

**Fantasy Miniature Wargames and Their players. A Study of Finnish
Wargamers in Tampere**

Nikola Anna Adamus

University of Tampere
School of Information
Sciences
Internet and Game Studies
M.Sc. thesis
Supervisor: Jaakko Stenros,
Janne Paavilainen
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University of Tampere
School of Information Sciences
Internet and Game Studies
Forename Surname: Nikola Anna Adamus
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Abstract

Prussian general von Reisswitz created *Kriegsspiel* in 1812 for his officers. It was a training tool which helped them hone their strategy and tactics skills. Nowadays wargames are widely used in education and in professional trainings. However, contemporary wargames are not limited to games used only for utilitarian purposes – there is a plethora of wargames played for hedonic reasons such as *Warhammer Fantasy Battle* or *Warmachine*.

We know little about wargaming communities. The aim of this thesis is to describe Tampere fantasy miniature wargaming community in terms of style of playing and general image of the community as a whole.

I prepared a systematic and detailed literature review which revealed significant gaps in the research on wargaming as it mostly focuses on the design and educational aspects of wargames neglecting their cultural role and players.

For the purpose of this thesis I conducted observations of Tampere wargaming scene in different spaces and contexts in order to collect diverse data. I followed guidelines from ethnographic field of research while conducting observations and creating field notes. I analysed it with the use of Grounded Theory and Goffmanian frame analysis.

The conclusions of this work point out the necessity of conducting additional research in fields of ethnography and social sciences. The research revealed that wargamers follow unspoken rules of playing created by the community, but they do not have any individual style of playing. Furthermore, the community is homogenous as it consists of middle-aged males who are devoted to their games. They show that through possession of expensive wargaming accessories which also indicate their level of experience.

Keywords: wargaming, society, culture, Grounded Theory, frame analysis

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INTRODUCTION

War is a game both objectively and subjectively (Clausewitz 1918, p. 21)

Wargames have been present since the ancient times, mostly as a board games like Chinese game *Wei-Hei* nowadays called *Go* (Hyde, 2013) or chess (van Creveld, 2013). They were also popular during the Viking Age in form of board game called *Hnefatafl* (National Museum of Denmark, 2016). They were present also in the 19th century and continue to exist until this day in various forms with different purposes and audiences.

Carl von Clausewitz was a Prussian military theorist (Clausewitz.com, 2016) and an author of *On War*. He covers in this book a wide array of topics connected with war - tactics, strategy and political implications. Unfortunately, he did not finish it, but even incomplete, the book is a rich source of information about war and its image. One of its significant feature is a resemblance to a game or competition between army leaders (Clausewitz, 1918). He also compares the act of war to gambling – activity merely based on calculations where you can rely only on your skills and luck. In this view, wars and conflicts are deprived of gruesomeness and horror of killing – only skills matters according to Clausewitz (1918). What’s important, however, is that the game metaphor suits well to the nature of war. Clausewitz (1918) points out that war is not a pure mathematics, but also a mixture of luck, skills and possibilities. He also states that *war most closely resembles a game of cards* (Clausewitz, 1918, p. 86). Prussian general von Reiszitz developed the idea of war as a game further and created a tabletop wargame which was a training tool for his officers - *Kriegsspiel* (Hyde, 2013).

Moreover, wargames exist in the contemporary culture in various forms - Sabin (2013, 2015) teaches through them about military history and United States Army uses wargames as recruitment tool (Clearwater, 2010). Although for Clausewitz (1918) war is closest to the game of cards, it converts well to other types. As I will describe in literature review chapter, wargames can be played in form of tournaments, mock battles and even trials by combat which purpose was to solve legal disputes by a duel (van Creveld, 2013). What all these games have in common is utilitarian purposes of playing. They were perceived as tools and played by professionals or people with military background for whom such games helped maintain their skills on a satisfactory level.

The significance of wargames is also visible in the hedonic or “leisure” games history. Role-playing games history cannot be told without tabletop wargames (Peterson, 2012, Appelcline, 2015). They were a direct inspiration to create a first role-playing game (RPG) called *Dungeons & Dragons* (Peterson, 2012, Appelcline, 2015). *Chainmail*, a medieval miniature wargame, was the base for designing it (Peterson, 2012). Pseudo-RPGs, which appeared in the 80s, were directly linked to the wargames due to design

similarities (Appelcline, 2015). Because of these similarities, they were not perceived as full RPGs.

However, wargames themselves are an interesting subject to research on, due to their dual nature resulting from two seemingly contradictory uses – utilitarian and hedonic which influences their design and target audience. Unfortunately, research on wargames and wargaming is limited. Majority of academic and non-academic works cover issues of design and education (Sabin, 2011, 2014, 2015, Dunnigan, 2000, Perla, 1990). Topics related to culture of wargamers and gender issues are neglected – few scholars such as Dunnigan (2000) tackled this issue, but only cursory. Van Creveld (2013) attempts to scrutinize gender homogeneity among wargamers, but without qualitative and quantitative data of contemporary wargamers it is almost impossible to conduct detailed and valuable research which would allow to get a deeper understanding of gender issues. The culture of wargamers is not a subject of any individual research. However, it is often tackled in terms of RPG history (Peterson, 2012, Appelcline, 2015). There is also an incoherence in defining and properly naming particular types of wargames among scholars and non-academics. It results from view on differences between simulations and games. Terms referring to wargames are too broad and vague which might result in misunderstandings. I will discuss all these topics in the “Literature Review” chapter one.

The culture of wargamers is particularly interesting for personal reasons. I have been a wargamer since early childhood. However, I do not have any military background nor have I been playing for utilitarian purposes. For me, wargames are a leisure time activity, an engaging hobby gathering people with various backgrounds and interests who want to play and challenge themselves in terms of tactics and strategy, but in playful and relaxed atmosphere. Earlier I mentioned that wargames are perceived as games for utilitarian purposes. Nevertheless, even chess which was played by tacticians for honing their skills, was also used as a pastime activity both by men and women (van Creveld, 2013). Among contemporary wargames, it is easy to find games which have not been created for utilitarian, but hedonic purposes. Taking into consideration their origins, it is crucial to ask who plays them, because certainly their target audience is not professionals but amateurs. Utilitarian or civic, as they are called by Kosnett, (1975), wargames might bear a resemblance to such games as aforementioned *Kriegsspiel* (von Reisswitz, 1812). However, their target audience are players who might have some military background, but it is not obligatory. Moreover, most of the leisure wargames are not set in the historical background which deprives them from being an educational tool.

The culture of players who are engaged in such wargames is a crucial part of understanding contemporary wargames played for leisure purposes, their role among other games and image in the culture. Furthermore, it allows to analyse gender

distribution among wargamers which, as I will argue later, is an important issue. The aim of this thesis is to describe the Tampere miniature wargamers and their culture basing on the observance of their play. I will describe players who might not be professionals and who might not have any military background, but they are still interested in tactics and strategy. They express the urge to hone these skills by playing hedonic wargames. Moreover, many of them are competitive players who can prove themselves during official tournaments which are mainly organized by wargaming publishers or fantasy conventions. I will collect data through observations of plays and wargamers in different contexts such as tournaments or private and casual games. The research questions are following:

1. What are the characteristic features of the wargaming community in Tampere in terms of playing?
 - a) Do members of the community have an individual style of playing?
2. How diverse is the community in terms of gender?

The collected data will provide a fundamental basis for wargamers analysis, their habits, style of playing and approach to the miniature wargames. Motivation behind such research is connected with little interest in miniature wargaming issue in the Game Studies field. Later in this work I will try to analyse possible reason of current state of miniature wargames research.

The research in this thesis is conducted in three stages. First one is connected with data collection and finding suitable places and gatherings where observation might take place with the consent from the players. Second stage is analysing gathered data with the use of Grounded Theory (GT) created by Strauss (1987) which allows to organize raw data and conduct introductory analysis, which is crucial for the third stage of the research – mainly the actual analysis of data through Goffmanian perspective and frame analysis (Goffman, 1986). Not only will I analyse gathered data, but also track prominent and important issues such as gender distribution, the choice of games and places or chores required for conducting a play.

In the first chapter I will study subject literature, describe the process of collecting relevant work for the research and gathered results from the search in SCOPUS database. I will explain the motivation behind choosing the exact works for the literature review. The collected work will be analysed from two angles. First one will uncover the variety of approaches to the research into wargaming which will allow me to point out the gaps in it and argue that it is necessary to scrutinize wargamers culture as it is neglected in most of the research. I will highlight major advantages and drawbacks of current research

into wargames emphasizing the lack of research introducing miniature based wargames. Nevertheless, works covered in the chapter one “Literature Review” provide a deep insight into historical wargames and their pivotal function in teaching military history, tactics and strategy and this will be taken into consideration as well.

The second part of the literature review chapter is devoted to definitions and terminology used in the research in order to create a consistent vocabulary describing different kind of wargames for use later in this work. I will study different uses of terms “wargames” and their derivatives such as “leisure wargames” (Curry, 2012a) in comparison to the term “simulation” which is used by Dunnigan (2000) to explain the wargaming phenomenon. Basing on that analysis, I will set up a suitable terminology which will be used in the methodology and analysis chapters.

The methodology used in this thesis will be described in the second chapter. I will explain the use and role of GT in the data analysis and motivation behind choosing this particular methodology. I will introduce coding procedure and formation of categories based on the data I collected with the use of ethnographic research methods. I will explain the data gathering process in terms of place it happened and participants taking part in it. Next I will introduce Goffman’s frame analysis (1986) which, besides GT, is the main method to analyse collected data and introduce results in chapter four. I will point out its main features and explain different kinds of frames such as primary or theatrical one. Frame analysis (Goffman, 1986) will be conducted on coded and categorized data through GT (Strauss, 1987).

In chapter five, I will summarize results and conclude about wargaming society image in Tampere through Goffmanian frames (1986). I will highlight the most important features of Tampere wargamers, discuss the lack of female wargamers and argue about the cause of being a hermetic society. Chapter six, “Conclusions” will wrap up the discussion and answer research questions posed in the “Introduction”. I will also describe limitations of this research and provide ideas for the further research in the fields of social sciences, ethnography and economics which might develop further analyses on issues tackled in this work and abandoned due to lack of data.

1 LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of prior, relevant literature is an essential feature of any academic project. An effective review creates a firm foundation for advancing knowledge. It facilitates theory development, closes areas where a plethora of research exists, and uncovers areas where research is needed. (Webster and Watson, 2002, p. 13)

According to Webster and Watson (2002), there are two types of literature reviews depending on the maturity of a topic. In case of a mature topic, the literature review is a thorough synthesis of accumulated works. However, the literature review for an emerging topic might be shorter and it is crucial to provide a fresh view on the topic. Stenros (2015) states in his doctoral dissertation that literature review in terms of games studies and ludology is a *contribution in itself*. It means that if a synthesis of previous works is created, its critical analysis only helps to gather and combine scattered findings in game studies field.

In this chapter, I will apply the approaches described by Webster and Watson (2002). The literature review in this thesis is not only a pure synthesis, but also a contribution into understanding wargames and wargamers. I will provide a critical overview of collected literature and put it in the new context of wargamers culture. Furthermore, I will describe the current research into wargaming, and help to define terminology which will be used in this thesis. I will be using works covering both utilitarian and hedonic wargames as combination of these two types provides sufficient amount of information as the history of wargames starts from their utilitarian use which influences contemporary wargames.

In order to create a systematic literature review, I will start from analysing academic and non-academic works from the point of view of defining wargames. Firstly, I will describe the literature review process in terms of used databases and query words. Apart from reviewing scientific databases, I also reached out to scholars and hobbyists who conduct research into wargames in order to enrich the literature review. I will analyse the literature in terms of research approaches to wargames. It will allow me to identify gaps in the current research and summarize information on wargamers culture.

Second part of the literature review will be devoted to analysing research approaches and wargaming definitions. I will review literature through employment of different research approaches to wargaming which will be grouped into three categories: 1) historical, 2) design and education, 3) design and guidance. I will describe them and argue on their usefulness in analysis connected with wargaming societies and their culture.

After reviewing research approaches, I will scrutinize different definitions of wargames and basing on that, I will create the definition and terminology which will be used in this thesis. I will take into consideration both works connected with utilitarian and hedonic use of wargaming and compare their approaches. After that, I will analyse them in terms of simulations definitions and finally present the results in form of a graph. Although the aim of this work is not to define wargames, it is important to define the subject of research. As I argued in the “Introduction”, scholars and hobbyists understands wargaming terminology differently. At the end of this chapter, you will find a table with a list of the significant academic and non-academic works crucial for research into wargaming. The list serves a purpose of systematizing collected findings and a reference source for further reading.

The last part of the literature review takes into consideration gender issues and evaluation of current state of research into female wargamers and sexual harassment. I will scrutinize gathered works from the wargame history point of view. Moreover, I will refer to contemporary issues in wargaming communities in order to analyse and evaluate current gender issues in comparison to historical ones.

1.1 Literature Review Procedure

In order to systematize the process of literature review, I will follow the guidelines of Webster and Watson (2002). They suggest a systematic approach to literature review which is based on the careful choice of literature in order to avoid creating a chaotic and mind-numbing list of references as they are called by Bem (1995). Webster and Watson’s (2002) guidelines are concept-centric meaning that the process of searching the right literature is focused on finding works highly relevant for the literature review. The opposing approach is author-centric which might be used in the early stage of preparing literature review. However, it is crucial to shift afterwards into concept-centric search within works chosen by author as main indicator of significance. In order to prepare the systematic review of existing literature, it is necessary to prepare the scope of search, keywords and database. Apart from the database search I also reached out to scholars and hobbyists whose works I am already familiar with and asked them about additional sources.

For the purposes of the literature review process, I will use SCOPUS database as it is the largest science database (Chadegani et al., 2013) including such libraries as ACM or ScienceDirect. As the aim of this thesis is to identify and describe wargamers culture, my keywords for query search are: WARGAME*, WAR GAME*, TABLETOP WARGAME*. I could have limited search query to term WARGAME* only, but term *war game* also appears in the literature (Gilad, 2008). I included SIMULATION* WAR*

due to its relevance to the topic as you will see later in this chapter, simulation appears in the context of wargames and sometimes is used interchangeably.

Table 1: Query results

Query word	Number of results
WARGAME*	199
WAR GAME*	2 432
SIMULATION* WARGAME*	115
TABLETOP WARGAME*	4
TABLETOP WAR GAME*	6

The criteria for choosing relevant works are:

1. The work focuses on tabletop wargames
2. The main focus of a work is put on players and wargames, not wargame design
3. The work covers hedonic aspects of playing wargames
4. Works covering simulation issues should aim exactly at simulations connected with war or military training

Majority of the works found in SCOPUS was connected with utilitarian aspects of wargaming and simulations. Although query revealed that SCOPUS consists of works directly connected with tabletop wargaming, the topics they cover are out of the scope of this thesis. Issues tackled by those works are connected with motivation for playing or narrative. The query enabled finding relevant works for this literature review such as *Wargames. From Gladiators to Gigabytes* (van Creveld, 2013). Furthermore, many of the works included useful references list which provided me crucial works for this thesis: Gary A. Fine's *Shared Fantasy* (2002), *The Art of Wargaming* by Perla (1990). I also found Sabin's (2015) research on wargames in higher education which allowed me to argue about educational use of wargames in the "Literature Review" chapter.

Most of the results are either connected with the utilitarian use of wargames and simulations or with design. However, paper *Drafting an army. The playful pastime of Warhammer 40,000* written by Carter, Gibbs and Harrop (2014) tackles the topic of tabletop wargames and wargamers and it is being later used in the work to argue about the physicality in wargaming. I did not find works directly covering the issue of wargamers culture except the abovementioned Carter's paper which focuses on a very specific situation of the tournaments and only few on tabletop wargames. However, they were excluded due to their not suitable focus for this thesis resulting either from analysing

design only or educational issues. Although the database search did not allow me to find all the works I am using in this thesis, I was able to find useful references list which indicated me research relevant in this work.

1.2 Research Approaches

Summarizing different approaches will allow me to indicate significant topics in the current research and argue about their limitations. Furthermore, their comprehensive analysis will provide crucial information which framework might be suitable to analyse wargamers culture. All the research approaches and relevant works are summarized in the Table 2 at the end of this section.

Historical subsection is focused on the works covering the history of wargaming. I will describe literature treating wargames both as professional games aiming into improving a variety of skills and pastime activities in the historical context. I will study advantages and drawbacks of such approach in terms of wargamers culture analysis.

In the Design and Guidance I will scrutinize works devoted to design of wargames and providing guidance into wargaming hobby. I will argue that this approach provides relevant information on particular design choices. Although this approach is not sufficient for the research connected with the scrutiny of wargaming cultures, the works covering issue of guidance are relevant for wargaming cultures themselves. They act as paratexts to wargaming rulebooks.

