Chapter 4

Generagency and problem gaming as stigma

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Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss how generational negotiations and conflicts related to gaming are embedded in structures of everyday life. I will examine this question with regard to young people and how they construct and evaluate gaming as part of their social interactions. Furthermore, I will present a critique of the very notion of problem gaming in itself. When using the term problem gaming, we tend to forget to ask an important question: For whom is problem gaming a problem? Here, we have to consider who is defining gaming as problematic and in relation to whom: Is gaming problematic for the young people's parents or is it problematic for the young people themselves?

In earlier research (Brus 2013, 2014, 2015), I have suggested that young people's problems with gaming are articulated discursively as an addiction in the social interactions between young people and their powerful parents. The parents' worries that their child might be addicted stigmatise some young people and classify them as misfits (Brus 2013). In this chapter I will develop this perspective further, building on results from a new Danish study conducted between September 2014 and February 2015. The main purpose of this study was to develop a sociological understanding of problem gaming (Thorhauge et al. 2016) by focusing on gaming in everyday life (see also Brus 2013, 2015).

The analysis is inspired by the Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman (1990) and his conceptualisation of stigma, and the Irish sociologist Madeleine Leonard (2016) and her concept of generagency. I use generagency to reflect on the relationship between young people and their parents as a key aspect of gaming in young people's everyday life. On one level, the theoretical perspectives indicate an understanding of young people as active agents in their everyday life. On another level, young people also live their everyday life in a society which is 'generationed' (Alanen 2011). Young people's everyday lives are formed by generational structures and through social positions of childhood and adulthood.

Obviously, social categories such as class, ethnicity, and gender exert great influence on young people and their agency. However, age is another key category around which societies are structured. In this vein, the Finnish childhood researcher Leena Alanen has usefully suggested the 'generational order' as 'a conceptual starting point and an analytical tool for framing the study of childhood and the children's active presence in generational structures' (Alanen 2011: 163). To some extent, young people have a problematic or ambiguous status in society. Parents have the power to regulate and control their children's lives. Young people are allowed to practise agency, but agency is widely constrained by parents' ideas about good parenting. To many young people, the home is a strictly regulated space, controlled by adults. Young people's agency is thus influenced by the generational structure.

I will begin the chapter with a short presentation of the theoretical framework and the concepts of stigma and generagency. After this, I will present the study on which the analysis is based. On this basis, I will present four general gameplay patterns which capture the most prominent ways in which young people organise gaming as part of their everyday life: gaming as a break, gaming as individual leisure, gaming as a hobby and gaming as a social activity. These four categories are then used as a springboard to discuss how peers' and parents' positive and negative views on gaming are interpreted by young people. Drawing on the notion of generagency, the following discussion identifies a minor group of young people that is more vulnerable to be stigmatised as problem gamers than other groups. I then move on to a case that addresses problem gaming in more detail.

In my conclusion, I will argue that young people's gaming is not problematic per se. Of course, it may be perceived as a problem in practice but in such cases we have to see it in the light of young people's agency and how their lives are influenced by the generational order.

Problem gaming as stigma

Goffman (1990a) invokes different dramaturgical principles in his description of people's social interactions in everyday life. He describes everyday life as a performance on stage, divided into a front region and a back region. The performance includes actors and their audience and while on stage people perform various roles to impress the others. These performances are collaborations between the participants involved, who negotiate and maintain a social order with their actions.

New technologies have extended communication across time and space, and computer-mediated communication represent a new site for impression management. In late modern society, impression management is not necessarily confined to physical spaces (Jenkins 2010). Individuals are able to manage their face-to-face interactions at a distance. An important aspect of the social interaction between the actor and the audience is the fact that the representations of the self are threatened and always at risk of breaking down.

One possible consequence of such a breakdown, according to Goffman, is the threat of being stigmatised. The normative expectations and stereotypes in social interactions may produce a stigma: a discrediting discrepancy between what Goffman (1990b:12) calls the virtual social identity and the actual social identity. The virtual social identity is the normative expectations we hold toward individuals' characters and attributes in social encounters. The actual identity is the character and attributes individual actually possesses.

