ESSAYS ON KOREAN ONLINE GAME COMMUNITIES:

A SENSE OF PLACE: MEDIA AND MOTIVATION IN KOREA BY THE WANG-TTA EFFECT

– AND –

ORDER AND CHAOS IN AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF KOREAN ONLINE GAME COMMUNITIES

by

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ABSTRACT

Essay 1: This paper presents an ethnographic analysis of the different ways Korean game players establish community. I look at Korean PC game rooms as "third places,", and peer relations associated with online video gaming activities. A synthesis of the Korean concept "Wang-tta" and application of the TEDA Ethos protocol provides extra insight into the motivations to excel at digital games and one of the strong drivers of such community membership.

Key Words:

Ethnography, Korea, online games, PC bangs, third places, Wang-tta, TEDA.

Essay 2: This paper explores the dichotomy of order and chaos within the realm of play. Among the topics under discussion are the binary models of Western thought including Nietzsche's Apollo and Dionysus as it relates to works in ludology, the study of play. I look at the notions of order and chaos in an empirical setting of Korea, while looking at the symbiotic relationship between the rhetoric of play as progress and frivolity.

Key Words:

Order, chaos, Apollo, Dionysus, ethnography, Korea.

DEDICATION

To Tom,

for being the Apollo to my Dionysus.

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Introduction: a sense of place in Korea

In his (1985) work, _No sense of place: The impact of electronic media on social behavior_, Joshua Meyrowitz asserts that because of electronic media, physical location no longer matters in shaping our experiences and behaviours, nor does the physical presence of people "with" us. While he concentrates primarily on television to support his analysis of electronic media, it is important to consider this work as voicing the concern over the impact of electronic media on society. Since the time of its publication, such media-centric concerns over the welfare of society have diverted much analysis to a debatably more 'dangerous' and 'addictive' genre of electronic media: the online video game. My argument is that such media-centric analyses largely obscure the bigger picture of how a society responds to electronic media. Cultural artefacts such as the television or video games have different ascribed meanings depending on the cultural context. In this essay, I will use my case study of Korean online game communities to show how consideration of the physical location of a technology does indeed matter, and how media use differs from one culture to another.

This paper reports on ethnographic fieldwork analyzing the intricate relationship between the sociocultural factors at work in Korean game communities and the context in which games have become integrated into everyday life in South Korea. The nation is a world leader in broadband penetration rates including11.19 million broadband Internet subscribers (KGDI, 2004:18), and over 25 million resident online game players (KGDI, 2004:18), about 54% of the population (Jamieson, 2005). The reasons for this phenomenon are the cause of much speculation at the industrial, academic, and

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governmental levels, especially the $13 billion-a-year video game industry (Jamieson,

2005). Gamers in Korea have repeatedly made world headlines with their fascination

with games, their real life social activities apparently suffering because of their addictions

to game parlours known as "PC bangs" (pronounced *bahngs* and literally translated,

mean "PC room"), general video game addictions, and even cases of online game-related

deaths. Are the extreme stories of death and virtual mayhem (Gluck, 2002; Ho, 2005;

Kim, 2005) the only accounts of Korean gaming phenomena by which the rest of the

world should be basing their perceptions? The problem, as it as seen by the media, of

"online addiction," still apparently exists and by these accounts getting worse. Why do

current strategies that 'treat' such allegedly addicted players continue to be largely

unsuccessful in obtaining favourable results? Certainly, it is the minority of destructive

gamers inspiring mass media journalism manage to eclipse the gamers who manage to

lead full and productive lives, so what is the real issue at hand? In order to answer this

question, I suggest that perhaps an in-depth look at the culture, social structure, and

broadband infrastructure might cast Korea's reputation for excessive online gaming in a

different light to yield alternative explanations. To this effect, the objective of the

ethnographic research was to dig deep, beyond statistics and assumptions, into Korean

life in order to provide more cultural context and possible reasons why gaming

communities are particularly compelling in Korea. Following that, one may make

educated guesses as to why they are not in other parts of the world.