Education and Design is closely related to the Design and Guidance subsection. However, the analysis covers aspect of wargames which are useful in the education and training. In this part, I will scrutinize works approaching wargames from the point of view of educational potential and design for education.

1.2.1 Historical

Van Creveld (2013) presents a cohesive approach to the wargames by analysing their history and influence on the culture. He takes into consideration not only tabletop wargames, but also tournaments, trials by combat and argues that their special context, rules of play and detailed winning conditions make them similar to games rather than to anything else. The main advantage of this approach is that it provides a general and historical overview of wargames. Thanks to broad definition of wargames, van Creveld (2013) gives a concise history of wargames which allows to trace their evolution and impact on the culture.

Van Creveld (2013) acknowledges the existence of contemporary wargames and their usefulness in military contexts. He also describes a shift in the approach to the wargames - even if wargames resembles military trainings, they are being played also by hobbyists. However, his research lacks analysis of contemporary tabletop wargames, their history and evolution. Van Creveld (2013) neglected their relationship with “utilitarian” wargames and how their role has changed throughout history. However, van Creveld made a good foundation for further analysis by providing a solid overview of wargaming history.

Apart from the history of wargames, van Creveld (2013) attempts to analyse the role of wargames in the society and culture. He provides useful and interesting historical facts about that, but no conclusions in terms of the future of wargames and outcomes of their evolution. Furthermore, there is little about contemporary wargames and their image in the popular culture. Van Creveld (2013) puts main emphasis on utilitarian wargames and although he acknowledges the other types of wargames, they did not receive sufficient coverage in his work.

The historical analysis of wargames also includes research into wargames played nowadays such as chess and aforementioned military simulations with amateur participants. Van Creveld (2013) acknowledges video wargames as influential media, but does not address their influence on the contemporary culture or the concept of the militarization of culture which is the major issue according to Perez (2006) and Clearwater (2010) who argues that video games are a crucial part of militarized culture. Perez (2006) claims that the United States Army takes advantage of students from low income families in many of Chicago schools by offering scholarships and better programs which lead them straight into the armed forces after graduation. The link between this issue and games is for example the fact that the video game *America's Army* (United States Army, 2002) is actually a recruitment tool (Clearwater, 2010) for the US army, meaning that there is a link between the phenomenon of militarized culture and video games. *America's Army* (United States Army, 2002) is a great example of a game which tries to “beautify” war by not displaying dead bodies and focusing on weapons details which proves that games and militarized culture have something in common.

Van Creveld's (2013) study framework allows to trace wargaming origins and put them in the cultural context. His historical approach uncovers relevant information on the evolution of wargaming and provides ground for further research. Although van Creveld (2013) tackled the issue of cultural image of wargames, he did not develop his analysis further leaving such topics as militarization of culture and role of wargames in popular culture untouched.

1.2.2 Design and Guidance

The design and guidance approach is applied by Hyde (2013). He focuses on board games and miniature wargames, including wargames for hedonic purposes. Even though he provides historical information on them, the main emphasis is put on the process of designing wargames, playing them and miniatures preparation. However, Hyde's (2013) work is the only one taking into consideration popular hedonic wargames as *Warhammer Fantasy Battle* (Games Workshop, 1983) in the historical introduction to his book. Hyde (2013) covers the topic of the wargaming history cursory. He briefly introduces the most important tabletop wargames like *Kriegsspiel* (von Reisswitz, 1812) and *Little Wars* (Wells, 1913), but it is crucial to keep in mind it was not the main purpose of the book.

The novelty of his approach is connected with emphasis on the hobby aspect of wargaming which is addressed neither in Sabin's work (2014) nor van Creveld's (2013) and thus omitting historical aspects is justified. Hyde (2013) has written a guide for the beginners in the miniature wargaming hobby with short historical introduction which is quite detailed comparing to other works as we will see later.

Guide-like style works are seemingly not relevant for this literature review and for the topic of this thesis, but closer scrutiny of wargaming guides into hobby, shows that they are a substantial part of the miniature wargaming hobby. The main reason for that is connected with the effort required to start playing. Player have to assemble and paint miniatures, also prepare a space for playing. Hyde's (2013) works is not the first one devoted to this topic. Games Workshop issues its own magazine called *White Dwarf* (Games Workshop, 1985) which, not surprisingly, is devoted to Games Workshop's games and offers painting guides and strategy advice (however, *White Dwarf* at the very beginning was devoted to all wargames). Privateer Press (2000) in its rulebooks for *Warmachine* (2003) and *Hordes* (2006) provides painting guides. There are also magazines focusing on historical wargames such as *Wargames Illustrated* (Battlefront Miniatures, 2009) or *Panzer Digest* (Minden Games, 2007) where, apart from painting guides, reader can find reviews and reports from battles called "after action reports" which describes matches with emphasis on their outcome and strategy.

Painting and preparations are crucial part of the miniature wargaming and many works are devoted to this topic. *White Dwarf* is the most recognizable one, however not only magazines are known for painting guidance. Privateer Press always includes short painting guides in the rulebooks and miniature boxes. Games Workshop prints out painting manuals on the miniature boxes. Although the practical side of the hobby connected with painting and assembling miniatures and models does not receive much coverage in the scientific research, it seems to be important for the wargamers themselves.

Moreover, there are online communities devoted only to painting such as one on the CoolMiniOrNot (2001) forum. The physical side of the wargames connected with using dice was tackled by Carter (2014). He argues that using a physical object to do checks and save rolls bears a significance for the majority of wargamers. In terms of communities, it is safe to assume that practical side of the wargaming connected with painting and using physical objects is almost as important as design.

A different approach to Hyde's (2013) is presented by John Curry (2012a, 2012b) and his series of the books describing board wargames and miniature wargames history which are the part of *History of Wargaming Project* (Curry, 2014). Curry (2012a, 2012b) does not cover any issues connected with practical side of the hobby such as painting. He focuses on analysing important games and wargamers such as Lionel Tarr (Curry, 2012a) and *Modern War in Miniature* (Curry, 2012b).

His research is mostly conducted through interviewing wargames designers and analysing changes in the game design and thus, comparing to Hyde (2013) or van Creveld (2013), Curry (2012a, 2012b) provides a deeper insight into the culture of wargamers, even if interviews are mostly focused on the design. Unfortunately, in any of his books the issue of gender does not appear, but it is possible to draw a picture of wargamers society in 60's and 70's which partially was done also by Peterson (2012). In his work he described first wargames and their way of searching for players. He noticed that acting out as army generals in the announcements was a common technique to find new players.

This image tells us that wargaming culture back then was rather hermetic and small which might allow the assumption of being rather exclusive to people who are ready to devote most of their free time to develop realistic and historical wargames and thus also people with vast knowledge about military history which was not common among women. However, this is only the assumption and without detailed research into that issue, it is impossible to clearly state the reasons for lack of women in the wargaming societies. It is crucial to mention that in any published Curry's works (2012a, 2012b) he scrutinizes fantasy wargames.

The history and design of wargames is covered in Dunnigan's (2000) and Perla's (1990) works. They introduce a general history and definition of wargames with historical background. The most significant part of their works is the analysis of wargaming rules. Dunnigan (2000) describes an exemplary match move by move in order to present the basic design rules of wargames. History in their works serve the purpose of putting wargames in the context of tools allowing to recreate certain historical events. It also allows them to explain design choices connected with creating a wargame with historical background.

The analysis of design is always conducted along with historical introduction as the history of wargaming allows to put certain design choices in the context. Furthermore, it helps to identify a target audience wargames. However, in any of the review works, the research takes into consideration different types of wargames and their audiences. It is assumed that a reader is familiar with them enough to understand the research. On the other hand, Hyde (2013) recognizes that miniature wargames requires certain guidance, since a potential wargamer might be not familiar both with their design and prerequisites to the hobby such as the necessity of buying paints and brushes.

1.2.3 Education and Design

The most prominent example of work introducing wargames as educational tool and showing its features supporting the educational role is Barbrook's work *Class Wargames* (2014) where game *The Game of War* (Debord, 1977) is treated as a specific social event which purpose is to play a game in order to get a deeper understanding of 21st century politics. This works is based on the practical experience of playing *The Game of War* with players coming from different backgrounds (universities or military service).

Sabin (2014) focuses on board wargames and treats them as a tool to support teaching military history. They give an almost hands-on experience of a given battle by playing through it. Sabin (2012, 2015) uses board wargames to teach students and his work provides a guidance to a proper design of educational board wargames. He analyses his own games and emphasizes the significance of creating rules which will realistically represent historical conditions in which a given battle took place.

Both Sabin's and Barbrook's works reveal the important aspect of target audience for their games. Participants are not required to have a specific and vast knowledge on the military history, but it might help understand the rules and those games are not limited to professionals and

Apart from the university context, wargames are often being used to train professionals. Lahneman and Arcos (2014) are authors of a manual for intelligence agents where they collected different scenarios used to train specific skills. Herman and Frost (2008) in their work *Wargaming for leaders* explore the potential of wargaming in teaching business-related topics. A significant number of books is devoted to scenarios and design analyses which bears a resemblance to Curry's works (2012a, 2012b) through an emphasis on design.

Approaching wargaming from an educational standpoint/perspective reveals that those games are suitable for teaching not only professionals, but also students who do not

aim into military career and thus the audience for wargames does not have to be limited to the professionals as I argued in the section above in terms of Hyde's (2013) work.

1.3 The Summary of Research Approaches and Relevant Works

Table 2: Approaches in the reviewed works

Author	Title	Publish date	Approaches
J. Curry	<i>Innovations in Wargaming vol 1. ; Donald Featherstone's Solo-Wargaming; More Wargaming Pioneers Ancient and World War II Battle and Skirmish</i>	2000, 2012a, 2012b	History of tabletop wargames and design
H. Hyde	<i>Wargaming compendium</i>	2013	History of tabletop wargames, design and guidance
R. Barbrook	<i>Class wargames</i>	2013	Educational aspect of one tabletop wargame and its design
J. F. Dunnigan	<i>The Complete Wargames Handbook</i>	2000	History of tabletop wargames and design
P. Perla	<i>The Art of Wargaming. A guide for professionals and hobbyists</i>	1990	History and design of tabletop wargames
P. Sabin	<i>Simulating war: studying conflict through simulation games</i>	2014	Design and educational aspect of tabletop wargames, history
M. van Creveld	<i>Wargames. From Gladiators to Gigabytes</i>	2013	History of wargames

This table shows a summary of approaches analysed in this literature review. The dominant approach is connected with history and design and it is crucial to mention that depending on the work, different aspects of it are covered. Van Creveld (2013) focuses on the general history of wargames, whereas Dunnigan (2000) and Perla (1990) take into consideration only tabletop wargames. Design issues are analysed only in terms of

tabletop wargames, but history of wargaming is more general. Through design, Curry (2012a, 2012b) is able to track important changes in the wargaming history.

The aspect of players is rarely covered in these works, although Dunnigan (2000) and Barbrook (2014) acknowledge what kind of people play wargames, but this issue is not analysed further and the same applies to the cultural influence of wargames. It comes from the scope of the reviewed works.

Presented research approaches are focused mainly on the design and educational issues with little or no emphasis on wargaming culture and societies. Although analysing wargames from the historical point of view allows a researcher to tackle cultural issue, this approach does not provide any tools to analyse contemporary wargaming cultures as there is not enough data about them.

1.4 Gender Issues

In this section I will focus on the coverage of gender issues in the reviewed works. In the introduction I mentioned that it is important to cover the issue of gender as it is a crucial part of wargamers culture. In this section I will review gathered literature in order to describe and summarize available data connected with gender issues in wargaming. I will evaluate the coverage they receive and identify gaps in the research.

Van Creveld (2013) devotes a full chapter gender issues in his work. As he adapted a historical approach wargaming, female participation is scrutinized from this point of view as well. Van Creveld (2013) provides examples of women taking part in battles, fights and tournaments and tries to explain the low number of female participants providing only biological reasons for that - mainly insufficient strength incomparable to male strength.

However, he also acknowledges female participation in wargames which do not require physical strength. Van Creveld analyses (2013) female presence in chess throughout the history. For him there are two main reasons for low number of female participants in chess. First one is historic, connected with perceiving chess as training tool for military professionals and women rarely participated in wars and battles and thus playing chess might have been not interesting for them. Van Creveld (2013) also points out that women are “steered away” from chess by men who perceived chess and male-only domain. Number of females playing chess was decreasing until 14th century where once again they started being encouraged to play chess. However, male chess players still outnumber female ones (van Creveld, 2013) and this issue is not analysed further. Although Van Creveld (2013) points out the objectification of women in the contemporary chess tournaments as sexual objects done both by men and women, he does not discuss this issue.

Van Creveld (2013) also adds to his gender issues analysis the case of tabletop wargames such as *Warhammer Fantasy Battle* (Games Workshop, 1983) and video games - *World of Warcraft* (Blizzard, 2002) pointing out that female players might be discouraged from playing them due to the violence present in these games. For van Creveld (2013), the most important reason for low number of female players in video games is just their preference towards games:

Whereas men seem to be more interested in playing games that involve fighting, women like those that provide them with the opportunity to socialize, interact with one another, and reach some kind of desirable outcome. (van Creveld, 2013, p. 285)

Although some women might prefer certain types of games, it is not strictly dependent on the gender. Cordelia Fine (2011) claimed in her research that preferences towards “female” or “male” things such as toys and games are the result of gender stereotypes existing in the society, not gender itself. There are, however, contradictory research (Saad, 2012) supporting the hypothesis that such preferences are linked to gender, but the connection is more complicated than van Creveld (2013) states. It goes beyond simple claims of giving a birth and physical weakness introduced by Van Creveld (2013).

Furthermore, harassment in games has also a significant impact on the female participation (Dill, Thill, 2007). Games which are based on the sexiest stereotypes support male violence against women (Dill, 2009), and thus women are discouraged from playing it. The issue of harassment and sexism is not covered by van Creveld (2013). He only focuses on the history of female participation without any deeper analysis of gender issues, from his perspective biological differences between genders are sufficient to explain low number of females playing wargames of any kind.

However, his analysis of the gender issues is the most exhaustive one from all the works used in the literature review. Dunnigan (2000) only briefly analyses female participation in tabletop and video wargames noticing that more women play video wargames than tabletop ones. However, the source of this statement is unclear. Dunnigan (2000) did not indicate any research. It is possible that he based his observations on survey results conducted for *Strategy & Tactics* magazine (Peterson, 2015). The results might have been rounded up according to Peterson (2015). Only van Creveld (2013) covers gender issues more than by simple acknowledgment of female wargamers existence.

The significance of this issue is indicated by Rex Brynen (2014) in the interview he conducted with professional female wargamers on PAXsims, an academic blog on

wargaming. One of the interviewees, South Seas Sally, a professional wargamer pointed out the necessity of research into female participation in wargames:

It's troubling that it seems like women are less likely to move from the "silent majority" to the core professional community, but it is also not very clear how anyone makes that transition. I think once we have a better handle on those barriers, it would be easier to understand what, if any, role gender has to play in who makes it through. (Brynen, 2014)

I did not find any qualitative or quantitative research into women playing wargames. Rex Brynen (2016) analysed the audience of PAXsims blog (2016) and the results of the survey indicate that readers of PAXsims are predominantly male, but it does not mean they play wargames and furthermore, the sample is too small to be significant in the potential research in the number of female wargamers.

In terms of harassment in wargaming community there is even less data and information available. It might be mostly found in the online communities on BoardGameGeek forums (2000) or in the form of blog posts such as *Tabletop Gaming has a White Male Terrorism Problem* (Latining, 2016) or *Experience as a Lady Wargamer* (Eaton, 2012). Harassment issues did not receive any coverage in the reviewed works. They are also unrecognized by wargaming conventions organizers. British convention Salute (2016) does not introduce any anti-harassment policy as well as Huzzah! (2016). The most recognizable Polish wargaming conventions Grenadier and Pola Chwały (eng. Fields of Glory) do not have them either. The only show I could find which introduces some sort of anti-harassment policy is Blast-Tactic! where any behaviour connected with harassment, sexism, racism and other will result in punishment. As Latining (2016) describes, harassment is a serious problem on wargaming conventions:

I stagger away, ripping his hand out of my jeans. The convention whirls around me like a nightmare kaleidoscope as I beg for help. Eventually, someone takes me aside.

"This is a safe convention. We have a reputation to protect. If you go to the police, we'll say you were never here."