Of course, the consequences of social interactions are many and varied; encounters may turn out positively as well as negatively. But when an encounter turns out negatively, it might involve a demarcation of the individual from the group and a movement of him or her into the margins (Williams 2000). Stigmas vary across historical and cultural settings. They are connected to all kinds of culturally unacceptable norms (Williams 2000). I will use this theory of stigma to discuss how some young people become stigmatised as 'problem gamers'. 'Problem gaming' is generated in a family context but is also a societal reaction to something considered abnormal.

Generagency, inter-generagency and intra-generagency

Generagency is a compound of 'gener' and 'agency' (Leonard 2016). The 'gener' refers to generation and the structural aspects of generational relationships. Both young people and their parents are under the influence of the generational order. The 'agency' part of generagency points toward the role of young people as active and independent creators of culture. Young people contribute and change cultural routines under the circumstances they are offered, and with the various choices and restrictions they are given.

Leonard's concept of 'generagency' derives from a critique of a prominent perspective in the sociology of childhood and the resulting problematic relationship between agency and structure. From this perspective within sociology of childhood, young people's everyday lives are more than a preparation for adult life. Young people are social agents operating in particular contexts and situations. They are competent meaning and decision makers (James & Prout 1997). Moreover, young people do not only take an active part in their lives. They have agency in the sense that they are capable of making things happen (Mayall 2002). In short, young people are actors with agency.

Agency is more than the reproduction of culture. 'Children strive to interpret or make sense of the adult world, children come to collectively produce their own peer worlds and cultures' (Corsaro 2005: 24). Young people produce their own cultures, including their gameplay cultures.

According to Leonard (2016), childhood sociologists have been too uncritical in their use of the concept of agency. Leonard argues that it is obvious that young people are agents. Young people have the ability to challenge adults and their understanding of the world, but generation as a core social structure sets limits on young people's agency. In Leonard's view, young people perform youth within a generational order. In

continuation of this, Leonard raises a range of conceptual challenges to the sociology of childhood and the unresolved questions of agency and structure, including questions regarding the roles of intentionality, reflexivity, power and time (Leonard 2016).

I will not go deeper into all of those elements, but just refer to Leonard's emphasis on power relations as a fundamental principle in the relationship between young people and their parents. According to the Childhood sociologists, such relationships are based on unequal terms as parents have considerable power over their children. However, if we maintain that parents have ultimate power over their children, we risk underestimating young people's possibilities of mobilising any kind of agency in their everyday life. According to Leonard, there always exists a possibility to act differently. In some respect, therefore, it is useful to distinguish between vertical and horizontal power in the context of intergenerational relationships (Kuczynski 2003). Vertical power refers to parents' power over their children; horizontal power is the negotiated power relations in daily interactions. Parents may have the power to set up rules but young people are able to act against them with various forms of resistance.

Leonard (2006: 9) suggests dividing generagency into two sub-categories, 'inter-generagency' and 'intra-generagency'. Inter-generagency concerns the relationships between young people and their parents. The concept highlights various kinds of situations that young people and parents share. Childhood and adulthood are social constructions that are produced and reproduced in everyday life interactions. The social constructions change and are constantly redefined in context. Inter-generagency underlines the importance of taking the power relations between parents and children into consideration in any analysis. Intra-generagency refers to the relationships among young people themselves and directs attention toward young people's agency with peers. Furthermore, the concept draws attention to young people's varying life conditions. Young people experience their lives in multiple ways and in many different contexts. Although school is an age-based institution and thereby a part of the generational order, it brings young people together. Through their interactions with each other, young people adapt to, discuss and sometimes even reject the adult world.

I find Leonard's (2016) concept of generagency and the subdivisions of inter-generagency and intra-generagency useful as an analytical framework for understanding young people's everyday life with (problem) gaming. The subdivision of inter-generagency emphasises the importance of taking into account adults' regulation and control of gaming in young people's everyday lives. To put Leonard's (2016) point into perspective, agency is exercised within and across generational and hierarchical relationships between parents and their children. Young people and their parents contribute to the construction of gaming and problem gaming in ongoing dialogues, discussions and reconsiderations.

I use notions and ideas put forth in Leonard's study (2016) to show the interplay between agency and structure, i.e. how micro and macro aspects of young people's everyday lives interplay with each other. The main argument is that generational issues underpin some of the challenges that appear in young people's everyday lives with

gaming; they exemplify young people's dependence on adults as well as the capacity of young people to have an effect on the generational structures around them.