In *The Real World of Technology*, Ursula Franklin emphasizes that technologies

are developed and used within a particular social, economic, and political context (1999:

51). My work continues to emphasize the importance of assessing the culture in which

media is created and the context in which it is used. I wish to add to the current

knowledge of the interplay between technology and the development of human

relationships as expressed in digital games, increasingly recognized as a growing pastime

and mode of social expression. Brian Sutton-Smith, in his (1997) influential book on

play theory, _The Ambiguity of Play_, asserts that the rhetorics of a larger culture will have

its own socializing influence, and the norms and hierarchies of the gaming society and

general society will interpenetrate the game with its own particular social arrangements.

He writes, "Playing games for the sake of games is always playing games for the sake of

games in a particular social context with its own particular social arrangements. There is

no lasting social play without play culture"(1997:120). In other words, in order to assess

the longevity and sustainability of social play, it is important to look at the specific

context and historical circumstances of the culture in which that play is situated.

After painting a comprehensive picture of the cultural milieu in which gaming

exists in Korea, I provide a synthesis of the Korean social issue of "Wang-tta," which

includes the act of singling out one person in a group to bully and ostracize. The issue is

not commonly known or written about outside of Korea. I then posit the creation of

Wang-tta as one of the motivations to excel at digital games and a strong driver of such

community membership.

To investigate additional questions arising from the fieldwork, I apply my PC

game room data to the Ethos Protocol of a beta-tested methodology called Techno-

Experiential Design Assessment (TEDA) in order to exhibit how this analytical tool can

exhibit the richness of ethnographic method in technological contexts.

As the results of this case study on Korea will indicate, the factors for excessive online gaming are most likely not a cross-cultural, physical "condition" that is diagnosable in biomedical terms. Increased participation in a gaming environment has just as much, if not more, to do with one's life context.

Methodology and rationale

In this section, I discuss the methodology and resulting strategies I used to obtain the data used in this study. The field research for this study was conducted during a four-month period in Fall 2004, in Seoul, South Korea and short term observation was also conducted in regional centres such as Chuncheon, Sokcho, and Cheongju. As described by Stewart (1998), I used the multiple methods, multiple measures approach in order to work towards a triangulated analysis comparing between the field data derived via different methods. This strategy would allow the overlapping trends to emerge from the greater body of data for more attention.

The personal narratives of online game players in Korea were of particular interest to me. I wished to observe and analyze patterns of behaviour and common histories in order to find out what was so compelling about these games/communities that players would supposedly forsake almost everything else in their lives to participate.

I will briefly summarize what allowed me to do this study, the events leading up to conducting the research and methods, and rationale I used during the fieldwork. One year before the fieldwork began in Korea, I prepared to conduct ethnography by learning to read and speak Korean. Being from Vancouver, Canada, this endeavour was

facilitated by Vancouver's rich multicultural environment and specifically, the large number of citizens originally from Korea with whom I could continue to practise. While it is true that the greater bulk of my learning about Korean language and culture began when my plane landed in Korea (the point of going there), it was quite important to have gone with the existing foundation I had built while in Vancouver. With my research being about daily life at the grassroots, I felt that it was very important to be prepared to speak Korean and blend in as much as possible. This decision ultimately impacted my study in a positive manner, as my visually Korean appearance and usage of the vernacular did indeed alleviate a great portion of the stress associated with "blending in," giving me more access to everyday things. With the length of my stay, most people acclimatized to my presence and were able to forget that I was Canadian most of the time or, with more superficial encounters, did not realize that I was. The mutual acclimatization of my presence was one of the benefits of conducting ethnography over an extended period of time.

While in Korea, I conducted participant observation within the public and private social contexts of home, school, and everything else involved in daily life. My observations ranged from the perplexing to the mundane. Gaming culture is everywhere in Korea, every day, and observations were everything from those recorded in and around numerous PC game rooms, to what I saw looking over someone's shoulder playing mobile phone games on Seoul's expansive subway system.

