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ReBecca Compton, 'Gamer Girl Visibility: Networks and Their Gendered Ingroup Behaviours in Massively Multiplayer Online Roleplaying Games'

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Gamer Girl Visibility: Networks and Their Gendered Ingroup Behaviours in Massively Multiplayer Online Roleplaying Games

Introduction

Massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs or MMOs) belong to a genre of video gaming that cannot be grouped with others. Despite sharing common traits with single-player console games, MMOs feature unique milieus whether the game is an action first-person shooter (FPS) or operates in a more traditional, open-world/fantasy-based universes. The motivations that guide players to MMOs can be analysed with the help of Kristen Lucas and John Sherry's typology of six traits found in players of any kind of video game: competition, challenge, social interaction, diversion, fantasy, and arousal (2004, p.503). MMOs are best known for two particular traits from this list: challenge and social interaction, which are central to the genre and take the form of 'blissful productivity' and public spaces found in-

game that attract those looking to socialise with other like-minded players. Game researchers Jeroen Jansz, Corinne Avis and Mirjam Vosmeer claim that social roles predict competition as an assumption about what motivates men and socialisation as an assumption about women's motivation to play. Though evidence about the gaming experience and players' motivations in playing MMOs challenge these assumptions, they may still be fruitfully examined for their gendered content (2010, p.246).

Studying Lucas and Sherry's social interaction motivation in MMOs, especially *World of Warcraft* (the *WoW* online gaming franchise 2001-2016), reveals many observable behavioural alterations which occur in-game, especially concerning gender. There are two primary social components in MMOs. Firstly, public spaces in-game, where players around the world can chat and quest together in the same game space. Secondly, MMOs encourage socialisation through guilds—both large and small groups of players who 'team up' to create a group of characters with diverse talents who can defeat more difficult enemies than through solo play. Guilds are intricate networks with universally understood sets of in-game behaviours. Even if a player chooses not to join a guild, the online gaming world is a vast yet boundary-dependent network where the expectations of other players and a player's ability to conform to those expectations determines their place on the ingroup or outgroup side of that boundary.

MMOs determine these boundaries based on many traits; gender is just one of them. When players build the avatar through which they will experience the game, their choices are already ruled by that avatar's skills and physical traits as they begin their journey in the game world. The gaze of other players creates an audience from which each player receives, and onto which they later project, their image. The gendered ingroup of players with a 'female character' avatar have internalised images which will affect player action, regardless of the gender of the player themselves. This work focuses on the dependence of MMOs upon gender dichotomies and their desire to draw clear lines between

male and female, both ignoring those who fall outside of this dichotomy, as well as characterising both sides, especially females, with assumed gender-compliant traits which rely heavily on stereotypes. This work's discussion of gender is independent of biological sex, and is defined by the self-reported gender identity of the players, which much of the data relies on. This binary conception of gender and accompanying boundaries are created and maintained by game designers and players alike. Therefore, this work relies heavily on the terms 'male' and 'female', but only because of the games' establishment of this dichotomy. With this foundation, the paper builds on past research by considering the term 'gender-bending' as a description of players who identify as men and play as female characters, and self-identified women who play as male characters.

This work explores the ways that men and women play and perform in online game spaces, and their reliance on other players to maintain various implications and understandings—however skewed they may be—of how to 'act' according to their (or, their avatar's) gender. It is becoming increasingly clear that players are not entering game spaces with many of the sexist ideas about in-game preferences they come out with; rather, that games are encouraging players to behave in sexist ways over time. Delving into these behaviours will provide a basis for an examination of the stereotypes adopted by gamers, as well as how game design and player actions maintain these stereotypes to condition players to behave according to a sexist 'learning curve'. I proceed via a mixed methodology, combining digital ethnography, surveys, and observations of players' behaviour in MMOs with literary analysis of game narrative tropes and the mechanics which determine the stories characters are permitted to tell. This will be followed by a discussion of the existing presence of female gamers and male gamer allies. This is becoming increasingly visible and thus more able to turn the tide toward gender diversity and inclusion in gaming narratives, normalising a female presence among players and characters. This work is taken from a thesis

chapter which seeks to pinpoint the narrative and mechanical traits of MMOs which reflect the sexism of the culture from which they are created. It seeks a way to end the perpetuation of this sexism in an industry which is still in many ways considered a 'boys' club'.