The study: a mixed-methods approach

The chapter is based on a mixed-methods study conducted in 2014 and 2015. It involved a survey (N=1,560) focusing on young people's gaming habits, which was followed up by semi-structured interviews (N=19) and focus group interviews (N=2) focusing on gameplay in everyday life.

From the survey data, two different types of players in relation to problem gaming emerge: Competitive teamplayers and non-competitive singleplayers (Thorhauge et al. 2016). As stated in other contexts, there seems to be an ongoing conflict between competitive team player boys and their mothers (e.g., Aarsand 2011, Brus 2014, Walkerdine 2007). In stark contrast to this, the non-competitive single players are mostly female players with no domestic gaming problems reported. In order to investigate the two different patterns of gaming and their connection to potential domestic conflicts, this chapter contains an analysis of the qualitative data.

Most of the young people were sampled from the survey. However, the lack of relevant female informants necessitated the use of snowball sampling, so some of the informants were recruited through a network of friends and acquaintances (Weiss 1984).

To capture the perspective of young people, the research design included collection of data in the form of oral, written and visual accounts. Video or photo diaries represented various gaming situations and included the young people's spoken or written comments on what was going on around the screen. This form of diary method allowed the informants to present, in their own words and pictures, their everyday life in relation to others (Alaszewski 2006). These methods can yield important data points that cannot be collected through interviews (Harper 2002).

The diary method was followed up with a semi-structured interview that took place in the young people's home (Brinkmann 2013). The interviews focused on three themes. Firstly, a short presentation of the young people's everyday life, family, school, and leisure situation. Secondly, the young people's comments on the diary data and thirdly, their reflections on computer games as a part of their everyday life.

Young people's everyday life with gaming

The following analysis focuses on young people's gaming in everyday life with particular attention to the importance of peer interactions, how gaming is contextualised in different settings and how parents' approval and disapproval affect young people's everyday life with gaming. As mentioned in the beginning, I have identified four

general gameplay patterns which capture the most prominent ways in which young people organise gaming as part of their everyday life: 'gaming as a break', 'gaming as individual leisure', 'gaming as a hobby', and 'gaming as a social activity'.

In some respects, this categorisation of young people's gaming is at risk of overly simplifying their everyday interactions. However, the patterns serve to highlight young people's gaming interactions with those around them and how those people react to the young people's choices in an everyday life perspective. It is an analytical manoeuvre towards understanding how young people's everyday life with gaming turns out differently depending on various interactions with their peers and their parents.

Gaming as a break

This gameplay pattern could be observed across a large number of participants in the study. The interviewees with the break as a predominant gameplay pattern described gaming as light entertainment that takes place in a variety of social settings. The portability of mobile phones makes it easy to play a social media game or to play cheap or free game apps downloaded from the Internet. In some situations, gameplay is part of a peer community in school. In other situations, the activity fills a break at home. Even though the time consumption varies from a short moment to a whole day, gaming is a momentary priority in the young person's life. Young people and their peer group can be preoccupied with gaming for a period of time but the preoccupation stops if another shared activity becomes more interesting: Gaming can easily be replaced with other activities. The players in this category differ from the other players in the sense that gaming is not a consistent part of their identity.

In general, parents of the young people in this group are aware of their childrens' gaming activities and comment on its possible consequences. The parents pay attention to the gaming activity, but only occasionally and when they feel obliged to react to what they consider a waste of time. The parents lay down gaming rules, for instance on the amount of time allowed to be spent on gaming. According to the young people, the parents' rules tend to be exaggerated: The entertainment is instead seen as relaxing and fun, not harmful. Nevertheless, to some degree the young people comply with their parents' rules. Gaming is clearly an ongoing negotiation between the younger and older family members. To many parents, gaming is not acknowledged as a legitimate leisure activity. However, their children show some independence when they continue to play computer games in spite of their parents' negative attitude towards gaming.

Gaming as individual leisure

Whereas a majority of the young people in the study use gameplay as a way of filling breaks and taking time-outs alone, a few of them have turned this individual activity into their primary way of spending their day. The young people in this group present their game patterns as part of a daily routine. They may have a few other leisure in-

terests but gaming is their number one priority at home. Their gameplay seems to fill an otherwise solitary everyday life. They describe themselves as outsiders and they do seem to be excluded from their peer communities. They may hang out with some classmates in school, but they do not see their peers after school. Moreover, the young people in question prefer singleplayer games. Even if their game offers a multiplayer function, or a possibility to play and communicate with others they play by themselves.