This statement highlights the unwillingness to tackle the problems of harassment as it might damage the reputation of the convention. Although it is almost impossible to apply the same stance towards other events, as it is unknown whether there were a sexual harassment incidents, the lack of anti-harassment policies might influence the female participation in wargaming societies in general. Pyrkon, the biggest fantasy convention

in Poland which also hosts wargaming tournaments and painting competitions, strongly opposed introducing anti-harassment policies. Pyrkon organizers believe that they might damage the convention reputation. Although there is no official statement on that issues, but only online conversations in closed groups, Pyrkon until this day has not introduced any anti-harassment policy. Moreover, women themselves are afraid of reporting sexual harassment as it might backlash them and jeopardize their careers (or in that case, image in the given society) (Bergman et al. 2002). According to Rauti (2016), the one of the observed wargamers, in Finland the only convention hosting wargames and having anti-harassment policies is Ropecon. Wargaming-only events do not introduce them as Rauti (2016) connects that with low number of female wargamers in Finnish society.

The issue of women in wargaming was scrutinized by Peterson (2015) in his article about first female wargamers. He approached the topic from the historical point of view describing the view on women in advent of role-playing industry. As I argued in the "Introduction", the history of RPGs is strongly connected with wargaming and when first RPGs were emerging, they were perceived as wargames also. Peterson (2015) scrutinizes the presence of women in wargaming society whether they were spectators or subscribers of wargaming zines. He noticed that females were perceived mostly as wives of male wargamers, not as an individual members of the wargaming society. Peterson (2015) also emphasized two crucial phenomena regarding women in wargaming - the advertisement of wargames and wargaming zines do not recognized them as target audience. Moreover, it was assumed women were not interested in wargaming. However, lack of interest does not explain why they were not interested in. Human interests are not connected with gender as Cordelia Fine argues (2011), but with gender stereotypes present in the society. Peterson (2015) points out that wargames in 16th century were a pastime of soldiers and in that time no women were serving in the army, so they actually did not get a chance to develop any wargaming interest as it was also common to believe that women should not express any interest in such topics due to biological reasons connected with being weaker than men and giving a birth (van Creveld, 2013). Although some attempts in terms of advertising towards women were made, they were not successful enough (Peterson, 2015).

Mosca (1975), the only staff designer in SPI (Peterson, 2015), a company publishing wargames, highlights the significance of gender stereotypes in the wargaming society:

Part of the blame for the small percentage of women in wargaming may fall on the media, and its association of simulation gaming with war itself, traditionally "man's domain". The tone taken in many magazine and newspaper articles (a look at the lighter side of the cardboard warmongers), is one that not only offends those in the hobby already, but "turns off" a great deal of potential gamers, particularly women. This is compounded by the fact that women are less likely to have friends to introduce them to gaming. More importantly, their years of cultural indoctrination normally (abnormally) dictate that they direct their leisure time energies into other, less aggressive (less stimulating) activities. (Mosca, 1975)

Similarly to Peterson (2015), Mosca (1975) points out the male dominance in the wargaming hobby and lack of effort put in advertising wargames towards women. Furthermore, she explains clearly what later Cordelia Fine (2011) supported by her research that gender stereotypes are responsible for low number of female wargamers. Although this piece was written in 1975, all of those issues are present in the contemporary wargaming societies as I will argue later in this work. When the gender issues appeared in my observations, I decided to ask females about their motivation behind not playing wargames in Tampere. One of them (Siltanen, 2015) told that she was not introduced to the hobby by anyone. However, in order to be able to analyse this issue further, it is crucial to conduct an in-depth research into contemporary wargaming and females. This work is only a small attempt to highlight gaps in the research and indicate topics to scrutinize later.

Apart from gender stereotypes and lack of anti-harassment policies on the wargaming conventions, one of the reasons of low number of female wargamers might be connected with the design of miniatures. As Svensson (2013) points out in his analysis *for Malifaux* (2003) and *Warmachine* (Privateer Press, 2003) miniatures, females are more sexualized than male miniatures. It is the females whose main power is only their sexuality. Similar issues of oversexualized miniatures were brought upon by the *Infinity* (Corvus Belli, 2005) community member on a blog (Gravitas, 2012). In their blog post, they analysed the design of miniatures in terms of sexualized poses which aim to expose secondary gender features in comparison to male miniatures which are not sexualized. Although the design of wargames is the most popular research topic in the literature review, it is only analysed in terms of rules, not the depiction of miniatures or even graphics presented in board wargames.

I argued in this section that gender issues are covered by scholars and hobbyists only partially neglecting such issues as harassment and sexism in the contemporary wargaming societies. Furthermore, those issues are unrecognized by wargaming

convention organizers even if they are well-known in the online communities. The current research which focuses on women from the historical point of view does not allow to analyse gender issues deeper - information about females' motivation and number in wargaming society is available mostly through personal communication with wargamers. There is a strong need to conduct an Ethnographic research in terms of female wargamers which would shed a light on the degree of their participation and role in the wargaming society. I argued that one of the reasons for poor female participation in wargaming might be a design of miniatures which oversexualize and objectify them.

1.5 Definitions and Terminology

In this section, I will focus on the different definitions of wargaming introduced by scholars and hobbyists. I will scrutinize them in comparison to simulation and argue that some wargames might be considered as simulations depending on their design and purposes. I will clarify the terminology regarding different kinds of wargames which already appeared in this work as “utilitarian” and “leisure” wargames.

Only few scholars such as Sabin (2012, 2015) or van Creveld (2013) analyse wargames from academic point of view. The majority of works have been written by non-academics which are usually devoted hobbyists deeply ingrained into wargaming societies. Curry (2012a, 2012b) is an author of series of books scrutinizing different aspects of wargaming and their history. Hyde (2013) prepared a special introductory guide for beginning wargamers and Peterson (2012) analysed wargaming in the context of role-playing games. However, they understand wargames differently meaning that they include in their research various types of wargames, both utilitarian and leisure, board wargames and miniature wargames without deeper understanding of crucial differences between them.

As I already mentioned in the section “Research Approaches”, the current research into wargaming covers limited amount issues. Available literature focuses on the utilitarian uses of wargames, mostly for educational purposes and military professionals training. The analysis of SCOPUS search results also revealed another use of wargames - business. In this context they are used as training tool which improves skills connected with business development (Gilad, 2008, Herman, 2008). In the SCOPUS search results there are also papers analysing the design of wargames (Perla 1990, Sabin 2014, Dunnigan, 2000). There are two dominant topics in the search results - utilitarian use and design. Although other issues are covered such as politics (de Zamaróczy, 2016) or physical objects in tabletop wargames (Carter, 2014)

According to Dunnigan (2000), wargame is a *playable simulation*. This definition suggests that simulation is something which one cannot influence or change as it is

suggested by the addition of “playability” which refers to term “play”. Dunnigan (2000) was aware of confusion connected with using “wargame” and “simulation” interchangeably. For him, the most significant factor distinguishing them is the purpose. For Dunnigan (2000) are simpler than simulations and meant to be played. Simulation has to exhaustively duplicate given functionalities and allow to manipulate with input data in order to obtain results for different prerequisites. *A simulation is a model that can move in many different directions. A wargame is a playable situation* (Dunnigan, 2000, p. 225) meaning it the input is also important. In case of simulation, only the input data is changed, but the process of modelling is uninterrupted by outside factors. In a wargame, participants not only provide input data, but also control the process - they just play with it.

The aim of simulation is to imitate a real-world operation and its development over time through a model representing the process which happens on its own (Bans et al., 2001). However, many simulations such as military ones require participants. Defense Modeling and Simulation Office in the USA provides this kind of simulations which are considered as military trainings. Taking that into consideration, Dunnigan’s (2000) definition of wargame is too broad due to the lack of division for hedonic wargames and thus the confusion mentioned by him still remains

The relevance of input is present also in the definitions of play. According to Salen and Zimmerman (2004), play is a *free movement within more rigid structure*. This explanation is similar to what Dunnigan (2000) says about wargames - the directions in which game unfolds relies only on the player actions. Huizinga’s (1955) definition of play describes is as an activity integrally connected to fun and non-seriousness. In Dunnigan’s (2000) understanding there is no distinction for utilitarian and hedonic games, although he is aware of wargamers playing leisure wargames (“commercial wargames”) and the main difference between them is the choice of wargames and their background (wargamers playing “commercial wargames” do not have military training) It is not crucial, however, for him to distinguish “commercial” wargames from utilitarian ones. They bear the same characteristic features and the target audience is not significant.

Next attempt of defining wargames and also simulations, was made by Sabin (2014). He states that simulation is “detailed self-contained system that faithfully mimic real process without the need for human intervention”, so taking into account Dunnigan’s (2000) and Sabin’s (2014) definitions, wargame seem to be a separate entity than a simulation and the main difference is the input from a human being which changes his or her status from passive observer to active participant interacting with a wargame in a playful way, but as I mentioned earlier, the difference between simulations and wargames is not so strict and in fact, wargame might be a simulation as well.

Lahneman and Arcos (2014) perceive simulations as something similar or even the same as wargaming in their manual for training intelligence agents. Term “simulation” appears also in the context of “military simulations” – a term widely used by airsoft gun teams as description of scenarios for trainings and battles. We can see here that “simulation” is mostly used in professional contexts, since works purely devoted to wargaming perceived as a hobby or leisure time activity (Hyde, 2013) do not use term simulation at all and thus it supports my previous assumption of simulations being activities considered as serious (opposing to play or game).

These discrepancies between “wargame” and “simulation” seem to disappear in other contexts. Lenoir and Lodwood (2002) describe wargame as a simulation combined with a game. Moreover, Bob Work, Deputy Secretary of the U.S. Department of Defense and General Paul Selva in their article (2015) *Revitalizing Wargaming is Necessary to Be Prepared for Future Wars* uses only term wargaming when referring to different kinds of military simulations and trainings. This also indicates a characteristic feature of term “wargame” which will be discussed later in this chapter – it is very broad and consists of different concepts from professional and non-professional fields.

Sabin (2014) suggests that it is difficult to differentiate these two concepts suggesting that categorizing a wargame as a game or simulation is limiting the concept of wargames. In his work Sabin sticks to the term model in more colloquial and broad sense as it is understood by Willard McCarty, “[a] model is by nature a simplified and therefore fictional or idealized representation, often taking quite a rough-and-ready form: hence the term “tinker toy” model from physics, accurately suggesting play, relative crudity, and heuristic process” (Luttwak in: Sabin 2012). This definition not only supports Dunnigan’s (2000) understanding of wargame as a playable simulation, but also mentions the necessity of playing.

An important voice in the discussion belongs to SAGE journal *Simulation & Gaming (S&G)* which focuses on using simulation or gaming techniques in learning, research, consultation and training. *S&G* does not impose using either simulation or wargame terms in the published research, but reinforces the variety of understanding them meaning that in *S&G* one can find papers about simulation which definition is compatible with Sabin’s one and simulations which are games or wargames.

As we can see, terms “simulation” and “wargame” are constantly being mixed, used in different contexts and understood in various ways. For the purpose of this thesis I will understand wargame as a game simulating concrete situations of war in any scale, conflict any other not necessarily connected with war, but with educational, training or leisure purposes. I mentioned previously the particular feature of wargames – the broadness of situations and topics they might cover, starting from being used as a tool to resolve legal

disputes and ending up with means of pastime. Taking that into consideration, a wargame might be considered both as educational or training tool and leisure time activity.

As I mentioned above, wargame is a broad term referring to different kinds of games used for utilitarian and hedonic. Lenoir and Lodwood (2002) describes wargames from the military point of view. Sabin (2014, 2015) refers to them in the educational context. What is crucial in this case is that wargames have many different types.

Sabin (2014) distinguishes board games, computer games and figure wargames (miniature) whereas van Creveld (2013) adds to that trial by fights, military simulations and tournaments. All of them are called “wargames” by both authors. If we take a look into wargaming communities devoted more to playing itself rather than playing for learning or training purposes, such as BoardGameGeek (2005), we can observe that under the term “wargame” they understand actually mostly board games on specific, war-related topic such as *Twilight Struggle* (Gupta and Matthews, 2005) or *Tide of Iron* (Goodenough et al., 2007).

Among all these types one can find wargames related to professional and non-professional fields and it is crucial to distinguish both of these kinds. Rex Brynen (2014), a professor at McGill University on a blog devoted to wargames and simulations refers to wargames for utilitarian purposes simply as utilitarian wargames. Under this term fall all wargames for military, educational and training purposes.

For the rest of wargames which are not considered professional, Sabin (2014) suggests a term “leisure wargames”. Curry (2012a) refers to such wargames as “recreational”. Both these terms indicate a non-seriousness and non-professional features meaning that these wargames are not used for any kind of training or educational purposes. In this work I will be using terms “utilitarian wargaming” when referring to games related to professional fields and “leisure/recreational wargaming” describing wargames which are not used for utilitarian purposes and wargaming which includes both of the given subtypes. In order to refer specifically to miniature wargames, I will use term fantasy miniature wargames.

It is crucial to mention that Curry (2012a, 2012b), Sabin (2014, 2015), Dunnigan (2000) and Perla (1990) in their works focus on the wargames with historical background. Sabin (2014) creates educational board games which aim is to teach students about historical battles, whereas Dunnigan (2000) is an author of wargames with historical background such as *PanzerBlitz* (1970) or *War in Europe* (1976). They are the main subject of his works. The same applies to Perla (1990). Their focus is put on only on historical leisure or utilitarian wargames. Only van Creveld (2013) mentions other type which he does not name in his work, but is connected to the games without historical

background meaning that they are set in non-existing settings. They are considered as recreational wargames, since they do not provide any value for professionals due to their lack of link to the real world.

Abovementioned van Creveld (2013) and additionally Peterson (2012) mentioned wargames which might be considered as recreational in their works, but none of them has given a distinguishable name. For the purposes of this thesis I will refer to them as “fantasy wargames”. They might be inspired by historical events as it is in the game *Dust Tactics* (Parente and Zamfires, 2010) where II World War has not ended yet, but majority of background is fictional.

Peterson (2012) includes in his work fantasy wargames due to their direct link to the role-playing history. Curry (2012a, 2012b) analyses them deeper and focuses on describing the most important leisure historical wargames and designers such as Lionel Tarr who reconstructed battle for Stalingrad with the use of miniature soldiers. Thanks to Curry (2012a, 2012b), we are given an insight into wargamers culture devoted to historical leisure wargames which interesting characteristic features comparing to professional culture. Curry (2012a) analyses different historical leisure wargames and interviews its designers. One of them is Michael Korn, an author of *Modern War in Miniature* (1967) – a historical miniature wargame aiming into achieving realistic game mechanics with the use of statistical methods (Peterson, 2013). Korn was a former soldier and he wanted through this game convey his experience of being a simple soldier whose sight is limited to the surroundings (Korn, 1967, Curry, 2012a) and thus give players feeling of being in the middle of battlefield.