Causes and Effects of 'Gender-Bending'

The player's journey in a typical MMO begins in character selection and customisation screens, where they choose skills and physical traits for their avatar. The choices are plentiful. 'Gender-bending' starts on these screens and is common among players, as MMOs are a genre which is not as dependent on pre-assigned avatars as single player games. It is for this reason that MMOs are able to reveal more about players' perceptions of gender traits than other platforms and can play a role in determining one's place in a gendered ingroup.

According to game scholar Nick Yee, character gender plays a significantly larger role in gender portrayals in-game than the gender of the players themselves (2014, p.112). While some players do so experimentally, players who gender-bend consistently are quite common: 79 per cent of all players have at least one avatar of the opposite gender (Rosa Mikeal Martey *et al.* 2014, p.286). When players gender-bend, they may be attempting to evoke gender stereotypes as a way of exploiting the perceived anti-women spaces of games (Boler 2007, cited in Martey *et al.* 2014, p.289). When they gender-bend, women are able to participate in the game space without sexist hindrance, and men feel they can harness gamers' perception of women as less adept players to their advantage and receive help from others. Martey *et al.*'s work is consistent with past work, such as Yee's *Daedalus Project*, an online archive with survey results of MMO players collected over seven years with over 40,000 participants (1999-2004). This study claims that men gender-bend more often than women: twenty-three per cent of males and seven per

cent of females in their data sample of *WoW* did (Martey et al., 2014, p.293). Analysing the behaviours of these players, especially men playing female characters, has revealed that game play and interactions are dependent on stereotypical gender roles. While this research foundation holds a wealth of knowledge, there is yet some missing data concerning sexuality and the experiences of transgender and non-binary players, specifically how they project their gender identities and sexualities into the game space. Further research is needed in these areas.

This trend of stereotyped behaviour is initially evident when players build their avatar. According to Martey *et al.*, women tend to design a character to represent themselves with enhanced beauty; when men create a gender-bent avatar, her physical form is driven by aesthetics. These may both be explained by women and men believing that a woman is required to be beautiful to be an ideal representation of her gender, when the same is not believed to be true of men (Boler 2007; Yee 2008; and Fahs and Gohr 2012, cited in Martey *et al.* 2014, pp.295-296). One way men express these aesthetics is in hairstyle choice for their female avatars. Selecting a 'non-traditional' hairstyle is less common for men playing as women, since more traditional feminine hairstyles (long, curly, or in a ponytail) better align with stereotypical notions about attractive females, as seen in figure 1.

Yee claims that when men gender-bend, they make another aesthetic choice by choosing races with female characters who are more likely to be in line with stereotypical notions of attractiveness as their default, such as Humans, the Draenei, and Blood Elves in *WoW*. These races physically resemble human women, adding to their potential appeal, especially in the case of players who may create an avatar as an idealised object of desire. However, playing as an attractive avatar is not necessarily rooted in the player's need to satisfy their sexual desire through their avatar. Gamers commonly play as races who are hypersexually portrayed, especially through characters with exaggerated proportions of sexual characteristics and armour

which accentuates those characteristics. Yee states that this choice is an ‘artefact of the sexualized female avatars, rather than an explicit attempt to explore gender roles’ (2014, p.112). Considering non-heterosexual players is less theorised—and data on sexuality has not been collected by the studies mentioned—bringing to light differences in considerations for sexuality and avatar desire. Yet another area which requires further data and research.

While there are options for play as non-hypersexualised races, such as gnomes (who instead embody a form resembling a wizened child) they do not target the demographic of players who are seeking to idealise or stereotype the gender of the characters they play. Non-sexualised options are more limited; players are being conditioned to move away from such choices unless, for instance, they are embracing a play style which actively pursues a fantasy element that a particular race offers—a choice which inadvertently deviates from stereotypical gender ideals.

Perceived gendering of preferences and character behaviour extend to in-game actions as well. There are misconceptions in gaming concerning the kinds of activities female players enjoy (such as fighting from a distance or healing), and men who gender-bend adopt these assumed-feminine behaviours. Gender-bent players are not only choosing their fighting styles based on false perceptions, they are also perpetuating those perceptions when other players observe them. Yee states that players have their own understandings of the ways in which females act in-game, understandings which contradict the reality of player preference:

The most strongly stereotyped female game activity by far was healing; players believed that women have a much stronger preference for healing compared with men. [...] We found that male and female players had almost exactly the same healing ratios – 33 percent for men, and 30 percent for women (Yee 2011, cited in Yee 2014, p.112).