Adding to my cultural immersion, I had the privilege of doing a home stay with a multi-generational Korean family in the heart of Seoul as well as short-term stays in other types of Korean homes outside of Seoul ranging from the early 20th century to the more

common dense urban high-rises. By sharing these living spaces, and fully participating

in the culture (almost always blending in as a resident), I was privy to many things said

and unsaid. Many of my experiences inside and outside of my family context provided

much subtext for the behaviours I observed in during this research. Each day, I would

make thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) in my fieldnotes of what I encountered, whenever

possible. This reflexivity was important to the study as a whole, as was a hyper-

awareness of my conceptual baggage (who I was, what my assumptions were, what I was

encountering). As a female in my mid-twenties living in an urban high-rise three-

generation home, I was immediately dealing the implications of being a member of the

youngest generation in the household. With Confucian ideology as an overarching

determinate of Korean everyday life, the emphasis on my placement in terms of seniority

(or lack thereof) influenced the way I was viewed not only within the home to family

members, but more to my chagrin, the general public. This situatedness enabled me to

experience first-hand what it was like to navigate everyday life as a Korean youth,

analyze it, reflect upon it, and write about it.

I was interested in the specific stories of people navigating through their lives and

their specific encounters. Being rather new to town, I had to rely on the occurrence of

organized accidents in order to meet people[1]. The nature of research enabled me to

conduct interviews by using what is commonly known as "snowball sampling" technique

or "accidental/convenience sampling"(Richards, 1998:37). The interviews took place in

numerous locations and coupled with participant observation, personal narratives

provided insights into the lives of game players and their motivations for engaging in

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[1] Almost everything in Korea is done by introduction. How I exactly managed to get these introductions to do this type of research and gain rapport with my informants is an interesting story worthy of its own paper, but beyond the scope of this one.

communities associated with game playing. In addition to the informal interviews that took place during my stay in Korea, I conducted formal in-depth interviews in both Korean and English with players who participate in game communities and subject matter experts in the field. Thus, the methods by and large reflected the way things are generally done in Korea—a myriad of social networks and snowball samples. I was able to map out "kinship diagrams" in my ethnographic fieldnotes and analyze friendship networks within the gamer communities and evaluate general lifestyles.

Further, I conducted focus groups where I gave participants examples of news articles about Internet addiction in South Korea and asked them to comment on the veracity of the situation as they perceived it to be. The varying perspectives in these focus groups were checked against the interview/participant observation data to compare the many perspectives on Internet usage in Korea while gaining information about how Koreans perceive their own relations to games, the Internet, technologies, to one another, and the international community at large. I found this data really interesting because I was able to get the perspectives of people who had a greater variance in age, professional status, and did not necessarily affiliate themselves with any game community.

Lastly, the amount I immersed myself in Korean culture and lifestyle played a significant part in generating the research insights in this study. This immersion allowed me to more fully understand some key aspects of Korean homes. During my stay, it became apparent to me why certain behaviours encouraged or discouraged the use of certain technologies. I could understand the context in which technology and resulting gaming habits so popular amongst contemporary Korean youth existed because I was

living it. This participation in culture and lived experiences helped me to see how relationships were forged in different contexts online and offline.

Media

The importance of PC bangs as "third places" in Korea

According to Oldenburg (1997), third places are those that are neither work nor home, but are places of psychological comfort and support. These places often contain people of like mind and like interests. In Korea, such "third places" become especially important because entertaining one's friends is rarely done in the home. At a third place like a PC bang, one can choose from online games, email, online chat, Web surfing, visiting matchmaking sites, people watching, eating, smoking, being with big groups of friends, or just being with one's significant other in a friendlier setting. A PC bang has also been known to be a cheap place for shelter in the middle of the night, or within the broader context of an unkind job market, a place for the unemployed to spend the day. Given these social dynamics, the PC bang is the site of numerous significant social interactions. In my discussion of the importance of the PC bang in the lives of Korean youth, I would argue that the online games are more of a 'fourth place' or third place situated within the third places of PC bangs. The games are often not the prime motivator for people to go there. Using what Feenberg and Bakardjieva (2004) assert in their work on online community as an "imaginary" social construct, I would say that these people in the PC bang are in that process of creating community online but also partaking in physical community.

