Each January, MIT undergraduate and graduate students are given a month free from classes to pursue independent research projects, in a session known as the Independent Activities Period (IAP). During the 2007 IAP period, the Convergence Culture Consortium worked with a freshman at MIT, Matthew S. Cohen, to organize a research project testing out a hypothesis we had discussed at some of our meetings. We had discussed the ways in which fruitful observations may be found from comparing the activities of a fan community to that of a grassroots political action group.

Working with Sam Ford and Joshua Green, Cohen set out to research a case study of this hypothesis, comparing girl gamer fan communities to political lobbyists, for his IAP research project. The results of that study are provided here to be shared exclusively with Consortium members.

The results of Cohen's work are presented here as Cohen completed it. As such, this is not meant to be a finished piece of work, but rather a thought piece that will hopefully stimulate further thoughts on how we might learn more about fan community behaviors from looking at them from a comparison with grassroots political organization and activity. The purpose of sharing this work with the Consortium is also to showcase the work of an MIT college freshman and the type of media studies research project that might be undertaken as one of several activities MIT students engage with in their IAP.

Introduction: Girl Gamers as Political Lobbyists

Traditionally, the stereotype of a typical video game player is a pimply, teenage boy. Indeed, adolescent males have been the target demographic for the video game industry since its inception. However, recent studies show that the video game demographics are changing. According to a November 2006 TNS Worldpanel Entertainment report, the number of female gamers has grown dramatically over the past four years, increasing by 67%. Currently 40% of all gamers are female, 55% of mobile

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2. Bulik, Beth Snyder. “Video games unveil feminine side; As developers and marketing execs expand roles, vision of gaming is turned on its ear.” Advertising Age. 30 October 2006. Lexis-Nexis Academic. MIT Libraries. 17 January 2007
gamers are female\(^4\), and 64\% of online gamers are female.\(^4\) Clearly, our image of a stereotypical video game player is quickly becoming irrelevant.

Although females are clearly no longer a minority among gamers, the world of gaming can still feel very much like a “man’s world”. After all, an industry which was founded primarily by men and continues to employ mostly men is bound to present an image of being a male club. A few of the dissatisfactions which female gamers have with the gaming industry and community are listed below:

- More male characters are offered in games than female characters.
- Female characters are often hyper-sexualized to the point of absurdity.
- Most gaming sites are intended for adolescent male audiences.
- Girl Gamers are not taken seriously by the male gaming community.
- There is a scarcity of females who work in the video game industry.

Girl Gamers are taking it in their own hands now to fix what they consider flaws with the status quo. In the same way that political lobbying groups vie for the attention of governmental officials, Girl Gamers must fight for recognition from the video game industry. Consequently, Girl Gamers utilize methods of operation similar to those used by political lobbying groups such as MoveOn.org:

1. Use internet as primary form of communication
2. Recruit new members
3. Organize gatherings
4. Initiate petitions and boycotts
5. Attempt to bring about change from within

The two groups are similar in that each attempts to bring about change in the respective governing entity (government or industry). In order to accomplish this task, these groups must foster a dedicated core community of members, while actively making their presence known to those in power. Numbers 1 and 2 describe the methods employed in order to maintain a cohesive membership, while 4 and 5 describe the methods by which these groups lobby for their causes. Number 3 has a dual purpose: live gatherings help to foster community as well as gain public attention for the group and its causes.

The goal of this paper is to examine and understand how the Girl Gamer community operates, what their goals are, and how the video game industry can appropriately respond to this fast growing new market.
Use Internet as Primary Form of Communication

MoveOn.org initially began as an email list. The centrality of the internet to the operation of the political group is demonstrated by the fact that its name “MoveOn.org” is also its web address. By providing an on-line space in which like-minded people can virtually gather and discuss issues which are important to them, MoveOn.org ensures that its members maintain a constant level of involvement in the organization. Cofounder Joan Blades attributes the group’s success to the fact that it operates through a “two-way media” as opposed to the traditional “one-way broadcast media”3.

Indeed the internet seems to be our era’s cure for feelings of isolation and loneliness. Whereas in the past, a person who did not share beliefs or interests similar to those of his local community might have felt discouraged and disconnected for being different, today the utility of the internet is able to provide such a person with a constantly available community, which embraces the very aspects of his personality which make him a misfit at home. For this reason, it is no wonder that Girl Gamers use the internet as their primary form of communication.