Gender-bent players (as well as non-gender-bent players who share the space) are witnessing an altered view of the game space, one which confirms their

stereotypical view of female players. This gender-based play style is maintained through a confirmation bias which permeates MMOs and relies on prescriptive gender roles: when players witness other female characters (used by players who may or may not be gender-bending) healing and fighting from a distance, this reinforces stereotypical perceptions.

The desire and effort of players to join the ingroup of 'female avatar' is also shown through in-game interactions. Martey *et al.* state that men who gender-bend use more emotional phrases in chat than men playing with male avatars (2014, p.295). Communicating this way may be an attempt to personify the perceived emotionality of women, in order to blend in, or may represent the genuine feelings of men playing games, which they do not feel able to express while playing as a male avatar. Martey *et al.* also claim that gender-bent females jumped, moved backwards, and played further away from groups significantly more than male characters. These behaviours are likely conscious and used as a technique to receive help (whether via assists in dungeons or gifts) from 'male' players. This is more easily achieved if female avatars 'give shows' to capture the attention of male avatars (Banks 2013; Boler 2007; Lehdonvirta *et al.* 2015; Vasalou *et al.* 2007; and Goffman 1974, cited in Martey *et al.* 2014, p.297).

Gendered performance in gaming is not exclusive to online games or to MMOs and engaging with other game forms can reveal possible explanations for virtual gender-bending. Cosplay can be another form of performative gender-bending in which participants dress in costume as characters from various animation, film, or video games. Many members of the cosplay community design their costume by changing the gender of the character to match their own or by 'changing' their own gender to match that of the character's. Joel Gn states that in the latter case especially, gender is determined by the clothing the cosplayer is wearing, just as player gender does not determine their actions in the game, rather the gender of their avatar (2011, p.585). In cosplaying scenarios, consuming and modifying

together create the liberation of the experience, and this is undoubtedly linked to the modifications players make when they design their characters (Gn, 2011, p.584). Cosplayers find their own place among the available opportunities for gender expression as they engage in the practice of bringing a character from the virtual to the non-virtual. Cosplayers '[conflate] the boundaries between subject and object' using their means of engaging in 'modification and performance' (Gn, 2011, p.588).

This is similar to the opportunities offered by video games to engage in 'psychological transportation' to enhance immersion, for either the player or the cosplayer, into their role as their character (Mactavish *et al.* 2002, cited by Gn 2011, p.588). Just as a cosplayer wears a new persona when they wear a new costume, so too do MMO gameplayers. However, when players do so, they do not adopt the behaviours of a character from a fandom, but largely from society's stereotyped behaviours ascribed to two binary gender 'options'. Vivian Sobchack claims that bodies 'have the capacity to function both figuratively and literally. They are pervasive and *extensional*' and that meaning comes not from bodies or representations, 'but emerges from both' (2000, para.23). But what of characters who are not human? How does a cosplayer deal with the limitations of a different race? Some characters which are cosplayed can be elves, dwarves, animals, and aliens whose genders are not easily defined or are not designed in a way which translates easily to human gender markers (Gn, 2011, p.589). These characters indicate which gender they are performing through similar human physical characteristics, further reinforcing human gender boundaries in fantasy worlds which need not have such limitations.

A Sexist Learning Curve

Some in-game sexist characteristics are pre-determined by game creators and designers. A study by Bergstrom, Jenson, and de Castell reveals that the more

time players spend in MMOs, the more they favour sexist in-game preferences (2012, p.103). By analysing novice and expert players of *WoW*, they discovered that, when novices play, they favour the warrior class no matter the gender of their avatar. As they became more familiar with the game world, novice players choose clerics (magic users) but only prefer to do so when playing as a female avatar (Bergstrom, Jenson, and de Castell, 2012, p.103). As players moved from novice to expert status, they begin to play according to stereotypical play, which assumes that females fight from a distance and heal, while males deal damage. This learning curve, which trains players to behave more ‘femininely’ or ‘masculinely’, is a product of the game community itself, which conditions players to behave within the boundaries of prescribed gender roles in the class descriptions of the various groups avatars may be selected from.