The PC bang is ubiquitous in Korean everyday life. From the city street, one often

sees neon signs stating the fact that the building has a PC game room or two, but they

rarely exist on the first floor where other businesses like service shops typically are. One

must often venture up or down tiny, dingy, often dodgy looking stairs, through a tinted

glass door, where one will find a PC bang. These rooms, often thick with cigarette

smoke, vary in size, anywhere from five to fifty or more computer stations, each with its

own comfortable executive chair. If the PC bang is big enough, it may have a special

"couple zone" where the stations are two computers in front of a "couple chair" (a

loveseat or expanded chair without a separating armrest) made for two people to get

physically closer. There may be a snack bar, varying in size and foodstuffs available.

Standard items available tend to be quick snacks like vitamin drinks, water, soft drinks,

bags of chips, cookies, and instant noodle soup bowls (ramyun). Upon entry, one can get

a plastic card from the clerk at the front counter. The card will have a number on it which,

when entered into the greeting interface of the computer, will activate the billing time for

that computer station. The rate is often about $1 USD per hour, with some places

offering discounts at non-peak times.[2] Compared to other 'bangs' like "norae bang"

(karaoke room), "dvd bang" (movie watching room), or a board game bang, this rate is

much more affordable to young people on a limited income. Upon leaving, the clerk

punches in the number of the card, and the tab is paid. PC bangs are typically very

popular as places to go because of their cheap rates and popular as start-up businesses,

every neighbourhood in Seoul averages about one PC bang per block. They are generally

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[2] It is interesting to note that the rate for PC bangs was substantially more expensive (about $10 USD) in
the late 1990s. As availability and competition in PC bangs has increased, prices have decreased.

open twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and ones with newer computers are often completely full at all hours.

According to K. Stewart (2004:62),"The PC Bang and Bang culture in Korea…[provides] children with media use opportunities outside of their home, away from parental rules and regulations and among groups of friends, which does not often happen within the Korean homes." My own observations and interviews concur with this assertion. For many young Koreans, their participation in online games represents one facet of a whole community and way of life. The activities surrounding this media ecology determine how its members navigate within their vital orientations and make choices in how they take nourishment, spend money, earn money, and even partake in courtship rituals. In this section, I will talk about the experiences of some young Koreans and how the PC bang fits into their life contexts.

It is easy to see how one might be alarmed by Korean youth spending their hours at PC bangs. Rather than dismiss the participants as "game addicts," I will discuss a few examples from the formal interviews that talked about various motives for spending a lot of time at PC game rooms that were not about the games themselves at all.

One twenty-seven year old male university student I interviewed spent as much time outside his home as possible. After classes, he would typically go to dinner with his friends, go to a PC bang in the area and while there, play a combination of Lineage, StarCraft and Kart Rider for about four hours. By the time he arrived home it would typically be midnight, at which point he would log onto his computer in his room and play for another few hours. Having access to these technologies in his own room, one might think it strange that he would pay money to play the same games. When I asked

why he would play at a PC bang as opposed to home, he answered that he could smoke at PC bangs whereas at home he could not. His parents did not like it.[3] "The biggest reason why I go to PC bang is [it's] more comfortable than home. I play games at home at midnight because my parents are sleeping." Two major reasons he cited were his lack of "comfort"[4] in his own home and deliberate avoidance of encounters with his parents. To him, the PC bang was a way to escape the various constraints of his domestic environment.

Another male in the same age group actually talks about his lack of desire to play online games, but does so in order to be with his friends:

S: If I have time, [I go] to play with my friends after drinking. 3 times or more per week.

F: And how long do you spend there?

S: 1-3 hours

F: What do you play?

S: StarCraft.

F: How did you learn StarCraft? At PC bangs or at home?

S: Just PC bangs. I want to play StarCraft really well, but the game is difficult for me. I want to play simple games like baseball and bowling games.

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[3] Though things are changing slowly to reflect Western models of behaviour, it is still quite common for people to live with their parents until they are married. In fact, it is often expected. Thus, many coping strategies such as those talked about by informants are rather typical attitudes of youth living with their parents.