In an interview with the San Francisco Chronicle, Jamie Lee, a professional gamer and member of the corporately-sponsored team Girlz of Destruction, reminisces about her early days in gaming: “A couple of times I tried to get my friends to play [the video game “Quake”], and they flipped out.”4 Statements such as these are typical of first-person accounts in which Girl Gamers trace the roots of their gaming histories. Many of the current leaders in the Girl Gaming community began playing video games at a time when the internet was not the necessity of everyday life which it has become today. These girls had no way of knowing how many like-minded girls there were out there. The lack of positive reinforcement provided by their local communities led many early Girl Gamers to feel frustrated and confused by the fact that they had an interest in a traditionally male hobby.

However, even as the rise in popularity of the internet brought about a mass migration of Girl Gamers into cyberspace, they encountered much of the same isolation and exclusion which they had experienced in their local communities. As one female gamer site explains it, “When we go online searching for game-related fun and information, we find that the majority of gaming websites cater to a young male population, and are just more of the same testosterone-driven environments.”5 As a


result, Girl Gamers began to form their own on-line communities. Similar to the way in which the initial MoveOn.org email list served as a venue in which members could vent their common frustrations and grievances with the government, Girl Gamer sites provided refuge to the outcasts of the mainstream gaming community.

It is interesting to note, however, that in general Girl Gamer sites are not particularly different from regular gaming sites. Both feature game reviews, tips, blogs etc. Both provide lounge-like spaces in which gamers can socialize and discuss their interest in gaming. Both provide updates on industry news and upcoming product launches. Girl Gamer sites, however, tend to reference females in their web address (i.e. GameGal.com, WomenGamers.com, LadyGamers.com etc.) and feature female characters in their web design. Most importantly, most Girl Gamer sites feature a statement such as the one below:

_We are not a site that focuses on women only, nor are we a site that have 'only female gamers' who help out. We are dedicated to the games, not to be biased against gender._

This is a very telling characteristic of the Girl Gaming community. Girl Gamers are not a sexist, man-hating group. Rather, they are simply a group who seek gender equality within the gaming industry. As many Girl Gamer sites point out, the impetus to create such sites was not a desire for a “girls only” club but for a space free of gender bias. For this reason, most Girl Gamer sites declare that their sites are for the enjoyment of all.

Bottom Line: Girl Gamer sites provide comfortable environments, in which Girl Gamers can meet each other and escape the discrimination found elsewhere in the gaming community.

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<http://www.ladygamers.com/about.html>.
Recruit New Members

As any successful political lobbying group knows, it is not sufficient to have a dedicated core group of individuals. Although a committed core is certainly necessary for success, if a group does not work to increase its membership, it will eventually fail. Faithful to its roots in email, MoveOn.org sends out weekly email alerts to its members regarding current pressing issues and encourages them to forward these alerts to friends and family who might be interested. A study of MoveOn.org found that “people who read a MoveOn e-mail or visit the site generally do so after receiving the message or link from someone they trust…This is how they build their membership and it provides a foundation of trust among the recruited.”

Similarly, Girl Gamers proliferate through grassroots promotion. According to a study by the Daedalus Project, most female gamers are introduced to gaming through a friend, a romantic partner, or a family member. Thus, Girl Gamers recruit new members in much the same way that political lobbyists do.

Girl Gamer sites are aware that often grassroots marketing is most effective. Therefore, these sites help to facilitate and supplement such recruitment by offering buying advice “to find the right games for yourself and your loved ones” and informational material for all levels “from casual beginners to seasoned pros.” Some sites even seek to enlist the help of male gamers to recruit more females in articles such as *Get Your Girlfriend to Play: Tried and true tips from a female gamer...* or *Transforming Your Girl into a Gamer.*

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There have also been more formal attempts to recruit female players. The formation of the three Frag Dolls groups marks such an attempt. The Frag Dolls are an international phenomenon. England, the United States, and France each have their own Frag Dolls team. Each team is composed of spunky, young female gamers who are promoted as pop stars of sorts. They are dedicated to increasing “the presence of women in the gaming industry”\(^\text{13}\) and to encouraging more girls to try gaming. What makes the Frag Dolls particularly notable, however, is the fact that they are corporately sponsored by the video game company Ubisoft. This partnership between the Girl Gamer community and Ubisoft is mutually beneficial. Girl Gamers get press and industry attention, while Ubisoft has attractive spokespeople to promote its products and expand its market base. Similar corporate team sponsorships are being provided by Via Technologies and Microsoft.\(^\text{14}\) As is the case with political lobbying groups, such partnerships between lobbyists and those in power can prove to be very effective in helping to further the group’s causes.