The young people who displays this gaming pattern in the current study also experiences a family situation that is complicated and does not seem to give much room for the modification and shaping of identities and ways of acting. As a result of parents who have divorced, the young people in question have often experienced several familial shifts and new family members during their childhood (e.g. a 'new' mother or father, or 'new' siblings). While gaming in the previous group was described as a point of negotiation between parents and children, gaming to the young people in this group appears to be a matter of 'free' choice. According to them, they spend their leisure time without any adult intervention whatsoever. If gaming is their number one priority, their parents accept this choice without any further discussion – with a few exceptions. Within their divorced families, some of them experience quite different reactions from their parents towards gaming. In one of the cases, the father shows no or only a little interest in the gaming and does not lay down any rules for the activity, while the mother reacts to the gaming with an almost unconditional prohibition. In this context, the young person in question accepts the adult-defined rules without resistance, despite the difference in the parents' socialisation strategies.

Gaming as a hobby

To some of the young people in the study, gaming represents a hobby that is more directly tied to their identities and projects in life. In this group, gaming is of vital importance to the young people's everyday lives and identities. They play different kinds of games, competitive multi player games as well as single player games and while some of them have favourite titles, they are always open for change. The young people in this group are highly engaged with the various possibilities in the games to construct different kinds of identities. Their involvement with games involves a considerable amount of consumption; they buy different kinds of consumer goods such as the latest game titles and computer gear to strengthen their identities as gamers. Moreover, their hobby is shared with other peers. Especially the boys reported having an enriching life with peers both inside and outside the game, and for many of them the peer group goes back to their early school years. They have played, discussed, and watched some of the scenes from the computer games over and over again.

Some of the young people in this category define themselves as outsiders. Yet, this outsider position is described differently as compared to the young people with gaming as an individual leisure. In this case, the young people use the resources available in the games to exercise their agency and from this platform they can counteract

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their outsider role and create a new position among online friends. They demonstrate agency when they reformulate their identities and take responsibility for a gaming website, to give one example.

According to the young people in this group, their parents show confidence in their ability to exercise control over their gaming. In most cases, they present themselves as loyal in their relationship with their parents. Some of them refer to an unspoken agreement: If they do well at school and if they conscientiously do their chores at home, then gaming is not an issue to discuss.

In some cases, discussions about the young people's gaming activities do occur. This often concerns how much time they spend playing games. Most of the young people in this group describe these situations as negotiations between them and their parents. In a few extreme situations, the parents have chosen to exercise their power, for instance when the gaming activities involve excessive sums of money. Although the parents have in such cases made ultimate demands to stop, the young people seem to find their reactions reasonable.

Gaming as a social activity

To some of the young people in the study, gaming is primarily a social activity, something to do in order to establish and maintain a network of peers. To this group of young people, gaming is a habit and an activity that is closely related to the young people's social identities as players as well as their gender identities. Gaming is indisputably the most important leisure activity they have. The young people share their gaming activities with close friends they often know from school. Gaming is a way of socialising with friends and involves a strong peer culture that is highly competitive and socially informed. Gaming is about having fun with other young people and, at the same time, about being better than the others. As was the case with those who had the game as a hobby, the gaming equipment is an important part of the young people's identities. Usually, they possess two or three screens, a mouse, headphones and other consumer goods that shape their participation in competitive gaming.

Yet, while gaming as a hobby and gaming as a social activity have much in common on the surface, the most obvious difference is the relationship with the parents. Some of the young people in this group distinguish between the parents' support of their gaming at earlier stages of their lives and the parents' lack of support as they have grown older. They describe how their parents used to buy them the necessary gear and the newest games. However, as they grew older and became more self-governing and autonomous, their parents gradually started to react negatively to their gaming. From the qualitative data, it is not possible to say when and why the parents' attitudes shifted but the young people in question were very aware of the change. While the parents' reactions towards gaming might be linked to their feelings of responsibility toward their children and their well-being, the young people themselves interpret their parents' agenda quite differently. They interpret the new rules as a form of violation

and they experience the parents' negative reactions toward gaming as a stigmatisation of what they consider to be a legitimate social activity.

