'Lean In' and 'Lean Out': On the Politics of Women's Resilience and Gaming the Gender Divide

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INTRODUCTION

This paper presents findings from in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with 7 women who played videogames with their romantic partners. It seeks to develop a more multifaceted understanding of women's gaming 'lifeworlds' (cf. Jackson 2013) and their struggles to participate and 'stay in' the male-dominant public (Harvey 2021). Specifically, this study observers how relationship dynamics and romantic ties between couples can play an important role in shaping women's gaming practices. In doing so, this argument challenges the assumption that women's play can be given as simply 'a free choice' (Bergstrom 2019).

The medium of videogames is historically constructed around a default hypermasculine 'gamer' identity that views girls and women as 'Other' and 'outsiders' (Shaw 2011). In games research, popular approaches to amending gaming's gender divide frequently advocate for the creation of new entry points. However, various scholars have critiqued the common pitfalls and limitations of this interventionist literature for severely overlooking the many girls and women who already play (Taylor 2006, 93-99; Bergstrom 2019; Harvey 2021). Problematically, these gender essentialist approaches often treat 'females' inherent 'lack of interest' in videogames as the main problem to overcome (Taylor 2006, 93-99). However, many girls and women continue to play – as they always have – despite barriers (Ibid., 123).

Women play despite barriers. However, despite women's deployment of various coping strategies afforded by technological affordances (Cote 2017), the foreboding sense of 'environmental threat' (cf. Massumi 2015) imposed by a hostile hypermasculine 'new gaming public' (Salter & Blodgett 2012) continues to impact women's gaming lifeworlds as their bodies are reconfigured towards a sense of harm as simply inevitable. In their attempts to navigate an increasingly hostile environment, women must carefully manage their own sense of safety as scholars such as Emma A. Jane (2017), Amanda C. Cote (2017), and Alison Harvey (2021) have carefully and extensively documented. Many women remain in a state of hypervigilance while facing the amplified visibility of popular misogyny online (Jane 2017; Humphreys 2017). This hostility impacts how women 'choose' to play or not play certain videogames, what videogames they 'choose' to play or not play, and how women will play those videogames. Here, the unfair onus placed on women to develop more intricate coping strategies in order to keep gaming, reflects wider

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societal structures facilitating 'rape cultures' that shift the burden of safety onto victims rather than holding perpetrators accountable (Lonsway & Fitzgerald 1994).

In this study's findings, interviewees tended to describe their relationship to gaming in ways that reflect wider 'feminine resilience' discourses of 'leaning in' and 'leaning out'. In the last decade, popular neoliberalist feminist-inspired discourses have encouraged women to either 'lean in' (Sanberg 2013 cited in McRobbie 2020) or 'lean out' (Shevinsky 2015) of male-dominated workplaces. Here, I take inspiration from Angela McRobbie's critiques of the politics of resilience observed in 'leadership feminism' and 'perfect-imperfect-resilience' (shortened to 'p-i-r') that both evoke the image of the 'perfect' woman (2020). Drawing from McRobbie, I propose that the affective structures of 'leaning in' and 'leaning out' can also highlight the limited affordances of women's participation in gaming and that these gender narratives continue to shape their everyday 'private' lives and leisure practices outside of the workplace. In thinking about these two commonplace pieces of advice given, especially to young women, I argue that 'lean in' and 'lean out' problematically reduce these situations to a false binary choice.

Exploring conflicts between couples relative to their gaming habits, as I examine, demonstrates how the accounts of women's evolving (dis)engagement to gaming cannot sufficiently be captured within a scope that is often limited to discussions about women's barriers to entry (Bergstrom 2019). Cote's research on women's coping strategies suggests that women's participation is further obfuscated because some tactics camouflage their gender in order to avoid unwanted attention (2017, 145) and, as such, can make it difficult to witness and see them fully represented in the public eye (cf. Taylor 2006, 123). Speaking with women about how they negotiate gaming with romantic partners thus helps to paint a more complex and complicated picture of their lives, gaming practices, and gaming lifeworlds. When exploring how gaming can contribute to bonding with a significant other as well as discords in intimate relationships, we can also provide a better account of the differing, complicated, and sometimes conflicting ways that women might sometimes lean towards and/or away from certain aspects and assemablges of games. In doing so, this research emphasizes that the role of intersubjectivity – such as romantic ties – can also significantly impact women's shifting (dis)engagement to gaming.

BIO

Mahli-Ann Butt is a PhD candidate at the University of Sydney. Her thesis, titled *Gaming Lifeworlds: Videogames in Culture*, investigates the ways that conflicts, tensions, and struggles transform gaming lifeworlds. Her recent co-authored article 'Feminist and Furious: Diversity Work(ers) Against Game Studies of Empire!' (2021) is published in *Games and Culture*. She serves as the current chair of the Sydney Games & Play Lab's 'PLAY' theme, and as an executive board member of the Digital Games Research Association. She has served as DiGRA's past Diversity Officer and is also the former Editor-in-Chief of peer-reviewed student game studies journal *Press Start*.

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