Bottom Line: Girl Gamers rely mainly on grassroots marketing in order to recruit new members. However, corporate efforts to further recruitment have proven to be successful as well.

\(^{13}\) “About Us.” Frag Dolls. Ubisoft Entertainment. 30 January 2007

Organize Gatherings

While weekly emails and on-line forums have the ability to maintain members’ commitment and involvement, actual live gatherings are the bread and butter of political activism. For this reason, groups like MoveOn.org, whose roots lie in internet activism, organize live gatherings such as street demonstrations, bake sales, and house parties.\(^\text{15}\) Live interaction is able to connect and bond people in a way which textual internet communication cannot. Therefore, political lobbying groups rely on organized gatherings to foster a sense of community among members.

Girl Gamers have somewhat of a parallel history with MoveOn.org. In the same way that email provided a medium through which politically like-minded people could connect to each other, the internet served as a utility through which Girl Gamers could discover more of their own kind. In both cases, although the internet was the sole initial form of communication used to bind the groups together, live gatherings soon followed in order to solidify the virtual bonds formed in cyberspace.

Similar to MoveOn.org’s informal house parties which help to generate feelings of camaraderie among members, Girl Gamers often gather together for informal competitions in the comfort of their own homes. However, formal live competitions are particularly effective in strengthening the bonds of sisterhood among Girl Gamers because of the empowerment which such competitions provide to the community as a whole. More and more co-ed and all-female teams are beginning to appear at official video game tournaments. The presence of females at these traditionally all-male events serves as a source of inspiration to the entire Girl Gamer community, particularly when all-female teams rank highly in the competitions. One such tournament was the Cyberathlete Professional League’s 2006 Rainbow Six Vegas competition in Dallas. A team consisting of four of the US Frag Dolls won the competition. The Frag Dolls corporate sponsor Ubisoft proudly stated that this was “the first time an all-female team has won a tournament at a pro-circuit event.”\(^\text{16}\) Such victories are sparking much reaction, both positive and negative, from the gaming community. Regardless of the tone of the responses, however, the coverage of these victories is bringing the Girl Gamer cause to light in the game industry and helping to strengthen the Girl Gamer sisterhood.

As mentioned above, political lobbyists utilize live gatherings in order to help foster a sense of community. This community building is achieved not only at events, but in the planning of events. The process of planning events such as bake sales or


\(^{16}\) Surette, Tim. “Frag Dolls win first pro event: Ubisoft-sponsored all-female team takes first place at CPL finals in Rainbow Six Vegas tourney; win believed to be first for all-female team.” GameSpot. 21 December 2006. CNET Networks, Inc. 30 January 2007

demonstrations requires teamwork among group members. Collaboration towards accomplishing a common task helps to forge strong relationships. Girl Gamers differ from political lobbyists in that the latter are concerned with issues of the real world, while the former are concerned with issues of the virtual world. Girl Gamers are therefore able to collaborate in order to accomplish virtual tasks within MMORPGs (Massively Multi-Player On-line Role Playing Games). These virtual gatherings serve the same purpose as live gatherings, namely to strengthen community bonds by working together on completing a project. All-female clans such as the Pandora’s Mighty Soliders (PMS) Clan or the CrackWhores have gained notoriety as forces to be reckoned with in the world of on-line gaming. By gathering together within virtual worlds, these Girl Gamers strengthen their relationships with each other, as well as gain recognition for the entire Girl Gamer community.