[4] Comfort as he sees it is most likely his ability to smoke elsewhere, and escaping the constraints of inter-generational friction he felt living with his parents as a twenty-seven year old male.

The casual player discussed here reflected the sentiments of other interviewees who were either "recovering game addicts" or "do not play." However, even those who insisted they did not play for their own amusement reported gaming least five hours per week with the premise of being with others and maintaining bonds with their peer groups. In addressing play as linked with social rhetoric, Sutton-Smith (1997:105) writes, "It has been shown that sometimes players play primarily to be with others," and this seems to be reflected particularly accurately in Korean play sociality.

Another social motive I encountered was using the game atmosphere in the PC bang to engage in courtship practices. A twenty-four year old female university student tells me she has been playing the massively multiplayer online role playing game (MMORPG) Ragnarok and Kart Rider for about a year now and thinks she is "addicted." During the interview the informant stated that she and her boyfriend had been dating a year and a half. After six months she started playing computer games with him at PC bangs.[5] Here is what she had to say when I asked about her motives for playing:

> S: This time was winter, so it was very cold outside. We could spend less money in the PC room because it was cheap compared to using other facilities.
>
> F: Just to spend time together in a warm place?
>
> S: Yes. We can spend time together in a warm place. I am a student, and I don't have a lot of money. So, that's a good way to spend time with my boyfriend.

Although she says that the games she plays are fun and the time she spends at PC bangs may range from 15-20 hours per week, throughout the interview it was clear that her

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[5] Though the gender implications of online game play still being male dominated in this context are intriguing, they are beyond the scope of this particular paper. The common stereotype, including the girls I talked to seemed to indicate that females tended to like "simple games" like Kart Rider or Tetris.

motives for going to the PC bang were not so much about the game itself, but what the venue and its qualities meant for nurturing her relationship with her boyfriend.

Finding the courtship and PC bang link interesting, I later interviewed a couple in their early twenties who played Lineage together almost 40 hours per week. Stating that they now help each other cut down their hours online, their story included both of them arriving at an offline Lineage meet. The male saw the female, and it was "love at first sight." The female, however, did not notice him and ignored his advances. After the meeting, the two players would see one another online in Lineage, where the male would then try to protect the female from harm against enemy attacks. After a while, this impressed the female enough so that she consented to having a date with him. Their relationship slowly evolved and as of the time of this paper being written they are still very happy, very much in love, and still going to PC bangs together.

While Oldenburg (1997) wrote about third places for and about the American context, similar parallels can be drawn for the importance of these third places in Korea. It is important to see the particular importance of PC bangs in Korean everyday life. It is significant that these places function as neither work nor home, and are places of psychological (and in this case even physical) comfort and support. It is also significant that wide usage of the PC bang is primarily due to the availability and cheap price of access. For these reasons, the PC bang has become the locus of so many varied community-nurturing activities amongst young Koreans.

Motivation

The "Wang-tta," making "Wang-tta," and "Wang-tta" of everyone

A fascinating term, "Wang-tta" emerged in my interviews with Korean gamers. In this section, I attempt to summarize my findings regarding the concept of "Wang-tta," as it pertains to games. Put simply, this term describes isolating and bullying the worst game player in one's peer group. It is a difficult term to translate into English and very little English literature that attempts to do so exists. One can be said to, "make Wang-tta" or be the object of Wang-tta. The term is paradigmatically similar to (and some have said modeled after) the Japanese term for bullying, "Ijime." In reference to Ijime situations, Dogakinai (1999) states that in collectivist societies like Japan, similarity is a source of comfort while difference is disparaged and subject to much abuse from others. Wang-tta has been applied to participation in games, and I will discuss some situations in which it was invoked.

I first came across the term in one of the formal interviews (shown below) when my informant was trying to address his motivations for wanting to play games. My ignorance of this concept was almost amusing in retrospect:

S: Do you know Wang-tta?

F: Is he a pro-gamer?

S: No, [it's a] social problem word. Wang-tta ... if one person can't play the game...
Think about it this way: Every class[room] has a little or poor... all people hate him. If one class has 40 people, 39 people playing a game together, but one person can't play the game. 39 people then hate him, and he wants to play

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together with them but he couldn't because he can't play that well. So, after time goes, this gap is increased. So everyone hates him. Everyone hates him.