In sum, I have identified four general gameplay patterns which capture the most prominent ways in which young people organise gaming as part of their everyday life: 'gaming as a break', 'gaming as individual leisure', 'gaming as a hobby' and 'gaming as a social activity'. These are by no means categories that cover all aspects of young people's everyday life with gaming. However, they direct attention towards some important aspects of generagency, both in relation to peers and as part of the relationship between young people and their parents. It is within the boundaries of these relationships that young people exercise agency in a multitude of ways. In the following section, I will discuss problems in relation to gaming as they appear within the four identified patterns.

Problem gaming?

The concept of generagency outlined in this chapter draws attention to young people's agency within a society that is partly structured around the generational order. This section further explores the interdependency between agency and generation in relation to problem gaming. In a combined discussion of the four gameplay patterns presented above, I will define and systematise some of the problems that seem to occur in young people's everyday life with gaming. Firstly, I will address the intra-generagency perspective by showing how interactions with peers may affect young people's gaming activities in positive and negative ways. Secondly, I will address the inter-generagency perspective, i.e. how young people practise their agency in their familial relationships and how this may at times involve a problematisation of their gaming habits.

The four gameplay patterns above show that young people from an intra-generagency perspective unfold their agency in different contexts of social interaction with their peers. Peer groups are important resources for shaping young people's identities and gaming also represents a resource in various ways. Some of the young people construct their entire social world around gaming. This applies especially to those who have gaming as a social activity. For the most part, the young people in the study cherish their gaming in everyday life. According to their statements, gaming is a positive activity they indulge in when they need time to relax, to spend time with peers, to compete and to shape their identities. Gaming provides opportunities to practise agency and to unfold fluid and dynamic identities under the circumstances given by structural positions within as well as outside the game. To a certain degree, the young people include each other in their gaming, which thus forms a platform for social interaction at an intra-generational level. Moreover, some of the young people in the study use gaming as a way to overcome their social position as outsiders. Gaming empowers them and helps them to keep their everyday life problems under control. They are able to transfer their positive identity from gaming to other parts of their social lives.

However, a small group of young people in the study seem to have only little contact with their peers. They describe their gaming in terms that emphasise their active engagement but the agency that they exercise is more or less isolated from others, they seem to be remarkably socially isolated. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to make any conclusive statements as to why they don't interact with their peers, but gaming is definitely an integral part of this pattern. For the most part, however, gaming brings young people together in different kinds of social settings. Gaming represents a space for agency, where young people connect and expand their identities.

At the same time, young people's engagement in gaming is highly dependent on their relationship with their parents. The young people in the study stated that their parents generally support their gaming. According to them, their parents accept a certain degree of independence, and they allow their children to earn their own money, to play the games and to buy the necessary gaming gear. In this sense, most of the family negotiations, according to the young people, are held in a reasonable tone and formed as a dialogue.

Of course, conflicts related to gaming do appear. In these cases, a family conflict will depend on the way power is defined by the actors involved. Parents as well as children have the power to resist and to undermine the others' position. Moreover, the conflicts vary in the severity of sanctions imposed on the young people and how they react to these sanctions.

A few of the young people in the study tell stories about their parents' reactions toward their acquisition of expensive gaming gear or in-game items. In these situations which involve relatively large financial transactions, parents' reactions are generally negative and often involve prohibitions. For the most part, the young people involved accept the parents' authority in these situations by changing their behaviour or reflecting on the consequences of spending money on status elements in the game.

However, among the young people who have gaming as a social activity, more stories tend to emerge where parents exert power over their children by manifesting a hierarchical and unbalanced relationship. Some of the young people in this group experience the parents' behaviour as disrespectful and very humiliating. I will illustrate this situation with a case from the study.

Rune is 16 years old and lives at home with his parents and an older sister. According to him, he experiences certain challenges in his everyday life connected to his parents and his teachers at school. His way of handling this has been to arrive late at school, sometimes even staying away, and only doing his homework occasionally, which has led to bad grades and considerable amount of communication between school and home.

According to Rune, the problems at school have evolved into a disciplinary conflict between him and his parents at home. From their point of view, he has become addicted to computer games and they consider his gaming to be the cause of his problems in school. His parents have therefore tried to change Rune's behaviour by prohibiting gaming for a short period of time. Rune experiences this as a punishment, which

has transgressed his personal boundaries several times. They yell at him and become angry with him, force him out of his bedroom against his will, close his access to the Internet and throw away his gaming equipment.