Bottom Line: Girl Gamers utilize both live and virtual gatherings as opportunities to fortify their sisterhood through collaboration as well as gain publicity for the Girl Gamer cause.
Initiate Petitions and Boycotts

Political lobbyists seek to bring about change by making their views known to those in power. Indeed one of the foundational principles of American society, as laid out in the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights, is the right of the people “to petition the government for a redress of grievances.” MoveOn.org, in fact, came into existence as a result of two Americans’ attempt to exercise this right. Cofounders Joan Blades and Wes Boyd founded MoveOn.org initially as an on-line petition against the impeachment of President Bill Clinton.17

Girl Gamers also use the internet to express their “grievances” to the gaming community and industry. Most of the time, such expressions of frustration and disapproval take the form of blog posts. In the age of instant communication, such personal statements serve as powerful vehicles for swaying the greater community. For this reason, many girl gamers maintain personal blogs, which function as open diaries in which readers can post responses and comments on the author’s entries. One such blog is WickedQueen.net. The author of this blog is named Cabell Gathman, and among other things, she blogs about gaming and gender. In one post18, Cabell criticizes the sexual harassment many Girl Gamers encounter in MMORPGs (Massively Multi-Player On-Line Role Playing Games). She describes an instance in which while playing a leggy, “skanky” female character in the on-line game City of Heroes, she was physically assaulted by two male characters who intentionally bumped into her repeatedly. Cabell eventually took care of the problem by threatening to report the two offenders to the game authorities for harassment. Such personal accounts of in-game sexual harassment are extremely helpful in bringing the flaws of the gaming community to light. In another post19, Cabell takes aim at the makers of City of Heroes, criticizing them for their stereotypical depiction of gang members’ girlfriends. She cites the fact that these girlfriends automatically shriek and run away when their boyfriends are attacked, are not themselves able to be targeted, and have a dialogue limited to trash-talking other girlfriends and statements such as “So, like, yeah…do I look fat in this?”

Wikimedia Foundation, Inc. 30 January 2007

<http://wickedqueen.net/blog/index.php/2006/04/05/how-to-bodily-perform-misogyny-virtually/>.

19 Gathman, Cabell. “You may not understand how truly angry this makes me.”
<http://wickedqueen.net/blog/index.php/2006/06/24/you-may-not-understand-how-truly-angry-this-makes-me/>.
Occasionally, such dissatisfactions with the gaming community and industry cause Girl Gamers to take more serious actions, such as launching a boycott or petition. One prominent Girl Gamer who goes by the name of Faith Naked recently took action against the gaming site Kotaku.com by calling for a boycott of the site. She encouraged others to join in the boycott by effectively signing a petition on her blog. Faith Naked expressed dissatisfaction with Kotaku’s sarcastic posts, which were often targeted at her. One such post criticized Faith Naked for being hypocritical by stating that she wants to be treated as a normal gamer (not a Girl Gamer) while at the same time posting all-but-naked pictures of herself on the internet. Another post refers to Faith Naked as “an excitable little cat who just freaks out into a flying ball of fur and razor-sharp claws every time you gently tug her tail.”

Valkyrie, another prominent Girl Gamer and member of the US Frag Dolls, also recently called for a boycott of the Miss World Series of Video Games Pageant, claiming that such an event was demeaning to Girl Gamers because of the fact that the judging criteria was solely based on looks and had nothing to do with gaming skill. Fellow Frag Doll Rhoulette stated that Girl Gamers “have to fight the perception that we're booth babes. We're gamers first. We felt that this [beauty contest] was threatening that.” According to a statement released by the Frag Dolls after the boycott was launched, it was never the official stance of the Frag Dolls to launch the boycott. However, they say, the feud eventually ended amicably with WSVG helping to organize a Mr. World Series


of Video Games Pageant (to be equitable) and two “real gamers” winning both pageants.  

Instances such as these communicate to the gaming community that Girl Gamers are not a minority to be ignored and that both gamers and the industry must consider the implications of their actions.

Bottom Line: By exercising their first amendment rights to freedom of speech and freedom to petition, Girl Gamers are able to wield power within the gaming industry.

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Ubisoft Entertainment. 30 January 2007

Attempt to Bring About Change from Within

In order for political lobbying groups to successfully bring about their desired changes, they must find a sympathetic ear in government. Sometimes, groups like MoveOn.org organize live meetings with congressmen in order to plead the group’s case most effectively. Through such direct interaction, the politician learns what the people expect of him and is therefore able to make better informed decisions as a policymaker.

On a small scale, occasionally individual girl gamers will contact video game companies directly to make a suggestion as to what they would like to see in upcoming games. This would be analogous to a concerned citizen writing a letter to her congressman. For instance, when the first of the Harry Potter video games (based on the popular novel series by J.K. Rowling) was initially released, Girl Gamers voiced their desire to the makers of the games that they would like to be able to play Hermione, Harry’s female best friend.26 The creators of the game smartly responded by making Hermione a play-able character in future Harry Potter games.