Statistical methods and urge to deliver the experience as realistically as possible, puts this game close to utilitarian wargames, but *Modern War in Miniature* was not intended to be used in the professional context. The same applies to other leisure historical wargames such as *GI Commander* (Smigielski, 1984) or *Pike & Shotte* (Morgan and Priestley, 2012), but they are still not considered professional even if their designers might be military professionals themselves. What is important here is the context and purpose of these games. Even if they maintain high level of realism, they are not meant for professional audience, but for wargamers passionate about history and wargaming itself. Abovementioned Lionel Tarr (Curry, 2012a) prepared a battle for Stalingrad only for the sake of making a wargame out of it and whereas leisure historical wargames might have an educational value due to their background, their main purpose is to be recreational. However, it does not rule out the possibility of having educational aspect. *De Bellis Antiquitatis* (Barker et al., 1990), a historical wargame, in the online guide (2016) provides information on the necessity of conducting research into army which were chosen to play by a wargamer in order to paint them with historical accuracy. It is crucial

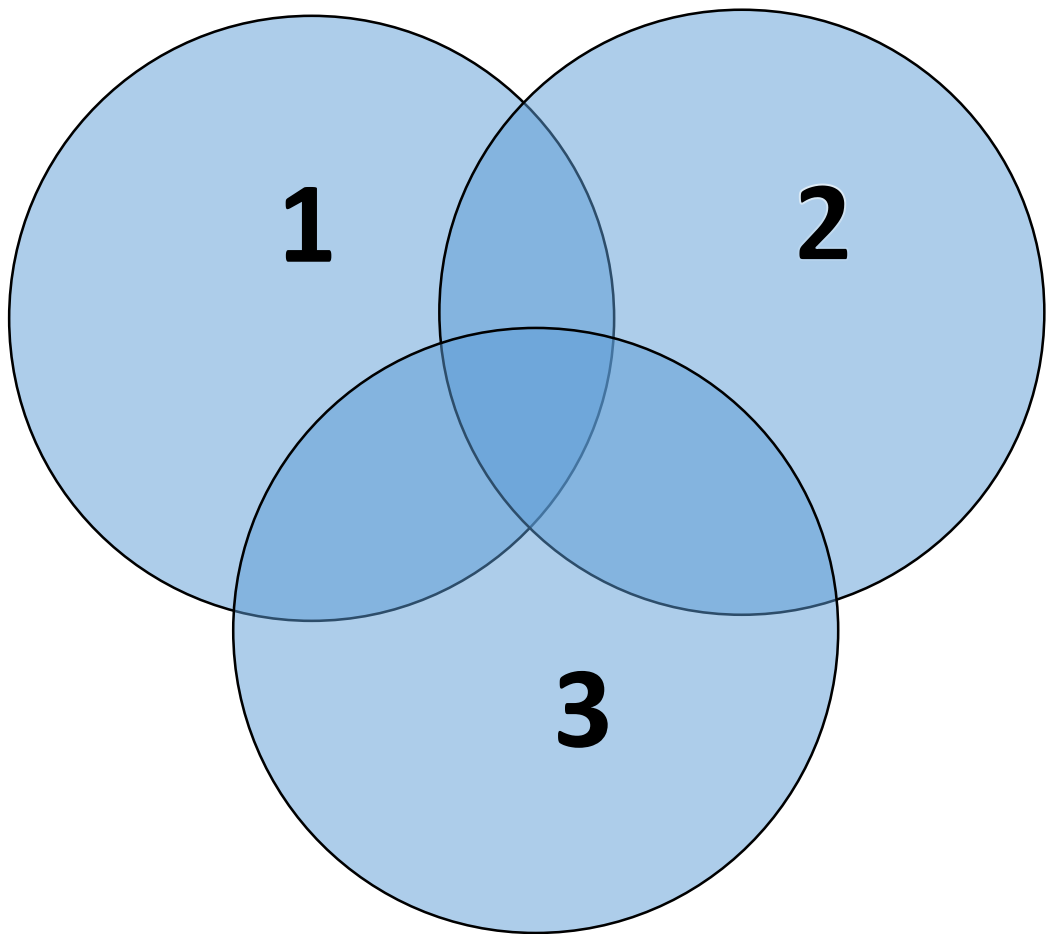
to mention that this educational aspect appears only in terms of historical miniature historical wargames.

Fantasy miniature wargames, as it was mentioned earlier, are not a subject of such analyses. However, they receive coverage in non-academic books and guides for beginning players which purpose is to introduce potential wargamers to the hobby through tutoring them in painting and preparing miniatures (Hyde, 2013). There are no works similar to Sabin's *Lost Battles* (2011) or Featherstone's (1962) which purpose is to explain design choices. It means that fantasy wargames is still rather unknown field both in terms of game design and players' culture.

The topic of this thesis is miniature wargaming is only mentioned very briefly in van Creveld's (2013) and Sabin's (2012) works, but they did not receive other coverage than mentioning them in the historical context which will be discussed later in this chapter. In this section I analysed definitions and terminology connected with wargaming and distinguished two main types of them - utilitarian wargames and fantasy wargames. The former refer to all the miniature wargames played for utilitarian or educational purposes. The latter are connected with all the miniature wargames played for pastime purposes and they might have an educational aspect.

1.6 Graphical Representation of Definitions

Fig. 1. *Graphical Representation* (2016)



1. Wargames
2. Simulations
3. Video games, board games and similar

Not all tabletop miniature wargames are simulations and not all simulations are them. What is also important is that some of the video games, board games and other might be wargames, simulations and both.

1.7 Summary

I discussed academic and non-academic literature in terms of coverage of gender issues, wargamers culture and terminology. Terminology and definitions used for the purpose of this work are based on the review of theoretical works connected with utilitarian and fantasy wargaming. I argued that terms used by scholars and hobbyists are muddled and inaccurate. Depending on the work, they refer to different concepts or require clearer division in terms of concepts they define.

Another major part of the literature review was devoted to the approaches taken by academics and non-academics in the studies of wargaming, both professional and fantasy ones. The majority of the works focus on the design of professional wargames with prevalence of their educational aspects with little or no scrutiny of players and their role in the design.

Some of the works covered also history of wargaming. The scope of history description differ depending on the main topic of the work. Research focusing on the design, analyse history of wargames in order to support design choices in the analysed games and to put them in the context of game industry and culture. Only van Creveld's (2013) work focuses merely on the wargaming history. Author applied a broad definition of wargames including not only tabletop games, but tournaments and similar. Van Creveld (2013) also attempted to analyse the current place of wargames in the contemporary culture and analyse gender issues.

They are covered only by van Creveld (2013) more extensively than providing simple statistics of gender distribution among players as it was done by Dunnigan (2000). However, van Creveld's analysis is limited only the biological reasons responsible for the low number of female wargamers and thus his findings are not credible due to lack of other quantitative data such as the existence of sexual harassment and unwillingness in encouraging women to play wargames resulting from gender bias connected with wargames as they are perceived as "male hobby".

Although I am not able to review all the works covering wargaming topic, I can argue, basing on the reviewed works in thesis, that current research into wargames is limited to the topic of design for professional and educational purposes without little or no acknowledgment of existence of fantasy wargames (and thus their players). Moreover, in any of the works I was able to find deep analysis of wargamers culture both in terms of professional and fantasy wargames.

The limitations of the research in terms of fantasy wargames might be connected with professional wargames. They are perceived as the serious ones and offer sophisticated and professional opportunities to use them as teaching and training tools

which are widely used in the army. Fantasy wargames are not supposed to deliver the most accurate simulation of conflict, but rather more playful experience. Playing them is perceived as a childish non-serious activity meaning that they are not worth any discussion. Probably it is because of that they were the main inspiration for *Dungeons & Dragons* (Gygax, Arneson, 1974) which abbreviation, *D&D*, was a common name for all fantasy wargames and wargames without professional purposes in the 70s (van Creveld 2013). However, nowadays research into role-playing games consists of non-biased approach to them and made them a relevant topic in game studies. In order to change that, choosing a proper methodology and developing further research is necessary. Probably analysing “leisure wargames” from the angle of specific collectible toys which are as well meant to be played with and which might be the basis for video games (like it was in case of miniature wargame *Warhammer 40,000*). Further research might be conducted into wargamers society similarly to research which has been done by Gary A. Fine (2002) into role-playing gamers’ community. There is as well a possibility to analyse how the narration is being built in wargames’ scenarios and rulebooks.

Research into professional wargames, provides a deep insight into their history, design and teaching aspects. Nevertheless, there are little analyses connected with their impact on the approach to current conflicts and politics. Although the design is the most researched aspect of wargaming, there is little data on how successful or not are wargames in solving and preparing for the conflicts. Furthermore, the issue of militarized culture and wargames is still not covered. It would be interesting to include into research gamers. Not only to this one connected with linguistics or social aspects but as well to this conducted into design, relationship between “utilitarian” and “leisure” wargames and their influence on the culture and society.

This kind of research should at first place clarify the concept of wargames which allow them to develop further unbiased analysis “leisure” wargames. This might discover completely new area for research connected with learning and teaching, women image and representation and how wargames influences culture. Furthermore, in terms of miniature wargames, there is an interesting issue of strong hobby aspects in them – painting and converting miniatures which seem to be the crucial part of wargaming hobby.

The most neglected aspect of wargaming is gender issues connected with sexual harassment and low number of female wargamers. They are barely recognized by academics and hobbyists in their works. Moreover, sexual harassment, as a discussed topic, does not exist in the literature. The only source of information are online communities which are necessarily connected with wargaming as it is in the Latining blog case (2016). The review of works covering gender issues revealed that conducted research

is incomplete. Moreover, there is a need for deeper analysis of gender issues in the contemporary wargaming in comparison to the history of wargames as similar issues appeared in advent of the hobby.

2 METHODS

[F]or a social theorist ignorance is more excusable than vagueness (...). Social theorists should prefer to be wrong rather than misunderstood. Being misunderstood shows sloppy theoretical work. (Stinchcombe, 1987, p. 6)

It is not difficult in social sciences to create vague and misleading results due to large amount of variables connected with human behaviour, socio-economic status and gender bias. According to Bauer et al. (2015), the vagueness in the surveys will cause a distortion in the results. The perception of surveys is associated with the cultural background of a surveyed person. This the reason explaining the importance of employing a methodology which allow to prevent mistakes resulting from such biases.

In this chapter, I will discuss methods I used to conduct research for the purpose of this thesis. This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part aims to explain the use of GT. I will start from brief explanation of GT usefulness and relevance in this research. Then I will describe the process of using GT in data analysis. GT allows to meticulously analyse every bit of data - even a single word. Researcher is able to get a deep understanding of gathered data and avoid mentioned earlier sloppiness. GT forces a researcher to careful data analysis as it is impossible to neglect even small bit of data, because it might change the final outcome of the research

I will describe its historical background and introduce a general overview of the method. I will explain in details the coding procedure and analysis of its results. Basing on the examples from my field notes, I will present the analytical process of coding and categorizing.

Second part of this chapter is devoted to description of data collection. I will explain the use and role of ethnographic research in game studies fields in order to introduce motivation related to using such methods. I will introduce the places where data collection took place and describe observed games with the support of illustrations presenting objects being used during play and play itself. The last part of this chapter consists of the introduction to Goffmanian frame analysis (1986) where I will focus on explaining frame analysis created by Goffman (1986). Its significance is connected with the way wargamers play.

2.1 Grounded Theory

Hammersley and Atkinson (2009) suggested that for the raw data collected either during fieldwork or observation, good methodology is Grounded Theory, since it does not need more than just raw data. As I will explain in the section devoted to data gathering, the methods used for ethnographic or ethnographic-like research are useful in the area of game studies and thus I decided to use GT to analyse observations. In this section I will describe the specifics of this method and the procedure of analysis data.

GT was created by Glaser and Strauss (1987) for the purpose of qualitative analysis in Social Sciences. In this paper, however, I will use Charmaz's (2006) approach to grounded theory meaning that grounded theory makes grounded theories. This allows me to create a theory from the raw data which is extremely important, since as it was mentioned above, there are no similar research to that, so it is crucial to prepare a proper basis firstly. Furthermore, according to Hook (2015), Grounded Theory is useful in game studies as a tool for investigating engagement or immersion. Moreover, it is suitable to work with raw data in the field of research which is not well-developed as Hook (2015, p. 319) states:

GT can be a powerful tool when tackling new ground and trying to develop new theories. GT does not require identifying hypotheses, offers the flexibility in data collection and usage of the ethnographic method with the strength of being able to actually discover (or create) new theories that carry predictive power, theories that can then be tested by more traditional methods.

I mentioned in the introduction that the culture of wargamers is rather a neglected topic in the research and it is almost impossible to find valuable data. So it is necessary to create basis for further analysis by creating new theories and pointing out hypotheses. GT provides flexibility which allows to scrutinize new grounds and theories by careful data analysis. As Charmaz (2006, p. 11) states, GT consists *flexible guidelines, not methodological rules, recipes and requirements* which gives a researcher freedom in exploring a new field of research by allowing him to be *led by data* (Wilson, 2012, p. 5). It means that depending on the topics appearing in the collected data, it is possible for a researcher to choose the most relevant parts of it.

Harnessing GT for the purposes of this thesis is justified – it allows to conduct very detailed research and build new theory when having only pure data. Key concepts in GT which support collecting and categorizing data are *core category* and *coding* (Strauss, 1987). *Core category* is a constant comparative method which includes every part of data

(Hallberg, 2006), whereas *coding* is simply naming all the parts of data (*codes*). From coding emerges core category (Strauss, 1987). The first thing which will be done is to gather data and properly code it what will allow to name core category.

However, it is crucial to mention that this research belongs to fields of game and cultural studies meaning that grounded theory needs to be suited for this kind of analysis, because *instead of trying generalize understandings, cultural studies and other constructionists approaches aim to particularize understandings of the social* (Alasuutari, 1996). Taking into consideration such approach, it is crucial to perceive Grounded Theory not as strict set of rules used in scrutinizing given problem, but rather framework which lead later to discourse analysis and at the same time allows to organized gathered data as it also supported by Charmaz (2006).

2.2 Steps of Analysis and Coding Procedure

As I mentioned in the previous section, GT used in this thesis is based on Charmaz's (2006) works and thus I will follow these steps in analysing gathered data described by her which I will briefly introduce and explain in this section. Then I will describe the coding procedure and formation of categories. The steps of analysis according to Charmaz (2006) are as follows:

1. *Initial phase where each line and even word can be coded*
2. *Focused phase where I am selecting codes and synthesize them*

After these steps, the actual analysis of gathered data is the final stage of analysis. It is the stage were also categories are theories are being formed. Coding starts from introductory coding which might take place even at the stage of data collection regardless of the method used for it (Charmaz, 2006). At this point I analyse every bit of data and attempt to move *beyond concrete statements in the data* in order to make *analytic interpretations* (Charmaz, 2006, p. 43). I noted in my field notes that *players observe each other's turns* and the analytical interpretation of this statement is that wargamers pay attention to moves conducted during a play. Second step is connected with finding similar or the same codes which later will allow me to create a full code and categorize it. The example above was coded later as *focus*.

2.2.1 The Example of Initially Coded Data

This subsection is focused on the exemplary analysis of gathered data with the use of Grounded Theory. Every bit of data is important in GT analysis which allows to put emphasis even on a single word as in this example:

Focus on game, talks with bystanders and other are limited and almost always game-related

The most significant information in this observation is connected with paying attention to the game as it seems to be the most important part regardless of any conversations. During initial phase of coding, I decided to code this bit of information as *paying attention*. This observation was conducted in the hobby store Puolenkuun Pelit. As I will show later in the “Data analysis” chapter, I used *bystander* as a fully formed code. In GT it is called an in vivo coding which is, according to King (2008) *the practice of assigning a label to a section of data, such as an interview transcript, using a word or short phrase taken from that section of the data*. Although my field notes are not transcribed interviews, they are the actual data gathered for further analysis and I decided to skip the analytical process as gathered data provided a suitable code.

As I mentioned in the previous section, coding procedure starts at the stage of data collection and thus some of the observations were already initially coded as it was in the case of “hanging out person”:

*Hanging out person looks at Warmachine play
Another hanging out person came in*

The “hanging out person” appears more in the data. It describes a person who is not playing, but is present where the games are taking place. However, this initial code changed when more data was analysed.

The second step in the process was to find the same or similar information in the collected data in order to gather more information on the *paying attention* behaviour among wargamers. Similar behaviour was found in the observations conducted in TaTape ry club:

Constant keeping track of damages and stuff on the cards

They stop talking (players currently involved in the game and a person watching it) *when opponent wants to roll dice*

Additional information gathered from such data allowed me to rephrase *paying attention* to *focus* which is more broad term for a particular wargamers behaviour connected with putting main emphasis on the game and. The “hanging out person” was divided into two codes as data supported two different behaviours connected with observing matches and visiting a club or hobby store with particular purpose such as showing something or conducting business such as selling miniatures.

In this section and subsection I introduced a methodology which will be used in the analysis of collected data. The extensive and detailed process coding will reveal wargame-specific categories which later in this thesis will be used to conduct an analysis of Tampere-based wargamers and their culture. I explained data analysis process with the use of examples from gathered data and describing each step of analysis. I introduced in vivo coding as a mean of using data which allows to skip analytical process.

2.3 Data Collection

Ethnography literally means 'a portrait of a people.' An ethnography is a written description of a particular culture - the customs, beliefs, and behaviour - based on information collected through fieldwork. (Harris and Johnson, 2000)

Ethnographic research is connected with personal experience. An ethnographer has to become close to people and trying to get to the bottom of their customs, habits and traditions by careful observations and interviews. According to Emerson (1955, p. 1), such research *requires physical and social proximity to the daily rounds of people's lives and activities (...)*. In this section I will focus on describing the methods behind collecting data and motivation to use them. Chosen method belongs to the field of Ethnography. Firstly, I will focus on the benefits and motivation resulting from using ethnographic and anthropological methods in games studies and then I will describe the concrete methods used for this thesis while collecting data. I will also introduce places where observations take place and briefly described games I studied. The observations took place from September 2015 to the end of November 2015 in Tampere, Finland.