Rune explains that his parents have misinterpreted his problem. He hates school and particularly one teacher, who humiliates him with questions he is unable to answer. He acknowledges that he spends a lot of time in front of the computer screen but this is because gaming is his hobby, he is good at it and his friends recognise his skills. In the interview, Rune describes how he eventually reacts against his parents' use of power by running away from home. It takes the parents five days to persuade him into coming home again.

Rune's confrontation forces his parents to take a more reasonable attitude towards him and his gaming. In this way his story illustrates that it is actually possible to practise agency within the generational order and to resist parents' power over their children. By confronting his parents and running away, Rune reconstructs the power relations between his parents and himself. This implies a limitation of what is considered to be parents' ultimate power over their children. Maybe Rune's shame of being stigmatised as a computer game addict made him a little uncertain as to how to approach his parent's accusations, but only for a while. By questioning and reacting directly against his parents' way of exercising their power Rune shows that he is also powerful. In this way, parents' ultimate power over their children seems to be theoretical, or rather a hypothesis that is difficult to confirm in this study. Kuczynski (2003) argues that power has to be performed to be realised. It can be accepted in agreements between young people and their parents and it can be challenged when the exercise of power is considered to be too unfair.

However, is it problem gaming when young people are stigmatised as computer game addicts and thereby prevented from engaging with their peers? In this study, the social players were shown to be the group most likely to be singled out as problem gamers. Yet, gaming for the young people in this group is a social activity and part of an enriching peer culture. Through their peer interactions, they share routines, artefacts and values. To a certain degree, gaming as a social activity is under pressure of the power given to parents to regulate and control their children's lives. Yet, although young people are in an asymmetrical relationship, parental power can be challenged by young people's agency.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined young people's everyday life with gaming within the context of peer and family cultures. Building on the model of generagency and the two interrelated sub-concepts of intra- and intergeneragency, the chapter has explored qualitative data based on a Danish study of young people's gaming in an everyday life perspective. Generagency describes the relationships between young people,

their peers and their parents as a generational and unbalanced condition that forms parents' and young people's agency on unequal terms. Young people act from a relational platform that is dynamic and complex. It is from this platform that agency is exercised in a variety of ways.

I have identified four ways in which gaming is part of young people's everyday life: 'gaming as a break', 'gaming as individual leisure', 'gaming as a hobby' and 'gaming as a social activity'. The gameplay patterns illustrate that young people live their lives with gaming in different ways but also that these different gameplay patterns enter the generational order of the involved families in different ways. Some gameplay patterns are problematised more than others.

Most parents in the study treat their children with respect and take the young people's points of view seriously. In spite of parents' traditional rights to advise their children and decide what is in the children's best interest, most parents in this study listen to their children and make space for them to play an active role in their everyday life with gaming. However, young people's agency emerges from the opportunities arising from the positions of childhood and parenthood. For some young people, generational acts predominate to a degree that shows a lack of recognition of young people as human beings. Here, young people's agency is reduced to a minimum.

My key argument is that problem gaming cannot be divorced from the exercise of agency of both young people and their parents. At its most basic level, problem gaming seems to be a result of parents' power over their children. This does not mean that problem gaming only exists on the inter-generagency level; rather the analytical reduction serves to underline the importance of taking both young people's agency and their parents' agency seriously in the discussion of how to define problem gaming. The discourse of addiction implies danger and draws attention to the negative consequences of the excessive playing of computer games and in this way 'produces' a problem. Moreover, this discourse contributes to parents' power over their children. When young people's gaming activities become a threat to their duties at school some parents react with regulation and control. As the analysis illustrates parental power is sometimes accepted by their children and sometimes it is not.

The analysis suggests a dynamic and ongoing negotiation and renegotiation of positions in a family context, where both young people and their parents exercise agency. Young people are able to make decisions of their own despite the asymmetric relationship to their parents. Young people and their everyday life with gaming are shaped and transformed through complex and dynamic social processes. In this respect, the generagency model suggests that problem gaming emerges in the ongoing processes of exercising agency in different contexts, and that it occurs as a clash between different generational perspectives on how gaming ought to be practised in everyday life.

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