On a larger scale, female gamers often organize conferences which bring together academics, video game developers, and those who support encouraging girls to get involved with video games. One such conference was the “Girls ‘N’ Games” conference held in May 2006 at UCLA.27 Such conferences not only help the industry to understand how girls relate to video games but also serve as breeding ground for ideas and suggestions which may help to draw in more girls to gaming. For instance, at the conference Professor Mary Flanagan of Hunter College in New York noted that many young girls enjoy playing the rather violent game Grand Theft Auto. However, most of the time these girls choose only to steal cars and drive around town without taking part in the more violent aspects of the game. Another woman discussed the importance of “player-generated content” and avatar customization. This generated a discussion on the importance of allowing players to have “authorship” in the games they play. By allowing players to choose which activities within a game they would like to participate in and even allowing them to design their own avatars, video game companies will be able to draw a larger and more varied audience.

Some claim that progress with respect to the concerns of Girl Gamers is hindered by the scarcity of females employed in the industry. Indeed, political lobbying groups often have a much easier time accomplishing their goals when they are working with empathetic politicians who can identify with their supporters. By supporting candidates with views and backgrounds similar to those of the group members, political lobbyists help to ensure their own success. Girl Gamers have begun to discover that they can apply the same logic to their own situation. For this reason, one popular female gaming


website WomenGamers.com includes an Online Career Center. The site boasts “If you love to game and have ever thought, ‘How cool would it be to work in the biz?,’ now is your chance to find out!” By encouraging people from their own ranks to begin a career in the industry, female gamers help to influence the future of gaming.

Bottom Line: Through direct communication with video game companies, conferences about gender and gaming, and career counseling, female gamers seek to bring about change from within the industry.

Conclusion: What the Industry Can Do

Demand from untargeted demographics is a happy accident for business. In the case of the videogame industry, very few resources have historically been spent on marketing to females. However, currently as we mentioned earlier, women make up more than half the market in certain sectors. The truth is that Girl Gamers are not asking for much. Most enjoy the games that are available now and have few criticisms of the videogame industry as a whole. However, recognizing the fact that Girl Gamers are no longer a fringe minority demographic is the first step in learning how to form a better relationship with half of your potential customers. This process consists of two simultaneous but related tasks: 1) Maintaining and strengthening your relationship with “hardcore” Girl Gamers by taking their concerns into account in game development. 2) Reaching out to girls who do not currently play games, keeping in mind that what appeals to the average non-gamer girl is probably different than what appeals to the current “hardcore” Girl Gamers.

As mentioned before, these two tasks are inter-related. By listening to the concerns of current girl gamers and incorporating their suggestions into game development and advertising, companies will likely find that they will be able to attract new female players to videogames which are already in existence. Remember that for every current Girl Gamer who is willing to overlook what she deems as foibles in the gaming industry because of the pleasure she derives from playing, there are many more girls who have never given gaming a chance because they were unable to look past the flaws. Thus by listening to your current consumers, you will not only form a stronger relationship with them but will open the gateways to allow for many more relationships to form.

Below are some suggestions, based on our research, as to how the videogame industry may better target the female demographic:

I. Give the Player Greater Control:

As we discussed earlier, one of the major topics of discussion at the May 2006 “Girls ‘N’ Games” conference was “authorship.” By allowing players to remain in control of many aspects of their gaming experience, games become flexible and appealing to a broader group of customers. Professor Flanagan cited the example of Grand Theft Auto, which allows the player to choose which in-game activities appeal to him/her. The “something-for-everyone” marketing approach has been extremely successful on television with FOX’s American Idol, which draws in viewers from an extremely wide-range of demographics. It is time to bring the same thinking to video games.

In a related vein, another suggestion made at the conference called for increased avatar customization. One of the major female criticisms of the videogame industry is the so-called “hyper-sexualization” of female characters. However, we do recognize that videogames are a form of fantasy, and such depictions are extremely appealing to many players. Therefore, rather than attempting to find a “happy medium” level of sexualization, which will appease the more conservative consumer without alienating the more lustful one, producers of PC and console games should adopt the approach taken by MMORPGs (Massively Multi-Player On-Line Role Playing Games.) MMORPGs allow
players to customize their own avatars by modifying each body part. In today’s world of ubiquitous customization, consumers have come to expect a certain level of personal-tailoring. Therefore, in order to attract more customers from all demographics, allow the player to determine what is right for him/her.