“Strength”, “leadership,” “knowledge” and “protection” describe warriors, while “devoted”, “serving”, and “support” are used to describe priests [...] [T]he artwork on the official *WoW* website helps reinforce stereotypes: a fierce male Orc is depicted as a Warrior, while a more demure female Dwarf is depicted as a Priest. (Bergstrom, Jenson, and de Castell, 2012, p.99)

Further delving into how MMOs train players to be sexist, an examination of default characters reveals clear distinctions in what is considered ideal for male and female characters. When analysing defaults in *WoW*, feminised races, especially those based on animalistic creatures, tend to deviate less from conventional forms of human beauty.

An analysis of the humanistic traits found in the *WoW* defaults of three races from the game will follow; these races are selected for their monstrous qualities to demonstrate the differences between the male and female templates and their alignment with human gender identifiers.

Male Worgen (as shown in Figure 2):

- Fully wolf-like face, frozen mid-growl

- Hunched posture, poised to strike
- Bulky back and shoulders, revealing powerful muscles underneath
- Only humanistic trait is his bi-pedal state

Female Worgen (as shown in Figure 3):

- More anthropomorphic at first glance than male worgen
- Snarling in profile, facial expression does not seem particularly malicious
- Canine mouth and nose, but a contoured face reminiscent of make-up
- Defined eyebrows and lashes
- Long hair and less animal-like shoulders in comparison to male
- Figure not hidden by threatening posture, feminine hourglass shape

Male Orc (as shown in Figure 4):

- Hunched posture with bulky shoulders
- Rippling shoulders, arms, and legs
- Bald head over a vacant expression
- Over-hanging eyebrows gives impression of stupidity

Female Orc (as shown in Figure 4):

- First action after race selection is raising her eyebrow at the player in a gesture of perceptiveness
- Deep forehead, yet hair is long and pulled back in a traditionally feminine style
- Figure indiscernible from human's
- Pronounced muscles without sacrificing her feminine human figure

Male Goblin (as shown in Figure 5):

- Short, deep green, aged and drooping skin
- Over-hanging eyebrows and unevenly growing facial hair
- Features combine to suggest monstrous appearance

Female Goblin (as shown in Figure 5):

- Clear eyes arranged in an open, benevolent expression
- Large eyes, lips, and voluminous hair

- Features combine to evoke conventional forms of human beauty
- Shorter legs and longer arms than humans, but unchanged torso with human-female proportions

Female defaults, including those not shown here, tend to follow the template of the in-game human female form, as a deviation from this would sacrifice their femininity. In this portion of the game space, femininity equals acceptance. When analysing the features given to the more monster-like beings, it becomes clear that they are not monsters who are female, but females with monster-like attributes. Giving the female characters traits which would give them more physical power in-game—broader shoulders, longer arms, more muscular torsos, animalistic facial features—would remove the attributes which make them feminine, a queering act in a medium heavily dependent on human gender characteristics. In this way, the network created by MMO players, especially those who play as female avatars, is morphed into a space in which players make assumptions over time about what women must look like to be attractive—the way a female avatar should look during play.

Though women are already in the game space, there are characteristics of games which can alienate them, and gender representations is one instance of this. Through many in-game portrayals, women can feel as if the game content is not designed for their demographic. One player describes her frustrations with character portrayals in MMOs (whose descriptions are easily extended to other genres as well) as follows:

“For the most part I completely agree with the generalization that video games are designed with the younger male in mind. It’s very annoying to always see the same type of woman (hero or villain) who has giant breasts, large eyes and teeny tiny waists” [*City of Heroes*, female, 31]. (Yee, 2014, p.105)

This representation is familiar to most gamers. Female characters portrayed in hypersexualised ways may be an attempt to give players a female character

who game designer Sheri Graner Ray has called ‘young, strong, and fertile’, with the idea that a female embodying these traits has the potential to be a capable role model, however limiting it is, in reality, to limit women’s worth to youth and fertility (in Kafai et al., 2011, p.325). Perhaps unsurprisingly then, from early appearances of women in games, positive gender portrayals were mitigated by hypersexualisation, and the positive aspects, of strength and independence, dwindled (Schlott and Horrell 2000, cited in Brian Heeter and Carrie Winn 2011, p.282). Women’s reactions as quoted above, and others, even (and perhaps especially) those by players who enjoy the sexualised portrayals, remind gamers that avatars are not only sexually exaggerated, but that female avatars exist as a ‘digital peep show’ (Yee, 2014, p.105).

