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# Simulating Migration and Integration in Digital Games:

## A Theoretical and Practical Exploration of Governmentality in an Audience Gaming Setting

MASTER THESIS

by

Rüdiger Brandis & Can Mert Bozkurt

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## **Indication of Authorship**

### **Theoretical part**

The theoretical part is the thesis text including introduction, all 4 chapters, and the conclusion.

Can Mert Bozkurt wrote the following chapters:

- 3.2 Multiplayer
- 3.3 Audience Gaming

The following chapters were written in equal parts by both Rüdiger Brandis and Can Mert Bozkurt:

- 0.1 Migration and Digital Games
- 0.2 The Research on Migration in Digital Games

The rest of the theoretical part was written by Rüdiger Brandis.

### **Practical part**

The general game design discussed in chapter 4 of the thesis was done in equal parts by both Rüdiger Brandis and Can Mert Bozkurt.

The “Prototype Manual and Game Design Document” was written by both authors with Rüdiger Brandis being responsible for the general descriptions and structure of the document and Can Mert Bozkurt describing the technical details of the design.

The prototype was developed by Can Mert Bozkurt.

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# Introduction

## 0.1 Migration and Digital Games

According to the UN Refugee Agency, there were 70.8 million people forcibly displaced worldwide in 2018. These are the highest levels of displacement in absolute numbers on record.<sup>1</sup> In Europe and Germany, the so-called “migration crisis”<sup>2</sup> has led to the emergence of a new discourse about the treatment and administration of migrants. Game developers and researchers have also reacted. Especially in the context of serious and applied games, discussions arose about the possibilities of the ludic medium taking part in this discourse. These have, however, mainly focused on the physical journey many refugees have to undertake and less on the administrative processes they have to face in the target countries of their migration effort.

Digital games have a tendency to define themselves strongly through a suggested goal for the player. This leads to a preference of adventure settings and processes of travel. Although this is an integral part of the migration process, major decisions for the migrants’ lives and fate are being made within governmental structures and by the people executing state policies. Michel Foucault calls this “[...] ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power [Governmentality], which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.”<sup>3</sup>

We propose that by building upon the analysis of this ensemble from a perspective of migration research, a simulation game system, which enables players to explore the concept of governmentality and migration can be created. As an example framework, we are using one of the most decisive places for a migrant: the foreigner’s or immigration office. It is here that abstract rules of power are translated into action. Of course this is not the only place where migration politics are being executed, but in the Federal Republic of Germany especially it is a

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. UN Refugee Agency: “Refugee Statistics”, <https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/statistics/>, accessed on August 6, 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Park, Jeanne: “Europe’s Migration Crisis”, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/europes-migration-crisis>, from September 23, 2015, accessed on September 02, 2019.

<sup>3</sup> Foucault, Michel: “Governmentality”, in: Graham Burchell/Colin Gordon/Peter Miller (Eds.): *The Foucault Effect. Studies in Governmentality*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1991, pp. 87-104, here p. 102.

very important institution for handling migrant affairs within national borders. Also, unlike refugee camps, localities of a very specific form of physical migration which is rather related to detention than it is to accommodation, the immigration office offers the possibility to thematize a variety of migration forms because everybody has to go through its application processes.

Furthermore, the controversial nature of the topic and the uneven distribution of power of the processes involved makes it necessary to break with the tradition of game design for multiplayer games, which tries to balance different actors to enable a fair gaming experience. Therefore, our design is targeted towards streamers and the active participation of their audience in the game session. An audience gaming setting is infused with a more complex power dynamic between streamer or performer and audience, which will force the streamer to accommodate their viewers during play or face their reactions. Public gameplay also gives way to an audience-dependent meta-game outside of the hard-coded core.

## 0.2 The Research on Migration in Digital Games

Three research areas are relevant for our research: (1) the research on migration in digital games; (2) migration theory, governmentality and integration politics; and (3) research done on the phenomena of streaming and related forms of game design, which we will refer to as audience gaming.

Topics of immigration and asylum have been used in many serious games and some conventional games. Games like *AGAINST ALL ODDS* (2005) by the UN Refugee Agency and *MISSION US: CITY OF IMMIGRANTS* (2015) funded by American National Endowment of the Humanities organization try to teach about the problems refugees and immigrants face before, during and after they emigrate. On the other hand, more conventional games such as *THE WOLF AMONG US* (2013) by Telltale Games structure their storylines around such topics without emphasizing education or opinion forming. The persuasive nature of the aforementioned serious games and their educational effectiveness have been studied by many new media scholars whereas epistemological research is scarce due to lack of titles on these subjects.

Migration theory is mainly concerned with the reasons for why people migrate. Today's approaches range from neoclassical economics (push & pull systems) over migration networks



to perspectives informed by system theory.<sup>4</sup> The research of governmentality and migration adds a postcolonial approach, which instead of analyzing migration as a purely goal-oriented venture, it focuses on the rationalities, technologies and subjectivities of power. Through this it is concerned with the change of governmentality through its confrontation with migration and integration politics.<sup>5</sup>

With the advent of broadband network infrastructures, video streaming services such as YouTube and Twitch.tv became the dominant source of multimedia consumption. As these platforms matured, the community and the culture gave birth to a new generation of providers, initially as commercial live feeds, later as adult entertainment and gaming streams. These live video streams allow the audience to interact directly with the performer and among themselves through chat widgets. Present research focuses on why people watch others play, their socio-cultural characteristics, and how they form communities and the performers' motivations and approaches.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, streaming platforms' newly developing affordances of interactivity such as straw polls, donation messages and stream-integrated games are not yet well researched.

### 0.3 Governmentality and Migration

Governmentality is a concept, which Michel Foucault first mentions in his lecture series "Security, Territory, Population" at the Collège de France in 1977 and 1978.<sup>7</sup> Here, he describes three different aspects that define the term:

1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target

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<sup>4</sup> Brettell, Caroline B/Hollifield, James F. (Ed.): *Migration Theory. Talking across Disciplines*, New York: Routledge 2015.

<sup>5</sup> Walter, William: "Reflections on Migration and Governmentality," in: *movements. Journal für kritische Migrations- und Grenzregimeforschung* 2015 1 (1), <https://movements-journal.org/issues/01.grenzregime/04.walters--migration.governmentality.html>, accessed on July 27, 2019.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. for example: Kaytoue, Mehdi/Silva, Arlei/Cerf, Loïc/Meira Jr., Wagner/Raïssi, Chedy: "Watch me Playing, I am a Professional: a First Study on Video Game Live Streaming," in: *Proceedings of the 21st World Wide Web Conference, WWW 2012, Lyon, France, April 16-20 (2012)*, pp. 1181-1188; Sjöblom, Max/Hamari, Juho: "Why do people watch others play video games? An empirical study on the motivations of Twitch users", in: *SSRN*, May 13, 2016, [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2779543](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2779543), accessed on July 27, 2019; Gandolfi, Enrico: "To watch or to play, it is in the game: The game culture on Twitch.tv among performers, plays and audiences", in: *Journal of Gaming & Virtual Worlds*, Volume 8 Number 1 (2016), pp. 63-82; Vosmeer, Mirjam/Ferri, Gabriele/Schouten, Ben/Rank, Stefan: "Changing Roles in Gaming: Twitch and new gaming audiences", in: *Proceedings of 1st International Joint Conference of DiGRA and FDG* (2016), [http://www.digra.org/wp-content/uploads/digital-library/paper\\_101.pdf](http://www.digra.org/wp-content/uploads/digital-library/paper_101.pdf), accessed on July 28, 2019.

<sup>7</sup> Foucault, Michel: *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*, New York/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2009.

population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.

2. The tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of *savoirs*.

3. The process, or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes 'governmentalized'.<sup>8</sup>

While the second and the third aspect illustrate on what historical narratives Foucault bases his theory, it is the first that is the most interesting for us. Here he describes the process of governing in a modern national state. The “institutions” can be not only the government itself or administrative state organizations, but also businesses and educational institutions like schools or universities. The “procedures, analyses [...], reflections, [...] calculations and tactics” are created, executed and changed by these institutions to enable the control of the state’s population. To achieve this it has to use these institutions as “apparatuses of security” through the enactment of “political economy”, which Foucault understands here in its original sense: “[...] to set up an economy at the level of the entire state, which means exercising towards its inhabitants, and the wealth and behavior of each and all, a form of surveillance and control as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and his goods.”<sup>9</sup> This has to be understood as a constructive form of control that is needed to keep large numbers of people functioning and at best happy within a society. But it should not be confused with a moral form of justice, but rather as the government's means to an end to ensure the continuous existence and well-being of its population.

In the following section we analyze migration and integration in the context of governmentality. This means that we will focus on the interplay of different actors trying to deal with the state’s “political economy” to control its population through its “apparatuses of security.” While we strongly rely on this theoretical concept of government in our argumentation, it is not our intention to merely mirror it in our game design, but to use it as an abstract model to guide a design that enables critical reflections of the state institutions and procedures that channel immigration requests.

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<sup>8</sup> M. Foucault: *Governmentality*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

## 0.4 Methodological Approach and the Structure of the Thesis

The project's methodical approach makes use of the discourse analysis introduced by Michel Foucault in the "The Order of Things"<sup>10</sup> and "The Archaeology of Knowledge,"<sup>11</sup> in which he defines a discourse as a practice through which its content is formed. We will use this to analyze the most common and controversial junctions of the discourse on migration to gain the necessary knowledge to create an informed model for a game simulation. Additionally, a hermeneutical approach is applied to interpret the analysis' findings to adapt them into the exemplary context of the simulation.

The thesis' structure follows an empirical layout. At first we evaluate the research of migration and integration, which is followed by an introduction to the concept of audience gaming, before we use this information to create and discuss our own simulation game model. The first chapter "Migration, Integration and Government" gives an overview of common theories of migration and integration from the perspectives of economics, sociology and anthropology. Alongside, these models will be compared to existing digital games, which use similar models to simulate or tell stories of migration. The second chapter "Administrative Processes of Migration and Integration" analyzes formalized processes of integration, state administrations and discusses Foucault's concept of "apparatuses of security"<sup>12</sup> in the relationship of the state as a regulator of migration. For this, we focus mainly on the situation and regulations in Germany. The third chapter "From Singleplayer to Audience Spectacle" compares major forms of structural storytelling in games, from singleplayer stories to procedurality and classic multiplayer, before introducing the concept of audience gaming as a new form of play, which emerged on streaming platforms like Twitch.tv. Finally, we use this information in the last chapter "Simulating the Administration of Migration and Integration" to build a model for a digital game simulating migration allowing players to explore the relationship between migrant, public officer and the state's administration.

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Foucault, Michel: *The Order of Things*, New York/London: Routledge 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Foucault, Michel: *The Archeology of Knowledge*, New York/London: Routledge 2004.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Dilts, Andrew/Harcourt, Bernard, E.: "Discipline, Security, and Beyond: A Brief Introduction", in: *Carceral Notebooks* 4 (2008), p. 2.

# 1. Concepts of Migration and Integration

## 1.1 The Difference between Migration and Integration

Migration and Integration are processes which cannot be separated from each other, while both still indicating different aspects of the movement of people between regions. Tomas Hammer offers a fitting description by separating them into two political areas: “immigration policy” and “immigrant policy.” Immigration policy describes the regulation of crossing a border, together with considerations about the reason for the migration and the connected issuing of residency permits. Immigrant policy on the other hand deals with the integration of immigrants into the relevant social areas and functions of the host country.<sup>13</sup> This understanding can be mirrored onto the terms of migration and integration, but in reality these two are not used consistently. In Germany for example, the so called “Migrationsdiskurs” is mainly concerned with issues of integration, indicating the term “migration” as an umbrella term which integration is merely a part of.<sup>14</sup>

Our work will examine an institution (the foreigner’s or immigration office), which is situated at the intersection of immigration and immigrant policy. Instead of discussing at length the different definitions of migration and integration, we will start with a general understanding of the terms, which is based on their definitions by the International Organization for Migration (IOM):

Migration - The movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State.

Integration - The two-way process of mutual adaptation between migrants and the societies in which they live, whereby migrants are incorporated into the social, economic, cultural and political life of the receiving community. It entails a set of joint responsibilities for migrants and communities, and incorporates other related notions such as social inclusion and social cohesion.<sup>15</sup>

On this basis, the rest of the chapter will explore different aspects of migration and integration theories and policies. These aim less to define, but to explain the regulation, governing and rationalities of migration movements and policies.

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Hammer, Tomas: “Introduction”, in: Tomas Hammer (Ed.), *European immigration policy. A comparative study*, Cambridge/London/New York: Cambridge University Press 1985, pp. 7-10.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Hoesch, Kirsten: *Migration und Integration. Eine Einführung*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS 2018, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> International Organization for Migration (IOM): “Key Migration Terms”, <https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>, accessed on July 28, 2019.

## 1.2 Economic Theories of Migration

It is not surprising that for an ancient, persistent and massive phenomenon like migration there are many attempts to explain the reasons for this continuous movement throughout human history. These theories of migration stem from different backgrounds and accordingly focus on different aspects. The most common and referenced approaches stem from the field of economics, which were for a long time (like economics in general) dominated by a neoclassical perspective, which focuses on analyzing markets by looking at the supply and demand of goods, outputs, and income distributions.<sup>16</sup>

The origins for this analysis of migration can be found back in the 19th century, when Ernest George Ravenstein evaluated the census reports of 1871 and 1881 in the United Kingdom and published his findings in “The laws of migration” in 1885. His research focused not only on international migration but also migration between counties and revealed that economic centers like London or Liverpool amounted for the highest numbers of migrants.<sup>17</sup>

Based on this, migration from the perspective of neoclassical economics is understood on a macro and micro level. In general, migration is seen as a result of an asynchronous supply and demand of labor force. Confronted with such a condition, individuals, who are focused on the maximization of income, will move towards an area where the demand for the labor they can offer is in high. George J. Borjas puts it like this:

The theory is based on the behavioral assumption that individuals migrate because it is in their benefit (either in terms of psychic satisfaction or income) to do so. Individual behavior, of course, is constrained by their wealth and by the existence of immigration policies that limit (or encourage) the entry of persons into particular geographic areas.<sup>18</sup>

One of the most important assumptions of neoclassical models is that every country will export those factors (goods, labor, etc.), of which it has the most, which will in the end balance out their value.<sup>19</sup> It reveals the strong focus on a naturally arising form of balance between

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. King, John: “Ten propositions on ‘neoclassical economics’”, in: Jamie Morgan (Ed.), *What is Neoclassical Economics? Debating the origins, meaning and significance*, New York: Routledge 2016, pp. 168-179, here. pp. 179-180.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Ravenstein, Ernest George: “The laws of migration”, in: *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48 (1885), pp. 167-277, here p. 173.

<sup>18</sup> Borjas, George J.: “Economic Theory and International Migration”, in: *International Migration Review* 23/3 (1989), pp. 457-485, here p. 457.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Parnreiter, Christof: “Theorien und Forschungsansätze zu Migration”, in: Karl Husa/Christof Parnreiter/Irene Stacher (Eds.), *Internationale Migration. Die globale Herausforderung des 21. Jahrhunderts?*, Frankfurt a. M./Wien: Brandes & Apfel 2000, p. 25-52, here p. 28.

markets in neoclassical economics. For Borjas this assumption also applies to migration and the exchange of labor forces.<sup>20</sup>

Neoclassical models of migration explain migration solely based on the rational economic reasoning of the individual, who reacts to the supply and demand of the labor market. Michael P. Todaro further expands this system so that the decision for migration is not just based on actual differences in income but rather on the comparison of the expected income if the individual would or wouldn't migrate.<sup>21</sup> Further factors that might influence migration like following family or political asylum is generally not considered by these theories.

Looking at digital games, this perspective on migration through the lens of neoclassical economics is one of the most persistent and easy systems to adapt. It is solely focused on income maximization as the motivator for migration, something that can easily be expressed through a numerical simulation, which makes an implementation easy. Games like PHARAOH (1999) and ZEUS (2000) by Impressions Games illustrate how central this notion of economics and migration can be integrated in a game without even drawing too much attention to it.

Both games present players with the task to build and maintain a city, either in ancient Egypt (Pharaoh) or ancient Greece (Zeus). At the beginning, players only have empty land, its resources, and some money to start with. Workers are needed to build a city, so housing has to be provided. As soon as this is done, migrants start to arrive and populate the city. If players are successful in providing them with jobs, entertainment and consistent wealth, the city will continue to grow and people will be happy. But if the players do not provide enough of these things, people will soon leave the city again in search for a better life elsewhere. The very foundation of these games is modelled after the classic push and pull logic of neoclassical economics.

In contrast to theories based on neoclassical economics, the dual labor market hypothesis explains migration not based on the rationality of the migrants but rather those of the employers. "The massive migrations from underdeveloped to developed areas seem to be initiated by active recruitment on the part of employers in the developed region for labor to

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. G. Borjas: *Economic Theory and International Migration*, p. 459.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Todaro, Michael P.: "Internal migration in developing countries: A survey", in: Richard A. Easterlin (Ed.), *Population and Economic Change in Developing Countries*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1980, pp. 361-401, here p. 377.

fill a quite specific set of jobs. Thus, it is the employers, not the workers, and the jobs, not the incomes, that are strategic.”<sup>22</sup>

It is based on the hypothesis that markets in countries with industrial mass production are split in two sectors, the second sector being jobs characterized by high fluctuation (mostly bad working conditions and low wages). Thus they have a low social prestige and are generally avoided by natives. This creates a high demand for workers in the second sector, which especially attracts migrant workers as they see their stay in this country as temporary and are thus not as concerned with social status as natives are.<sup>23</sup>

Similar to the neoclassical model, this theory is also not at all concerned with non-economic factors that might induce migration. Furthermore, it still shows a radical distinction between developed and undeveloped countries and is thus completely focused on the existence of independent nations. Transnational and global economic networks do not yet play a role here. It also shows that the dual labor market hypothesis is not that different from the neoclassical model: it merely shifts the focus from the rational individual that is the migrant to the employers.

Looking at digital games again and our previous example, ZEUS and PHARAOH, it could be argued that by building and maintaining an economy, the player acts as an employer. The act of creating houses thus would signify the need for workers and through the lack of native work it would induce migration. However, both games don't offer any distinction between different labor markets sectors. There are only workers. A better example would be the economic system of FROSTPUNK (2018), which distinguishes between two types of labor force: engineers and (unskilled) workers. Engineers are much rarer and are needed to perform specific tasks like medical care or research. Workers on the other hand are needed for the majority of tasks and players will have to regularly search for new ones to keep the city running. The two could therefore be seen as a representation of a two-sector labor force market. However, FROSTPUNK does not simulate the intricacies of social status, which are important for the dual labor market hypothesis.