2.3.1 Ethnography and Game Studies

Game studies is rather young field of research without clearly emerged methods of conducting analysis and rather multidisciplinary approach which, according to Mayra (2009), might be the result of young age of Game Studies and thus the necessity of relying on the existing research methods. However, in the case of this work, there are other benefits resulting from the interdisciplinary approach and the use of Eehnographic methods:

Ethnography should be informed by a theory of practice that: understands social life as the outcome of the interaction of structure and agency through the practice of everyday life; that examines social life as it unfolds, including looking at how people feel, in the context of their communities, and with some analysis of wider structures, over time; that also examines, reflexively, one's own role in the construction of social life as ethnography unfolds; and that determines the methods to draw on and how to apply them as part of the ongoing, reflexive practice of ethnography. (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 11)

Taking into consideration the topic of this thesis and its aim, observing and describing wargamers is a part of an effort put in understanding their social life connected with gaming side. Ethnographic methods are also widely used by game scholars such as Brown (2015) in her study scrutinizing sexuality in online role-playing societies. This specific field of ethnographic research conducted online is called virtual ethnography (Hine, Miller and Slater in: Hjorth, 2011), online ethnography (Cornell in: Hjorth, 2011) or cyberethnography (Boellstorff et al., 2012). The very fact of existing different subgenres of ethnographic methods proves its usefulness in analysing gaming cultures. Boellstorff (2006) emphasizes the usefulness of ethnographic methods in such areas of game studies as game cultures, cultures of gaming and the gaming of cultures. This thesis fits into the category of game cultures and thus using ethnographic methods is justified.

The methods for data collection are considered by Whitehead (2005) as methods belonging to classical Ethnographic methods and to subcategory called Basic Methods. He distinguishes them from a larger category of the methods by putting an emphasis on their wide range of issues being covered. They are not only connected with human residential communities, but also with basically any other social settings in which people are interacting, so meetings or institutions.

Data collection took place in form of recording field notes and participant observation. The observation method was chosen basing on the fact that according to Malinowski (1922), participant observation lets fill the gap between what is being said and what is being done in a given society. I did use a portable computer to write and

maintain field notes. They were written according to Chrisersi-Strater and Sunstein (1997, p. 73) guidelines:

1. *Date, time, and place of observation*
2. *Specific facts, numbers, details of what happens at the site*
3. *Sensory impressions: sights, sounds, textures, smells, taste*
4. *Personal responses to the fact of recording field notes*
5. *Specific words, phrases, summaries of conversations, and insider language*
6. *Questions about people or behaviours at the site for future investigation*
7. *Page numbers to help keep observations in order*

These guidelines constitute rules of taking notes and observation on the general level. Field notes are not required to be sophisticated, because they are only read by an ethnographer conducting research. However, it is crucial to maintain discipline which allows to analyse collected data properly. The guidelines also highlight the relevance of specific events and reflections appearing during observations. Field notes are also shaped by the ethnographer identity meaning that it is important to include personal impressions and approaches into the study and be aware of the bias. As a person being an active member of different wargaming communities in Finland and Poland, I have already established specific preconceptions about wargames and their players. The prominent example showing my certain bias is here:

Players observe each other's turns in any game-related activities (I think the same applies to previous observations, but for some reason I didn't notice that because I thought it's obvious).
(8.10.2015, Puolenkuun Pelit shop, Tampere, Finland)

However, my preconceptions connected with wargamers and wargaming allow me to notice crucial information for this thesis. I know the relevance of certain habits and unspoken rules in the wargaming communities, how they prosper and what I can expect from them. I am aware of significance of tournaments in wargaming society. Such knowledge also helps me to ask proper clarification questions to the wargamers.

Participant observation took place in four different locations in Tampere, Finland. Two of them are shops specialized in selling games including miniature fantasy wargames and accessories for them – Fantasiapelit (<http://www.fantasiapelit.fi>) and Puolenkuun Pelit (<http://www.puolenkuunpelit.com>). They offer a space for playing different games including wargames. Tournaments and other competitions take place in these places, but I did not limit my fieldwork only to these events in order to achieve as diversified

observations as possible. It is crucial to notice that there are more shops selling miniature wargames in general and accessories for them (but not fantasy wargames). However, their main and only role is to sell – there is no designated space for playing.

I did not use interview as a method for data collection, but I asked questions the wargamers I observed. The purpose of them was to clarify what I observed, gather additional information on players' age and other games they are playing. As I will show later in this work, those information appeared to be crucial for the analysis chapter and moreover indicated a need to continue ethnographic research further.

Closer look at first hobby stores and Games Workshops stores allows to gain a deeper understanding of playing space importance for this research. According to Peterson (2016), the first shops selling wargames were actually the toy shops and only few of them provided space for the wargaming purposes. Later on, in the 1970s, shops like Dungeon Hobby Shop in Geneva specializing in selling TSR products was providing also a space for players. Then onwards first Games Workshops appeared and they also provided space for playing their games. The aforementioned division is visible until this day in Tampere. Shops such as Fantasiapelit or Puolenkuun Pelit are soul descendants of the toy shops from the 60s. They not only provide space for playing which is sometimes the only opportunity to play, but also constitutes the games which are being played. These issues will be discussed in the chapter "Data analysis".

Third location belong to Tampereen Taktiikkapelaajat ry (TaTape ry). It is a club focusing in general on playing miniature wargames. There are no membership and games restrictions except the small fee for official members and the club has a dedicated space where meetings and games take place.

Fourth location is an event called Tracon Hitpoint – a convention for fantasy and science-fiction fans and players. Attendants could play there board games, role-playing games, take part in lectures covering a wide array of issues connected with fantasy literature and games. The motivation connected with choosing this place for the fieldwork was a *Warmachine* (Privateer Press, 2003) and *Hordes* (Privateer Press, 2006) tournament taking place during the event which was a unique opportunity to observe wargamers playing in not casual establishment with strict rules and time limit. Rules of playing will be discussed more detailed in the analysis section.

Table 3: The list of shops, clubs and conventions where observations took place

Name	Address	Date
Fantasiapelit	Kuninkaankatu 5, 33210 Tampere	09.2015 – 12.2015
Puolenkuun Pelit	Hämeenkatu 17, 33200, Tampere	09.2015 – 12.2015
TaTape ry	Hatanpään valtatie 40, 33900, Tampere	09.2015 – 12.2015
Tracon Hitpoint	Rautatienkatu 3-5, 33100, Tampere	28 - 29.11.2015

The players observed were people currently present in a given space. The game they played was irrelevant provided that it was a wargame. It was also not important to obtain detailed personal information as I am interested in the act of playing, not wargamers themselves. I asked for consent all the players in terms of accompanying them during playing and taking notes. As I am not proficient in Finnish, I reassured players that they are not obliged to switch to English during observations. Considering the research questions, the proficiency in Finnish is not required to conduct valuable research. It might sound counterintuitive, especially if we take into consideration the Malinowski's research (1922) where he has a full understanding of people he is observing. However, I am not interested in communication, but everything what is happening during the play excluding oral communication. Moreover, as a person who is a wargamer herself, I already have a basic knowledge about game-specific rules and general way of playing and thus it is not necessary for me to understand oral communication between players.

In this section I explained the methodology which I used to collect data for this thesis. I argued that Ethnographic research is important and widely used in the field of Game Studies. I described the guidelines for writing field notes and the significance of previous preconceptions on a given topic. I introduced places where data was collected and briefly described their role in the contemporary wargaming culture.

2.3.2 Observed Games

This subsection consists of a table providing basic information on wargames played during observations. I briefly introduced the characteristic features of every wargame in order to give a general overview of them - their characteristic features, information on assembling and painting and battle scale. At the end of this section I attached images presenting exemplary miniatures and wargaming matches.

Table 4: The list of observed games and their description

Games	Publish date	Publisher	Description
<i>Warhammer Fantasy Battle</i>	1983 (1st edition) 2010 (8 th current edition)	Games Workshop	A fantasy-based wargame supporting large battles. It uses different kinds of models (beasts, dragons, machines) and miniatures. Models are unpainted and unassembled. It has a science-fiction counterpart called <i>Warhammer 40k</i> .
<i>Warmachine</i>	2003	Privateer Press	Steampunk game supporting both large and skirmish battles. It uses different kinds of models (machines, beasts) and miniatures. Models are unpainted and unassembled. Its rules are compatible with <i>Hordes</i> rules.
<i>Hordes</i>	2006	Privateer Press	Steampunk and fantasy game supporting both large and skirmish battles. It uses different kinds of models (machines, beasts) and miniatures. Models are unpainted and unassembled. Rules are compatible with <i>Warmachine</i> .
<i>X-Wing</i>	2012 (core edition)	Fantasy Flight Games	<i>Star Wars</i> -based game supporting skirmish battles between ships. It uses only ships. Models are pre-painted.

All the listed games except *X-Wing* (Fantasy Flight Games, 2012) allows players to participate in large-scale battles with more than ten units in the army. It results in the necessity of preparing a large space for conducting such battles. For *Warmachine* (Privateer Press, 2003), table dimensions are 120x120cm according to the official rules. *X-Wing* (Fantasy Flight Games, 2012), however, supports skirmish battle with no more than ten units and table dimensions are 60x60cm. The size of tables directly influences the choice of playing space. All the observed games took place on the actual tables, not floors or other spaces and thus it is crucial to gather players in a place with the tables of the right size of tables and suffice amount of space. Later in this work I will argue in more detailed the importance of space and size of the games.

Fig. 2. A miniature from *Trollblood "Hordes"* army (2015)



Fig. 3. "Warmachine" battle (2015)



Fig. 4. "X-Wing" battle (2012)



2.4 Frame analysis according to Goffman definitions of games

All the world is not, of course, a stage, but the crucial ways in which it isn't are not easy to specify (Goffman, 1959, p. 70).

All of the observed players played against someone in certain context such as tournament or casual play. Majority of contemporary wargaming rulebooks such as *Warhammer Fantasy Battle* (Games Workshop, 1986), *Warmachine* (Privateer Press, 2003) and *Hordes* (Privateer Press, 2006) assume that each match is taking place between at least two players and only such games were taken into consideration while conducting observations.

Taking into account that wargaming matches are social events, it is crucial to choose a proper methodology which will allow to analyse them from the social point of view. I decided to use Goffman's frame analysis (1986). According to Deterding (2009), frame analysis is very useful as it allows to "frame" the situations happening within and whereas Deterding (2009) uses frame analysis (Goffman, 1986) in the context of video games, it is crucial to mention that it is being heavily used also in the research into tabletop games. For example, Gary A. Fine (2002) uses frame analysis in his research on role-playing communities and thus it is possible to use this methodology for analysing tabletop wargaming communities in this study as well.

2.4.1 Types of Frames

Frame analysis created by Goffman (1986) is a multi-disciplinary approach in social sciences used for analysing people's behaviour in different kind of situations. However, it is crucial to mention that this framework was also inspired by research conducted by Bateson (Deterding, 2009) which later Goffman merged with his own ideas. As Goffman explains (1986) Bateson perceived framing as *psychological process* and thus in frame analysis (Goffman, 1986) it is crucial to notice the particular behaviour of frames participants. Entman states (1993) *...[t]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation*. In other words, frame analysis helps placing different situations in a context which later on allows to understand them better. According to Goffman (1986), *frames* not only explain the rules of interaction between people and the world but also how world reacts on people's actions.

Frame analysis is being widely used in media and games studies (Deterding, 2009). Gary A. Fine (2002) used this methodology in tabletop role-playing culture

research. His research described tabletop role-playing culture in the USA in the 1970s. Another application of frame analysis (Goffman, 1986) might be found in paper written by Lin and Tsai-Sun (2011), where authors analyse the audience observing gamers playing arcade games in different kind of frames such as “showroom” or “gymnasium”.

In this section, I argued that frame analysis might be applied for researching various types of games without any limitation and this why I decided to use frame analysis for analysing tabletop wargamers behaviour. I will introduce the frame analysis (Goffman, 1986) method and how I will use it in this thesis.

2.4.2 The Features of Frame Analysis

Frames differ from culture to culture (Goffman, 1986), and they can change over time. However, it is possible to find common traits of frames according to Goffman: *I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them* (1986, p. 10-11) meaning that each situation while scrutinized might reveal their own individual rules which are being followed by all of the participants unless they want to somehow break the frames which will be discussed later in this subsection.

Goffman (1986) distinguishes two main frameworks called by him “primary frames”. The first one is described as “natural”. It means that this framework is unguided, referring only to pure physical boundaries. Natural framework cannot be influenced by outside actors, they exist without any additional input. The simplest example of natural framework provided by Goffman (1986) is weather condition.

Second framework is referred to as social one. Goffman (1986) describes it as framework which *provide background understanding for events that incorporate will aim and controlling effort of an intelligence (...)*. Opposite to natural framework, social framework is guided, it consists of some social standards and rules. Coming back to the weather example, the report of its current condition would be positioned in the social framework (Goffman, 1986).

The most important features these two frameworks have in common is that they are perceived to be real and taken as they have meaning that everyone in one of these frameworks do not suspect that they might be something different, represent different situation than the one which is being seen. However, primary frameworks are only the first level of frames, the first stage where analysis starts. The second stage is called “transformations” (Goffman, 1986). Deterding (2009) defines them as *instances where a strip of experience that is organised and intelligible in terms of a primary framework is transformed (...)*. Transformations allow to understand primary frameworks as something

different. One of the transformation procedures is called this process “keying” Goffman (1986) .and for him the most notable example of keying is play. In works of Huizinga (1955) is in many cases an imitation of real behavior. Huizinga (1955) describes how animals fight with each other in playful manner meaning which is not real, it only imitates the real one. According to Goffman (1986) the full definition of keying includes:

- The transformation process consists of elements which without it, are meaningless
- All the participants are aware of the transformation
- Theme of keying is not limited to any particular things (so everything might be a subject of keying, even a falling tree)
- *A keying, then, when there is one, performs a crucial role in determining what it is we think is really going on.*

Keyings might be divided into different categories. The most important is make-believe with a subcategory of playfulness. Although make-believe might include ceremonials or contests, the most crucial part of it according to Goffman (1986) is playing. For Goffman (1986), the playfulness is not only connected with playing actual game but also with mimicry or role-playing as it is also called by Caillois (1976). Theatre performances are also form of make-believe, but also they act as a framework and will be discussed later in this chapter. One of the form of make-believe is also daydreaming, but since it is not useful for this work, I will not go further into describing it.

However, it is crucial to mention that there are two types of these transformations. Apart from keying, there is also a transformation called fabrications (Goffman, 1986). Keying requires a scheme or pattern which is later being followed by all the participants present in the activity, but fabrications are quite the opposite – they require differences:

Fabrications, unlike keyings, are subject to a special kind of discrediting. When the contained party discovers what is up, what was real for him a moment ago is now seen as a deception and is totally destroyed. It collapses. (Goffman, 1986, p. 70).

Fabrications are form of a deceit. They are exploitative and operate in the context of disguise. In in this section I introduced the most important concepts of frame analysis. I described keyings and transformations as crucial part of frames. I described two basic frames in which social activities takes place. For Goffman (1986), the idea of frames is to show what it is happening inside them, how relations and contexts are being built and what kind of deception is used if the frame is natural. For the purposes of this work, I will use the keying and make-believe concepts rather than fabrications. The last framework I

would like to discuss is theatrical one. In this section I will introduce theatrical frame and the phenomenon as it is connected to the games and competitions.

2.4.3 Theatrical Frame

Goffman understands theatrical performance as transformation where the performer is altering the framework while being observed by the audience, which is fully aware of all the alterations. It is concise with Carlson's (2003) definition that performance is whenever any kind of audience is present and actively observes the show.

It is safe to assume that theatre performance consists of two integral parts – the stage itself and audience – and it is crucial to mention that spectators are not obliged to actively participate in any way (Goffman, 1986). According to Goffman (1986) performances might be either dramatic scripting acts or even private spectacles with limited audience (for example family), weddings and similar. What is crucial for this thesis is that Goffman (1986) also includes in performances, contests and matches. However, all these cases have one significant feature in common:

In a conversation, the content of one speaker's statement can call forth a direct replying response from another participant, both responses being part of the same plane of being. During a performance it is only fellow performers who respond to each other in this direct way as inhabitants of the same realm; the audience responds indirectly, glancingly, following alongside, as it were, cheering on but not intercepting. (Goffman, 1986, p. 127)

So not only performances undergo specific keying process (just like in a game), but also the relation between performers and audience is different. First of all, there is an audience which is not present in any game. In games there are only players. Another crucial distinction is rehearsals – Goffman (1986) describes them as “rekeyings” or “transformations of transformations”. Performers doing rehearsals are constantly transforming what is already transformed and the same might be applied to contestants and sportsmen for who trainings are a form of rehearsal.

In this chapter I studied second methodology for data analysis - frames (Goffman, 1986). I described them and explained their use in this thesis. I argued that theatrical frame is the most suitable frame to analyse wargames culture due to its resemblance to sport and theatre performances.