Yee claims that equal physical representations are a complicated matter, especially when players often have no control over the design of their character models. He states that one common defence of sexist avatar depictions is that male avatars are similarly exaggerated, and that equal treatment is therefore present for ‘both’ genders (Yee, 2014). However, the exaggerations are quite different in their nature, though both appeal to masculine power fantasies: male avatars are overly muscular; the message is that men are most empowered when they are physically fit. While these traits may appeal to some players via a process of objectification, for female avatars, the exaggeration is quite different and of a more explicitly sexual nature, suggesting that women are most empowered when they are sexualised. Over-enhanced breasts, thighs, and hips are then poorly covered up by avatar’s clothing, to facilitate their viewing (Yee, 2014, p.105). This is especially evident in what has become the long-standing joke of the armoured bikini, an embodiment of the idea that more power (through levelling up and accessing better gear) elevates women to a position in which they are ‘uncovered and [...] more vulnerable’, when male armour does the opposite; ‘[t]he message is that all women, no matter how successful, are

vulnerable sexual objects' (Yee 2014, p.107). Constructions of male and female desirability in which the ideal virile male is muscular and titanic in stature signifies male potency while the 'pneumatic' female models play on paradigms of femininity that, while muscular, nevertheless emphasise primary and secondary female sexual characteristics, as seen in the defaults in figures 1-5, and figure 6.

Therefore, the frustration female gamers have with physical portrayals goes further than an awareness of unequal representation, focussing instead on the logics such presentations are based on: while female characters may level up to a position of power, yet they may not escalate to a position which escapes being defined by the male gaze—a visibility of an unwelcome sort.

'Games for Women' as a Red Herring

The gender boundaries of gaming groups and their ability to determine a player's inclusion may be an illusion. Most game genres fall prey to several misunderstandings about feminine perceptions and motivations for play, threatening 'gamer girl' visibility. For example, in the greater network of MMO players, gender is not the greatest gap between players. Yee claims that 'almost twice the statistical variance' is explained by age, and game scholars who examine gender without simultaneously examining age 'exaggerate the observed difference' in the motivations of players (2006, cited in Yee 2014, p.110). Women of all ages play MMOs, but when many of them are older than the men and boys who play the games, alternative demographical boundaries are just as significant. This misunderstanding is proof that the gender gap between players may not be as wide as gamers have come to believe. Further illustrating such misunderstandings, incorrect assumptions about the demographics of those who play games does not stop there; research has found that women play more hours than men and are 'the most dedicated and "hardcore" players (as indicated by lower likelihood of quitting)' (Dmitri

Williams *et al.* 2009, p.716). If women are already playing MMOs, and doing so in a more ‘hardcore’ way, the problem in the industry is not only the false perception that women are uninterested in gaming, but also the persistence of an environment in which they have to play invisibly as male avatars and forgo talking on a headset to avoid unwanted attention and sexual harassment. They sacrifice their visibility as true members of a female ingroup while they play, but greatly increase their chances of playing unbothered.

The status quo—in which women are portrayed as non-gamers or sexualised, stereotyped avatars—can only be maintained if the audience consists of heterosexual males, but as this becomes more evidently untrue, players are becoming less tolerant of the use of tropes which are sexist. Examples of this include game critic Ben Kuchera’s article calling on game designers to stop using strip clubs and brothels as headquarters or other important locations in the games (2014). ‘The Games Professor’, who uses his *Games as Lit. 101* YouTube channel to discuss the many topics of narratives in games, discusses the danger in over-using the Damsel in Distress Trope (2015). The #MyGameMyName social media hashtag which, at the time of writing, is making its way through the gaming community as an attempt by the industry and gamers to encourage females (and for their male gamer allies) to keep their feminine gamertags (or usernames) when playing online.

For many women players, it is still tempting to pretend to be a man to avoid online hostility, especially after the widespread, rampant harassment against women (both virtual and non-virtual) which took place during the 2014-2016 GamerGate controversy (Golding and Van Deventer, 2016, p.187). It can be said that, increasingly, more games are being released which move away from gendered tropes in various ways. These include games which encourage players to use brain over brawn, like *Dreamfall Chapters* (2014-2016), games which feature co-operative relationships like *To the*

Moon (2011), or games which explore mental illness and loss like *Hellblade: Senua's Sacrifice* (2017).