What it does simulate however, although merely as a narrative sub-system, is the importance of family and relationships for the morale and motivation of citizens (engineers and workers). Early on in one of the campaigns a woman asks for example to accompany a

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<sup>22</sup> Piore, Michael J.: *Birds of Passage*, Cambridge/London/New York: Cambridge University Press 1979, p. 19.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ibid, pp. 43-45.

search party because she hopes to find family members among the refugees. The refugees are the source of new labor force for your city.

This focus on the family as a relevant factor in migration in games like FROSTPUNK is approached merely from an emotional standpoint, and thus aligns with newer economic approaches to migration which focus on the family as the driving force of migration. The “New Economics of Migration” developed by Oded Stark is based on research about migration from rural areas into cities in the so-called third world. The main differences to the aforementioned economic models of migration are that the new economics also consider factors like insecurity, relative impoverishment, risk mitigation and pooling of income.

[...] this approach shifts the focus of migration theory from individual independence (optimization against nature) to mutual interdependence (optimization against one another), that is, it views migration as a ‘calculated strategy’ and not as an act of desperation or boundless optimism.<sup>24</sup>

Migration of single family members is not seen as the split or dissolution of the family, but rather a segmentation of risk into different physical markets. This is especially interesting because it takes into account cases of sending money back to the family, which might not only reside in a different area of the country but different countries all together. Looking at the German-Turkish labor migration of the 1960s and 1970s, this is especially relevant as this was originally seen as a temporary condition. A lot of workers not only from Turkey, but also Italy and Greece, saw their stay as a possibility to support their family at home.<sup>25</sup>

While the aforementioned approaches focus on smaller units like the individual or the family, others approach migration from a global standpoint. They react to the world-systems theory’s approach, which focuses on a macro-scale analysis of world trade and interpret migration accordingly. This is a very diverse, multi-disciplinary field, but two aspects stand out in defining migration in a globalized economy.

First, migration is seen as a subsystem of the world market. Saskia Sassen calls it a “labor supply system”<sup>26</sup>, which is needed to accommodate the expansive nature of the capitalist system and to lower labor costs. Second, national states as actors themselves are considered to be of major importance for the movements of migration as they call for, regulate and govern its flow. Sassen describes the role of national states as follows:

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<sup>24</sup> Stark, Oded: “The New Economics of Labor Migration”, in: *The American Economic Review* Vol. 75 No. 2 (1985), pp. 173-178, here p. 175.

<sup>25</sup> Hunn, Karin: »Nächstes Jahr kehren wir zurück ...« *Die Geschichte der türkischen »Gastarbeiter« in der Bundesrepublik*, Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag 2004, p. 9-10.

<sup>26</sup> Sassen, Saskia: *The Mobility of Labor and Capital. A study in international investment and capital flow*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988, p. 31.



In fact, national boundaries do not act as barriers so much as mechanisms reproducing the system through the international division of labor. [...] While the generalization of the labor market emerging from the consolidation of the world capitalist economy creates the conditions for international migrations as a world-level labor-supply system, the strengthening of the nation-state creates the conditions for immigrant labor as a distinct category of a nation's labor supply. That is to say, immigrant labor is not just any labor. It is a component in the labor supply with a distinct role in the labor process characterized by: (1) the institutional differentiation of the processes of labor-force reproduction and maintenance; and (2) a particular form of powerlessness, associated with formal or attributed foreign status, that meets the requirements of types of work organization based on direct rather than structural control over the workforce.<sup>27</sup>

Looking at digital games, grand strategy games like VICTORIA (2003) and government simulation games like DEMOCRACY (2005) are fitting comparisons for a world-system theory point of view, especially because of the sheer scope these games are trying to achieve. Instead of focusing on a specific city like PHARAOH, ZEUS or FROSTPUNK, these games model global conflicts. They can be militaristic, which most grand strategy games favor as an engaging way of play, but they also incorporate economics, geography and politics in general as factors that the player has to consider. STELLARIS (2016) also considers migration, which is simulated through both emigration and immigration and is based on factors like housing and unemployment rates. The player has the possibility to sign migration treaties to regulate migration and can also welcome refugees from other worlds. The players' territory can therefore be compared to the role of national states in migration as the Sassen described it.

### 1.3 Socio-Cultural Dimensions of Migration

While economic theories tend to focus on the origins of migration, anthropology and sociology put an emphasis on the continuous movement of migration and the new socio-cultural spaces that emerge through it. A typical instance of analysis are networks of migration, which arise around families, friends and acquaintances creating a link between the sending and receiving country or region.

Networks connect migrants and nonmigrants across time and space. Once begun, migration flows often become self-sustaining, reflecting the establishment of networks of information, assistance and obligations which develop between migrants in the host society and friends and relatives in the sending area. These networks link populations in origin and receiving countries and ensure that movements are not necessarily limited in time, unidirectional or permanent.<sup>28</sup>

Existing networks also result in a constant flow of new information of the targeted region. They also lower the costs of migrating over time as not only the target countries

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 36-37.

<sup>28</sup> Boyd, Monica: "Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas", in: *International Migration Review* Vol. 23 No.3 (1989), pp. 638-670, here p. 641.

administrations are more prepared and the process more documented, but migrants already living there can provide things like a first place to stay and crucial social and cultural information about the target country. The accessibility of information rises extremely through migration networks and offers a twofold form of integration: A more guided introduction to the new living environment as well as a familiar setting to settle in. The second part especially makes migration easier in offering something familiar together with the new which also reduces the psychological stress of having to adapt to a new surrounding.<sup>29</sup>

Networks of migration, with family being one of the most important cornerstones, promotes and supports the continuous flow of migration intensively. Most decisions of migration are based on previous migration efforts. "Movement generally occurs through well-defined contact networks."<sup>30</sup>

Since the 1990s, these networks also have been increasingly analyzed in the context of globalization. In contrast to economic theories, international migration is not only seen as a result of globalization, but also as a factor that accelerates it and creates new transnational identities challenging traditional concepts of space and nationality. Migrants define home not only as one but rather as two or even more places. The differences between a simple cultural connection to the place of origin, for example in European communities in the USA up to the mid-20th century, and these transnational identities lay in easily accessible modes of transportation. Today, the possibility to maintain not only a correspondence with the place of origin, but to regularly travel back and forth, moves countries not only economically closer together, but also culturally. The results are new transnational social spheres and identities.<sup>31</sup>

These transnational migrants are connected to communities in both their place of origin as well as the region they immigrated to, creating a new cultural identity based in multiple societies and cultures. "[...] they reside in what might be termed a state of 'betweenness', orchestrating their lives transnationally and bifocally."<sup>32</sup> An interesting facet of these

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. Massey, Douglas S./España, F. García: "The Social Process of International Migration", in: *Science* 237 Issue 4816 (1987), pp. 733-738, here p. 736.

<sup>30</sup> Hugo, Graeme. J.: "Village-Community Ties, Village Norms and Ethnic and Social Networks: A Review of Evidence from the Third World", in: Gordon F. De Jong/Robert Gardner (Eds.), *Migration Decision Making*, New York: Pergamon Press 1981, pp. 186-224, here p. 209.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Portes, Alejandro/Guarnizo, Luis E./Landolt, Patricia: "The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field", in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22:2 (1999), pp. 217-237, here p. 228-229.

<sup>32</sup> Smith, Michael Peter: "The disappearance of world cities and the globalization of local politics", in: Paul L. Knox; Peter J. Taylor (Ed.), *World cities in a world-system*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 1995, pp. 249-266, here p. 255.

phenomena are policies of states which usually have to deal with emigration. Instead of trying to force their former citizens to return, they mobilize them by investing time into defending their rights in the target countries. Typical topics in these negotiations for example are to allow family members to follow after some time or to allow dual citizenship.<sup>33</sup>

Recent examples include Turkish migrants in Germany and their children. The presidential elections for the Turkish parliament resulted in a disagreement between the Turkish and German government, who banned appearances of Turkish politicians campaigning for the upcoming election. The ban applies for all non-EU countries three month prior to any election, but was seen as specifically directed at Turkey, as the biggest Turkish diaspora with 1.4 million people able to vote is residing in Germany.<sup>34</sup> In general, the sense of remaining Turkish even after generations of living in Germany is prominent in German-Turkish communities. Thus, the connection between German-Turkish people and Turkey is still strong and experiences a renewal with the current generation regaining interest in the place of origin of their parents or grandparents.<sup>35</sup>

On the other hand, people in Turkey call the migrants and their children “*almançı*”, which can be understood as “a Turkish from Germany.” It is a derogatory term encapsulating certain differences in culture that emerged and became visible through the temporal and spatial separation of the two cultures. A lot of it has to do with class, with the migrants originally often coming from more rural areas in Turkey and having taken this culture with them to Germany, where it got influenced especially by the German working class. This becomes most noticeable in the spoken Turkish of the “*almançı*”, which is based on older Turkish dialects and got interfused by German words and pronunciations.<sup>36</sup>

The example of Turkish-German migration shows how complex transnational identities can become and how they are interdependent not only on a single actor but a whole network of individuals, institutions, cultures and societies. Global identities form themselves no longer

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. Glick Schiller, Nina/Basch, Linda/Szanton Blanc, Cristina: “From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration”, in: Ludger Pries (Ed.), *Transnationale Migration. Soziale Welt Sonderband 12*, Baden-Baden: Nomos 1997, pp. 121-140, here p. 124.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. N. N.: “Türkei drängt auf Wahlkampfauftritte in Deutschland”, in: ZEIT ONLINE, May 21, 2018, <https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2018-05/recep-tayyip-erdogan-tuerkei-wahlkampf-auftrittsverbot>, accessed on July 27, 2019.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Drach, Markus C. Schulte von: “Immer mehr Deutschtürken betrachten die Türkei als Heimat”, in SZ.de - Süddeutsche Zeitung, July 24, 2018, <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/deutschtuerken-integration-studie-1.4067731>, accessed on July 27, 2019.

<sup>36</sup> Robins, Kevin/Morley, David: “*Almançı, Yavancı*”, in: *Cultural Studies* 10:2 (1996), pp. 248-254.

through one place and culture, but rather through the interlocking and overlapping of cultures and societies. Classical national borders become less of a cultural separation, although they still remain their administrative and regulating function to control human movement.

It is very telling that it is nearly impossible to find examples of digital games using migration networks as a design principle. While economic theory lends itself perfectly to base models for numeric simulations on, migration networks are more context-based, rooted in individual experiences and thus less general. But even as stories of migration networks are not easy to be found in digital games, it seems that the topic of continuous migration demands some form of aesthetic realism, something digital games do not necessarily gravitate towards. Aside from technical realism in simulator genres like racing or farming and general visual realism, games have a tendency to strive for fantasy fulfillment or to portray rather extreme scenes outside of the typical everyday experience of humans. However, games like *THE WOLF AMONG US* (2013) and *THE WITCHER* series (2007 - 2016) have at least some elements that can be compared to the concept of migration networks. In *THE WOLF AMONG US*, the characters from our human fairy tales (called fables) are actual real beings, that had to flee their universe after it was invaded by an aggressor. They flee into the modern world, and some of them form a secret society in the middle of New York, where they set up a government-like network to help other fables to get by. There is also the so-called farm where fables that cannot pass as humans go and thus can be hidden from the humans. *THE WITCHER* (2007) on the other hand portrays a ghetto-like quarter in the city of Vizima, where Dwarfs and Elves live. This is more a commentary on racism than it is on migration, but the quarter can be seen as a physical representation of such a migration network where newly arrived dwarfs and elves might be able to go to get help and information. Different from these fictional settings, *BURY ME, MY LOVE* (2017) is set along the European refugee road through the Balkan area in 2015 and tells the story of a young Syrian woman trying to get to Europe. Her husband is still in Syria with them having the plan that he can follow her once she safely made it over. So in a way, this story touches on the very beginning of a migration network to be.

#### 1.4 Integration and Assimilation

Similar to theories of migration, there are many approaches to analyzing and explaining integration. Looking at the 20th century, the oldest theories are related to the concept of assimilation. The research of assimilation began in the United States of America in the early

20th century. It is not surprising that first studies of integration started in the US, as it was one of the prime targets of immigration during that time, while European countries on the other hand were confronted with emigration and thus did not focus on integrating newly arrived individuals into their societies. Assimilation theories in the US can be separated into three main movements: the classic assimilation theory (CAT), the segmented assimilation theory (SAT) and the new assimilation theory (NAT).<sup>37</sup>

The beginning of the classic assimilation theory can be found in Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess' work "Introduction to the Social Sciences"<sup>38</sup>, published in 1921, in which they interpret social interaction between people and groups as the fundamental act which forms societies, because it is the only way anybody is able to partake in them. Influenced by evolutionary theories, they see competition as the fundamental phase of social interaction. Overall, they separate social interaction into five phases: Contact, competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation.<sup>39</sup> These phases are assumed to be always occurring, irreversible processes. In general, phase models are very common in assimilation theories. The early assimilation theories are very much influenced by the European migration movements to America and are based on empirical-analytical field work especially in Chicago. It highlights the importance of integration through several generations with the first having the most difficult time to adapt to the new culture and customs. Each following generation would then find fewer obstacles trying to adapt and integrate. This process was seen as naturally occurring, highlighting once more its connection to evolutionary theories.<sup>40</sup>

After the Second World War and the experience of new immigration movements from South America and Asia into the US, younger researchers started to criticize the CAT interpretation of gradual assimilation by generations. New research indicated that not everybody assimilated into the American mainstream "core society" (understood as white, middle-class and protestant). Instead, a substantial part of the new population assimilated into the subcultures and lower class communities, which lead to their marginalization. This

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. K. Hoesch: Migration und Integration. Eine Einführung, p. 83-84.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Park, Robert E.; Burgess, Ernest W.: *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1921.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Han, Petrus: *Theorien zur internationalen Migration. Ausgewählte interdisziplinäre Migrationstheorien und deren zentrale Aussagen*, Konstanz/München: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft 2018, p.18.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Park, Robert E.: "Human Migration and the Marginal Man", in: *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 33 No. 6 (1928), pp. 881-893, here p. 891. Also cf. Aumüller, Jutta: *Assimilation. Kontroversen um ein migrationspolitisches Konzept*, Bielefeld: transcript 2009, p. 57.

process is described as “downward assimilation.”<sup>41</sup> A third possibility is seen in a partial assimilation into the mainstream, while consciously holding on or reanimating another ethnic identity, connections and orientations. The segmented assimilation theory also differs from the CAT by understanding the assimilation process as open ended.<sup>42</sup>

Research of the new assimilation theory criticized the SAT especially for its assumption that downward or segmented assimilation is more likely to occur than assimilation in the mainstream, which in the NAT is still seen as dominant. They suggest to consider the structural and demographic change of a society, which would change the probability of assimilation. In general, the NAT calls for a more differentiated understanding of ethnos. Instead of a relatively fixed definition, ethnic identities are seen as something ever shifting, which can blur into each other and emerge as something completely new. Thus, NAT research calls for the study of assimilation not only from the perspective of the “core society” as the CAT understood the American mainstream, but also from the perspective of the migrant communities and cultures.<sup>43</sup>

Influenced by American authors and theories, the German sociologist Hartmut Esser is seen as one of the first and still influential researchers who started analyzing assimilation in the context of migration movements to and in Germany.<sup>44</sup> Central for his position is his understanding of the equal importance of a migrant’s as well as the host society’s disposition. For Esser assimilation is the disappearance of all systemic difference between different groups (for example: education, income, marriage behavior) while their individual differences (for example: political orientation, religion, culture) are maintained.<sup>45</sup> Interestingly, Esser argues that instances like religion should be an individual venture, which should not be supported by the state. Consequently, he is opposed to the teaching of confessional religion in school. This

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Portes, Alejandro/Rumbaut, Rubén, G.: *Legacies. The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press 2001, p. 59.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Alba, Richard/Nee, Victor: “Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration”, in: *The International Migration Review* Vol. 31 No. 4, Special Issue: Immigrant Adaptation and Native-Born Responses in the Making of Americans (1997), pp. 826-874, here pp. 863-865.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Esser, Hartmut: *Aspekte der Wanderungssoziologie. Assimilation und Integration von Wanderern, ethnischen Gruppen und Minderheiten. Eine handlungstheoretische Analyse*, Darmstadt/Neuwied: Luchterhand 1980.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Esser, Hartmut: *Migration und ethnische Schichtung. Zusammenfassung einer Studie für das “Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung”*, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/akademie/online/50366.pdf>, accessed on July 27, 2019, p. 2.

is the main difference of this approach to those of ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism, which strive towards a support for these kind of freedoms.<sup>46</sup>

He argues that migrants are willing to assimilate into a new society and their customs, if they assume that this will help them reach their personal goals. However, it is important that the host society offers structures and opportunities to enable this process. This could be things like language courses and other education programs, but also the willingness of the native population of friendly interaction and neighborhood. An alternative to these possibilities, according to Esser, is the existence of an ethnic community, that would offer a form of alternative integration for migrants and would supply them with an ethnic labor market, clubs and organizations. His description fits the aforementioned networks of migration, but he is more critical of them. Because these communities can exist at least partly separated from the rest of the society, they can lead into a mobility trap, because the migrant does not learn the necessary skills to interact with and work in the host society fully. This then leads to a continuous segmentation as described by the SAT.<sup>47</sup>

Social Integration according to Esser then is divided in four dimensions of assimilation: cultural, structural, social and identificational. Cultural assimilation is the acquisition of knowledge and skills. Structural assimilation includes the occupation of positions which are integral for the continued existence of the society. This could be by participating in the country's local labor market and education system and ultimately gaining the full rights of political participation through naturalization. Social assimilation happens through interaction and entanglement with the members of the native society on an everyday basis. Interethnic marriage can be seen as one of the strongest indicators of social assimilation. Identificational assimilation describes the final stages of an assimilation process, when an individual starts to feel an emotional affiliation to the host country's society.<sup>48</sup>

Looking at digital games, ludic examples which deal with integration are hard to find. Some concepts exist, mainly in the area of serious and applied games, some of which we will cover in the next chapter about ethnic pluralism. Game narratives on the other hand broached the issue more frequently even in mainstream games. *MAFIA 2* (2010) lets players experience the story of Italian immigrant Vito Scaletta, who after a failed robbery joins the US army to

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 5-6.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. K. Hoesch: *Migration und Integration. Eine Einführung*, p. 90.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 92.

fight in World War 2 and avoid prison. After he returns home he is forced to work for the criminal underworld to help support his family. The connection to this kind of life is set up by his also Italian childhood friend Joe Barbaro. Although MAFIA 2 is obviously borrowing its setting, narrative and visual presentation from the subgenre of the gangster film, it clearly depicts ethnic communities and their dynamics. Similar to Esser's description, these connections lead down a certain path of marginalization, which Vito only is able to escape by turning to a life of crime. Similarly, Nico Bellic, the protagonist of GRAND THEFT AUTO IV (2008) and Eastern European immigrant to the US, is swept up in a life of crime at the brink of the American society. Although these games draw on popular themes of crime films and ethnic clichés, they nonetheless take on the topic of marginalization that certain ethnic groups and immigrants face in the United States.