3 DATA ANALYSIS

It is a capital mistake to theorize before one has data. Insensibly one begins to twist facts to suit theories, instead of theories to suit facts (Doyle, 1892, p. 163)

This is the analytical chapter devoted to data analysis I gathered during observations in Tampere in form of field notes. In this chapter I will present the results of Grounded Theory application on the collected data. I will introduce coded and categorized data in form of a table. Later, I will describe each code and category in terms of meaning and definition. Codes and categories are related to various aspects of wargaming - play, behaviour, accessories and types of people present during the game. This chapter aims into introducing data which will be later used in the “Discussion” chapter.

In the section “Codes and Core Categories” I will present the results of Grounded Theory analysis conducted on empirical data gathered during observations of gamers playing wargames. Below you will find a table consisting of all categories and codes. I will describe all the findings starting from categories and then I will go through codes. This analysis will later allow me to construct a hypothesis on wargamers culture and will also reveal its characteristic features.

3.1 Codes and Core Categories

Each category with codes related to it will be present in the separate table order to maintain a clarity in this chapter. The full list of tables is provided in the chapter ten. I will briefly introduce each category and then describe codes. The aim of this analysis is to introduce to the reader different of behaviour, accessories in wargaming community and the community itself. This data will be later used in the “Results” chapter as a basis for frame analysis (Goffman, 1986). Table 5 and 6 presents a summary of codes and categories.

Table 5: Categories and codes pt. 1

Core Categories		
Accessories	Behavior during play	Gaming area
Bags	Eating	Table
Measurement tools	Waiting	Hobby store
Terrain elements	Standing and sitting	Club
Tokens	Maintaining conversation	Terrain
Cards	Drinking	Tournament venue
Smartphones and tablets	Language	Designated area
Rulebooks	Focus	
Scenarios		

Table 6: Codes and categories, pt. 2

Core Categories			
Gaming format	Non-players	Objects of play	Chores
Tournament	Bystanders	Painted	Miniature and model assignment
Private	Observers	Non-painted	Keeping track on the effects
	Guests	Humanoids	Format assignment
		Beasts	Clearing up
		Planes	Terrain assignment
		Machines	
		Bases	

3.2 Categories

First categories emerges during the initial phase of coding described in the section devoted to describing GT, but they are being finally grounded during the process of theoretical sampling which *means develop the properties of seeking and collecting pertinent data to your category(ies) until no new properties emerge* (Charmaz, 2006). Theoretical sampling is the process where a researcher is looking for data supporting his categories either by providing the same information or new one which will alter the categories.

Table 7: Description of codes

Accessories	Broad category consisting of codes related to different utilities and tools which are not considered to be miniatures or models. This category shows the relevance of various tools used during the play, before and after it. It is impossible to play without certain accessories.
Non-players	In this category there are codes connected with people present during the play. They do not play, but might ask or answer questions, maintain not related to the game conversation or helping players in other way. Non-players might be people who play miniature wargames, but at the exact moment of observations, they were not participating in any game.
Game format	Small category with few codes representing different rules constituting play in terms of game/scenario rules, time, number of players and size of the army. Rules differ between games and players might also use unofficial or home rules for their playing format. This one of the most significant categories as it states how players should play which influences their general behaviour.
Gaming area	It consists of codes related to the exact space where the actual play or match takes place. This category includes both spaces like shops and clubs and more defined ones related to where are the miniatures exactly (table, floor, etc.) and what kind of tools, accessories or other are available there.
Objects of play	In this category there codes representing all the objects used by wargamers during play. They are game-specific meaning that each game has its own individual set of codes connected with objects of play.
Behaviour during play	Broad category consisting of codes related to behaviour during the play which is not necessary a part of the game like fiddling with the objects of play, eating or drinking. It is a separate category, because behaviour during play is something different than using accessories or preparing table – these activities are constituted by rules of a given game, whereas behaviour during play is more elusive and does not follow any official rules (like the ones in the rulebooks).
Players	It consists of codes describing wargamers in terms specific features and behaviours. This category also reveals demographic details about wargamers which helps to understand better this society and get a deeper insight into it.
Chores	In order to start playing, wargamers have to prepare table and units and after finishing, clear it up. This category consists of codes which describe different kind of chores necessary to start, maintain and finish a game.

Table 8: Accessories

Bags	Miniatures are susceptible to damage resulting from throwing, touching and even moving. Observed wargamers did not play at their homes, they had to transport miniatures safely to the place of a match. Majority of players were using a special dedicated bags for miniatures produced by Feldherr. Observed players had bags of different sizes and some of them were decked with badges or patches with a given game logo.
Measurement tools	This code is related to game-specific tools used by the observed wargamers during a play. They are branded with a game logo and their shape is strongly connected with a given wargame's rules. A player must have at least one set of measuring tools. However, some of the observed players were using normal rulers, especially when measuring long distance. Each player has its own set of measuring tools. <i>X-Wing</i> (Fantasy Flight Games, 2012) wargamers must have a special set of tools which cannot be replaced by any other measurement tools.
Terrain elements	They are used to alter the gaming area. Terrain elements might be used in specific way stated by scenarios rules. They are always arranged according to the basic rules from the rulebook.
Tokens	Observed games (see Table 4) except one published by Games Workshop (1983) use tokens for indicating different effects on the objects of play. They are as obligatory to use. They come in different shapes. All the players are either using official tokens issued by a publisher or, more sophisticated tokens manufactured by Muse on Minis.
Cards	Games published by Privateer Press (2000) and Fantasy Flight Games (2000) (see Table 4) come with the special cards for every unit. It is impossible to play without these cards. Wargamers playing games published by Privateer Press (see Table 4) put their cards in sleeves and write on them using non-permanent markers.
Smartphones and tablets	Majority of observed players were using smartphones or tablets. They players were using these devices for counting time or using official mobile applications. They are not obligatory to use.
Rulebooks	Rulebooks contain rules for playing. At least is one copy available during opening hours of TaTape ry. Hobby store and tournament players did not use them during observations.
Scenarios	Wargames are played according to a scenario. They consists of specific goals and rules, sometimes additional ones which cannot be found in the rulebooks.

Table 9: Non-players

Bystanders	This code describes people who are mostly the customers of the hobby stores. They came to the store to buy something, but they were also interested in the play going on while they were in the shop. They observed it and sometimes engaged contact. Many of bystanders do not talk at all to the wargamers, just watch them.
Observers	They are players currently on involved in any match and decided to watch the ongoing one. In majority of cases, it is a way to spend free time while waiting for new players who are about to come or finish their plays in order to avoid playing with the same person for a second time during the meeting
Guests	They might be players themselves, but they do not come to the club for playing. They even do not have to necessarily know anyone from the present people in the club. They are coming, because they are friends, buying something or want to show something, so basically anything which is not playing, but is still somehow connected to miniature wargaming in general.

Table 10: Game format

Tournament	Observed wargames (see Table 4) have their own official rules being used during official tournaments. These rules describe time of each match and size of the armies. However, observed wargamers are using them outside official events. A personal interview with one of the wargamers revealed the reason for using these specific rules is to simply train for the official tournaments.
Private	This code is an opposite of tournament meaning that a given match does not follow tournament rules, so any constraints are either a result of using basic rules from rulebooks or other constraints agreed on between wargamers playing together.

Table 11: Game area

Table	All the observed players used tables to conduct their matches. Wargamers refer to it as “table”. It is also space for accessories, personal belongings and other.
Hobby store	Hobby stores offers a space for playing different games (so not only wargames) in form of tables. People can play in hobby stores during opening hours, both causally and in tournaments. However, tournaments matches might require registration before the event conducted by tournament’s organisers.
Club	In club, there are only people playing, there are no bystanders, though there might be observers. Opening hours are not strict.
Terrain	The exact place where a match takes place. Players put and move their miniatures, roll the dice and even keep their food. Terrain is customizable. Wargamers might alter it by adding and moving elements such as hills, roads and forests. Regardless of the place where wargamers play, terrain does not belong to them – it is either provided by a shop, tournament organizer or it is common for club members.
Tournament venue	Tournament venue differs from hobby stores and clubs – there is more players and gaming tables and wargamers play in a specific orders according to the tournament rules.
Designated area	Hobby stores provide space for different kinds of players. Each store which decided to host players, provides with tables and other utilities such as chairs and terrain. It is clearly visible and understandable for all the visitors that this area is dedicated for playing. Tampere hobby stores merged it with the rest of store space. Visitors who are not playing might be present in the gaming area while looking for products to buy.

Table 12: Objects of play

Humanoids	All the miniatures which resemble humanoids.
Beasts	Usually bigger than humanoid miniatures. They represent fictional fantasy or science-fiction beasts. They are part of the world where a given wargame is set.
Planes	In case of this thesis, they are models of fighters from <i>Star Wars</i> movies
Machines	Bigger than beasts and humanoid models. They might be tanks, cars and similar. In the case of this research, machines represent a fantasy tanks or chariots.
Painted	Painting objects of play is a crucial part of wargaming. Official tournament rules for Privateer Press games (see Table 4) state that miniatures used in competition should be painted. However, players observed in the club and hobby stores have miniatures in different stages of being painted – fully, partially or only grounded.
Non-painted	Observed players also uses non-painted miniatures while playing, but only in non-tournament situations. During tournament which took place on Tracon all the players had miniatures fully painted.
Bases	They are crucial part of objects of play. They stand on them act as point of reference during measurement process and assessing movement. The role of bases might differ from game to game, as well as shape and size.

Table 13: Players

Hobby story players	All the players which are playing in the hobby stores
Club players	Wargamers playing in a club, they might be club members.
Tournament players	Players participating in any kind of tournaments.

Table 14: Behaviour during play

Eating	Club players tend to bring food and eat during a play or while waiting for it. Food varies – it might be homemade or takeaway. It is rarely shared with the other people. Eating is not common for wargamers playing in hobby stores or during official tournaments, however they might be drinking beverages available in the venue.
Standing and sitting	Majority of observed players prefer to stand even if chairs are available. However, some of them sit, but only in opponent's turn. Observers might be taking seats. Standing allows to see whole table and control what is happening on it.
Waiting	Club players change the opponents, but since matches might last for a various amount of time, wargamers prefer to wait rather than start a new match with the same person. Hobby store players do not usually wait - there are only two players playing at a given moment and usually after one match they leave, even if they are playing in the tournament.
Maintaining conversation	All of the players did not refuse talking to guest, bystanders or observers. They treat conversing with them as part of a game. The topic of the conversation is usually an ongoing game.
Drinking	Observed players drink while playing. It happens in every space. Observed players in clubs drink their own beverages brought in, similarly to players during tournament, but the latter and hobby store players drink also what is available in the tournament venue or in store. Hobby store players do not bring their own beverages.
Language	All the observed players spoke in Finnish. However, they were using rules in English and thus during the play they were using English terms in order to refer to some particular rule. It did not happen often.
Focus	Players pay close attention to each other by observing moves in order to respond to possible errors and avoid cheating.

Table 15: Chores

Terrain assignment	In order to start playing, wargamers have to prepare gaming area, table in terms of terrain. They use terrain elements to compose a scene for battle. They either do it from the very beginning meaning that they start from empty terrain or alter already prepared scene from the previous match by adding and moving terrain elements.
Format assignment	Wargamers might play either private match or with the use of official tournament rules. Private match do not require any specific preparations, but when wargamers are about to use tournament rules, they need to set time limit usually by using their tablets or smartphones.
Clearing up	Regardless of space and event, wargamers have to clear up the table after playing. Firstly, they need to take out all of the tokens and then miniatures. Wargamers do not clear up table in terms of terrain, unless they are going to play at the same table.
Keeping track on the effects	Wargamers use various accessories to indicate states and effects happening during the effect. They last for various amounts of time, they also state conditions of given miniatures and wargames have to keep tabs on them in order to play fully according to rules and be aware of what is happening during the match with his/her and opponent's miniatures and other units.
Miniature and model assignment	This code is related to the very beginning of the preparations. It is regulated by rules both in terms of indicating the first wargamer to assign miniatures or models and the area which they might be assigned to.

4 RESULTS

In this chapter I will analyse collected data through frame analysis framework described in chapter three. I will describe and explain frames in which I will put wargamers behaviour, habits and play in order to point out different contexts of their culture. I will base frames on the data analysed through GT (Strauss, 1987). The main idea of the frames is to construct them in a way that they will show the importance of events happening inside them, how people communicate inside them and what is the main reason for their activities inside them. I will introduce frames constituting the play and unspoken rules followed by the wargamers.

I distinguished four frames: setting-up frame, middle of the battle frame, clearing frame and interruption frame. They are closely related to the way of conducting matches and behaviour connected with them. Those frames aim to describe actions performed during playing wargames and their meaning.

4.1 Setting-up Frame

Each player before starting a game has to conduct a specific kind of chores in order to establish *terrain* and *game format*. They are either unregulated, partially regulated or fully regulated by the official rules. Under the term of official rules I understand rules provided by rulebooks, official tournament rules and other recognized as official (for example published on the publisher's website). Tournament rules might be the part of the rulebook, but in the case of observed games, they only can be downloaded from the publishers' websites.

Wargamers have to agree on the *game format*. Tournament format influences the preparation phase as they have to set up their smartphones or tablets for that in order to track time which is limited. It is a common practice for *club players* to play in tournament format. They use simple mobile applications on their tablets or smartphones to establish time limit for their game.

Preparations of a game consist of set small agreements which are not regulated by official rules, but by the players' willingness. However, decisions connected with choosing the *game format* are not possible to make during tournament. Tournament has only one *game format* regulated by the official tournament rules.

The first stage of preparation phase is agreeing on the place where game will take place. However, this point is not valid in terms of tournaments, since all the players know where they are playing, but do not know against whom. In other cases, wargamers have to agree whether they want to play in a *hobby store* or *club*. Wargamers gathering in

TaTape ry told me that it is possible to play every wargame in their club. But all the observed games were either wargames published by Privateer Press (see Table 4) and there was one *Warhammer Fantasy Battle* (Games Workshop, 1983) match. It might mean that there is a strong division among wargamers in Tampere in terms of games they are playing, since *X-Wing* (Fantasy Flight Games, 2012) tend to meet each other in the *hobby stores* (which might be tournament venues). Taking that into consideration, wargamers do not have to necessarily make a choice in terms of playing place, unless they are able to play at home.

I asked a couple of members of TaTape ry if it is possible to visit their homes and watch them playing. Although they wanted to invite me, they were not able to conduct any games due to space limitations of their homes. Not only they did not have a suitable table to set *gaming area*, but also were unable to store *terrain elements*. As I mentioned in the „Data Collection” section, all the wargames require a significant amount of space as well as *terrain elements*. Although there are wargamers playing at home, they are rare and unable to find among observed players. Space limitations seem to be the biggest obstacle in conducting home games. However, *club* tend to gather a larger amount of people in one place and thus letting players to connect with each other and meet new potential opponents. In fact, meeting in a *club* does not only have a purpose of playing but also conducting business and meeting to show other games. This will be discussed later in section *interruption frame*.

After agreeing on the place (and thus time), it is crucial to transport miniatures there. Wargamers have a wide array of *accessories* allowing them to store and transport miniatures which are usually miniature-specific bags with customizable styrofoam inside allowing to resize it depending on bulk of the miniatures. Bags prevent paint damage and are easy to carry. However, some players do not have them and thus they are forced to use another means for transportation, usually in a form of cardboard box where miniatures are covered with soft materials and papers inside the box. It is possible to buy bare customizable styrofoam and use it in the cardboard box which is cheaper, however none of the observed players used this solution. Cardboard boxes and similar are for them just a temporary solution, probably because even with styrofoam inside they do not protect miniatures from any kind of damage enough.

Later, wargamers have to agree on the game format and the number of units they will use and scenario. Although in terms of private game, wargamers are free in terms of army size, there are guidelines suggesting which sizes are suitable to play depending on what kind of battle players would like to participate in. Each observed games has a point rules describing the size of armies. Every unit has point value and thus the size of the army participating in the battle is a sum of point values. Tournament rules always state

clearly the number of points, but even though the army size is regulated by rules, players are still free to choose whichever units they want to as long as the sum of points is right.

Wargamers are able to establish certain goals for a given battle which counts as *scenario*. They might use a *scenario* provided by a publisher or by anyone else, it does not have to be official, but they can also create their own. This is the case which is fluid in terms of rules. They might be unregulated, so players establish their own *scenario* or they can choose one prepared by someone else, not necessarily publisher. As I mentioned, it is not required to have a sophisticated scenario – destroying 70% of opponent's units counts as a scenario as it poses clear winning conditions.

