Directed by David Yates. USA: Warner Bros. Pictures.

Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows – Part 2, 2011. [film] Directed by David Yates. USA: Warner Bros. Pictures.

Harvey, A., 2009. Seeking the embodied mind in video game theory: Embodiment in cybernetics, flow and rule structures. *Loading... Journal of the Canadian Game Studies Association*, 1(4), 1-9.

Hsu, C.-L. and Lu, H.-P., 2004. Why do people play on-line games? An extended TAM with social influences and flow experience. *Information & Management*, 41(7), 853-868. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.im.2003.08.014.

Jiwandono, H. P., 2015. Analisis resepsi pemain terhadap serial video game Grand

<u>71</u>

network milay promotes while to all the SPIa more necessary promotes and the spia mor

Theft Auto. Jurnal Studi Pemuda, 4(1), 206-223. DOI: https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.36730.

Leonard, D., 2003. 'Live in your world, play in ours': Race, video games, and consuming the other. *Studies in Media & Information Literacy Education*, 3(9), 1-9.

MacCallum-Stewart, E., 2014. 'Take that, bitches!' Refiguring Lara Croft in feminist game narratives. Game Studies, 14(2). Available at http://www.gamestudies.org/1402/articles/maccallumstewart, accessed 11 November 2022.

Macfie, A. L., 2002. *Orientalism*. Edinburgh: Pearson.

McIntosh, P., 2002. White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. In: Rothenberg, P. S., ed. *White privilege*. New York: Worth Publishers.

Mitchell, M., 1936. Gone with the wind. New York City: Macmillan Publishers.

Mukherjee, S., 2018. Playing subaltern: Video games and postcolonialism. *Games and Culture*, 13(5), 504-520. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/155541201562725.

Mukherjee, S., 2017. *Videogames and postcolonialism: Empire plays back*. Cham: Springer.

Murray, S., 2019. Playing whiteness in crisis in *The Last of Us* and *Tomb Raider*. *Transactions of the Digital Games Research Association*, 4(3), 117-146.

network night control of the control

Neitzel, B., 2005. Narrativity in computer games. In: Raessens, J. and Goldstein, J., eds. *Handbook of computer game studies*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Newman, J., 2004. Videogames. Abingdon: Routledge.

Patterson, C. B., 2020. *Open world empire: Race, erotics and the global rise of video games*. New York: New York University Press.

Penix-Tadsen, P., 2019. Introduction: Video games and the Global South. In: Penix-Tadsen, P., ed. *Video games and the Global South*. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Mellon University in association with ETC Press.

Rigby, S. and Ryan, R., 2011. *Glued to games: How video games draw us in and hold us spellbound.* Santa Barbara: Praeger.

Rise of the Tomb Raider, 2015. [video game] (Xbox One) Eidos Montreal, Square Enix Europe.

Schwartz, S. A., 2017. America's white supremacy crisis. *Explore: The Journal of Science and Healing*, 13(5), 293-297. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.explore.2017.07.001.

Shadow of the Tomb Raider, 2018. [video game] (PlayStation 4) Eidos Montreal, Square Enix Europe.

Shaw, A., 2014. *Gaming at the edge: sexuality and gender at the margins of gamer culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

network may protecting while to all of the SPIs more necessary and many pure of the SPIs in the SPIs i

Said, E., 1977. Orientalism. London: Penguin.

Sicart, M., 2009. The ethics of computer games. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Šisler, V., 2008. Digital Arabs: Representations in video games. *Cultural Studies*, 11(2), 203-219. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549407088333.

Spracklen, K., 2013. Whiteness and leisure. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Star Trek: The Original Series. 1966-1969. 2009. [Blu-ray] Hollywood: Paramount Pictures.

The Last of Us, 2013. [video game] (PlayStation 3). Naughty Dog, Sony Computer Entertainment.

The Last of Us Part II, 2020. [video game] (PlayStation 4). Naughty Dog, Sony Computer Entertainment.

Tomb Raider, 2013. [videogame] (Xbox 360). Crystal Dynamics, Square Enix Europe.

Trammell, A., 2016. *How* Dungeons & Dragons *appropriated the Orient. Analog Game Studies*, 3(1). Available at https://analoggamestudies.org/2016/01/how-dungeons-dragons-appropriated-the-orient/, accessed 29 March 2022.

Uncharted: Drake's Fortune, 2007. [video game] (PlayStation 3) Naughty Dog, Sony Computer Entertainment.

network new control while the all of Let's Pla innert indead with the new control of the control

Watch Dogs: Legion, 2020. [video game] (Xbox Series X) Ubisoft Toronto, Ubisoft.

Wilderson III, F. B., 2010. *Red, white and black: Cinema and the structure of U.S. antagonism.* Durham: Duke University Press

Witkowski, T. H., 2013. The visual politics of U.S. gun culture. *Consumer Culture Theory*, 15, 3-23.