### 1.5 Ethnic Pluralism and Multiculturalism

In contrast to most assimilation theories and comparable to the criticism of the NAT mentioned before, integration concepts described as ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism all share the presumption that there is no such thing as a "core society." Instead, multiple cultures are co-existing alongside each other. The Canadian social theorist Charles Taylor argues that identity is not the product of individuals, which is formed through its relationship with a state, but instead is created through the interaction with a specific group of people. Therefore, identity is not the result of a monologue but a dialogue.<sup>49</sup>

Especially important for Taylor is acceptance, meaning appreciation of social groups by the state and other groups, based on the principle of equality. However, the acceptance of social groups and their disposition creates a problem with the rights of individual freedom in Western liberal countries. Since the Enlightenment, Western societies have developed the principle that nobody can be discriminated against because of individual special features. Taylor argues that this kind of "blindness" towards differences can lead to a homogenization of a society. Instead, he proposes that there are communities that require protection and care. Otherwise, they would vanish under the pressure of assimilation by more dominant groups.<sup>50</sup> Thus, he calls for a policy of difference:

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<sup>49</sup> Cf. Taylor, Charles: *Multiculturalism. Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton (New Jersey): Princeton University Press 1994, p. 32-33.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 40.



Similar conflicts arise today around the politics of difference. Where the politics of universal dignity fought for forms of nondiscrimination that were quite 'blind' to the ways in which citizens differ, the politics of difference often redefines nondiscrimination as requiring that we make these distinctions the basis of differential treatment.<sup>51</sup>

Technically, this is a form of positive discrimination, which protects the disadvantaged by giving them special rights for a certain time, but also makes multiculturalism seemingly incompatible with modern ideas of liberal freedom, non-discrimination and individual equality. This cultural relativism is a weak point which is often used by critics and politicians to attack arguments of ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism. This makes these theories hard to argue for in the political debates as they require complex analysis and careful consideration. Taylor asks to consider the parallel existence of opinions on how life has to be ordered and understood, notably that everyone and every culture strives for recognition and respect.<sup>52</sup> In more general terms, concepts of multiculturalism see western Liberalism not as a basic, neutral concept, but as one among many which all have to be considered when governing the coexistence of different cultures and ethnicities.

Similar to Taylor's multiculturalism but based less on normative-philosophical assumptions and instead rooted in empirical-analytical research, the study of ethnic communities and migrant organization highlights the potential of integration within an ethnic group that can also induce integration of migrants into a host society. This directly contradicts Hartmut Esser's aforementioned argument that the integration into ethnic communities can lead into a social trap. Fittingly, the debate around the usefulness of migrant organizations in Germany has been started by a direct response to Esser's early works by ethnographer and sociologist Georg Elwert in the early 1980s. Elwert argues that three instances are especially important in strengthening the migrants' positions through communities and organizations: Firstly, a common surrounding that creates familiarity in an otherwise largely unknown society can help to keep self-confidence up, which is very much needed to confront a new environment; secondly, the access to necessary everyday knowledge; and thirdly, the creation of pressure groups to represent common interests.<sup>53</sup> Again, we can see a common line with the migration network theory here.

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Ibid., pp. 68-70.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Elwert, Georg: "Probleme der Ausländerintegration. Gesellschaftliche Integration durch Binnenintegration", in: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 4 (1982), pp. 717-731.

As a theoretical basis for this research, the concept of social capital is integral. Without going into too much detail, social capital was most prominently described by Pierre Bourdieu, who expanded on the idea of capital by splitting it into several forms, one of which is social capital. He describes social capital as the entirety of actual and potential resources, which are connected to the possession of a persistent network of more or less institutionalized relationships based on mutual knowledge and acknowledgment. Simply said, these are resources based on affiliation to a group.<sup>54</sup>

For the research of migration and integration, the concepts of weak and strong relations are of special importance. Hanspeter Kriesi mentions relationships with friends and family as an example of strong relations, while he describes weak relations as comparable to superficial acquaintances.<sup>55</sup> Strong relations have the tendency to lead to closed communities, while weak relations help to connect communities. A good example for a scenario in which weak connections would be useful is the search for a new job. While strong relations can create well-defined identities within small groups, weak relations can connect these small groups with one another and also lead to the forming of identity in big social groups.

An interesting example is the comparison of the successful integration of Spanish migrants and the less successful integration of Italians into Germany. Looking at typical migrant organizations, Uwe Hunger discovered that the majority of Spanish migrant organizations was dedicated towards education and representation. These organizations ironically often defied the paternalizing approach with which (West-)Germany approached integration until the 1980s to represent their wishes and needs, especially in the context of education.<sup>56</sup> The Italian communities on the other hand tended to focus on the formation of culture and sport clubs and although they generally tended to follow the German administration's lead more closely, their integration was less successful.<sup>57</sup> This can be observed by comparing the successful integration of Spanish children into the common

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<sup>54</sup> Cf. Bourdieu, Pierre: "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital", in: Reinhard Kreckel (Ed.), *Soziale Ungleichheiten* (Soziale Welt Sonderband 2), Göttingen: Nomos 1983, pp. 183-199, here p. 191.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Kriesi, Hanspeter: "Sozialkapital. Eine Einführung", in: Axel Franzen/Markus Freitag (Eds.), *Sozialkapital. Grundlagen und Anwendungen* (Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie Sonderheft 47), Wiesbaden: Springer VS 2007, pp. 23-46, here p. 38.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Hunger, Uwe: "Von der Betreuung zur Eigenverantwortung: neuere Entwicklungstendenzen bei Migrantenvereinen in Deutschland", in: *Münsteraner Diskussionspapiere zum Nonprofit-Sektor* 22 (2002), <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssaoar-372237>, accessed on July 28, 2019, here pp. 8-9.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 11.

German school system to the Italian children that stayed in special schools for a long time and therefore had a reduced chance of educational and social advancement.<sup>58</sup>

Commercial games rarely include aspects of multiculturalism in their procedural rhetoric and mechanics. A simple explanation for this absence is that multiculturalism cannot be easily broken down into simulatable processes with clear inputs and outputs. STELLARIS can be seen as an example, which incorporates a policy system at least comparable to Taylor's thoughts on governing multiple ethnicities:

Species rights is a system where the rights of species in an empire can be determined. The rights can be determined individually for each species in- and outside of the empire. Rights can be changed every 10 years. What rights can be selected depends on if the species is the main species of the empire, what ethics the empire has, active policies and government forms.<sup>59</sup>

The game allows to set different rights based on species, which is determined by certain factors, like ethics and government forms, therefore reflecting a biased and unequal approach to government when it comes to different cultures. In STELLARIS these systems are all related to the economics of an empire, as this is the focus of the game. But it shows that especially in strategy games there is the possibility to integrate complex policies on a systemic level.

Aside from commercial games, serious and applied games have approached these issues more from a pragmatic standpoint with the development of games designed to help the integration process. The EU funded MASELTOV<sup>60</sup> project, for example, was developed with the goal to support cultural learning amongst immigrants by using game-based learning technologies: "It is suggested that a game may provide a resource which allows users to identify though [sic] analogy areas in which cultural differences are most prominent, the form these differences might take, and strategies to address them."<sup>61</sup> Similarly, ANTURA AND THE LETTERS (2018) aims to provide the children of refugees from Arabic speaking countries with a playful possibility to learn reading and writing Arabic. Looking at Taylor, this is an especially interesting case, as the game does not primarily aim to integrate migrants and refugees into

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<sup>58</sup> Cf. K. Hoesch: Migration und Integration. Eine Einführung, p. 108.

<sup>59</sup> N. N.: "Species rights", [https://stellaris.paradoxwikis.com/Species\\_rights](https://stellaris.paradoxwikis.com/Species_rights), accessed on July 28, 2019.

<sup>60</sup> MASELTOV stands for "Mobile Assistance for Social Inclusion and Empowerment of Immigrants with Persuasive Learning Technologies and Social Network Services".

<sup>61</sup> Dunwell, Ian/Lameras, Petros/Stewart, Craig/Petridis, Pangiotis/Arnab, Sylvester/Hendrix, Maurice/de Freitas, Sara/Gaved, Mark/Schuller, Björn/Paletta, Lucas: "Developing a digital game to support cultural learning amongst immigrants", in: *First International Workshop on Intelligent Digital Games for Empowerment and Inclusion* (2013), <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258290300>, accessed on July 28, 2019.

a host society, but rather offering a possibility for them to stay connected to one of the most profound connections to their cultural heritage: their language.

## 2. Administrative Processes of Migration and Integration

### 2.1 The Distribution of Migration and Integration Politics

The actors influencing and controlling migration and integration politics vary greatly depending on the national state and its political system. In this study we look in general into migration into Western European countries and the US, with a special focus on migration from Turkey to Germany. Accordingly, we will focus in the following on analyzing actors and institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In Germany, migration and integration policies are influenced by three different administrative instances that also structure the German republic in general. Firstly, there is the so-called “Bund”, which is the highest national instance represented by the federal government. The legislation is administered by the “Bundestag”, the federal parliament, which is further influenced by the “Bundesrat”, the federal council. The council consists of representatives of the different states called “Länder” of the Federal Republic of Germany. It enables these states to directly influence federal policies and laws. Secondly, “Länder” can create their own local policies regarding migration and integration. And thirdly, the smallest administrative unit influencing migration and integration are the communes, the “Kommunen”, comparable to the US-American municipalities. Traditionally, they had the most concrete approaches to integration politics as the federal government did not offer unified policies regarding migration until the early 2000s.<sup>62</sup>

To prevent confusion we will refer to these instances by their German names in the following: “Bund” for the federal state, “Länder” for the states it consists of and “Kommunen” for the communes/municipalities.

In general, the “Bund” is responsible for the administration of all general migration policies, while the “Länder” and “Kommunen” oversee their execution. Its most important task is the regulation of the temporary and permanent residence permits for migrants. This entails the creation of rules and regulations on the basis of which permits are granted and issued, and applies to all forms of migrants: people looking for better work and citizenship, refugees and all other forms. The processes that lead to the creation of these policies are

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<sup>62</sup> Cf. K. Hoesch: Migration und Integration. Eine Einführung, pp. 302-303.

complex and will not be described here in detail.<sup>63</sup> It is only important to know that the legislation of migration and integration is controlled by the “Bund” with the “Länder” having only minimal influence on their orientation. However, in reality the different interpretation of these laws by the “Länder” led to substantial differences in the regions of Germany.<sup>64</sup>

Its control over the legislation does not mean that the “Bund” has complete decisive power over all aspects of migration. There are several areas in which it has to cooperate with the “Länder” and other institutions. Two examples include the distribution of refugees, which has to be organized in cooperation with the “Länder”, and labour migration, which depends on the Federal Employment Agency. On top of this, the funds for offering guidance for migrants in the first three years of their stay in Germany are provided by the “Bund”. For this it works closely together with established welfare organisations like the Caritas or the German Red Cross, which have been working in this field long before the state got involved.<sup>65</sup>

It is worth noticing that it is unusual for the “Bund” to have this much influence on migration policies of the “Länder”. It even allows a direct cooperation with the “Kommunen” without the need to consult the “Länder”. In every other political matter this would be strictly forbidden.<sup>66</sup>

This change started in 2005, when the German state started to officially recognize its status as an immigration country and the importance of integration policies via legislation. This led to the founding of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), which originated from previous agencies that partly oversaw matters of refuge. Gesemann and Roth concisely describe that with the BAMF, an agency was created that acted on a federal level and did not only focus on the recognition of refugees but implemented fundamental elements of the integration policies of the “Bund” on their own account. These were designed to

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<sup>63</sup> For an overview of the details of the German federal system, cf. Leptien, Kai: “Germany’s Unitary Federalism”, in: *IMIS-Beiträge* 43 (2013), Special Issue: Dietrich Thränhardt (Ed.): Immigration and Federalism in Europe. Federal, State and Local Regulatory Competencies in Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Russia, Spain and Switzerland, pp. 39-47.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Gesemann, Frank/Roth, Roland: *Integration ist (auch) Ländersache! Schritte zur politischen Inklusion von Migrantinnen und Migranten in den Bundesländern* (Eine Studie des Instituts für Demokratische Entwicklung und Soziale Integration (DESI) für die Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Forum Berlin) Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung 2014, p. 19.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. K. Leptien: Germany’s Unitary Federalism, pp. 42-43.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Thränhardt, Dietrich: “Migration und Integration als Herausforderung von Bund, Ländern und Gemeinden”, in: Frank Gesemann/Roland Roth (Eds.), *Migration und Integration als Herausforderung von Kommunen*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS 2009, pp. 267-278, here p. 271.

centralize the supply of language and general integration courses but also academic studies and conferences regarding the role of religion, especially of Islam, in the integration effort.<sup>67</sup>

As already mentioned, the “Länder” have a few possibilities to interpret and shape the federal integration policies. This is especially the case for political areas traditionally controlled by the “Länder,” like the administration of cultural programs, schools and education, but also in the creation of advisory boards for immigrants. For example, in the highly selective school systems in the South German “Länder”, the dropout rate of young migrants is much higher than in others. This also explains the low rates of migrants having one of the two highest school certificates, “Abitur” or “Fachabitur”.<sup>68</sup> Other factors can be the existence of specific religious education and how the education of the teachers is organized. But also the existence of special language tests for kids in the preschool age can help the integration effort. This was first implemented in the region of North Rhine-Westphalia, but later adopted by other “Länder”.<sup>69</sup>

Dietrich Thränhardt states that the rates of naturalization in the different “Länder” are highly varying. The ones with the highest rates are two to three times higher than the ones with the lowest. He explains this with the general political attitude towards migration and integration and the local interpretations of federal law, as well as how much liberty the Ministries of the Interior of the different “Länder” give to their “Kommunen” to decide matters on their own.<sup>70</sup>

The “Kommunen” were the political instances in which the necessity for integration policies was recognized the earliest. They form the administration on site, the place where people interact directly and mostly for the first time with the representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany. Therefore, it might not be surprising that the “Kommunen” started to develop programs for integration as early as the 1970s, after it became clear that many from the first generation of guest workers decided to stay. But this work was by no means consistent and differed highly between the communes. The reason for this was among others that early integration work was very much depended on voluntary work.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Cf. F. Gesemann/R. Roth: Integration ist (auch) Ländersache, p. 11.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. D. Thränhardt: Migration und Integration als Herausforderung von Bund, Ländern und Gemeinden, p. 271.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 273.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. K. Hoesch: Migration und Integration. Eine Einführung, pp. 307-308.

The role of the “Kommunen” for the integration of migrants is in general ambivalent. On the one hand, it is logical that these issues are being negotiated where they occur and not in some distant federal agency. On the other hand, the action of scope of the “Kommunes” is limited by the laws, regulations and distributed responsibilities of the “Bund” and the “Länder.”<sup>72</sup>

Kirsten Hoesch describes, how since the 1970s with the continuous expansion of the welfare state, the “Kommunen” had to take on increasingly more tasks, which had to be financed and organized. This made them highly dependent on the “Länder” and the “Bund”, the instances which issue most of the money, which is needed for these tasks. The “Kommunen” have to execute migration and integration policies and live with their consequences without having any possibilities to influence them.<sup>73</sup>

At the same time, they are also the first instance through which migrants come in contact with the state. Government workers represent the Federal Republic in the immigration offices of the cities, with the rest of the government organisations of the “Kommune” having to implement and execute state policies like the aforementioned language courses. At this level the abstract legislation becomes concrete action. It is here that the policies manifest themselves and the migrants become the audience of the political and administrative processes that organize and order the Federal Republic of Germany.<sup>74</sup>

## 2.2 The Role of Administration

As just described, the communal interpretations of migration and integration policies are quite different. This becomes especially important for the government agencies in the “Kommunen”, which are tasked with executing said policies. Often overlooked in the research of migration, it is the immigration offices, registration offices, civil registry offices and others that have to interpret, enact and work together to shape laws into reality.<sup>75</sup>

The varying results of the different policy interpretations in Germany can be especially seen in the practices of naturalization in the different “Länder” as well as “Kommunen”.

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<sup>72</sup> Cf. Baraulina, Tatjana: "Integration und interkulturelle Konzepte in Kommunen", in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 22/23 (2007), pp. 26-32, here p. 26.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. K. Hoesch: *Migration und Integration. Eine Einführung*, p. 308.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Bommers, Michael/Schmidt, Susanna/Voß, Josef: "Vorwort der Veranstalter", in: Jörg Alt/Michael Bommers (Eds.), *Illegalität. Grenzen und Möglichkeiten der Migrationspolitik*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften 2006, pp. 13-18, here p. 13.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. K. Hoesch: *Migration und Integration. Eine Einführung*, p. 311.



Compared to other countries, its rate is still very low in Germany. One of the reasons for this is seen in the general prohibition of dual citizenship. Countries that allow this have generally a much higher rate of naturalization.<sup>76</sup> The execution of this prohibition differs greatly from region to region in Germany, which is rooted in the open formulation of the law that handles dual citizenship. Although generally prohibited, it is open to interpretation as it allows dual citizenship in special cases like financial reasons or political repercussions.

According to Daniel Naujoks, around 50% of migrants who apply for naturalization kept their former citizenship in the years between 2003 - 2007. However, there are immense differences based on the migrants' place of origin. While people from Iran, Morocco and Afghanistan could keep their citizenship in nearly 100% of the cases, 66% of the migrants from the Russian federation and 80% of Ukrainian migrants did this. In contrast, the percentage of Turkish migrants being allowed to keep their citizenship is extremely low with only 15,6%. This led to discussions about discrimination in the discourse of dual citizenship, which is interpreted as a deliberate effort to hinder the naturalization of certain groups.<sup>77</sup>

Above this, differences in handling dual citizenship become apparent in the different "Länder" and "Kommunen". For example, Bavaria only allows it in special cases, although even here a more tolerant tendency is arising. Compared to one of the more lenient states like Rhineland-Palatinate, the differences become apparent though. While Bavaria allowed in 38,5% of the applications for dual citizenship in 2008, Rhineland-Palatinate allowed 55% in the same time. In Koblenz, a city within this state, the quota was even at 75%.<sup>78</sup> These numbers show how the different practices within the "Länder" themselves can vary.