Apart from the unregulated agreements between players, there are decisions constituted by a given game rules. All the observed games require players to choose sides of the table by either rolling a dice or agreeing who will assign miniatures as a first player. However, choosing the side happens after *terrain assignment* which is also regulated by the rules. Although players are free to use whichever *terrain elements* they have available, each game has rules describing the dimensions of those elements and the distance in which they might be put from each other and table edge.

When *gaming area* is prepared, the actual *miniature and model assignment* takes place. Rules regulate only the distance between one table edge and whether the given *terrain element* allows to place a unit in its area. At this point, miniatures and other models are being taken out from the bags or other means of storing them and placed in *gaming area*. They are stopped being treated carefully. Players start *eating* and *drinking* in the *setting-up frame* next to the miniatures or above them. Moreover, miniatures are being held by painted area while taken out from the bags or boxes. Although wargamers are strongly *focused* even in the preparation phase on placing miniatures and models correctly, it does not apply to paying attention to the painting job. However, wargamers are aware of that most of miniatures and models had to be assembled with the use of glue and similar means (such as pins or magnets) and thus they are not being thrown, but carefully placed in the *gaming area*. Unpainted miniatures are not endangered by paint damage.

The integral part of each army in *Warmachine* (Privateer Press, 2003), *Hordes* (Privateer Press, 2006) and *X-Wing* (Fantasy Flight Games, 2012) are cards and pens. They are being placed in the *gaming area* along with the miniatures, models and *measurement tools*. If wargamers decided to play in tournament format, they are also preparing smartphone or tablets to count match time. In this frame, *sitting* does not occur. All the players in that frame are standing. As I mentioned, *gaming area* dimensions are at least 60x60cm and thus it is impossible to assign miniatures and other models from *sitting* position.

Setting-up frame is connected with the preparations of the game including choosing place, format, *terrain assignment* and transportation of the miniatures. Wargamers in this frame are carefully preparing the game in respect of the rules they are using regardless of whether they are set by themselves or written in the official rules. However, those rules do not include the approach towards miniatures. Although they are stored carefully and shielded from any damage, the moment of taking them out for the battle means that it is not necessary to protect them from paint damage. The minimal precautions are only being taken. This frame also shows how different rules are synchronized together in order to allow players having a proper game. It is impossible to play without establishing unspoken rules which helps to set up a game. Moreover, *setting-up frame* is connected not only with the actual meeting of the wargamers, but also with their communications channels where they agree on the place. It does not, however, valid in terms of tournament which place is known, but players do not know their opponents beforehand.

4.2 Middle of the Battle Frame

The *setting-up frame* undergoes transition into *middle of the battle frame* where the game starts. In this frame, wargamers are moving their units, attacking or defending in order to achieve victory regardless of whether it is just beating the opponent's units or fulfilling scenario goals (or both). In this section I will describe the situation where players are no longer in preparation phase, but at the stage of conducting the actual battle. I will explain the activities performed by the players in order to achieve victory and describe rules which provides a certain framework to conduct a battle.

In the *middle of the battle frame*, crucial role is played by the *measurement tools*. In order to proceed towards winning, each player has to perform moves and actions such as casting spells, attacking or defending. Each wargame defines and names them differently depending on their setting, so in *X-Wing* (Fantasy Flight Games, 2012) wargamers will not be casting spells, but shooting. However, in *Warmachine* (Privateer Press, 2003) or *Hordes* (Privateer Press, 2006), players can also shoot. Although all these actions are perceived differently by every wargame, the outcome is the same – they either cause damage or pose some effect on the units.

Each such action requires some kind of measuring – distance or radius. It is impossible to perform any of these actions without proper tools, as observed wargames require specific *measurement tools* which comes in different shapes and length. Every observed player had its own set of *measurement tools* while playing. Although one set of them is enough for a table, having your own set makes a wargamer independent. Moreover, *measurement tools* (and other *accessories* such as *tokens* which will be discussed later in this section) are a sign of devotion to the game. Observed *measurement*

tools and *tokens* were branded. People who did not have their own set or had generic counterparts might be perceived either as a beginner or not devoted enough to the game.

Moves and other actions are being conducted carefully in order to avoid mistakes. However, as it was mentioned in terms of *setting-up frame*, miniatures and models are neglected in terms of protecting them from paint damage. It is more important to move them and win the battle rather than protect them. Performing actions in the *middle of the battle frame* is strongly connected with *keeping track of the effects*. Miniatures and models are able to pose certain effects and conditions on the other models and it is crucial to signify that – all the observed players regardless of the game they were playing. There is one exception, however - *Warhammer Fantasy Battle* (Games Workshop, 1983) were using game-specific tokens indicating certain effects. Tokens come in various shapes and sizes and they being provided by a publisher. However, it is possible to buy tokens from an individual manufacturers as it was in the case of a *Hordes* player having wooden tokens manufactured by Muse on Minis which are fancier and more expensive than a token set provided by Privateer Press. Buying a more sophisticated token set is just a matter of personal taste. However it also shows the devotion to the given game as the basic token set is enough to conduct a battle.

Keeping track of the effects is also strongly connected with maintaining accurate information on the cards and rolling a dice in order to perform specific checks. Games published by Privateer Press and Fantasy Flight Games (see Table 4) provide each unit a paper card with special unit rules and place for marking damage. All of the observed players thus are obliged to bring them to the battle as it is impossible to play without them. Moreover, they improved them by lamination or putting in the card sleeves which allows players to mark damage with a pen and then erase it which makes cards reusable. Rolling a dice is an activity providing randomness in the game and checking the outcome of performed actions. It is not directly connected with *keeping track of the effects* as dice do not indicate any effect or condition, but a roll might be altered by certain effects.

All the actions affecting miniatures and models are regulated by the official and *scenario* rules. However, there are unregulated rules connected with placing units which were killed during a battle. They are not being put in bags, but they stay in the *gaming area*, but outside the *terrain*. Firstly, it would take too much time to put them inside the bag and especially in terms of playing accordingly to tournament rules, time is crucial as it is limited. Secondly, killed units are crucial when the match is finished – they represent the performance of a given player. Although depending on the scenario goals which are also a part of performance, the number of killed units ultimately represents the player's skills. It is impossible to play a wargame without killing units and the more of them is

killed, the easier a game becomes to win regardless of the goals established by the scenario.

Eating and drinking is a common activity performed in *middle of the battle frame*, mostly by wargamers playing in the *club* as it allows to bring your own food which might be a full meal. Although snacks are popular among players in the *hobby stores* and during *tournaments*, only small number of them decided to eat them, whereas almost all of the wargamers in TaTape ry brought food, either homemade or take away. Majority of players were cooking for themselves, but the close proximity of Finnish fast food chain restaurant Hesburger allows some players to buy food there. It is not clear whether it resulted from lack of time for food preparation or simple preference to take away over homemade meal. Regardless of the motivation, *eating* is an important part of playing wargames, especially in the *club*, since time spent there is much longer than time in the *hobby store*. *Hobby store* players usually meet for one match and even if they play more than one (usually two), they last shorter as they are also *X-Wing* (Fantasy Flight Games, 2012) players and *X-Wing* matches are shorter than other observed matches. Due to tournament nature, it lasts longer or as long as matches in the *club*, but wargamers limit themselves to the snacks available in the *tournament venue*. However, since it is located in the centre of Tampere, wargamers might be motivated to eat outside it in the restaurants.

There is also a significant difference in terms of drinks. *Hobby stores* and *tournament venues* provide their own drinks and thus wargamers buy them, whereas *club* players buy their own and they are different from what is available elsewhere. I observed milk and water whereas other players drunk Coke or Finnish energy drink Battery. In this frame also, some wargamers tend to *sit* if chairs are available.

4.3 Clearing Frame

In this section I will describe a frame in which players are finishing the battle and prepare to either change a table, opponent or cease playing at all. I will explain *chores* connected with each of those actions. I will introduce the rules necessary to finish the game and evaluate them in terms of the people who establish them.

As I mentioned above, each battle has certain goals which achieving results in the ending of a game. In that case, *middle of the battle* undergoes transition to the *clearing frame*. Regardless of whether wargamers are stop playing at all in a given place or just changes the table or opponent, the chore they have to perform are the same. Furthermore, their order is consistent in any place and situation regardless of the game.

When the game is finished, wargamers have to clear the *gaming area* from miniatures, even if they stay at the same table, because after a battle, they are able to change the army either by replacing units by another or even use different faction. However, before miniature are being cleared, it is crucial to start from tokens within *gaming area*. Clearing space from them at first place, allows players to track the last turns of the battle and spot out mistakes resulting from forgetting about some effects or clearing them in *middle of the battle frame*. Moreover, tracking back last moves is a starting point for the discussion about a whole match.

After *tokens*, *miniatures* are being cleared and at this point, players compare the loss in the units. Afterwards, *miniatures* are either put in the bags or boxes or stay in the same *gaming area* depending on which player stays at the table in the *club* or during *tournament*. In the *hobby store*, either both players put their *miniatures* away and prepare to leave or move to the *setting-up frame* in order to play another match. The order of clearing the table and choosing the person who moves to another table is not regulated by the rules in the *rulebooks*. It is an unregulated agreement between wargamers. However, if they participate in the *tournament*, the next opponent and table is regulated by the official rules connected with conducting *tournaments*, but only this aspect of finishing the game is regulated by official rules. The order of clearing *gaming area* depends on the players.

At this point, *miniatures* are become once again objects of high importance in terms of preventing any paint damage, unless they are being taken to another table. Wargamers tend to take a high number of *miniatures* into hands (and thus they collide with each other which might cause paint damage) and transport them to another *gaming area*. It is important to be able to transport miniatures and protection from any damage is just a side-effect provided by the means of transportation, but when they are in the *gaming area*, the

paint job on them does not pose any significance to the players. Similarly to the *setting-up frame*, wargamers are *standing* in order to clear the table

Clearing frame consists mostly of unregulated rules which are highly important for the wargamers as they allow them track back the match and discuss it. Moreover, wargamers are consistent in using them meaning that the order of clearing the table is always the same regardless of the context they are playing in and even game. *X-Wing* (Fantasy Flight Games, 2012) starts from clearing *tokens* from the *gaming area* as well as *Warmachine* (Privateer Press, 2003) and *Hordes* (Privateer Press, 2006) players. The only exception are *Warhammer Fantasy Battle* (Games Workshop, 1983) wargamers who are not using *tokens* or *cards* as they are not required by any official rules. When they move to *clearing frame*, they start from clearing *miniatures* and while doing that, they might discuss the match.

4.4 Interruption Frame

This section is devoted to describing a frame connected with situations where wargames are interrupted by conversations with *non-players* and thus bound to *maintain a conversation*. I will explain the way in which *interruption frame* combines with the frames described above. I will argue that interrupting players do not influence their performance and their matches establish topics tackled in the conversations. Moreover, I will describe different kinds of interruptions which might occur in the *interruption frame*.

Apart from wargamers involved in a match, there are other people who are not directly connected to the game, but they are present in the same space. Depending on the place where the game is conducted, people able to interrupt wargamers are either *bystanders* in *hobby stores*, *observers* who might also be players which are currently not involved in any game and there are also *guests* specific to the *club* space. *Bystanders* are customers in the *hobby stores* who did not come to play any game, but matches ongoing currently in the shop are able to be observed. Each *bystander* seen in the *hobby store* was a middle-aged male. However, in one case, a *bystander* came to the wargamers table with a boy in his teenage years. Although *hobby stores* were being visited by women during data gathering, they did not come to the *designated area* with ongoing play.

Bystanders do not have to talk to the players, majority of them are observing games in silence. Regardless of in which frame they are currently, *interruption frame* does not replace current frame – it merges with it meaning that wargamers are at the same time *maintaining a conversation* (if it happens with a *bystander*) and performs actions connected with a frame in which they are. That being said, all the observed conversations were short without steady pace. They were paused if a player had to perform a specific

action or pay attention to the opponent's activity. The *focus* is more significant than *maintain a conversation*. Silence of *bystanders* might be connected with lacking knowledge on a given wargame. *Hobby stores* in Tampere does not only provide such games, but also board games, game, manga and anime merchandise, role-playing rulebooks and video games and thus *bystanders* might not be even familiar with wargaming society in Tampere.

Observers are a broad group of people consisting of wargamers who are not currently involved in any game and thus most of them is present in the *club* or *tournament venue*. However, they are interested in the ongoing games as it is a form of pastime while waiting for another player or *observer*. Majority of them start conversations with active players, make jokes. Their conversations are longer than ones with *bystanders*, but the same rules of *focus* and *maintain a conversation* applies in case of *observers* – conversation is less important than actual play. The difference in duration time might result from that all the *observers* are also players and thus they are able to *maintaining a conversation* about wider array of topics.

Guests are a specific kind of people who are able to stop a current match depending on their purpose of coming to the *club*, *hobby store* or *tournament venue*. It is crucial to mention that *guests* were observed only in the TaTape ry *club*, but they might appear elsewhere. *Guests* have a specific purpose of visiting. If they want to conduct business connected with selling or buying *miniatures*, they are able to cause a break in the match. I observed people visiting TaTape ry in order to buy and sell miniatures. This is the only situation when *interruption frame* replaces *setting-up*, *-middle of the battle* and *clearing* frames. Although *setting-up*- and *-clearing* frames do not require strong *focus* as they are not directly connected with fulfilling winning conditions and thus they might be considered as frames which might be replaced by *interruption frame* easily, they are a crucial part of whole match and they are treated the same as *middle of the battle frame* in terms of *focus* or possible interruptions. *Guests* are also people who visit *club* in order to talk to other players or show new games. I observed one situation when a male came into the *club* and presented a game he bought. It was evening and all the players in TaTape ry were not playing and thus were able to see the game. I still consider this situation as *interruption frame*, because it disrupted the flow of starting new matches – after *clearing frame*, wargames did not change tables, started new game or went home. All the *guests* who I observed in TaTape ry were middle-aged male.

Interruption frame, however, only exists in relation to the other frames connected with conducting matches. Moreover, *interruption frame* is introduced by the people who are not currently playing, but for some reason are interested in an ongoing match. Furthermore, it is possible to distinguish among *guests*, *bystanders* and *observers*

differences in terms of *sitting* and *standing*. Majority of the wargamers tend to *stand*, whereas other people who are not involved in the game prefer to *sit* if chairs are available. It is true especially in terms of *observers* during *tournaments* – they tend to gather in large amount around a game, especially if it is the last or one of the last games. They even engage with each other into conversations which are longer and usually undisturbed. Their conversations are not in the *interruption frame* as they are not maintained with the active players.

5 DISCUSSION

Little Wars; a game for boys from twelve years of age to one hundred and fifty and for that more intelligent sort of girl who likes boys' games and books (Wells, 1913)

In this chapter I will discuss the results of the research conducted for the purpose of this thesis. This chapter is divided into two parts – first one is connected with discussing frames. Second is related to the image of Tampere wargaming society emerging from the frame analysis (Goffman, 1986).

All findings are barely present in the literature reviewed for the purpose of this thesis. They are connected with style of playing and general image of fantasy miniature wargaming society. Wargamers and their play are rarely a main subject for the research. Even if students of military history are recognized as wargamers and thus taken into consideration into research of utilitarian wargames, their culture and wargaming purposes are different from fantasy miniature wargamers.

5.1 Frames and Image of Wargaming

Setting-up, middle of the battle and clearing frames do not percolate with each other, certain actions characteristic for them are performed outside the original frame. In the middle of the battle frame it is inevitable that some units will be killed or destroyed and thus taken outside the *table* where battle does not take place. Eliminating obsolete miniatures and models from the *table* is the part of clearing frame, but it also occurs in the middle of the battle frame. However, there is a significant difference between those seemingly same actions. Destroyed units are not being put in the *bag* or any other means of transportation – they are taken aside, because in the clearing frame there will be evaluated in terms of opponent's performance.

In the middle of the battle frame, wargamers might also perform actions which originally belongs to the setting-up frame – *miniature assignment*. Mistakenly eliminated units might return to the battle, but not in random place – in order to maintain a coherence of the game it should be returned to the exact spot which it was taken from. Moreover, some rules might allow player to summon or revive killed units which will result in putting new models into battle accordingly to the rules just as it is in terms of *miniature assignment* in setting-up frame. Furthermore, moving models to the certain positions is also a form of *assignment* as it happens accordingly to the rules.

However, setting-up and clearing frames does not interact in that way with each other. Middle of the battle frame is a particular combination of setting-up and clearing frames by using actions belonging to them to its own purposes. This corresponds clearly with the pace of the battle. When one player is losing, he takes out more and more his models as he is being closer to ending whole much and thus transitioning to the clearing frame. Player who is defeating his opponent, moves his miniatures further and – the opponent can merely react and thus winning player is clearly performing actions connected with setting-up frame when he has a full power in his units. However, battles are rarely conducted in a way where one player is clearly winning. Wargaming is about pushing each other to clearing frame and thus each player might perform actions connected with that frame, even if in the end there is only one winner.