II. Advertise More Effectively

As Cabell Gathman writes in her article “Real Girls Don’t: The Invisible Minority of Female Video Game Players”\(^\text{29}\), perhaps the simplest reason why many girls never try gaming is because of the general perception that Girl Gamers do not exist. Peer pressure and societal expectations are very strong influences; if girls are led to believe that other girls do not play video games, then we have a self-fulfilling prophecy. However, if the industry leads girls to believe that other girls are in fact playing video games, then we can reverse this prophecy.

Companies must not only let girls know that Girl Gamers exist, but must also present Gamers and Gaming as appealing. Ubisoft has picked up on this concept and has made good use of the Frag Dolls in order to accomplish both of these tasks. Ubisoft shrewdly selected a group of young, slim, attractive girls to comprise their Frag Dolls teams in order to present a positive image of a Girl Gamer. Although the Frag Dolls are certainly not presenting themselves in an overtly sexual manner, it is clear that the Frag Dolls were not chosen solely for their gaming ability. In an article entitled “Where do Girls Fit in the Gaming Scene?,”\(^\text{30}\) Game Girlz write Michelle Goulet describes the ideal female character as “A sexy, intelligent, classy woman”. This should clue video game companies in not only as to what characters appeal to Girl Gamers, but also how Girl Gamers like to see themselves. The need to make gaming “sexy” and to present an image of the female gamer as a confident, attractive woman is necessary in order to draw in more girl gamers. One suggestion for future video game advertising is to include pictures of models (male and female) playing the games along with the traditional in-game graphics snapshots. This will help to change the perception that only males play video games and will serve as a more inviting image to non-gaming females.

III Create Games with Women in Mind

Remember, as we mentioned earlier what appeals to the non-gamer girl is probably different than what appeals to the Girl Gamers. Therefore, in order to draw in those potential female consumers, companies must begin to develop games specifically targeted for females. Beware, however, because it is very easy for developers to fall into the trap of working off the pink, Barbie stereotype of what girls supposedly want. As Double Fusions’s Vice President of Sales Julie Shumaker points out, the “Let's put a

\(^{29}\) Gathman, Cabell. “Real Girls Don’t: The Invisible Minority of Female Video Game Players.”

Strange Horizons. 23 October 2006. Strange Horizons. 30 January 2007


pink wrapper on what we've already got and they'll come”\textsuperscript{31} approach is one that is likely to fail. Rather developers must build games with women in mind. This will inevitably involve the hiring of more female developers.

Buena Vista Games has set an example with the launch of the Desperate Housewives video game. In developing the game, Buena Vista noted unique trends among female players:

"We tested the game and found play patterns are very different for women compared with typical male-targeted destruction kind of games," Ms. Gleason [Buena Vista Games Senior Brand Manager] says. "They're more into personalization, they like more community and dialogue, and they like aspirational characters and solving puzzles."\textsuperscript{32}

Buena Vista smartly utilized their knowledge of such trends in developing the Desperate Housewives video game.

Studies have, in fact, shown that girls are more interested in games which involve social relationships, puzzle-solving, and collaboration. For this reason, when the girl videogame company known as Purple Moon was founded in the late 1990s, it chose to promote its products as “friendship adventures for girls”\textsuperscript{33} instead of as games. While this may have sounded like a strange idea in the pre-“Sims” era, it hardly seems so in today’s age of ubiquitous social networking. In fact, some have already taken social networking to the next logical step by turning it into a game. (See www.catch27.com) Today when many preteen girls lie about their age on-line in order to gain access to sites such as MySpace.com, perhaps it is time to offer a fantasy social networking video game. This however is only one suggestion. Further research, focus groups, and input from females in the industry must occur in order for the videogame industry to best utilize this new market.

\textsuperscript{31} Bulik, Beth Snyder. “Video games unveil feminine side; As developers and marketing execs expand roles, vision of gaming is turned on its ear.” Advertising Age. 30 October 2006. Lexis-Nexis Academic. MIT Libraries. 17 January 2007

\textsuperscript{32} Bulik, Beth Snyder. “Video games unveil feminine side; As developers and marketing execs expand roles, vision of gaming is turned on its ear.” Advertising Age. 30 October 2006. Lexis-Nexis Academic. MIT Libraries. 17 January 2007