Dietrich Thränhardt states that these differences are especially linked to the administrative procedures in the naturalization process: The intensity of necessary paperwork influences in general the length of the process, which is highly influenced on how

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<sup>76</sup> Cf. Böcker, Anita/Thränhardt, Dietrich: "Einbürgerung und Mehrstaatigkeit in Deutschland und den Niederlanden", in: Dietrich Thränhardt/Uwe Hunger (Eds.), *Migration im Spannungsfeld von Globalisierung und Nationalstaat* (Leviathan Sonderheft 22), Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag 2003, pp. 117-134, here pp. 119-120.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Naujoks, Daniel: "Die doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft. Der Diskurs um ethnische und politische Grenzziehung in Deutschland", in: Focus Migration Kurzdossier Nr. 14 (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung) (2009), <http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/kurzdossiers/57272/die-doppelte-staatsbuergerschaft-der-diskurs-um-ethnische-und-politische-grenzziehung-in-deutschland>, accessed on August 26, 2019.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Thränhardt, Dietrich: *Einbürgerung. Rahmenbedingungen, Motive und Perspektiven des Erwerbs der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit. Gutachten für die Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung* (WISO Diskurs, Expertisen und Dokumentationen zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik), Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung 2008, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/wiso/05236.pdf>, accessed August 26, 2019, pp. 25-26.

the “Kommunen” individually interpret federal law. On top of that it depends on how the agencies of the different “Länder” are trying to influence these processes in detail. All of this directly influences the rates and quotas of naturalization and leads to the phenomena of some “Länder” having three times higher rates than others.<sup>79</sup>

Apart from these interpretational differences, simple practical instances have to be considered, which can influence the way the “Kommunen” are able to execute government policies. This depends especially on how autonomous the offices and agencies can decide on applications or if the applications must also be checked and approved by state agencies. Likewise important is the actual personnel the agencies and offices have to their disposal, how well it is trained and how many people are working in the offices. This is directly influenced by the amount of money and tasks that the “Länder” give and delegate to their “Kommunen”. Heike Hagedorn provides an example of this phenomena, by comparing the successful processing of applications in the city of Gelsenkirchen and the commune of Coesfeld in 1997. In Gelsenkirchen, the processing time was between two and four weeks with a success rate of 94,8%. In Coesfeld the applications took between twelve and 24 months with a success rate of only 35,3%. Both Gelsenkirchen and Coesfeld are located in the Northern part of North Rhine-Westphalia, just 70 kilometers apart. It should be noted that problems did not arise in the city, which had to handle a lot of requests, but instead in the rural region with just a few cases.<sup>80</sup>

The distribution of tasks between “Bund”, “Länder” and “Kommunen”, as well as the different possibilities their interaction allows their administrations, extends even into non-governmental institutions. Either the state delegated tasks to them or they have established themselves as gatekeepers and organizers for specific sectors, which makes them important for aspects of migration which do not directly relate to the “Bund” or the “Länder”. Especially important are those actors, which oversee the recognition of qualifications needed for the labor market. Next to the formal process of naturalization, this is the second obstacle for labor migrants, who wish to perform a specific job in Germany. A good example would be medical doctors, which have to be recognized by an abundance of different state and other organizations before they are allowed to practice their craft. As we are focussing on the

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<sup>79</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Hagedorn, Heike: *Wer darf Mitglied werden? Einbürgerung in Deutschland und Frankreich im Vergleich*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 2001, pp. 60-61.

governmental apparatuses in this work, we will not describe this in more detail. However, it is worth noting as it highlights one more time how deeply intertwined the governmental apparatuses are with other actors in all economic and administrative sectors of the republic.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Cf. K. Hoesch: Migration und Integration. Eine Einführung, p. 314-315.

## 2.3 Apparatuses of Security

In this chapter so far, we have explored and analyzed the different political and administrative instances that influence migration and integration policies as well as their execution. We talked about the federal state, the “Bund”, issuing laws and regulations, while its states, the “Länder”, delegate these in form of tasks further to the communes, the “Kommunen”. We have also seen, that this is not a purely hierarchical structure, with competencies changing from region to region, different involvement and more or less entanglements of the different instances. We have seen further how important the actual offices and their organization is for a successful implementation of policies. In this section, we will relate all of this information to the concepts of government and governmentality by understanding the aforementioned institutions as “apparatuses of security”, which are used to control the state’s population according to its laws, regulations and opportunities.

As mentioned in the introduction, security does not merely describe the protection from a perceived threat, but rather means in conjunction with “control” the guidance of a group of people towards specific goals, while representing the group’s interests. These interests and goals are of course not uniformly agreed on, but rather are constantly formulated anew by the members of the group under the surveillance of the “apparatuses of security”. Thus, it is an ever-changing interdependent system, which does not conform to a moral standard or any one ideal, but rather formulates strategies to ensure the continued existence of its population. Fittingly, Dean Mitchell defines government in the context of power and rule in modern society:

Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through the desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs of various actors, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes.<sup>82</sup>

Border politics are an eminent manifestation of the security policies of national states. Consider the US government increasingly creating restrictive immigration policies following a narrative of security, which could be observed in the aftermath of the terror attacks on September 11, 2001, as well as with the European Union trying to mitigate refugees away from the territories of its member states. Didier Bigo describes this specific form of policies as

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<sup>82</sup> Mitchell, Dean: *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi/Singapore: SAGE Publications 2010, p. 18.

“securitization”. “Securitization of the immigrant as a risk is based on our conception of the state as a body or a container for the polity. It is anchored in the fears of politicians about losing their symbolic control over the territorial boundaries.”<sup>83</sup> But this is only one very obvious manifestation of security politics. Foucault’s “apparatuses of security” will enact their function no matter how open or restrictive state policies, not only regarding immigration, are being issued. This general view on government is particularly interesting for us as this is the framework in which “control” and “security” manifest themselves. “[...] government here involves some sort of attempt to deliberate on and to direct human conduct.”<sup>84</sup>

For immigrants, the “apparatuses of security” manifest themselves in different ways. On the one side, there are the national borders with their security guards, police and military that might try to block or help crossing borders. On the other side, there are those agencies that immigrants have to directly work together with once they have entered a country successfully. The most important of these, in the case of Germany, is the immigrant office. As described before, it is here that all the policies and regulations manifest themselves into action. It is here that the migrant is experiencing the governmentality of the state first hand. It is also here that it becomes clear that government and governmentality is not a uniform phenomenon that presents itself as a consistent entity. It depends not only on laws and regulations, but also on the actual people in the offices, the representatives of the state, how the governmentality is shaped into reality. In a way, the office workers are the actors in a play that is supposed to portray a clear vision of structure, control and security. This play is interpreted by different directors in the “Länder” und “Kommunen”, but in the end also by the actors (e.g. the office workers) and the audience (e.g. the migrants themselves).

This metaphor of a giant play already hints at its very interactive nature that defines its twists and turns and thus lends itself to be explored through interactive media. Looking at games, we can find several examples that revolve around the concept of the state, identity, security and control, and are thus situated within the discourse of governmentality. ORWELL (2016) puts you in the shoes of a government worker tasked with investigating “the lives of citizens to find those responsible for a series of terror attacks. Information from the internet, personal communications and private files are all accessible to [the player].”<sup>85</sup> This short

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<sup>83</sup> Bigo, Didier: “Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease”, in: *Alternatives* 27 (2002), pp. 63-92, here p. 65.

<sup>84</sup> D. Mitchell: *Governmentality*, p. 18.

<sup>85</sup> N. N.: “ORWELL Steam Page”, <https://store.steampowered.com/app/491950/>, accessed on August 28, 2019.

description from the official Steam page of the game describes the stance of the game accurately. It is a game reflecting on the actions of government agencies like the US American National Security Agency (NSA). In 2013, the whistleblower Edward Snowden revealed the scale on which the NSA spied on people and other governments. The justification of the NSA and other agencies in the aftermath of the reveal was that the massive surveillance even without having proper cause was aimed at preventing terror attacks.<sup>86</sup> Similarly, ORWELL tasks players in investigating people with the help of a software which allows them to access private data without restriction. However, players can never be sure if their conclusions and the connections they made are actually correct. To progress the player has to trust the system. While this game approaches the topic of security and government from a critical standpoint, it shows how a game can show rather than tell the workings of a complex system.

While ORWELL offers a minimalistic experience that is completely focused on letting the players discover the game's narrative through a simple web browser interface, PRISON ARCHITECT (2015) gives players control over a whole prison, which they are tasked to build, run and govern. This is a micromanagement game, in which players have to manage and coordinate the construction of cells and facilities, but also hire different kinds of staff members and assign them tasks, while keeping the finances of their prison straight and the inmates content. Bad management can lead to revolts. The government also exists in the game as an abstract actor that is judging the player's performance in running the prison. PRISON ARCHITECT is modelling a micro society, whose goal is to reform their inmates back to good citizens at best, but at least run this society of misfits without conflicts arising. The prison, as a correction facility for people that did not behave in line with a state's standards and rules, is one of the most extreme "apparatuses of security". By plotting players as the overseer of such a facility, PRISON ARCHITECT implicitly confronts players with the "procedures, analyses [...], reflections, [...] calculations and tactics,"<sup>87</sup> which a state uses to control its population. Although PRISON ARCHITECT does not try to model its system closely related to real world

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<sup>86</sup> Cf. i.a. Greenwald, Glenn: "NSA collecting phone records of millions of Verizon customers daily", in: The Guardian, June 6, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/06/nsa-phone-records-verizon-court-order>, accessed on September 22, 2019. Also cf. N. N.: "US-Geheimdienstetat wurde seit „9/11“ verdoppelt", in: Welt.de, August 30, 2013, <https://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article119555291/US-Geheimdienstetat-wurde-seit-9-11-verdoppelt.html>, accessed on September 22, 2019.

<sup>87</sup> M. Foucault: Governmentality, p. 102.

processes, the mentality of its micromanagement simulation reveals the inner logic of what Foucault calls “governmentality.”<sup>88</sup>

PAPERS, PLEASE (2013) could be situated in between the two aforementioned games. This positioning works not only from a gameplay perspective, but also in the way it thematizes government and security. In PAPERS, PLEASE players control a border officer who has to check passports and other papers to determine if their holders are allowed to enter the country. Similar to ORWELL these actions are related to an investigative form of control, which is guided by a mostly invisible government guiding and instructing the player’s actions. The player is tasked with checking data, in this case passports, visas and other forms, to determine if the persons that this data is linked to are actually who they are and honest about their intentions. The link to PRISON ARCHITECT manifests itself in the space PAPERS, PLEASE is set: Like the prison, the border region represents and enforces the sovereignty of a state with full force. Negotiations are possible but harsh, and confronted with the judgement of the government, players can feel as helpless as the NPC actors they are supposed to manage in control. While in PRISON ARCHITECT this manifests itself through the government influencing your decisions by offering grants, issuing prisoners and ultimately judging your performance, PAPERS, PLEASE goes a step further: If players do not behave according to the issued state commands, their pay is reduced, which directly influences their ability to pay for the necessary goods to keep their in-game family healthy and alive. The governmentality of the state in PAPERS, PLEASE is a harsh one. It creates an image of a restrictive and unforgiving state that does not tolerate failure or error, neither of migrants trying to enter nor of their own citizens. PRISON ARCHITECT is similar, but players are always left with the sense of agency and having at least retained some of their power to act. Players are made to feel powerless in PAPERS, PLEASE. ORWELL handles this similarly by giving players a sense of agency, only to remind them eventually how little influence they actually have on the events they were supposed to investigate. Government in ORWELL appears more hidden, layered and unpredictable than in PRISON ARCHITECT and PAPERS, PLEASE, and is clearly reminiscent of the deep mistrust of government the global surveillance disclosures since 2013 have instilled in people.

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<sup>88</sup> At this point, we have to mention the obvious connection that could be made here between PRISON ARCHITECT and Foucault’s work on the Western penal system, especially “Discipline and Punish” from 1975. As we are more interested in “governmentality” in general and related to migration, we only leave this link here for further reading and exploration: Foucault, Michel: *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*, New York: Random House 1995.

These three examples, PAPERS, PLEASE especially relating to migration through its border setting, show how games can be used to engage players with the concept of governmentality. Their modelling of governmental institutions and programs lets players experience the inner workings of these “apparatuses of security:”



### 3. From Singleplayer to Audience Spectacle

#### 3.1 Procedurality - From Linear Storylines to Immersive Sims

When it comes to digital games, procedurality is their defining medial property. Already in 1997, Janet Murray writes: “The most important element the new medium adds to our repertoire of representational powers is its procedural nature, its ability to capture experience as systems of interrelated actions.”<sup>89</sup> This description focuses on the possibility to model systems through which behaviors can be embodied. This is especially important in contrast to older media (like writing or film), whose core representational moment was the description or depiction of systems rather than the possibility to model and experiment with them.<sup>90</sup> This means digital games are by default procedural, because they are software running on a computer.

Another more practical way to describe procedurality is that it refers to software’s ability to generate representations of rule-based models through algorithms.<sup>91</sup> This means procedural media is able to simulate how systems behave and allow players to experience them on their own accord.<sup>92</sup> The multiplicative nature of abstracting systems allows tailor-made experiences and transforms the audience in ways that was not possible with earlier types of media. Looking at games, it is the degree of affordances a game provides within its rules. Through these affordances, a story or an experience changes or adapts to the player, making each one unique or at least one amongst many.

As we discussed in the earlier chapters, governmentality, especially within the context of immigration, entails procedures, rules and calculations to form complex relationship between people and power. While these relationships are on the one hand mainly informed and structured by complex administrative units, they are also shaped by many less influential agents like single immigration offices, office workers and visiting migrants. For the exploration of governmentality in a digital game, it is therefore important to not only reduce these relationships to an abstract top down view of a giant administrative machine,

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<sup>89</sup> Murray, Janet H.: *Hamlet on the Holodeck. The Future of Narrative in Cyberspace*, New York et al.: The Free Press 2016, p. 254.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Freyermuth, Gundolf S.: *Games | Game Design | Game Studies*, Bielefeld: transcript 2015, pp. 53-57.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Bogost, Ian: *Persuasive Games. The Expressive Power of Videogames*, Cambridge/London: The MIT Press 2007, p. 4.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Gundolf S. Freyermuth: *Games | Game Design | Game Studies*, p. 67.

but rather highlight how these different instances interact with and influence each other. In other words, the specific is as important as the abstract, the individual matters just as much as the larger society around it.

There seems to be a problem however, if we compare typical conceptions of complex, abstract systems and personal experiences of single individuals. While systems lend themselves to be modelled and interacted with, or played with in the context of games, personal experiences rather take the form of linear stories that account for a perceived sequence of events. This difference is directly connected to one of the core academic and design problems that has been discussed since stories emerged as an element in game design: How do you tell a story in games without removing agency from the player and thus hindering the procedural nature of digital games to flourish?<sup>93</sup>

To approach this topic, it is necessary to first define two core concepts of storytelling in games, one being story itself, the other being the concept of fictional worlds. In their “essential introduction” to games studies “Understanding Video Games” Egenfeldt-Nielsen, Smith and Tosca describe story in the context of digital games as “[...] a scripted succession of events that the player has to perform in a specific order. [...] The events that make up the whole story/narrative/plot of this kind of games usually allow for minimal flexibility in the order of completion.”<sup>94</sup> Fictional worlds are defined as something that emerges out of a text. “A fictional world is an imaginary construct created by the descriptions of a text. Readers — and viewers, and players — infer that there is a make-believe universe in which the events they are reading about (or viewing or performing) make sense.”<sup>95</sup>

This clarification is important for two reasons. First, among game designers it is common to use the term “narrative” to refer to any form of storytelling occurring within or in the surrounding of games. And second, “narrative” is also used to describe the fictional world a game’s procedures are situated in, while this world does not actually offer a narrative or story in the sense of a succession of events.

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<sup>93</sup> The formation of game studies was accompanied by the rise of two concepts, which both aimed to describe the basic nature of games differently: Narratology analyzes games as stories or texts, while ludology tries to describe games based on their basic rules, their mechanics etc: Cf. Frasca, Gonzalo: “Ludology Meets Narratology: Similitude and Differences between (Video)Games and Narrative”, <https://ludology.typepad.com/weblog/articles/ludology.htm>, accessed on September 06, 2019.

<sup>94</sup> Egenfeldt-Nielsen, Simon/Smith, Jonas Heide/Tosca, Susana Pajares: *Understanding Video Games. The Essential Introduction*, New York/Abingdon: Routledge 2008, p. 172.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

With this understanding of procedurality and narrative, it seems clear that they are based on two seemingly contradictory medial properties: interactivity and linearity. Nonetheless, this contradiction has led to plentiful experimentation throughout the history of digital games. The text adventure is the first genre that experimented mainly with storytelling and introduced the epic into digital games. Through the possibility of multi-linear stories, they expanded on the concept of traditional literary storytelling. Gundolf S. Freyermuth describes this expansion by focussing on the different sense of space and time in text adventures compared to linear literary fiction:

Their charm [the text adventures'] lay in the player's ability to navigate branching plots by answering text prompts or, later, by clicking on hyperlinks. With the text adventure, digital games started to form their very own modus of narration. In the beginning, it was shaped by literary world creation. Using the specific abilities of digital writing for multi-linearity, however, text-based adventures enhanced literary storytelling far beyond the possibilities of analog literature. Temporal linearity was replaced by a spatiality whose temporal dimension realized itself anew with every play-through.<sup>96</sup>

Thus, every playthrough could offer players a new sequence of events, a new narrative to experience. Although at first realized only in text, which could not be changed, text adventures already played with procedurality by offering the player a choice of navigation. Later iterations greatly expanded on this, by replacing certain sections of text with others depending on the paths players took, by giving characters different personalities and reactions towards players and thus already foreshadowing all the core principles of later games, which made use of artificial intelligence to expand not only the narrative but also the world building and thus enhancing the experience of a fictional world for the players.

Additionally, the presentation of stories in games has borrowed a lot from film starting in the mid-1980s. Egenfeldt-Nielsen, Smith and Tosca analyze this in the context of the constant and fast improvement of graphical processing power:

Good graphics have translated into painstakingly [*sic*] detailed and sometimes beautiful worlds, while better AIs allow for more advanced response to player's action, including more interesting non-player characters and better simulations—all of these advances make the gameworld seem more alive, and each, in turn, changes the possibilities for storytelling.<sup>97</sup>

While the influence of film has led foremost to a more visually impressive and cinematic presentation, the medium's influence has not greatly changed the way of storytelling in a structural sense. Cinematic games still used the same logic of branching narratives which was introduced by the text adventures and often focused even on completely linear storylines simply due to the extensive work and high costs it takes to create all the assets necessary for

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<sup>96</sup> G. S. Freyermuth: Games | Game Design | Game Studies, p. 72.

<sup>97</sup> S. Egenfeldt-Nielsen/J. H. Smith/S. P. Tosca: Understanding Video Games, p. 170.

multi-linear storylines. The most prominent feature introduced by film to digital games might be the cutscene, film sequences that interrupt or stop the game for a while to present the players with necessary story events. One of the most prominent games making extensive use of cutscenes is the METAL GEAR SOLID series (first game released in 1998), which is not only full of cinematic references<sup>98</sup> but also uses long cinematic sequences to set the mood and tell the story within the games. Coming back to our definition of procedurality, it is understandable why narrative and interactivity is often seen as incompatible. In the case of cutscenes, any agency a player might have is removed completely.