At first, I was uncertain as to whether or not Wang-tta was being used as a noun to describe the individual "loser" (as it commonly tends to be used in English) or as a verb or adverb to describe the bullying situation. I asked for clarification, and obtained a hypothesis from an insightful informant. His supposition was that a primary motivator to play games in Korea was in order to achieve social acceptance among peers. In my interview with him, he also hinted at the PC bang serving as an arena of talent exhibition. That is, one might practice playing at home in order to 'perform' at the PC bang where talents in a game would be then be scrutinized and 'peer-reviewed.' Sitting across a table from me, he drew a diagram of many people in a circle, and lines representing negativity between those people and one isolated person away from the main circle. I asked for clarification:

> F: So this one is the Wang-tta. The outlier is the wang-tta.
>
> S: The **whole situation** is Wang-tta <circling the whole diagram>. People say he is Wang-tta <pointing to the isolated person in the diagram>. If someone can't play the game... that situation makes this <diagram> situation sometimes. So everyone doesn't want to be Wang-tta. **That is why many people play games in Korea.** Everyone likes a person who can play the game very well. That's why every day students practice games at home.

Thankfully, I was at an early point in my study where I could ask more informants about the concept of Wang-tta. It seemed like an important concept to find out more about because if Wang-tta was what it seemed, it would be very interesting to look at as a key motivator that many may not realize is at work in Korea. I had built flexibility into my

interview protocol, so I quickly adapted it to this new finding and other new findings as I went along.

Refusal to partake in game play could subject one to isolation and ridicule. A person who possesses a social deficit, articulated by others as Wang-tta, would exist in many situations where there is immense social pressure to be good at games. This could indeed cause many young people take every opportunity to practice the games of their peer groups in order to become more skilled and less subject to ridicule. Johan Huizinga's (1955:11) discussion of the way spoil-sports are treated is comparable to the creation of Wang-tta. "The player who trespasses against the rules or ignores them is a "spoil-sport"…Therefore he must be cast out for he threatens the existence of the play-community." Caillois (1961:7) concurs with Huizinga in that, "The game is ruined by the nihilist who denounces the rules as absurd and conventional, who refuses to play because the game is meaningless." In threatening the sanctity of the play community, one might subject oneself to being singled out as Wang-tta.

Here is another person's concept of Wang-tta:

> F: can you tell me what your definition of Wang-tta is?
>
> S: Wang-tta is [a] bad thing. Everyone doesn't like a Wang-tta. They have a different mind, different behaviour. So when one guy doesn't like another guy… Wang-tta is some group, and one guy is made the weirdo.

It is important to note that in the concept of Wang-tta there is fusion between collectivism and individualism in that one's talent might not be the only consideration for prevention of ostracization. It might also rest with one's ability to engage with the group, be a

willing 'team player,' and the group's willingness to protect an individual from internal/external abuse.

The Wang-tta effect

In my quest for the elusive Wang-tta, I have come across what I call the "Wang-tta effect," which describes what I see as a retreat of one player from the given community due to a circumstance beyond the would-be player's control. Such circumstances often include a once frequent game player being removed from one's peer group for an extended period of time, like serving in the army for two years or going abroad to learn English for sometimes a year or more. Once the player is back in the home community, game play time has typically dropped significantly. Implicit in informant's statements of things like, "it's no longer fun," or "my priorities changed," I see the "Wang-tta effect" occurring due to the informant unwilling to subject themselves to "Wang-tta" from their peer group. The examples I discuss in this section show how culture (in this case Wang-tta) and social structure, then infrastructure interact to influence player motives and habits.

Culture and social structure – army service

In this interview, I spoke to a twenty-five year old male in his final year of university. At first, he claimed to not play online games any longer, but as the interview went on, this proved to not be the case.

F: How long have you been gaming?