Despite findings stating that women underreport their play time three times more than men (Williams *et al.*, 2009, p.717), women are not strangers to MMOs even when games incorporate common stereotypical gender roles and tropes. MMOs are not gender-equal realms but, despite this, are already attracting female gamers. Yee found that women and men do not play games as differently as the surrounding culture may suggest; when focusing on similarities rather than differences, the overlap in motivations for play listed in the introduction for men and women was 82 per cent. He claims that '[a]ttempting to identify gaming motivations that appeal to the "female brain" might be attempting to solve a problem that doesn't really exist' (Yee, 2014, p.109). As it stands, the idea is a red herring: the challenge is not to create a new network and ingroup which would include women, but rather to make visible the existing one and build upon it.

While MMOs and their universes exist in virtual spaces, the networking that occurs within them can and should be considered in connection to the real world. According to Jing Wang, et al.:

[R]esearchers have argued that the complex, immersive, and socially interdependent nature of persistent online worlds make [sic] them sufficiently similar to "real life" that we can gain insights into social, behavioural, and economic phenomena by studying games as a proxy for offline arenas. (Schrader and McCreery 2008, Yee 2006, and Reeves *et al.* 2008, cited in Wang *et al.* 2011, para. 2)

MMOs are simulations of the real world; therefore, analysing the interdependence of players who take part in MMO networks reveals truths about perceptions gamers have about the women behind the controllers. The medium exhibits lingering sexist trends in the gaming community, through sexist choices for avatar appearance by players, player behaviour—especially those who gender-bend—and the sexist, gender-stereotyped defaults and

language used to describe gender and race, which are programmed into games by their designers. These traits seem to ignore women in the game space, who are playing games regardless of the sexism, even if they feel pressure to play invisibly. The false perceptions of players in-game about other players' behaviour and gender, which are noted in the body of this work, are only an overview of the possible explanations behind the real and still often-perpetuated barriers between women and their acceptance in gaming communities. The misunderstandings players have about each other's in-game desires form the inaccuracy-riddled foundations which maintain the 'female' ingroup and produce the sexist learning curves in contemporary gaming.

Applying In-game Networks to the Real World

MMOs encourage players to explore the game space with others, either by forming a guild to join other players in raiding dungeons, or through public spaces which create an environment exclusive to the genre which facilitates virtual networks. '[...] MMORPGs are BOTH games and communities', therefore it is no mystery that these heavily populated environments are the perfect situation in which to perpetuate stereotypes (Ducheneaut and Moore 2004, cited in Ducheneaut *et al.* 2006, p.7). The hybridisation of public spaces with in-game content makes networks possible, and the constant gaze of other players promotes expectations to perform as their character 'should', such as through stereotypically feminine action while playing as a physically attractive female avatar who conforms to traditional beauty ideals.

The gaming industry and community is evolving. There are several existing, well-known people and organisations working to soften the blow of sexism in games, or to eradicate it. To help mitigate gendered harassment, gtz created the website *Fat, Ugly, or Slutty* in which players post screenshots of the messages they receive while playing online to poke fun at their

harassers (gtz, 2008). While this builds a community for victims in which they can shrug off and process the incidents, there is more that could be done from those in positions of authority. Administrators of online game universes could be stricter in their discipline of sexist harassment online, to indicate that such behaviour is not tolerated. In terms of the broader gaming industry, female game journalists' pieces could be featured more often by their publishers. Game designers could try new formulas for game design, rather than offering players what they believe will sell by continually recycling tropes of submissive, sexualised, or victimised women. Players must also do their part to show designers that these tropes are outdated, by purchasing games which explore the complexities of gender, race, and class. Games are cultural artefacts, and reflect the ideals of the culture in which they are created as much as they reflect those ideals, in concentrated form, back into that culture. There is momentum to critique and correct gender portrayals, to subvert unequal representations and tropes. This is momentum which can be maintained through the co-operation of game designers and players to create game content and spaces of a less hostile, exclusionary nature.

Images



Fig. 1. (Martey *et al.* 2014, p. 292)



Fig. 2. Male Worgens in WoW



Fig. 3. Female Worgens in WoW



Fig. 4. Orcs in *WoW* (male, left; female, right)



Fig. 5. Goblins in *WoW* (male, left; female, right)



Fig. 6. (Randall, 2015)

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