Adventure games also looked up to films and have developed a compromise between cinematic presentation and player's choice. Games like THE WALKING DEAD (2012) combined the logic of branching narratives known from text adventures and the limited exploration of small rooms and scenes in their predecessors, point-and-click adventures, to add a cinematic experience on top. Games like this offer the player limited agency over the movement of the player character in confined scenes, but also do not fully remove it in sequences that feel like cutscenes. Instead they offer the player minimal choices at critical points within these scenes. This might be different possibilities on how to respond to another character choosing from predefined options, or having to make a quick decision within action sequences under time pressure. The multi-linearity of these games is extremely limited, but they are reflecting the feeling of agency to the player and do not remove it completely.

While the influence of film therefore mainly shaped the visual representation of digital games, the technological advances mentioned above have also led to the exploration of storytelling through the use of emergent gameplay. On the online magazine for digital games Gamasutra, Josh Bycer defines emergent gameplay as the result of an "[...] open-ended [design] to give the player enough options to be creative with."<sup>99</sup> However, this does not mean to merely present players with a lot of options. Instead Bycer describes two conditions, which are necessary to create emergent gameplay.

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<sup>98</sup> Most notably through its main character Solid Snake, which is a homage to the 1981 John Carpenter film "Escape from New York" and its main character Snake Plissken. Cf. Good, Owen S: "Metal Gear Solid wasn't sued over Escape From New York ties because Kojima's a 'nice guy'", in: POLYGON, October 28, 2015, <https://www.polygon.com/2015/10/28/9625556/metal-gear-solid-escape-from-new-york-lawsuit-kojima-john-carpenter>, accessed on September 05, 2019.

<sup>99</sup> Bycer, Josh: "Examining Emergent Gameplay", in: GAMASUTRA, September 16, 2015, [https://www.gamasutra.com/blogs/JoshBycer/20150916/253682/Examining\\_Emergent\\_Gameplay.php](https://www.gamasutra.com/blogs/JoshBycer/20150916/253682/Examining_Emergent_Gameplay.php), accessed on September 06, 2019.

First, the mechanics and tools must be malleable to the point where someone can combine them in expected and unexpected ways. If you give the player 100 different options for solving a solution, but they have no connectivity between each other, then you've created 100 locked paths and not Emergent gameplay.

Second, the game's objectives (if any) must make allowances for and possibly reward the player for using Emergent gameplay strategies. Letting the player do what they want won't matter if the game only has one or two ways of beating it.<sup>100</sup>

The possibilities of emergent gameplay are highlighted especially by a genre called “immersive sims.” The origins of immersive sims can be found in a studio called Looking Glass Studios, which developed the *SYSTEM SHOCK* (first game released in 1994) and *THIEF: THE DARK PROJECT* (first game released in 1998) series in the 1990s. The core principle of these games was to present players with an objective and different tools which could be used to reach that objective. Although the goal was the same, the way players could approach things could vary in many ways. This was especially enhanced by the integration of AI which reacted to changing parameters in the game world. In *THIEF* the lighting of a scene could be influenced by extinguishing torches. This would make sneaking easier, but guards would be confused by this, might get suspicious or even light the torches again. Important for this kind of gameplay is that established rules are not changed, so the player can learn to rely on and combine them while playing through the game. Through this combination emergent gameplay arises. In recent years immersive sims have made a comeback most notable through the *DISHONORED* series (first game released in 2012) and the *PREY* (2017) reboot by Arcane Studios, which was established by former employees of Looking Glass Studios.

Immersive sims are important for the handling of narrative in games, because instead of trying to rely on predefined multi-linearity as many adventure games do, they focus on players driving the direction of a narrative. Depending on the player, a retelling of a playthrough of *THIEF* might be the story of a crazy chase through the level which ended in a fight or the story of sneaking through it without ever being seen, always staying in the shadows. And these are just two examples. Emergent gameplay leads to the creation of stories along the way. These add players’ experiences to the overall fixed plot(s) of a game instead of competing with it(them). The possibility to influence the path enables players to connect to the story in a personal way, because they choose their approach on their own account and do not just follow a suggested path.

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

Immersive sims are also interesting because they introduce the simulation concept of games like the aforementioned city-builders (for example PHARAOH) into shooters and action adventures, games that are traditionally more focussed on streamlined linear stories. It combines the personal first person perspective with complex simulated systems that the player has to work with and around. It invites experimentation to understand how things work in this world and what is necessary to do to reach an objective. While we are not aiming to create an immersive sim, this approach on game design presents us with tools to create a balance between the abstract modeling and personal exploration of governmentality through a simulation system with narrative elements. Like immersive sims, we can use the interplay between the descriptions of a fictional world (although we are basing our project on real-world examples it is still a fictional world as we are not trying to recreate a specific immigration office) and interlocking systems let stories arise from the gameplay itself.

### 3.2 Multiplayer

As we discussed earlier, a game, in essence, entails the simulation of system(s) which are composed of rules. But a simulation does not necessarily require an interactor. It can just be allowed to run for a period of time and its state can be observed. This is done every day to forecast weather events, assess military strategies or engineer new buildings. Their operators can modify governing variables to explore other options or observe relationships between components. Interactivity introduces the operator into the simulation as a new variable, an unknown, that is in itself the product of a calculating, understanding, creative brain. Game makers target this boundary between computer and human to create entertainment products. They do this by selectively choosing the rules of the systems they simulate, the context they provide and the affordances they allow in the games they make.

Multiplayer games, whether they are competitive or cooperative, augment the medium by the addition of new agents to the simulation, who are otherwise distinct from each other. Participants lack complete understanding of each other and thus have to observe, interpret, predict and react to one another within the simulation framework. This creates emergent entertainment and new forms of sociability. This was especially important in the early years of digital games, when computational power and software technology was still too limited to create games with sophisticated visuals or intricate artificial intelligence. Therefore, many early digital games were designed to be multiplayer games by plotting players against each

other, either in front of arcades or the home TV with the first home consoles. One of the first commercially successful digital games, PONG (1972), required two players to play.

This form of play is called co-op, standing for cooperation, although not all of these games, like PONG, required players to actually cooperate. Most early digital games, which offered a multiplayer option, were co-op games. This form of play was well suited for the dominance of the Arcades since the 1970s in US-America and also the first successful home consoles like the Atari 2600 and their successors like the Nintendo Entertainment System (NES).

However, at the same time since the early 1970s and in parallel to the rise of the text adventure, multiplayer games started to develop in another direction. Emerging in local networks and the first dial-up networks, the first Multi-User-Dungeons (MUDs) were created. MUDs offered players the possibility to communicate and interact with each other via text in real time. Often the MUDs were situated in a fictional setting with its own set of rules. The players created avatars for themselves, which would represent them in the game world. Gundolf S. Freyermuth tracks their origin back to two different developments in the context of storytelling in games:

Historically they have two roots: first, the text-based online games, which students and teachers programmed for university mainframes since the early seventies—for example, STAR TREK (1971), MAZE WAR (1974) or AVATAR (1977); and second, the analog roleplaying game Dungeons and Dragons—a combination of elements from war games, amateur theater and fantasy tales—that also had a significant influence on text-adventures.<sup>101</sup>

These MUDs were also a response to the restrictive nature of text adventures, which did not allow to modify the narrative of the game. MUDs explored the context of narrative in digital games further by allowing the player to develop and act out their own fantasies in a fictional setting. During the 1980s MUDs continued to thrive, and with HABITAT (1986), the first MUD with 2D graphics was released. The users were represented by a 2D avatar, which they controlled from a third-person perspective. The goal of the developers of HABITAT was to create a framework for a virtual community in cyberspace in which the world is completely governed by the players themselves. Following its launch, HABITAT was very chaotic as players exploited the games systems. This led to more restrictive rules to enable an enjoyable experience for everybody. Chip Morningstar and F. Randall Farmer, co-creators of HABITAT, describe their process in retrospective:

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<sup>101</sup> Gundolf S. Freyermuth: Games | Game Design | Game Studies, p. 74.

We had imposed very few rules on the world at the start. There was much debate among the players as to the form that Habitat society should take. At the core of much of the debate was an unresolved philosophical question: is an Avatar an extension of a human being (thus entitled to be treated as you would treat a real person) or a Pac-Man-like critter destined to die a thousand deaths or something else entirely? Is Habitat murder a crime? Should all weapons be banned? Or is it all "just a game"? To make a point, one of the players took to randomly shooting people as they roamed around. [...] We compromised by changing the system to allow thievery and gunplay only outside the city limits. The wilderness would be wild and dangerous while civilization would be orderly and safe.<sup>102</sup>

The first Massive Multiplayer Online Roleplaying Games (MMORPGs) from the 1990s had similar problems and solutions, which makes HABITAT their earliest representative. It links the early MUDs and the immense online games that started to appear since the mid-2000s, most prominently WORLD OF WARCRAFT (2004). The world of MMORPGs has since then split into two groups, which mirror the core conflict of users exploiting the game's system to their own ends and the wish of the developers for everybody to have an enjoyable play session. WORLD OF WARCRAFT for example has lowered the entry barrier for new players since its initial release more and more. Not all players welcome this development, which lead more than once to online and in-game protests against changes.<sup>103</sup> In 2019, Activision Blizzard even released a separate version of the game called WORLD OF WARCRAFT CLASSIC (2019), which is a reboot of the original game's version before its first expansion THE BURNING CRUSADE (2007). Other games like EVE ONLINE (2003) and ALBION ONLINE (2017) completely focus on player-driven economies and content and fully embrace the chaotic nature of letting human players organize themselves.<sup>104</sup>

These aspects of multiplayer gaming surfacing within MUDs and later MMORPGs highlight a complex power dynamic within the relationships between creators and players and the players among themselves. Through their simulation of a fictional world, in which players are placing their avatars and thus are able to create a personal identity, the emergence of highly involved game communities in MMORPGs is common and one of the central aspects attracting players to games of this genre. Game communities are especially interesting, because they tend to expand on the game's rule sets by creating and imposing their own

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<sup>102</sup> Morningstar, Chip/Farmer, F. Randall: "The Lessons of Lucasfilm's Habitat", in: Michael Benedikt (Ed.), *Cyberspace: First Steps*, Cambridge/London: The MIT Press 1992, pp. 273-302, here pp. 289-290.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Andrews, Scott: WoW Archivist: "Class protest and the Million Gnome March", in: ENGADGET, August 10, 2014, <https://www.engadget.com/2014/10/08/wow-archivist-class-protests-and-the-million-gnome-march/>, accessed on September 09, 2019.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Messner, Steven: "Here are EVE Online's greatest stories", in: PC GAMER, May 07, 2018, <https://www.pcgamer.com/eve-online-stories/>, accessed on September 09, 2019.



regulations and interpretations on them. Egenfeldt-Nielsen, Smith and Tosca define them accordingly:

Game communities (within the game): this refers to the relations between players as afforded by the game, as members of a team, for instance, who communicate to arrive at the best strategy and align their movement. Such relationships are not always sufficient in current video games, so players extend these communications with informal rules, extra tools, and places to relate beyond the game, such as websites.<sup>105</sup>

But these relationships do not emerge completely free from outside influence, although they do not necessarily need explicit encouragement. Most MMORPGs and multiplayer games suggest the forming of specific game communities through the design of the game's systems. These groups are called clans or guilds in most cases. They arise not only in games that offer a specific ingame function for this form of organisation, but also in those games in which their existence simply enhances the gameplay experience. A good example of this would be early first person shooters like *QUAKE* (1996) and later *COUNTER-STRIKE* (2000). In these games clans first organized through chats, voice chats and websites outside of the game before their successors included those functionalities within the games themselves.

Games that offer complex fictional worlds to play within, like most MMORPGs, suggest the formation of specific player groups not only through the game systems but also the game's narrative and the fictional world itself. By forcing players to choose from different factions for example, the game suggests to form groups with other players from the same faction to pursue common goals. Carly A. Kocurek describes this phenomenon with a general example and expanding further on it: "[...] if you choose to play as a goblin, you would be most likely to interact with other goblins. Alternately, different factions may, by design, have different skill sets, thereby encouraging players to seek out others with different skill sets."<sup>106</sup>

Multiplayer in digital games is therefore characterized by the interplay between game systems designed to enable a specific form of behavior in the players, and the players' response to these game systems. The interesting part for both game creators and players in this relationship is the unpredictability of its result. In the previous chapter, we analyzed the concepts of procedurality and interactivity as two of the core principles of digital games, resulting at best in emergent gameplay which was not hardcoded into the game. In

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<sup>105</sup> Simon Egenfeldt-Nielsen et al.: *Understanding Video Games*, p. 152.

<sup>106</sup> Kocurek, Carly A.: "Community", in: Mark J. P. Wolf/Bernard Perron (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Video Game Studies*, New York/London: Routledge 2014, pp. 364-372, here p. 366.

multiplayer titles this is extended by human players. Each new player adds a new agent to the simulation, resulting in more complex possibilities of interaction.

It is exactly this interplay that can be used in the exploration of governmentality in a simulation game setting. While we are aiming to present players with a specific system, we are not trying to enforce a very specific way of playing the game, but rather count on the emergent behaviors common in multiplayer games. In order to instill this form of behavior, it is necessary to define clear goals together with consistent rules and systems players can use or exploit to reach their goals. As we are intentionally designing our game to be played in the social setting of Twitch.tv, many technical requirements, like the chat, are already in place. This context and virtual space can not only be used to watch other people play, but also interact with the game and a social network that formed around it. Kocurek describes this as social activities arising out of originally gameplay focused groups:

While these formal and informal groups ostensibly have gameplay as a goal, they often participate in other social activities and may provide vital social support to one another, as evidenced by examples of in-game weddings and funerals held in recognition of out-of-game events [...]. These types of events demonstrate the extent to which game communities are analogous to out-of-game communities and meet the social needs of their participants.<sup>107</sup>

### 3.3 Audience Gaming

Since the early 2000s, internet service providers have been steadily expanding their network infrastructures to accommodate the growing demand for fast and stable internet connections. As the network expanded and the technology improved, internet companies and regular businesses alike have continuously contributed to the ever-growing expansion of media-filled websites, file sharing services and web-gaming platforms. According to a report prepared by Akamai, one of the largest network providers in the world, 50 countries and regions had already surpassed the fifty-percent barrier for broadband access for their citizens by 2010.<sup>108</sup> By the end of 2014, about sixty percent of the whole world had an internet connection faster than four megabits per second.<sup>109</sup> Large bandwidth mass internet access led to the rise of

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. N. N.: "The State of the Internet (Volume 3, Number 1), 1st Quarter, 2010 Report", <https://www.akamai.com/us/en/multimedia/documents/state-of-the-internet/akamai-q1-2010-state-of-the-internet-connectivity-report.pdf>, accessed on September 22, 2019, p. 18.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. N. N.: "akamai's [state of the internet] (Volume 7, Number 4), 4th Quarter, 2014 Report", <https://www.akamai.com/us/en/multimedia/documents/state-of-the-internet/akamai-state-of-the-internet-report-q4-2014.pdf>, accessed September 22, 2019, p. 20.

video sharing websites such as YouTube, where hours of video footage is uploaded every minute of every day.<sup>110</sup>

As YouTube's user base matured, a large community of gamers with a diverse set of interests also made it their home. Every day they upload their memorable gaming moments to share them with their friends and followers. Speedrunners show videos of their countless trials and eventual success to prove their hard work and claim the title for the record they are attempting to break. Commentators and critics share their views on a particular game and give advice to potential buyers. E-sports channels provide a catalogue of past tournaments. Finally, there are those who play to tell a story, just to chat, to show how it is done or just to play along. Over time, this last group turned an iconic expression into a genre name: Let's play.

Let's Play videos are recordings of gameplay sessions, generally accompanied by the player's reactions and commentary through voice and webcam recordings. Most creators start with an implicit or an explicit goal pertaining to the game to guide their overall actions. Most videos do not cover the entirety of the session. Rather, they are edited and cut together to create an entertaining clip, from which the dull or repetitive parts are removed. Scully-Blaker, Begy, Consalvo and Ganzon call this "YouTube-worthy" play, that is, gameplay that "involves not only talent, but also the use of a number of technological and social structures that convey competitive advantage."<sup>111</sup> This is a form of gameplay recording that aims to entertain either by form through editing, effects, commentary, or its rare and extraordinary nature.

In parallel to YouTube's ever-growing success, the 2010s saw the rise of real-time video streaming services. Initially these were designed for adult entertainment and lifecasting, where users could share their lives online in real time. One of the pioneers in this field was a website called Justin.tv, which later split into its more successful gaming counterpart Twitch.tv in 2011. Twitch.tv, or more commonly known as just "Twitch", is a website where people can stream their gameplay sessions in real time with or without additions like face-cams, banners, automated greeters and more. It hosts e-sports events, speedrunning sessions, personal streams and talk-shows on games and game-related content. Patrons of these streams can

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<sup>110</sup> Cf. Oreskovic, Alexei: "Exclusive: YouTube hits 4 billion daily video views", in: Reuters.com, January 23, 2012, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-google-youtube-idUSTRE80MOTS20120123>, accessed on September 22, 2019.

<sup>111</sup> Scully-Blaker, Rainforest/Begy, Jason/Consalvo, Mia/Ganzon, Sarah Christina: "Playing along and playing for on Twitch: Livestreaming from tandem play to performance", in: Bui, Tung (Ed.), Proceedings of the 50th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences, ScholarSpace / AIS Electronic Library 2017, pp. 2026-2035, here p. 2027.

watch and interact with the streamer directly, comment on their gaming session and even donate money to support them financially.

What sets the Twitch streams apart from YouTube Let's Plays is the real-time factor. YouTube creators have the ability to capture and edit their footage to make their broadcasts entertaining before the material is uploaded online. Twitch streamers on the other hand are playing live for an audience. This involves all the typical stages of a gaming session from starting up to loading a level. They have to keep things entertaining even when the game is not providing interesting material to do so or technical problems prevent it. This fact incentivizes broadcasters to choose games that have less downtime and more emergent gameplay.

Twitch channels allow user interaction through a chat box that is placed next to the video stream. Using the chat box, people who watch the streamer can voice their opinions, ask questions or generally react to the events on the stream. As the number of viewers rises, direct communication between the audience and the performer normally reduces. Instead it turns into a fast-flowing reaction stream akin to a stadium. In these types of streams, viewers prefer emoticons or repeating their sentences in all capital letters to gain visibility. Twitch also provides developers with software development kits to create more advanced interaction facilities. Streamers use these for example to ask for suggestions on how to behave within a game, run straw polls to make decisions and receive donations, which are then usually accompanied by special messages that show on the stream. This enables viewers to create a form of special interaction with the streamer.

Furthermore, game developers use development kits provided by the platforms themselves to integrate novel features and new gameplay mechanics into their games. The 2D action platformer game *DEAD CELLS* (2017) by Motion Twin is one of the prime examples of Twitch integration. The game features a so-called "streamer mode", which enables the audience to participate in the game. If the player reaches the end of a level the game will ask the viewers to vote where the player should go next. This is done via a specific text input in the Twitch chat. As soon as the decision is made the game blocks the path to the unchosen level. The audience can also vote for whether certain chests will be helpful or harmful to the player and which improvements will be available through certain pick up items.