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S: Seven years, maybe. Since I was twenty. I stopped for maybe two and a half years, because I was addicted to Starcraft. For four years, I played StarCraft a lot. After I quit the army, I recognized that I was really bad at playing StarCraft. Because after that everyone played StarCraft really well, but not me. So before I went to the army I was kind of a regular player, but after I quit from the army, **I was the lower class player.** So I just quit because I wasn't very good at StarCraft.

I knew from my observation that he spent time at PC bangs, had social gatherings centering with game tournaments, and other such activities. This left me wondering, so I asked for clarification.

F: So when you go to a PC bang, is it only for friends?

S: Yes, mostly. I go to PC room with my friends to play games with my friends. But if I go just by myself it's not fun. I'm not good at games, but if I go to a PC bang with my friends, we can make a team and play with other teams. So it's kind of socialization. So I like that. Not playing by myself. Before we went to the army, we played StarCraft all the time together. When I was in the army, I was dying to go online. I wanted to play StarCraft, but I couldn't. They didn't allow it. After I quit from the army, of course I played StarCraft, but it wasn't very much fun compared to before the army. I was defeated by people.

F: Ok, now I don't know very much about army service here. When people are doing military service, they don't do school or anything else?

S: We stayed at the army base two years and two months. We could only go out forty-five days. That is the only vacation we have. Four or five times. Ten days. Ten days per vacation. During the army service, we cannot go out. Even though we go outside, we cannot do things like drink alcohol, or play games.

Clearly, there are issues in the social structure unique in many ways to Korean life. Among young Korean males, military service functions as both training but more

significantly in a social manner, a rite of passage that signals a clear demarcation between one's relatively carefree youth and responsible, career-oriented adulthood. The typical severing of social networks during this time of military service also has much to do with ambivalent feelings of how one will be received back into the social network of origin.

Infrastructure – Korean broadband access

Yet another example of the Wang-tta effect is derived from a once extremely hardcore game player (has repeatedly engaged in 36 hour-long tournaments) being cut off from most of his peer group and Korea's broadband infrastructure when he went to the United Kingdom to learn more English.

F: How much time do you spend per week playing games?

S: Nowadays six to seven hours per week because this is my last semester [at university]. So, I'm really busy. I have to study harder than [ever] before for getting a job. The biggest reason [for cutting back on gaming] is studying because it's my last semester.

F: At the time you spent 36 hours playing, when did you start cutting down?

S: During my stay in England. That was a big reason. Their Internet speed is much slower. Very slow. I couldn't play a game [online] for nearly one year. So that's why. After that, I lost my temper. I lost interest in playing games.

F: Because you were doing other things?

S: Yah I couldn't play games… Still, my friends played games, so [after I got back] I restarted with them.

When I asked what he ended up doing in England instead of playing online games, with a chuckle he responded, "Drinking. Smoking."

The concept of the Wang-tta effect illustrates the often implicit concern over lack of ability to not only participate in online game activities in peer groups, but the ability to participate well after an investment of practice time.[6] In my encounters with Korean gamers, in interviews and focus groups, the ability to do something "extremely well," in the areas of school or games, is very much taken seriously and admired.

Application of TEDA to the case study

To understand motivation for participation in Korean online game communities in yet a different manner, I will introduce the application of Techno-Experiential Design Assessment (TEDA), a systematic and comprehensive research and foresight methodology developed and beta-tested in a collaboration between New Media Innovation Centre (NewMIC) and Centre for Policy Research on Science and Technology (CPROST) at Simon Fraser University, Canada. As has been reported upon in great detail (Onufrijchuk, 1993, 2005; Schick, 2005), TEDA provides a mapping of the potential "fit" and unforeseen effects of the introduction of a new media form or service/experience on a given demographic variable. The TEDA methodology builds on a framework combining social science methods, a focus on the experiential aspects of technology practice indebted to the Continental human sciences, and the Canadian paradigm in communication studies as synthesized by Marshall McLuhan.

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[6] I identified the Wang-tta effect with young Korean males, but at this time am uncertain of an equivalent with females in gaming. There are definitely gendered differences in the way females as opposed to males are esteemed in their peer groups. My interview data indicated that female skill in gaming was not perceived as important.