Middle of the battle frame is bound to end as clearing frame regardless of the fact that one of the players has to be a winner who performs more actions connected with setting-up frame. However, players enter clearing frame in different conditions – one of them is a winner and another – loser and thus clearing frame for them means something different. Although both of the players will perform the same actions connected with this frame, it is the winner who has to perform more of them in the end as he has more models to take out of the *table*. If the middle of the battle frame is about the dominance of one of the players then clearing frame aims to return status quo between them.

In case of tournaments, status quo is superficial as the winner will advance in the competition whereas loser not. Winning the tournament acts against status quo between the winner and rest of the players. However, it might be restored by losing in another competition. Taking that into consideration, tournaments are the ultimate battles which have a significant influence on the status quo between players as they are more than casual battles. Even unofficial tournaments created by the players in order to play in the more competitive atmosphere are destroying status quo and yet at the same time are able to restore it.

Although Hyde (2013) introduced basic rules of playing in his work, he limited them to basic and general guidelines. What is interesting, however, is that presented frames and the image of play they convey, might be applied to any kind of wargame regardless of its purpose. Educational wargames used by Sabin (2014) are board wargames which do not use miniatures or terrain elements, but more abstract representation of them in form of tokens or illustrations on the board. However, players will conduct similar or even the same actions as fantasy miniature wargamers – the only difference is in the used object of play. Moreover, the same frames and actions will be present during chess match, although performed differently due to the nature of chess.

5.2 Theatrical Frame in Wargaming

Tournament rules for different wargames might vary, but all of them have the same purpose – to unify matches happening during the tournament and prevent any deviations from rules and make competition fair for every participant. Tournaments take place always in public spaces such as *hobby stores* or conventions. They cannot be organized at participants' homes. However, they might be organized in the club as long as official requirements for conducting a tournament are fulfilled. During official events for *Warmachine* (Privateer Press, 2003) or *Hordes* (Privateer Press, 2006) there should be a person who can settle the arguments on rules.

Coming back to Goffman's (1986) and Carlson's (2003) definitions of performance and Goffman's (1986) theatrical frame view, tournament is a type of contest or competitions – wargamers plays against themselves in order to win prizes or get higher in the ranking. What is crucial here is that tournaments are scripted (just like for example sport competitions). They follow certain way of happening, similarly to theatre performances. Wargamers in the club mostly play in tournament format, but their meetings are not happening within *tournament frame*. It is safe to call that wargamers are having *rehearsals* for the actual event. However, what is missing from this picture is audience.

Goffman (1986) said that in order to have performance, there should be a stage and in terms of *tournament frame* it is the actual venue, but there is no regular audience sitting and watching for whole time. Instead, there are bystanders (and judges) who might observe the games if they happen on the conventions or actual observers who finished their matches and they are waiting for another one and in this time they watch other plays. There judges scrutinizing plays if they follow the rules. Taking that into consideration, the tournament is similar to happening rather to regular theatre performance.

Happening takes place mostly in public spaces and aims to evoke a particular reaction, but they do not have a regular audience as in it is not obliged to sit and watch happening and the same applies to bystanders or observes during tournaments. The particular reaction is in that case the urge to observe and maybe engage into a discussions with wargamers or other observers or *bystanders*.

Another crucial and more general connection with *theatrical frame* is linked to the phenomenon of theatre of war. The theatre of war is a military term referring to the space where the actual act of war takes place. Clausewitz defines it in that way:

Denotes properly such a portion of the space over which war prevails as has its boundaries protected, and thus possesses a kind of independence. This protection may consist in fortresses, or important natural obstacles presented by the country, or even in its being separated by a considerable distance from the rest of the space embraced in the war. Such a portion is not a mere piece of the whole, but a small whole complete in itself; and consequently it is more or less in such a condition that changes which take place at other points in the seat of war have only an indirect and no direct influence upon it. (Clausewitz, 1918, p. 2)

The analysis of Goffmanian theatrical frame revealed how strong resemblance wargames bear to the performance. Introduced by Clausewitz (1918) boundaries such as fortresses or natural obstacles are simply a part of scenography. The wargamers are actors or to use more general world - performers. Even if they play only for leisure, non-tournament purposes, they are acting out certain scenarios or rehearse for the actual performance which in that case is an official tournament.

It is crucial to notice that each observed game allows players to create or use ready-made scenarios deeply ingrained in the fantasy wargames settings. Each rulebook comes with the description of the setting and its history. Wargamers can even set a campaign with the purpose of act out important events from the history setting and continue its history. On the other hand, wargamers are strongly focused on the competitive aspect. Their general approach is connected with preparation for tournaments rather than enjoying the narrative. In terms of Goffmanian primary frame, wargamers simply move miniatures as they are participating in the real battle and wargamers themselves are generals. However, the second frame indicates that they are acting out or rehearse those battles in theatrical frame.

5.3 Hermetic Society of Gadget-loving Nerds?

I did not observe female wargamers non-Finnish speakers during data collection process. Since fantasy miniature wargaming requires a considerable amount of money, the majority of wargames have to receive an income or have another money source allowing them to purchase miniatures and other accessories necessary and unnecessary to play wargames.

Tampere wargamers are gadget-loving people. They tend to be expensive accessories such as bags or tokens despite the opportunity to make or buy cheaper equivalents. Although it might sound counterintuitively that wargamers tend to buy expensive accessories when basic means of playing wargames are already expensive enough, all the accessories are symbols of devotion to hobby and even particular armies.

Moreover, they indicate the degree of experience. The more experienced players is, the bigger likelihood that he would possess an expensive miniature bag or case, sophisticated tokens and patches with his favourite army symbol. It is not the size of the army which counts. It is the number of army- or hobby-related accessories possessed.

The significance of accessories is supported by that every frame except interruption one requires using certain tools to maintain the game. However, cards and dice might be replaced by digital components such as mobile applications as it was stated by Carter (2014). Privateer Press (2000) provides an official application for Android and iOS where a player can keep track of the damage of his units. There is a plethora of applications performing dice rolls. Observed players use devices such as tablets and smartphones during the game, but only as time measurement tools, so they are familiar with technology allowing to digitalize certain actions such as dice rolls. However, as Carter (2014) states, the un-augmented reality and physicality of the games is important for the wargamers, especially in terms of performing checks which require dice:

The physicality of the loudness and chaoticness of rolling large numbers of dice simulates the chaos of war in a tangible way, an effect pronounced by the tangibility of the dice, the imagined representation of dice as being embodiments of fictional undertakings and the situational representation of dice as occurring next to these events. (Carter, 2014, p. 21)

Although Carter's (2014) observations pertain only to *Warhammer 40,000* (Games Workshop, 1987) players, the actions connected with conducting battle and dice rolling are common for all the wargames I observed. Dice is an ultimate symbol of war and fight and the same might be applied to the use of physical cards rather than mobile application – they show the outcome of the fight and war as much as the killed units which are not being put in the bag after being taken out of the battle. Moreover, the familiarity with devices providing opportunities to use application digitizing those actions, does not result in using them meaning that the physicality of dice roll and cards is more significant to the wargamers than potential ease of digitalization which might result in saving time and avoiding mistakes connected with counting numerical bonuses to checks. The significance of *eating* and *drinking* is connected with the amount of time required to play a match (or matches), especially for *club* and *tournament* players.

The collected data also revealed an internal division in wargaming society in Tampere. Games published by Privateer Press (see Table 4) are not being played in hobby stores and the same applies to *X-Wing* (Fantasy Flight Games, 2012) being absent in TaTape ry club. I asked wargamers about games they are playing apart the mentioned ones. *Warmachine* (Privateer Press, 2003) and *Hordes* (Privateer Press, 2006) players

play only those games. Some of the *X-Wing* (Fantasy Flight Games, 2012) wargamers told that they tend to play *Warhammer Fantasy Battle* (Games Workshop, 1983) and its sci-fiction counterpart (see Table 4). Furthermore, there are no wargamers playing fantasy miniature wargames with historical background. The knowledge about them is limited which might be connected with poor availability of them in the Tampere hobby stores. Only *Flames of War* (Battlefront Miniatures, 2002) is present, but any of the observed wargamers reported playing this game. I also noticed that not all tournaments were hosted by Tracon convention - only the one connected with games published by Privateer Press (see Table 4). *X-Wing* (Fantasy Flight Games, 2012) tournaments were taking place in the hobby stores.

Frame analysis did not reveal any particular style of playing of different wargamers regarding place and context. However, regardless of the place and *game format*, all the wargamers are in the same frames. It is possible to argue that Tampere wargaming community developed a specific style of playing. Its crucial features are strong focus on the game game-based isolation connected with playing space. As I will argue in the chapter “Conclusions”, wargamers tend to isolate themselves from women who might be potentially interested in fantasy miniature wargaming. The integral part of playing style is connected with accessories necessary and unnecessary for play. They might indicate a hierarchy between players. However, without an in-depth research into this topic, it is impossible to argue if the hierarchy influences the choice of players to play with.

5.3.1 Gender Diversity and Flow of Information

During the observations, I did not meet any female wargamer. However, it was reported by observed wargamers that female wargamers exist in Tampere. The lack of female wargamers recognition resembles the one described by Mosca (1975) and Peterson (2015). However, it is a result, not a cause of low female wargamers. Mosca (1975) pointed out the crucial influence of the gender stereotypes. At least the stereotypes resulting from differences in biology of women and men are supported by van Creveld (2013). However, I argued in the “Literature Review” chapter, mere biological reasons are not enough to explain lack of females in the wargaming hobby.

Frame analysis of wargamers in Tampere revealed that there is nothing connected with gender discrimination when wargamers gather in order to play. I identify myself as a woman and fantasy miniature wargamer. I was approached with friendliness and hospitality by the observed wargamers. According to Gender Equality Index (2015), Finland is ranked on 24th position in Gender Development Index meaning that this country strongly supports decreasing gender gaps. It successfully fights with gender

discrimination and thus those issues should not be a reason of female discouragement in terms of wargaming.

Lack of female recognition influences the current state of gender distribution, though it is difficult to state to what extent comparing to other issues such as lack of anti-harassment policies on the wargaming conventions. However, there is also another issue which is impacting gender distribution among Tampere wargamers. Women are even not aware how to get familiarized themselves with the hobby. They do not know wargamers. The issue connected with flow of information is particularly significant in the wargaming society Tampere. From the very beginning of living here, I have been a part of RPG and wargaming societies. Yet, I had to put a considerable amount of effort to obtain information where wargamers gather apart from hobby stores. Moreover, it was crucial to know what games are supported by Tampere hobby stores are where and when tournaments take place. Such information are hidden in the online communities or can be obtained through personal communication which requires connection to certain people who might hold such information. Taking into consideration lack of women recognition in marketing campaigns of wargames and particular difficulty in obtaining information connected with wargaming community it might almost impossible for women to even start looking for information connected with the hobby. This also means that even potential male wargamers might have difficulties with that.

Another explanation for gender homogeneity among wargamers might be connected with potential harassment. As I discussed in the “Literature Review”, conventions do not introduce any anti-harassment policies. Moreover, some of the organizers are prone to think that such policies are even harmful for their events. Furthermore, gender stereotypes still exist in wargaming societies and might prevent female participation. They are connected with female biological incapability to participate in warfare activities and thus, as van Creveld (2013) argues, it influences their further interest in any war-like topic. Women were not able to serve in the army (van Creveld, 2013, Peterson 2015) and even if fantasy miniature wargames do not require strength, it is taken for granted that women are not interested due to lack of military background. The very fact of strong support gender equality in Finland might not be sufficient to reshape such stance towards women.

In this section I discussed potential reasons for poor female participation in the Tampere wargaming community. I argued that it is connected with poor flow of information and the existence of gender stereotypes which have been present since the 70s. Moreover, any kind of gender discrimination, must be happening outside the actual wargaming gatherings as observed wargamers did not show any discriminatory behaviours.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis was to describe Tampere wargamers culture in terms of style of playing, behaviour and gender diversity. I conducted an in-depth literature review analysis which revealed that current research on wargaming offer little information on the thesis subject. Moreover, the systematic database search for relevant works was insufficient. I used means of personal communication to find more works (such as online publications in popular magazines such as Medium) obtain information on hobby stores history.

In order to obtain necessary knowledge to answer research questions, I decided to use ethnographic data collection methods in order to gain a deeper understanding of wargamers habits and wargames they play. Although I did not conduct interviews, I was asking clarification questions. I analysed gathered data I used GT (Strauss, 1987) which is a widely-used method in ethnographic field and recently in Game Studies (Hook, 2015). Grounded Theory analysis prepared a fundamental basis for Goffmanian (1986) frame analysis.

Grounded Theory and frame analyses revealed characteristic features of Tampere wargaming community and its wargamers. The procedure of data collection uncovered that Tampere wargamers are homogenous group of middle-aged males. The lack of gender diversity was discussed by Dunnigan (2000) and van Creveld (2013). However, frame analysis did not reveal any reasons for that. I argued that possible explanation for that might lie in poor information flow which also makes a whole society rather hermetic for people trying to approach it from the outside. Although wargamers do not isolate from each other while playing, the community in general is hermetic. Players tend to stick to one gaming group which is also strongly connected to the playing space. Moreover, there is an integral division among players regarding wargames of choice and thus for example it is almost impossible to meet *Warmachine* (Privateer Press, 2003) wargamers playing in the hobby stores.

However, frame analysis (Goffman, 1986) helped to understand the wargaming as an activity requiring focus, patience and paying attention to details. Although wargamers are not isolating themselves from other people, be it simple observers or other players, the priority for them is a wargame. They might talk to other people present in the space, but conversation is always less important than the actual game. Furthermore, Tampere wargamers highlight their status and level of experience in the community by possessing certain wargaming accessories. Observed wargamers are meticulous players for whom

playing is at utmost importance while performed. Moreover, they appreciate branded and expensive accessories even if there is a possibility to obtain a cheaper equivalent. They indicate the experience and devotion to the game. The less accessories a player has, the more likely he will be an unexperienced beginning player.

Frame analysis allowed to analyse also style of playing wargames. Tampere wargaming society established its own style which is followed by all the observed wargamers regardless of how the community is hermetic. The style consists mostly of unspoken rules connected with conducting play which help to facilitate it and avoid misunderstandings. Players repeat all the actions required for starting, conducting and ending play in every match as ritual consisting of assigning and then taking out miniatures ended with reflection on the match.

6.1 Limitations

The research focuses only on the players which were found in Tampere, Finland. They were observed for three months in the shops, a club and during a fantasy convention. It is also impossible to apply findings to the whole society of the wargamers in Finland as different wargaming societies in other cities might follow different rules of behaviour and play.

Lack of personal interviews and closer scrutiny of wargamers as individuals prevented to analyse gender issues and reasons for which the community is hermetic. However, this research supports the point connected with low number of women in utilitarian and leisure wargames. Brynen (2016), van Creveld (2013) and Peterson (2015) noticed that females do not actively participate in the wargaming hobby.

The language of the participants was analysed only in terms of using English borrowings and thus it is not possible to scrutinize linguistic side of the wargamers culture. Linguistic analysis might reveal a community-specific language which would significantly contribute to the image of wargaming society in Tampere.

In order to obtain a comprehensive data on the wargamers culture it is crucial to analyse different age groups as they might be significantly different in terms of playing and preferred games.

Collected data does not include stand-alone large tournaments which gather people from different cities and countries. Large-scale tournaments lasts longer than tournaments taking place during conventions and usually participants can win certain prizes meaning that those kind of tournaments are targeted for more competitive players and only a minority of them is among observed wargamers. As it was concluded in the research, the competitive aspect of wargaming is significant for the players.

The observations lasted only three months and longer duration time would allow to gather more detailed data and attend annual events which took place after the observations were done. Moreover, there is a possibility that I might have been able to observe female participants, because according to Rauti (2016), they appear in the club and during tournaments in Tampere.

I can identify three different areas for further development in the research. Ethnographic which will allow to obtain an in-depth insight into hierarchy of wargaming societies and find an explanation for low number of female participants. Another one is connected with conducting quantitative research in order to have a solid data on number of wargamers in Tampere. The last one is related to economic status of wargamers and analyses their financial stability accordingly to the country where they live. As I mentioned, fantasy miniature wargaming hobby might be extremely expensive and thus the level of income might influence the degree of participation.

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Figure 4. BulldogUK. (2012). “*X-Wing*” battle. [Photograph; a scene from the *X-Wing* battle]. Available at: <http://www.warseer.com/forums/showthread.php?358768-X-wing-Boardgame> [Accessed 12 May 2016].