Another example showcasing this design approach is the multiplayer platform racing game *ULTIMATE CHICKEN HORSE* (2016) by Clever Endeavour. Here the viewers can name items in

the chat to supply the players with resources to use during the game. In this case, the audience becomes a singular agent in the game since the average value of their votes is used ingame. But not all games experimenting with Twitch integration allow that level of user interaction. The turn-based horror strategy game *FEAR EQUATION* (2016) by Screwfly Studios uses only the audience members' names for ingame characters.

Playing a game in front of other people is a different experience for the player. Anyone who played a challenging game under the gaze of another person would feel the extra pressure of failure and the joy of success. But there is more to this than just pressure. Many players enjoy proving their skills or introducing their favorite game to other players. So when they are being watched, players make different play decisions, take on harder challenges or choose different paths that highlight what they think are the best parts of a game. Play becomes performance. A study by Holin Lin and Chuen-Tsai Sun done on arcade attendees playing dancing games like the *DANCE DANCE REVOLUTION* series (first game released in 1998) and *PARA PARA PARADISE* (2000) in public arcades showed that players show awareness of onlookers, even to the extent of expert players choosing to play at prime times to have the biggest audience. Some players go beyond the mechanics of the gameplay to put on a more interesting show for the audience, for example by using hand gestures when the game is played with the feet, in the case of *DANCE DANCE REVOLUTION*.<sup>112</sup>

Streaming gameplay online also affects players in a similar manner. They spend more time exploring, talk about their play decisions, tell life anecdotes that relate to the game and try to show off their skills. In their study on different forms of play on Twitch, Scully-Blaker, Begy, Consalvo and Ganzon show that even regular players, when asked to play on a stream, observe changes to their play experience. This phenomenon happens even if it's their first time streaming or if the audience is really small.<sup>113</sup> One bigger benefit of stream play appears to be the ability to crowdsource information about the game. Some streamers ask their audiences about what is coming ahead in the game, for tips on how to solve a particular puzzle they have trouble with, or which path they should take next. In response, members of the audience knowledgeable with the game help the streamer or even collectively 'troll' them by giving them misleading information to become part of the entertainment.

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<sup>112</sup> Cf. Lin, Holin/Sun, Chuen-Tsai: "The Role of Onlookers in Arcade Gaming: Frame Analysis of Public Behaviours". in: *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 17(2) (2011), pp. 125-137, here p. 135.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. R. Scully-Blaker/J. Begy/M. Consalvo/S. C. Ganzon: Playing along and playing for on Twitch, pp. 2030-2031.

Exactly this form of alternating communication makes streaming interesting in the context of exploring governmentality in a digital game. First of all, the power distribution between streamer and viewers is unbalanced, with streamers having total technical control over their stream and chat. They can kick and ban users at will and generally hold the authority over the stream. However, they are also dependent on their viewers and their goodwill. If streamers do not treat their audience with respect, it may leave and in the case of professional streamers even endanger their source of income by doing so. Other forms of disobedience are also possible. Although not completely the same, this structure has certain similarities with the relationship between a government and the citizens of a state.

## 4. Simulating the Administration of Migration and Integration

### 4.1 Adapting Real-World Processes into Game Systems

When creating games which are heavily influenced or based on real-world systems and processes, a common problem is that reality rarely presents itself as an engaging, consistent and balanced system. On the contrary, real life has the tendency to be complex and contradicting, with people making different sense out of the same events, finding different ways of explaining them and in general formulating what we like to refer to as “reality”. To put it to an extreme, one could say: Real life presents itself as many experiences entangled into an ever-growing network of things, events and nodes. Digital games on the other hand are based on restriction, abstraction and the focus of certain small interlinked processes which form repeatable and controllable loops to enable meaningful player actions. In his 2017 talk 30 THINGS I HATE ABOUT YOUR GAME PITCH at the Game Developer Conference, game designer Brian Upton mentions realism as a guideline for game design accordingly: “Don’t use realism as a way to excuse elements of your design.” He further goes on saying that it only make sense for hardcore simulations to closely model real life. However, most games would not be set in the real world anyway, thus making it completely meaningless to enforce real-world rules onto them.

Unfortunately, he does not explain what he understands as a hardcore simulation in this context, but it is safe to assume that he means games which aim to model certain real-world processes down to the smallest detail. This approach to game design can specifically be found in games that focus on physically precise simulation of certain actions, like for example racing games or flight simulators. Some strategy games might also be considered hardcore simulations if they are constructed from a lot of complex and intertwined systems players have to observe, control and manage. A good example is the aforementioned STELLARIS.

However, this does not solve the above-mentioned problem for our aim to thematize migration and integration by simulating the inner workings of an immigration office. While we are basing our design on real-world observations and theories, we are not trying to create a hardcore simulation which emulates every aspect of life in an office. Rather we are interested by the juxtapositions of demands, rules and regulations of different political, cultural and social agents, which comes to the forefront here and would allow us to access to emergence

of governmentality in this setting. A hardcore simulation would value details over the general, instead of allowing people to imagine the details by experiencing the simulation of the general.

William Uricchio explores this relationship between the specific and the general in his article “Simulation, History and Computer Games” as one of the most promising tensions in digital games as a genre. He uses the example of *GRAND PRIX LEGENDS* (1998), a truly hardcore Formula One racing simulation, to describe the paradoxical relationship between the wish of the game designers to create an historically authentic racing simulation and a game’s necessity of agency which will always ultimately deviate from a classical notion of historical fact or truth. “[...] the tension between the specific and the speculative gives this genre its power, and speaks directly to Huizinga’s notion of play [...]. Indeed, the richer the specific historical detail, the more profound and pleasurable the play with the speculative.”<sup>114</sup> While he acknowledges the use of (historical) detail, he later continues: “Play emerges in the space between the constraint of detail and the exhilaration of improvisation.”<sup>115</sup> Although Uricchio approaches his analysis from a player perspective, this insight is also interesting for designers aiming to create experiences based on real-world systems because he recognizes the fascination of the fact as an exciting thing to explore within a system that will ultimately deviate from whatever thing is seen as such fact. This creates the possibility for the game designer to draw attention to specific parts of a system by intentionally changing their real-world counterparts.

In their exploration of the relationship of journalism and games called “Newsgames”, Ian Bogost, Simon Ferrari, and Bobby Schweizer offer another approach to this problem. They start by asking what topic and what kind of topics games are suited to address in the first place. “[...] games are better at depicting the general than they are at the particular.”<sup>116</sup> Their most compelling example is that of *CUTTHROAT CAPITALISM* (2009), a webgame that accompanied an article by the same name about the economic background of piracy off the coast of Somalia.<sup>117</sup> Unlike many other news stories about this topic, *CUTTHROAT CAPITALISM* does not focus on a specific incident or story, but rather explores the economic profitability of piracy

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<sup>114</sup> Uricchio, William: “Simulation, History, and Computer Games”, in: Joost Raessens/Jeffrey Goldstein (Ed.), *Handbook of Computer Game Studies*, Cambridge/London: The MIT Press 2005, pp. 327-338, here p. 329.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 330.

<sup>116</sup> Bogost, Ian/Ferrari, Simon/Schweizer, Bobby: *Newsgames. Journalism at Play*, Cambridge/London: The MIT Press 2010, p. 179.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Carney, Scott: “Cutthroat Capitalism. An Economic Analysis of the Somali Pirate Business Model”, in: *Wired*, June 22, 2009, <https://www.wired.com/2009/06/cutthroat-capitalism/>, accessed on September 28, 2019.



in a procedural manner by letting readers (or players) experiment with the system the articles' research had described previously.<sup>118</sup>

Bogost, Ferrari and Schweizer continue later: "Games offer journalists an opportunity to stop short of the final rendering of a typical news story, and instead to share the raw behaviors and dynamics that describe a situation as the journalistic content."<sup>119</sup> While the authors talk about the difference between a news story, which tells a specific tale, and a newsgame, which exposes the inner workings of a system, it is their usage of the phrase "final rendering" that is important for us here. Expanding on this, for a journalistic game even the system described through a game should not be a final rendering, but rather a first access. It is a way to engage with a topic in a playful manner to instill further discourse and discussion.

Similar to CUTTHROAT CAPITALISM we are aiming to create a game to approach migration in the general sense, not the specific. In the introduction to Bogost's book "Persuasive Games" he further argues that the true rhetoric power of video games lies in their procedural nature and not in their content. He calls this "procedural rhetorics" and references Gonzalo Frasca, who offers an applicable description of what an author (or designer) of a simulation game does in creating its systems.<sup>120</sup>

[...] simulation authors do not represent a particular event, but a set of potential events. Because of this, they have to think about their objects as systems and consider which are the laws that rule their behaviors. In a similar way, people who interpret simulations create a mental model of it by inferring the rules that govern it. [...] the goal of the player would be to analyze, contest and revise the model's rules according to his personal ideas and beliefs.<sup>121</sup>

## 4.2 Reducing Complexity

Thus, the first necessary step in creating a simulation based on real-world processes is the reduction of complexity to isolate the necessary elements that we wish the player to "analyze, context and revise," like Frasca put it. In order to do this, a guiding principle is needed. Something that guides the designer's decisions in selecting different aspects of a real-world system while excluding others. In our case, this principle is governmentality. As we discussed above, we understand governmentality as a form of power, which is used to control a

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<sup>118</sup> Cf. I. Bogost/S. Ferrari/B. Schweizer: *Newsgames*, pp. 3-5.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Bogost, Ian: *Persuasive Games. The Expressive Power of Videogames*, Cambridge/London: The MIT Press 2007, p. 64.

<sup>121</sup> Frasca, Gonzalo: *Videogames of the Oppressed*. Unpublished Master Thesis, Atlanta 2001, <https://ludology.typepad.com/weblog/articles/thesis/FrascaThesisVideogames.pdf>, accessed on the 27th of September, p. 113.

population through so-called “apparatuses of security”. These manifest themselves in “[...] institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, [...] calculations and tactics [...].”<sup>122</sup> We also looked into the different forms these “apparatuses of security” can take on and how migrants interact with them and have in our exploration of this relationship already started the first necessary reduction: We focused mainly on one of these apparatuses, namely the institution of the immigration office. This focus is justified by the central position the immigration office takes in the migration process as soon as migrants have reached their target country. It is unavoidable for them to visit this administration and make themselves a target of their procedures. This first reduction provides us with the simulation’s major setting, the stage on which all further actions and events will be presented, interacted with and played out.

Next, it is necessary to define the different agents the simulation should represent. Two are clear from the very beginning: On the one hand we will need migrants, although at this point, it is not clear what their specific attributes will be. On the other hand, there will be the player or players. In this case there are multiple players, consisting of the streamer, leading the play sessions and having in general the most control over the game’s system, and the stream’s viewers, who will take on the roles of the migrants. However, as we are still engaged with the reduction of complexity, we will assume for now that the migrants are simply computer-controlled agents and only one player exists in the system, the streamer.

Before we select the remaining agents, it is necessary to clarify the form of gameplay we are actually aiming for. After all, simulations can take very different shapes and forms, from strategy to action to racing. Nearly every genre can embrace the concept of simulation as a core element as described in chapter 3.1 with the case of the immersive sims. In our case, we are aiming to create a management simulation, in which players are tasked with running an immigration office. The player will be presented with a bird’s eye overview of such an office, whose employees they will have to manage in order to process requests by migrants in an orderly and timely manner. The requests will be processed by the office workers, after which they will present their findings to the player, who will have to decide whether to grant the migrants’ requests or deny them. The player will have to react to the different political agents which will make different and sometimes contradictory demands. If players comply with an agent they will be rewarded, if they do not they will be punished by an aggravation of

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<sup>122</sup> M. Foucault: *Governmentality*, p. 102.

demands. This will ultimately result in the need to balance the different demands of these agents against each other to ensure a continuously functioning immigration office. The game's time will be structured in days or cycles.<sup>123</sup> Each cycle starts with players having to assign stations to their office workers and checking the current demands of the political agents. As soon as players start the day, the migrants will start coming into the office and the office workers will process their request and present players with their findings. A day has a fixed amount of time and as soon as this time has run out, the office closes and the game presents the player with the results of the day.

A few agents were already mentioned, such as the office workers, but in order to select the political agents, it is necessary to go back to the analysis of different migration theories and approaches to integration and their implementation in the inner functionalities of state administrations, which we conducted in the first two chapters. Our analysis of the different governmental institutions and procedures of the Federal Republic of Germany notably provides us with several important actors for the design of political agents.

Apart from the immigration office, which for us takes less the role of an agent and rather that of a stage and setting as stated above, the most important of these actors are the "Bund" (the federal state), the different "Länder" the "Bund" consists of (the states) and the "Kommunen" (the communes). On top of this, there would be the many states the migrants departed from, which can also be active parties in the process of migration as we have seen previously in the cases of Turkey and Mexico. As these countries are not always involved in the whole process, but rather become active in certain specific circumstances, we will exclude them from the game and focus more on the agents within the receiving state. In continuation of the practice set in chapter 2, we will continue referring to them by their German names.

As previously described, "Bund", "Länder" and "Kommunen" are all taking on different responsibilities in the migration and integration process. As we are situating our simulation in the immigration office, which is placed under direct control of the "Kommunen", it is this political instance that is the most important for us. They hold the responsibility to shape laws into reality, and the immigration office is one of their administrations tasked with doing so. Therefore, the "Kommunen," or in our case the specific "Kommune" our game is set in, has a direct influence on the internal organization of the office. The "Länder" are less involved in

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<sup>123</sup> At this point we think of them rather as abstract time units than an actual representation of a real life day.

the migration process, but can influence it through specific policies directly linked to integration efforts targeting for example the education system, which is handled by the “Länder”. Apart from that they are also deciding what responsibilities the “Kommunen” have to take on in general, with migration and integration being just one part of it. In the Federal Republic of Germany the constant growth of the welfare state has led to the “Länder” constantly shifting more and more responsibilities to the “Kommunen”, thus stressing their budget.<sup>124</sup> This directly influences the funds the “Kommunen” have available for these responsibilities. And finally, the “Bund” is formulating the actual laws and regulations of migration that the “Kommunen” are then supposed to execute. On top of that, the “Bund” controls the central agency responsible for handling all issues concerning migration policies, the BAMF (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees). The simplified description of these agents and their relationship among themselves can be further broken down into the following three statements:

- The “Bund” is issuing laws of migration.
- The “Länder” are controlling the money the “Kommunen” have available.
- The “Kommunen” are tasked with executing the laws of migration by the “Bund” with the money available from the “Länder”.

This is the moment where our game system is ultimately changing its real-world model. In reality it is much more interconnected, but in order to create a system which can be easily explained to the player, it is necessary to first break it down to a simple trickle-down system to expose the very basic notion of dependencies the player has to deal with during play.

### 4.3 Defining Details and Dependencies

With this basic system in place we can move on to the next step, which will define the above-developed dependencies in more detail. For this, the instance of the “Bund” will not be touched. Instead of adding complexity to it, it will merely stand in as a representation of the general implementation of migration policies of the system the game is set in. As we are using the Federal Republic of Germany as a template, we generally assume the game to be set in a representative democracy, in which policies are decided upon by a group of elected officials.

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<sup>124</sup> Cf. K. Hoesch: Migration und Integration. Eine Einführung, p. 308.

Migration and integration policies can therefore take different shapes ranging from restrictive to open. For the player these will be accessible as starting frameworks for each play session. This means that a game might start with a very open approach but gradually changes over time. A good example of an incentive that might be issued by the “Bund” via law could for example be the handling of dual citizenship, which is technically not allowed in Germany but tolerated under certain circumstances. This could be one of the basic laws issued by the bund, which then is interpreted by the “Länder” and “Kommunen” and through this made accessible to the player. However, the player will not be able to influence the instance of the “Bund” in any way. This decision is based on the immigration offices being mainly executive offices of the “Kommunen”, which do not directly influence the policies of the “Bund”. Multiple “Kommunen” and their decisions could technically have an impact on certain political decisions, but as we are only giving the player control over one office in one of these “Kommunen,” it does not make sense to suggest a possible influence on the “Bund” itself.

With the “Bund” being a rather abstract agent, the “Länder” and “Kommunen” will be represented more actively as the instances that directly demand a certain behavior of the player. We have been using the plural for these two agents so far. In the game there will only be one “Land” and one “Kommune” influencing the player. This is another reduction, which makes sense as every immigration office can only be administered by one “Kommune” and only be situated in one “Land”. Of course there are others bordering these and their everyday politics could potentially influence each others’ behavior, but this would add too many different agents with subtle differences, which are hard to communicate to players, into the simulation.

But before we can define their dependencies and affordances, we have to set the basic properties of our migrant agents. These properties will ultimately be investigated by the office workers, and players will have to decide whether to grant or deny requests based on the results of these investigations, as they either satisfy or fail to satisfy the demands of the “Länder” and the “Kommunen”. First we must create a list of migrant types. These are based on a general distinction between worker types made by the BAMF, which distinguishes between “qualified professionals, highly qualified workers, researchers, self-employed persons, jobseekers and intra-corporate transfer”.<sup>125</sup> We also added the type “family reunion”

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<sup>125</sup> Federal Office for Migration and Refugees: “Citizens of third countries”, <http://www.bamf.de/EN/Migration/Arbeiten/BuergerDrittstaat/buerger-drittstaat->

to account for those people arriving mainly to be with their families. Refuge or asylum is not present here because applications of asylum are not handled by the immigration office in Germany but rather by local offices of the BAMF.<sup>126</sup> Additionally each migrant will have a goal. Based on the three major areas handled by the immigration offices, these will be the pursuit of either a residence permit, a settlement permit or a request for naturalization. The residence permit handles the right to stay in the country and get work, but it is always time limited. Settlement permits are similar, but they are permanent. Naturalization describes the formal adoption of a country's citizenship.<sup>127</sup>

These migrant types and goals are roughly based on the migration theories analyzed in chapter 1. The types draw from the notion that most migration is an economic effort recognizing the fact that even if migrants did not migrate because of economic reasons, the question of income and how they will support themselves in another country will become central. Especially for the target country this question plays a major role to successfully integrate migrants into society. The family reunion is a small step to recognize other forms of migration, which were discussed in this chapter, and to recognize the important role families can play in this context. As we set our simulation in a fictional setting, we excluded ethnicity and specific countries of origin from playing a role here. We will discuss these factors in the next subchapter "Implementing the Audience".

In addition to the migrant types and goals, we added a few more parameters, which deal with the social and cultural backgrounds of the migrants. These will mirror the financial status, criminal record, educational level and language skills of the migrants. These parameters are partly based on the different forms of capital described by Pierre Bourdieu, as mentioned in chapter 2.5, which determine people's ability to act within a society. Instead of the aforementioned social capital, we base the education parameter on cultural capital and

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node.html;jsessionid=49159AAA37EFC982D64247988D03B35B.1\_cid359, accessed on September 28, 2019. For the different categories which we adapted into migrant types check the menu bar of this section on the left.

