Persuasive Games

by Ian Bogost

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How do video games express ideas? Without understanding how games can be expressive in a general sense, it is hard to understand how they might be persuasive. And how do video games make arguments? Video games are different from oral, textual, visual, or filmic media, and thus when they try to persuade they do so in a different fashion from speech, writing, images, or moving images.

How Video Games Express Ideas

Video games are good at representing the behavior of systems. When we create video games, we start with some system in the world—traffic, football, whatever. Let's call this the "source system." To create the game, we build a model of that source system. Video games are software, so we build the model by authoring code that *simulates* the behavior we want to focus on. Writing code is different from writing prose or taking photographs or shooting video; code models a set of potential outcomes, all of which conform to the same general rules. One name for this type of representation is *procedurality* (Murray 1997); procedurality is a name for a computer's ability to execute rule-based behaviors. Video games are a kind of procedural representation.

Consider some examples: Madden Football is a procedural model of the sport of American football. It models the physical mechanics of human movement, the strategy of different sets of plays, and even the performance properties of specific professional athletes. SimCity is a procedural model of urban dynamics. It models the social behavior of residents and workers, as well as the economy, crime rate, pollution level, and other environmental dynamics.

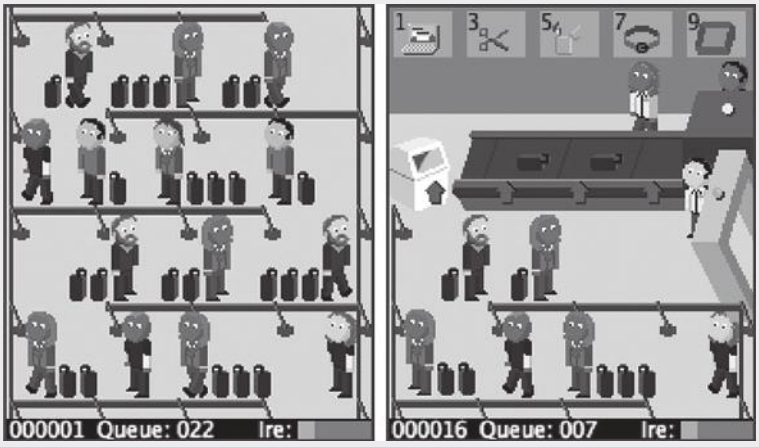
So in a video game we have a source system and a procedural model of that source system. A player needs to interact with the model to make it work—video games are interactive software; they require the player to provide input to make the procedural model work. When players play, they form some idea about the modeled system and about the source system it models. They form these ideas based on the way the source system is simulated; that is to say, there might be many different ways of proceduralizing a system. One designer might build a football game about the strategy of coaching, while another might build one about the duties of a particular field position, such as a defensive lineman. Likewise, one designer might build a city simulator that focuses on public services and new urbanism (Duany et al. 2003), while another might focus on Robert Moses–style suburban planning. This is not just a speculative observation: it highlights the fact that the source system never really exists as such. One person's idea of football or a city or any other subject for a representation of any kind is always *subjective*.

The inherent subjectivity of video games creates dissonances, gaps between the designer's procedural model of a source system and the players' subjectivity, their preconceptions and existing understanding of that simulation. This is where video games become expressive: they encourage players to interrogate and reconcile their own models of the world with the models presented in a game.

How Video Games Persuade

Most of the time, video games create procedural models of fantasy lives, like that of the pro ballplayer (Madden), or a blood elf (World of Warcraft), or a space marine (DOOM). But we can also use this facility to invite the player to see the ordinary world in new or different ways. One way to use video games in this fashion is for persuasion, to make arguments about the way the world works.

Consider a game we created at my company, Persuasive Games. Airport Insecurity (Persuasive Games 2005) is a mobile game about the Transportation Security Administration (TSA). In the game, the player takes the role of a passenger at any of the 138 most trafficked airports in the United States. The gameplay is simple: The player must progress through the security line in an orderly and dignified fashion, taking care not to lag behind when space opens in front of him, as well as to avoid direct contact with other passengers. When he reaches the x-ray check, the player must place his luggage and personal items on the belt. The game randomly assigns luggage and personal items to the player, including "questionable" items like lighters and scissors, as well as legitimately dangerous items like knives and guns.



Airport Insecurity

For each airport, we gathered traffic and wait time data to model the flow of the queues, and we also gathered as much as we could find in the public record on TSA performance. Government Accountability Office analysis of TSA performance used to be reported publicly, but the agency reportedly started classifying the information after it became clear that it might pose a national security risk. The upshot of such tactics is that the average citizen has no concept of what level of security they receive in exchange for the rights they forego. While the US government wants its citizens to believe that increased protection and reduced rights are necessary to protect us from terrorism, the effectiveness of airport security practices is ultimately uncertain. The game made claims about this uncertainty by modeling it procedurally: The player got to choose if they would dispose of their dangerous items in a trash can near the x-ray belt or if they would test the limits of the screening process by carrying them through.

Consider another example; this one a live action game played via text messaging on mobile phones in a real-world environment. Cruel 2 B Kind, which ubiquitous game researcher and designer Jane McGonigal and I created, is a modification of games like Assassin, where players attempt to surreptitiously eliminate

each other with predetermined weapons like water pistols. But in Cruel 2 B Kind, players "kill with kindness." Each player is assigned a "weapon" and "weakness" that corresponds with a common, even ordinary pleasantry. For example, players might compliment someone's shoes or serenade them. While Assassin is usually played in closed environments like college dorms, Cruel 2 B Kind is played in public on the streets of New York City or San Francisco or anywhere in the world.

Cruel 2 B Kind

Players not only don't know who their target is, they also don't know who is playing. In these situations, players are forced to use guesswork or deduction to figure out who they might target. As a result, players often "attack" the wrong groups of people or people who are not playing at all. The reactions to such encounters are startling for all concerned; after all, exchanging anonymous pleasantries is not something commonly done on the streets of New York. Cruel 2 B Kind asks the player to layer an alternative set of social practices atop the world they normally occupy. Instead of ignoring their fellow citizens, the game demands that players interact with them. This juxtaposition of game rules and social rules draws attention to the way people do (or more properly, don't) interact with one another in everyday life.

Disruptive and Strange

Persuasive games model ideas about the world and how it works in the subjective opinion of the game's designer. As players, we come to a video game with an idea of the world and how it works. A game presents a model of that same world, but that model has its own properties that likely differ from the player's. When we put the two models together, we can see where they converge and diverge—this is what we do when we play games critically. Procedural arguments can do just this: produce player deliberation, not by making those arguments seamless and comfortable, but rather by making them disruptive and strange.

References

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