<sup>126</sup> We decided to exclude the topic of refuge at this point also because it would have made the research of multitude of other processes necessary. Although these are connected to our focus on the immigration office this would have added simply too much to handle at this point. However, nothing prevents us to integrate refuge and asylum as an additional topic at a later point into our simulation framework. Even if this process is generally handled by another administration in the Federal Republic of Germany, it could be integrated into our model of an immigration office which simply would be expanded by a section overseeing the responsibilities of the local BAMF offices.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Federal Ministry of the Interior/Federal Office for Migration and Refugees: "Welcome to Germany. Information for Immigrants", August 2014, [https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/downloads/EN/publikationen/Willkommen\\_in\\_Deutschland\\_en.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/downloads/EN/publikationen/Willkommen_in_Deutschland_en.pdf?__blob=publicationFile), accessed on September 28, 2019, pp. 27-28 & 32.

finance on financial capital. Cultural capital describes an individual's access to specific types of knowledge, education and their intellect, which confers their social status. Financial capital on the other hand is simply the accessibility of money and resources. This can be either through personal possession or through social connections that enable the use of such capital.

With the basic migrant properties set up, we can now talk about the last three agents: The “Land”, the “Kommune” and finally the office workers. As mentioned before the influence of the “Land” is limited to the control of money. But it can also give the “Kommune” more or less freedom in handling its affairs. In our case, this will be represented with the “Land” demanding from the “Kommune” and thus from the player to especially consider specific types of migrants for their requests. This is based on the notion that the Federal Republic of Germany for example often has problems filling positions which demand qualified professionals: In recent political discussion, the situation of caregivers was for example often debated.<sup>128</sup> They will also demand that these migrants fulfill certain requirements depending on the goal they are striving for (residence, settlement or naturalization). These requirements will refer to the social and cultural parameters of the migrants.

The “Kommune” will behave similarly, but as it is representing a more local form of government its demands are only targeted towards the migrants’ social and cultural requirements. This means that the “Kommune” is communicating its notion of continuous stability to players through these demands. This is best illustrated with the “criminal record” parameter. An already stable “Kommune” will not tolerate any form of criminal record in applicants, while a “Kommune” really looking for more financial resources might be more lenient in this way. It is a crude example and at least by moral standards far from reality, as criminal records are taken very seriously in the process of applying for any form of permit in the context of migration. But it highlights the flexibility of governmentality which we are aiming to highlight in this simulation.

Last, we have the office workers. These will stand in as a representation of the so-called “public opinion”. Every morning the player will be confronted with a different news cover story, which might describe migration in either a negative, neutral or positive way referring to migrant types, their goals or their social and cultural parameters. Office workers will also have

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<sup>128</sup> Cf. N. N.: “Suche nach Pflegekräften führt Jens Spahn nach Mexiko”, in: Sueddeutsche.de, September 21, 2019, <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/karriere/arbeitsmarkt-suche-nach-pflegekraefte-fuehrt-jens-spahn-nach-mexiko-dpa.urn-newsml-dpa-com-20090101-190921-99-969523>, accessed on September 28, 2019.

an education level, which can be raised by players by investing in the further education of their workers. Depending on the education level and the nature of the news story, worker motivation and morale will change and influence their efficiency. To compensate a bad morale, the player will have to react to the migrant properties described in the news stories so the workers feel safe and respected. This is a simple system to acknowledge that the reality of governmental systems is not alone made within the administrative apparatus.

#### 4.4 Implementing the Audience

In the last two chapters, we have intentionally ignored the implementation of the audience in the game systems. With the main structure of the simulation set up, it is time to explore how the audience can be involved in the game by making use of the direct communication that is possible between streamers and their audience on platforms like Twitch. One of the most important tasks for a game designer is to balance the game's systems in order to create an enjoyable play experience. In his book "The Art of Game Design" Jesse Schell argues that balancing ensures fairness. "One quality that players universally seek in games is fairness. Players want to feel that the forces working against them do not have an advantage that will make them impossible to defeat."<sup>129</sup>

In the previous chapter we have already touched on the aspect of the relationship of the different agents like the "Land" and the "Kommune" among themselves and how they player, e.g. the streamer, will have to behave to balance their needs to succeed. With the implementation of audience members controlling the behavior of single migrants, this system is becoming even more complex. Additionally, the power balance between the streamer and the audience members will be asymmetrical. Jesse Schell differentiates among others between "symmetrical" and "asymmetrical games". In symmetrical games the balancing distributes possibilities to act equally between the different agents capable of acting within the game's system. In an asymmetrical game, different agents are provided with different possibilities to act, which creates a more complex and diverse gameplay.<sup>130</sup> While our game design was already asymmetrical without the audience as players of the migrant agents, it has now also become intentionally unfair. While the streamer will hold the power to decide over

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<sup>129</sup> Schell, Jesse: *The Art of Game Design. A Book of Lenses*, Boca Raton/London/New York: CRC Press 2015, p. 203.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. *ibid.*



the success or failure of the audience, the audience will not have any agency to influence the streamer ingame. The reason for this decision is to have the audience discuss perceived unfairness of the streamer in the chat and thus thematize its experience.

In detail, the audience migrant system will work as follows. After the game is set up by the streamer, audience members will have the possibility to opt to take on the role of a migrant in the game. This will be done via a separate web client which can be loaded in parallel to the stream by the audience members. Similar to party games like *DRAWFUL 2* (2016) or *QUIPLASH* (2015) by Jackbox Games, the audience will be able to opt into the streamer's game session via a code displayed on the screen. As soon as they have opted in, they will be presented with a randomly generated migrant character and its parameters. These are the social and cultural parameters already mentioned in the previous subchapter (e.g. financial status, criminal record, educational level, language skills) with one addition: happiness. There are also given a specific goal to achieve, e.g. getting a residence or settlement permit or achieve naturalization, and the amount of cycles/days they have time to achieve this goal.

The audience members can now customize their migrant character by giving him a portrait, name and a brief background story. This does not influence the way the game systems interpret the migrant but adds another layer for the interplay between streamer and audience. It is based on practices in roleplaying games in which the creation of a personal character strengthens the bond between player and character. It is also easy to expand on this system later on and add even more possibilities of customization.

After the streamer has started a cycle, the audience members are able to see what requirements the "Land" has issued for their specific goal and have to check if the parameters of their migrant is matching these requirements, which they will never do right from the beginning. To improve the parameters they have to spend time and money. These two resources will refresh at the beginning of each cycle. The available amount of time always stays the same each cycle, and money can be saved and is dependent on the financial status of the migrant character. During each cycle the audience can decide if they want to apply for their permit now or wait another cycle to improve their parameters further. However, if they pass the deadline they will be excluded from the game session. This will also have the consequence that they are banned from the regular Twitch chat for a while and are being put in a separate chat lobby within the web client. All audience members that were unsuccessful in reaching their goal can talk to each other without the streamer or the rest of the audience

being able to react to what they are saying. Their chat will however be featured as part of the ingame UI so everybody else can still read along. If audience members reach their goal on the other hand they are rewarded by having their name featured in the stream and getting some chat privileges for a while. These privileges will have to be set up and defined by the streamer beforehand.

#### 4.5 Exploring Governmentality

With the integration of the audience we have now created the central conflict that is at the core of the “apparatuses of security” described by Michel Foucault. Governmental institutions are plotted to control the citizens by enforcing certain rules. However, these rules are hardly consistent, but rather follow a similar principle. In our case this is the organization and control of migration. The different agents “Land” and “Kommune” represent the same state but different aspect of it, which leads to different requirements. And the office workers and migrants represent the human element, the individual that in the most basic sense just wants to exist according to their own wishes. Our “apparatus”, the immigration office represented by the streamer, stands in as a general placeholder for the most specific ingame manifestation of governmentality. It is the place in which the “ensemble of institutions” becomes visible for the players, the streamer as well as the audience, and where it has to be dealt with according to the greater rules existing in the gameworld. While the streamer is being tasked with “the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power” (governmentality), the audience has to deal with its consequences.<sup>131</sup>

Throughout this thesis we made a point in stressing the importance of these systems being very rigid and clearly defined. Rather, we described often how they are the product of the interplay of many different actors, all with different responsibilities and influence. In analogy with the so-called “immersive sims” we also discussed how emergent gameplay, e.g. the possibility to combine mechanics and tools in multiple ways, could be used to represent these systems ingame. But if we compare the design of our game systems with what we have described as the basis for emergent gameplay previously, it should become clear that we have not set up a game that allows for much experimentation. Our systems appear rigid, forcing the players to comply with the demands of our ingame agents and thus not allowing much

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<sup>131</sup> The short quotes and the paragraph in general refer to: M. Foucault: Governmentality, pp. 102-103.

space for experimentation between failure and success. The reason for this lies in the paradox of having to reduce and change the complexity of real world systems to make them accessible while making them still resemble their real life counterparts. This conundrum cannot be solved, but it creates a tension between what William Urrichio calls “the constraint of detail and the exhilaration of improvisation.”<sup>132</sup>

This means that our design is still missing an element that could attract the attention of all players to this tension, inviting them to compare the game system with its real-world counterpart and discuss the differences, similarities and subsequent meaning. At best we would assume a discussion resulting naturally from the gameplay. Our implementation of the audience gaming system, the possibility for viewers to join in the game, is targeted exactly at this. The juxtaposition of different goals and interests and the (temporary) separation of losers and winners is not aimed at exposing a system of conduct but rather instill the wish to question this system of integration in general. And the Twitch chat itself is meant to be the stage for this discussion. Different than the immersive sims, our design does not enable the players to express themselves to the fullest through the combination of game mechanics but rather aims to have a discussion emerge within the chat during and after the game session. Our emergent gameplay is supposed to surface outside of what Katie Salen and Eric Zimmerman call the boundaries of the magic circle, the special place in which gameplay happens which is set apart from actions and consequences in the real world.<sup>133</sup> If this happens, we have successfully created a system that allows players to explore governmentality by challenging the logic of the system we have created.

This challenge can either emerge from the gameplay itself, by observing the actions a player is forced to take and questioning these, or from players approaching the game with a certain knowledge about migration and government and comparing the game’s system with this knowledge. This comparison would make Urrichio’s “tension” obvious and offer a start for further discussion and experimentation. However, we cannot assume that players will approach the game with previous knowledge, although the visual presentation, its name and potential marketing could already attract a specific audience with such knowledge. But at best,

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<sup>132</sup> W. Urrichio: *Simulation, History, and Computer Games*, p. 329.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Salen, Katie/Zimmerman, Eric: *Rules of Play. Game Design Fundamentals*, Cambridge/London: The MIT Press 2004.

we will also reach those players who have not previously thought about migration and governmentality.

In “Persuasive Games” Ian Bogost speculates that games’ persuasive power “[...] is not equivalent to the *content* of videogames [...]”, but rather “[...] lies in the very way videogames mount claims through procedural rhetorics.”<sup>134</sup> So far, we have embraced this notion by focussing on the development of mechanics whose execution results in the practice of governmentality. To make sure that players are informed, we could now add a bunch of accompanying texts within the game to explain mechanics with the help of practices common in traditional linear media. But this would mean that we jeopardize our procedural rhetorics having a chance to work on their own. Instead, we will embrace simple hypertext to embed links into the game which will lead to a wiki page, especially set up for the game, which will be populated not only with background information but also manuals and explanations of design decisions.

The goal of our design is to create a simulation game enabling players to explore the concept of governmentality in the context of migration and integration. This exploration should not end in the game: We are not aiming to create an experience safely closed off from the rest of the world. Rather, our goal is to create a playful entry point into the discourse of migration, integration and governmentality that at best will lead to further investigation and exploration outside of the constraints of the game. To engage with other people within the stream is the first step to reach out for further information, With the simple hyperlink into the internet providing just that.

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<sup>134</sup> I. Bogost: Persuasive Games, p. ix.

## Conclusion

To govern means to control. The modern state in the so-called “West” is essentially built on the principles of administration and bureaucracy, constructed of various institutions and procedures, rules and regulations, forming an ensemble we call “governmentality”. Their sole target is to ensure the security of the state’s citizens. Movements of migration require these administrations to use their power to integrate newly arrived individuals into the political economy of the state. In times of a globalized economy national states are dependent on a constant flow of international labor in order to be able to compete on the global market and its constant innovations. Especially qualified professionals as well as highly qualified workers, as we have seen by the example of the need for caregivers in the Federal Republic of Germany, are sought-after. On the other hand, open immigration policies can lead to resentment in the native population, leading to the rise of nationalist and populist movements. These movements especially react towards migration in the context of refuge and asylum, as states react to this out of humanitarian and not primarily economic reasons. Whatever argument these different actors might mount, the target of governmentality remains to ensure a state’s population and its continued existence.

We have proposed that the relationship between migration, integration and governmentality can be explored through a digital game by exposing the general procedures that drive this process. Our goal was to propose the structure of a simulation game situated in one of the institutions or “apparatus of security” which administers migration and integration: the immigration offices.

First, we have been looking into major migration and integration theories to establish a common ground of research to base our game systems on. These theories range from neoclassical economic theories, which focus on the motivation of an individual for a better life, to more abstract economics that consider the whole world as a system. We also considered social-cultural approaches and analyses which focus more on factors like family and cultural connections to explain certain motivations for migration.

Second, we analyzed how national states structure the administration of migration within the governmental apparatus. The Federal Republic of Germany served as our main example framework. Here, the responsibility for migration is distributed between several agents within the governmental apparatus. “Bund”, “Länder” and “Kommunen” are all involved in this process, which begins with the issuing of laws by the “Bund” and is then

handed over to the “Kommunen” with the “Länder” being able to influence this process via connected policies like education. Typically for federal states this process is not a strictly hierarchical one, but involves a back and forth between the different agents and is also intertwined with various non-governmental institutions.

During the first few steps, we used game examples to link the theories and analyses always back to digital games and their design. We expanded on this in the third chapter by adding the concept of audience gaming to the formula. We speculated that an exploration of governmentality and migration, which includes many agents with different agendas, would profit from a multiplayer setting. But instead of just exploring a classic multiplayer setting, we went a step further and explored the possibilities of play on streaming platforms like Twitch, on which streamers can share their game sessions with others and interact with them in real time via chat. In recent years more and more game developers have started to make use of the Twitch chat to give the audience the possibility to take part in the game which is streamed. Unlike classic multiplayer games striving for a fair gaming experience for everyone, the situation of streaming presents streamer and audience from the get go with a more complex power dynamic, with streamers being dependent on their audience but having technically complete control over their chat.

In the last step we explored this further by first designing a single player simulation game which mimics the core elements of migration in an immigration office as observed in the Federal Republic of Germany, and then introducing the aspect of the streamer and the audience in it. The result of this theoretical exercise was ambivalent. One major problem was the necessity to make our analysis of real-world systems more accessible so it could be adapted in a game which is not too complex and can be understood fairly quickly. Additionally, to actually make the game playable we had to change certain principles to be able to balance to allow a continuous play to unfold. This led to a simple simulation system that resembled its real-world counterpart not in every detail but rather in the way information and knowledge is being handed back and forth through the system. While the streamer took the role of the immigration office as an abstract unit, having to comply with the demands and regulations of political agents simulated by the game, the audience would take over the roles of individual migrants who have to achieve specific goals by applying for permits at the immigration office. With this entanglement we aimed to create a core conflict between the interests of streamer

and audience in the hope that this would lead to the exploration and further discussion of the relationship of governmentality and migration.

Our final design decision to create a Wiki with necessary background information of the real-world systems we based our game on is aimed at the notion that political discourse can never exist in a bubble. A game, like any other medium, has to be able to directly connect to the greater discourse to make itself relevant. This means to expose its shortcomings and be open about its intent. Our intention was to explore migration and governmentality in a playful way, to instill curiosity and further discussion. We are convinced that in order to do so a game does not need to be realistic or focussed on extreme accuracy. Rather, it is important for its design to support the formation of opinion, not to be subversive but rather persuasive in the sense of persuading people to research further, to challenge the game's rhetorics, to engage with the discourse. This is how we understand what Bogost calls "procedural rhetorics".

# Prototype Manual and Game Design Document

## Introduction

This document serves both as manual and as game design document for the prototype we developed based on the theoretical part of this thesis and the consequent game design we described and discussed in chapter 4 “Simulating the Administration of Migration and Integration.” Our original intention was to create a game design document completely separated from the practical prototype. This document would have worked out further details of our design principles and ideas. But as we continued with the development of the prototype we recognized that it would only be feasible to explore some of the core principles of our game design in it. This made it necessary to create a manual contextualizing the prototype. We therefore decided to combine manual and game design document to explain how the prototype has to be played and describe the different aspects of its underlying design. We will refer to the prototype by its descriptive working title IMMIGRATION OFFICE SIMULATOR.

The prototype differs from the design described in chapter 4 in the following ways: It focuses only on the core loop and systems consisting of migrants coming to the office with a specific goal, the office workers processing their request and a player having to decide their fate based on the office workers’ reports. The player will have to base these decisions on requirements presented by “Kommune” and “Land”. The aspect of audience gaming is not present in the prototype itself. This is due to the circumstance that the integration into Twitch makes the development of a separate webclient necessary which can handle more complex input than just simple text commands via the Twitch chat as we have seen in DEAD CELLS. As this is an integral part of the thesis, we expand on the specifics of such a webclient in this document nonetheless.

## General Concept

The IMMIGRATION OFFICE SIMULATOR is a business management simulation game. It takes on the processes involving the immigration and naturalization of migrants in a foreign country. The player takes on the role of the director of an immigration office of an imaginary country. They need to manage workers, manage the flow of migrants, inspect the reports on migrant applications and base their decisions on a changing political environment.



The player's task in the game is to employ workers, who process migrants through their immigration steps like language skill checks and financial assessments. After the migrants go through these checks and processes, the player checks the application and gives their stamp of approval or denies their request.

The necessary skills required to play the IMMIGRATION OFFICE SIMULATOR are:

- Management: The office workers have to be organized.
- Observation and Association: Migrant applications have to be checked against requirements.
- Tactic: Based on the comparison of application and requirements the player has to make decisions.

### Manual: How to play the prototype

The game is built to work on Microsoft Windows and Apple MacOS computers and designed to be played with a mouse. When it is launched, the player is presented with a pre-designed office environment. The introduction window that pops up will explain the basics and can be closed by pressing the button "Begin the day". This will start the first day of the game. A clock on the side of the screen represents the progress of the work day and the day will be over when it completes its rotation. Little by little, the workers (represented by blue cylinders) and then the migrants (represented by green capsules) will start coming in to the office. They will queue the information desk and then all the offices they need to visit to get their application processed. Workers and migrants can be clicked on to get basic information about them. When a migrant completes their application, the game will present a window showing a report on that application. The player then needs to observe the report and make a decision to accept or reject the application. This process will repeat multiple times until the day is over or there are no more applicants that day.

The player will get an end-of-day report of all the activities that happened when the clock hits its peak and the work day is over. All the remaining workers and applicants will leave as well. The game will proceed to the next day when the player closes the end-of-day report.

As the days pass by, occasionally, the requirements by the "Land" and "Kommune" might change and the player will need to adapt and strategize towards these new

circumstances. The IMMIGRATION OFFICE SIMULATOR prototype, as it stands, does not have an end or other levels.

## Influences / References

The overall game design and prototype (in addition to our research on migration and integration of course) is mainly influenced by two games: *THEME HOSPITAL* (1998) and *PAPERS, PLEASE* (2013).

*THEME HOSPITAL* is a business simulation game which requires the player to set up a hospital to attract and treat patients with fictional diseases. It revolves around earning money with the facility in competition with other hospitals. The player has to set up different departments and hire proper personnel to keep the hospital operational and profitable.

*Figure 1: Typical game view in THEME HOSPITAL (1998)*



*PAPERS, PLEASE* is a puzzle simulation game. The player takes the role of a border officer of a fictional Eastern European country and has to check passports and other papers to determine if their holders are allowed to enter. The game is separated into days with each one introducing new governmental requirements and restrictions to the player.

Figure 2: Typical game view in PAPERS, PLEASE (2013)



Both games embody different aspects of the IMMIGRATION OFFICE SIMULATOR. From THEME HOSPITAL the general top down camera view was borrowed and the possibility to directly oversee the events in the office and check on the employees. PAPERS, PLEASE inspired the game's focus on the inspection of official documents and the subsequent punishment and reward of the player for (in)correct behavior (in the prototype punishment and reward systems will not be implemented).

## Setting

The game is set in a immigration office of a fictional country. It has the layout of a typical modern office complex with a front desk/reception and several office rooms. These offices are populated with office workers who belong to different departments within the administration of the immigration office and are in charge of checking the different parameters of migrants required to reach their individual goals.

## Core Gameplay Loop

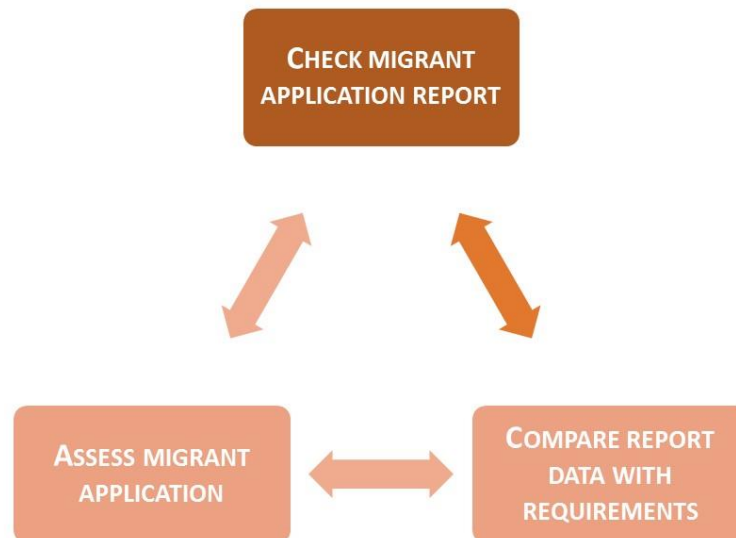
The primary aspect for the player is the management of the immigration office and its workers. The player is presented with an office floor with separate rooms, workstations and

waiting areas. Each workstation employs one worker. Different migrants have different goals they need to accomplish and they will queue these rooms as needed.

The game is structured in days. At the beginning of a day the migrants will start queueing at the reception. They will then go to one of the offices and workstations and continue from there. When the office workers have collected all necessary data from a migrant, the data will be delivered as a complete file to the player. The player is presented with a single report for each migrant. Based on the contents of the report, the player needs to make a decision to either accept or reject the application.

In the prototype, this results in the following core gameplay loop for the player:

*Figure 3: Core gameplay loop of the prototype*



## The Migrants

In the prototype the migrants are not played by human players, e.g. the audience, but are controlled by the game. During a game session single migrant agents are created with a goal and are given a type. Depending on the goal the migrant has a different amount of ingame days to complete it.

These **goals** can be one of three: The application and attainment of

- a residency permit
- a settlement permit

- naturalization

The **migrant type** can be any of these:

- Qualified professional
- Highly qualified worker
- Researcher
- Self-employed person
- Jobseeker
- Intra-corporate transfer
- Family reunion

Both goals and types have different requirements which are set by two governmental agents in the game, the “Land” and the “Kommune” (see section “‘Land’ and ‘Kommune’”). While the “Land” is looking for three different migrant types each day, the “Kommune” is looking for migrants that support certain parameters. The parameters a migrant agent is starting out with are set randomly for each migrant on creation and represent their skills and social status. They can be between the values 0 and 100.

There are four **parameters** in the prototype:

- Finance
- Language
- Criminal record
- Education

Additionally, each migrant will have two **resources** which can be used to improve their parameter ratings:

- Money
- Time

The migrants have a limited amount of “time” during the off-hours of each day. They can make “money” by choosing to do work tasks in that period or they can improve their stats by doing other tasks. Each migrant is starting out with a money value randomly chosen between 100 and 500 and has eight hours each day to spend on activities.

Figure 4: Table showing the actions available to the migrants for improving their parameters

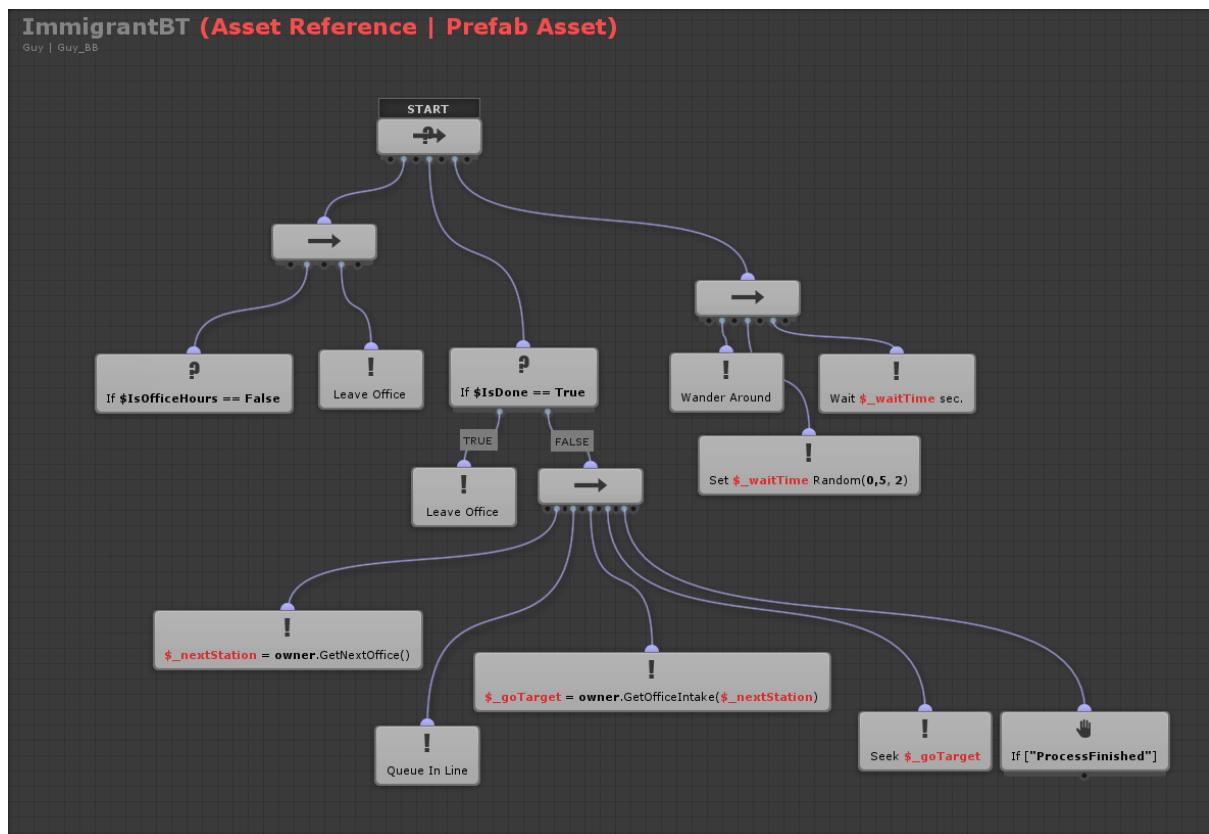
Parameter	Actions and Costs		
	parameter + 2	time (h) cost	money cost
finance	blue collar work	-2	+200
education	study community college	-2	-150
crime	community service - short	-2	0
language	course - short	-2	-150
	parameter + 4	time (h) cost	money
finance	white collar work	-4	+400
education	study school	-4	-250
crime	community service - medium	-4	0
language	course - medium	-4	-250
	parameter + 6	time (h) cost	money
finance	management	-6	+600
education	study university	-6	-350
crime	community service - long	-6	0
language	course - long	-6	-350

At the beginning of each day, each migrant will choose between two major options:

- 1) Go to the immigration office and apply with the current parameters
- 2) Improve the parameters by spending the two resources, time and money

The migrant agents are programmed so they will always try to reach the best possible set of parameters before applying. If they cannot meet them, they will nonetheless apply at the latest possible day.

Figure 5: Basic behavior tree of a migrant agent in Unity3D using NodeCanvas Framework



## “Land” and “Kommune”

Next to the immigration office represented by the player there are two major governmental agents in the game:

- “Land”
- “Kommune”

Both are demanding to accept the application of a specific kind of migrant. The “Land” names three different migrant types each day. The “Kommune” names parameter values that it wishes the migrants to have.

This could for example look like this:

“Land” looks for

- Qualified professional
- Highly qualified worker
- Researcher

“Kommune” demands

- Finance > 30
- Language > 80
- Criminal record < 10
- Education > 50

## The Office Workers

The office workers are responsible for investigating the migrants' parameters. In the prototype, their sole purpose is to collect the different datasets of the migrants' parameters and forward them to the player in the form of one report per migrant. They will appear automatically at the beginning of the day and leave at the end of a day.

The office workers have a skill level influencing their processing speed. The higher the level the faster an office worker can process a migrant. These levels can be trained by the player by sending the office worker away for one day. This improvement cycle can be triggered at any point during the day. The next day this worker will not appear in the office but instead be replaced by a worker with the lowest level. After a day of absence, the worker will reappear, having improved by one level.

## Webclient for Audience Participation

Games that work with the Twitch API to enable audience participation work mainly with chat commands that allow certain actions within the game. However, our integration would make more complex interactions necessary. These actions make it necessary to create a specific screen for single audience members that only they can see and interact with. This can be realized either as a toggleable window within the Twitch stream itself or as a separate window. For both cases the development of a webclient is necessary. This webclient and the game hosted by the streamer would use a web server to communicate between each other.

Several games exist which make use of webclients to give players access to a game session hosted on a central computer or console from various devices. The most common examples can be found in the party game genre, for example in games like *DRAWFUL* and *QUIPLASH* by Jackbox Games, and in HTML5 games, which are able to run within web browsers and thus have by definition always a web client in which the game runs.



Figure 6: The lobby screen on the main device in QUIPLASH (2015)



Figure 7: A player creating a new game episode on a second device in QUIPLASH (2015)

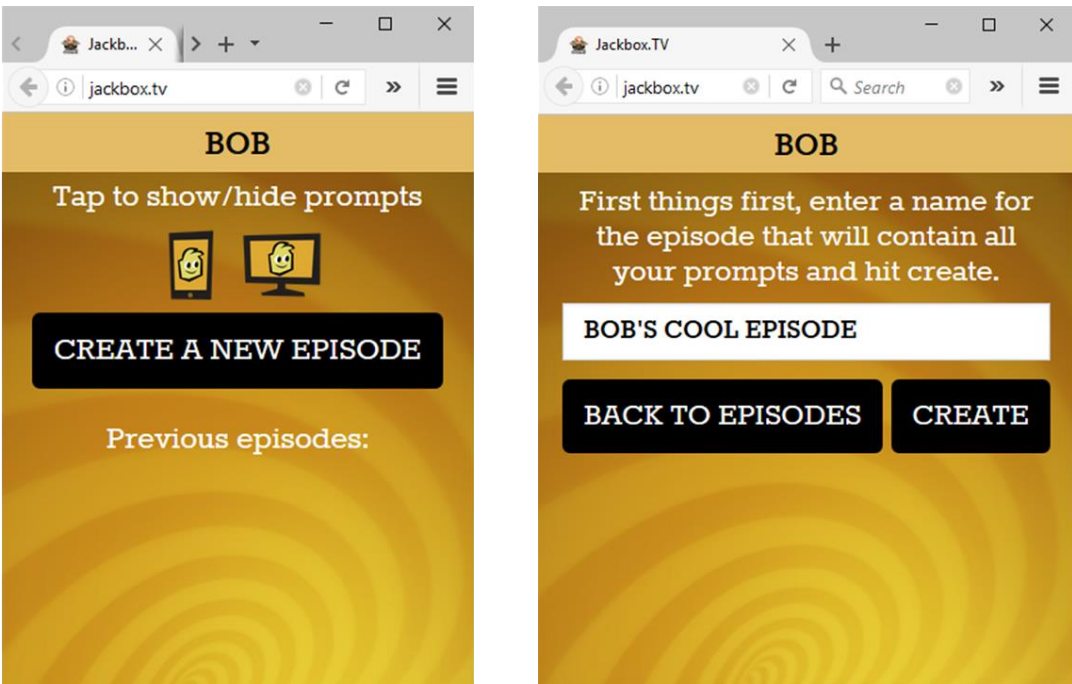


Figure 8: Lobby screen to create a game with friends in *DIE GROßE WASSERSCHLACHT* (2019)



QUIPLASH uses the webclient to enable players to opt in game sessions and also create episodes with their own questions (the goal of the game is to come up with funny answers to absurd questions). The game is fully controllable through different devices with the main action happening on a central hosting device. *DIE GROßE WASSERSCHLACHT* (2019) uses HTML5 to run on any device, from mobile web browsers on Android and iOS, to Desktop browser on PC and Mac and allows for easy cross platform play. We would use a similar approach and on top of that separate our data structure from the Twitch API, which makes it less prone to changes made by Twitch to their website.

The Twitch addon “Hearthstone Deck Tracker” for Blizzards multiplayer card game *HEARTHSTONE* (2014) shows how such a webclient could run within the stream itself with one instance for each audience member. In this specific case, the addon shows background information about the streamer’s card deck directly in the stream. So the window highlighted in figure 09 can be interacted with and even moved around in the Twitch window.

Figure 9: Streamer Slysssa playing HEARTHSTONE (2014) with the “Hearthstone Deck Tracker” active and one of its windows highlighted



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## Ludography

- AGAINST ALL ODDS (UN Refugee Agency 2005, O: UNHCR'S Regional Office For The Baltic And Nordic Countries)
- ALBION ONLINE (Sandbox Interactive 2017, O: Sandbox Interactive)

ANTURA AND THE LETTERS (Video Games Without Borders 2018, O: Cologne Game Lab/Video Games Without Borders, Wixel Studios)

BURY ME, MY LOVE (Playdius 2017, O: The Pixel Hunt)

COUNTER-STRIKE (Sierra Studios 2000, O: Valve)

CUTTHROAT CAPITALISM (Wired 2009, O: Smallbore Webworks/Dennis Crothers)

DANCE DANCE REVOLUTION (Konami 1998, O: Konami/Bemani)

DEAD CELLS (Motion Twin 2017, O: Motion Twin)

DEMOCRACY (Positech Games 2005, O: Positech Games)

DIE GROÙE WASSERSCHLACHT (Super Rtl 2019, O: Flying Sheep Studios)

DISHONORED (Arkane Studios 2012, O: Bethesda Softworks)

DRAWFUL 2 (Jackbox Games 2016, O: Jackbox Games)

EVE ONLINE (CCP Games 2003, O: CCP Games)

FEAR EQUATION (Screwfly Studios 2016, O: Screwfly Studios)

FROSTPUNK (11bit Studios 2018, O: 11bit Studios)

GRAND PRIX LEGENDS (Sierra Sports 1998, O: Papyrus Design Group)

GRAND THEFT AUTO IV (Rockstar Games 2008, O: Rockstar North)

HABITAT (Quantum Link 1986, O: Lucasfilm Games)

HEARTHSTONE (Blizzard Entertainment 2014, O: Blizzard Entertainment)

MAFIA 2 (2k Games 2010, O: 2k Czech)

METAL GEAR SOLID (Konami 1998, O: Konami Computer Entertainment Japan)

MISSION US: CITY OF IMMIGRANTS (THIRTEEN/WNET 2015, O: THIRTEEN/WNET)

ORWELL (Fellow Traveller 2016, O: Osmotic)

PAPERS, PLEASE (3909 LLC 2013, O: 3909 LLC)

PARA PARA PARADISE (Konami 2000, O: Konami/Bemani)

PHARAOH (Sierra Studios 1999, O: Impressions Games)

PONG (Atari 1972, O: Atari)

PREY (Arkane Studios 2017, O: Bethesda Softworks)

PRISON ARCHITECT (Introversion Software 2015, O: Introversion Software)

QUAKE (Gt Interactive 1996, O: Id Software)

QUIPLASH (Jackbox Games 2015, O: Jackbox Games)

STELLARIS (Paradox Interactive 2016, O: Paradox Development Studio)

SYSTEM SHOCK (Looking Glass Technologies 1994, O: Origin Systems)

THEME HOSPITAL (Electronic Arts 1997, O: Bullfrog Productions)

THE WALKING DEAD (Telltale Games 2012, O: Telltale Games)

THE WITCHER (Atari Sa 2007, O: CD Project Red)

THE WOLF AMONG US (Telltale Games 2013, O: Telltale Games)

THIEF: THE DARK PROJECT (Looking Glass Studios 1998, O: Eidos Interactive)

ULTIMATE CHICKEN HORSE (Clever Endeavour Games 2016, O: Clever Endeavour Games)

VICTORIA: AN EMPIRE UNDER THE SUN (PAN Vision / Strategy First 2003, O: Paradox Entertainment)

WORLD OF WARCRAFT (Blizzard Entertainment 2004, O: Blizzard Entertainment)

WORLD OF WARCRAFT CLASSIC (Blizzard Entertainment 2019, O: Blizzard Entertainment)

WORLD OF WARCRAFT: THE BURNING CRUSADE (Blizzard Entertainment 2007, O: Blizzard Entertainment)

ZEUS: MASTER OF OLYMPUS (Sierra Studios 2000, O: Impressions Games)

## Videos

30 THINGS I HATE ABOUT YOUR GAME PITCH (Game Developer Conference 2017, O: Brian Upton)