In this section, I will discuss a particularly useful aspect of TEDA, which is the Ethos Protocol. It is a taxonomy of 18 different categories that serve as a checklist of key life factors and motivators with relation to one's vital orientations. "The categories are "orientations" because they describe the forces that pull us into certain kinds of relationships regardless of our place and social status. They direct attention or are sources that demand attention and effort" (Schick, 2005: 41). This is important to consider in the assessment of how an artefact or anomaly might integrate into a given life context. I will show how I was able to categorize and organize my ethnographic field data about PC bangs as a media aggregate in order to report on how they impact the lifeworld of youth who participate.

Vital Orientations of the Ethos protocol applied to the setting of PC bang

1. Personhood

The PC bang is a venue in which one can negotiate identity in both online and offline contexts with consequences in both spheres. This includes the company of friends and strangers at the PC bang as well those one can encounter online. Often, those people are one in the same, as a group of friends might go to a PC bang together, sit beside one another, and play together online while yelling at one another. After a tournament, that same group might give the loser(s) a hard time at dinner afterwards, and the loser might have to pay for the party's PC bang and/or dinner tab.

2.   Conviviality and fellowship

The PC bang is a central meeting place for having competitions with friends. There is the articulation of group sentiment and identity, solidified by each person's presence.

3.   Play and exstasis

Those I observed would often try strategies they had either seen on television with professional gamers, or that they had practiced at home. Online, the same offline group might become a band of brothers, guild, or blood brothers and travel or battle together. Thus, there would be play in these interactions and the ecstatic experience of victory and camaraderie.

4.   Appetites and preferences

Some reasons for going to a PC bang had to do with fulfilling various appetites and preferences. The social venue was a place where people could reasonably show off their latest clothing acquisitions (fashion statements) in comfortable surroundings. Some games were favoured at some PC bangs over others. This probably had to do with age of hardware (with slower games being played at the PC bangs with slower equipment). This determined the atmosphere of the room. Men and women were free to smoke there as well.

5.   Relaxation and respite

The PC bang provides a number of ways to achieve relaxation and respite. First, the games people play act as a point on which to focus energy. Second, the social element is important as it provides an environment where one can hang out with friends,

or be solitary but amongst others. Most importantly, because of its relative newness, the PC bang provides a place where social codes are more relaxed. For example, I made note while in Korea of two taboos: 1) It is not proper social etiquette for Korean women to smoke in public, whereas men are free to do so almost anywhere; 2) Public displays of affection between couples is strongly frowned upon. At the PC bang however, Korean women are able to smoke in a 'public' space without much worry of violating taboos because of the absence of older generations who would oppose such behaviour. Also, the PC bang provides a place for young couples to go and be together. There are even "couple zones" where there are sets of two PCs and a loveseat made for two in front, so that the couple can be more physically 'together.'

6. Knowledge and media

During my time in PC bangs, I observed some people looking for jobs online, visiting online dating sites, doing email, and keeping up with the latest news about games (ongamenet – a professional games (eSports) website. It seemed very important to 'keep up' on the latest knowledge of games, including watching the television broadcasts of professional tournaments outside the PC bang environment, and experimenting with game strategies. The more knowledgeable the player, the more camaraderie and acceptance one seemed to enjoy in one's peer group.

7. Life course

Korean male youth were a particularly interesting group to study, as there seemed to be unique pressures in having a clear demarcation from the life stage of student (haksaeng) life to that of adult male (ajossi, literal translation: uncle) life. Participation in

PC bang activities seemed to dominate the social activities of my informants before they went off to military service, and after military service ended, at which time males would be actively looking for a full-time job. Having a job would mean greater courtship prospects, which would lead to greater eligibility for marriage.

In addition to that, the PC bang would act as a common area for courtship, as a cheaper place to bring a date to spend time away from the home environment.

8. Projects

The PC bang allowed people to engage with what they felt was important. That is, nurturing a persona and reputation online or offline, and maintaining a team in those situations. The games were also a way people could earn money beyond the expected dollar amount for their age bracket, and/or aspire to be a professional gamer.

9. Family and kin

The PC bang helps people to get away from the confines of the home to escape family and kin. One can create one's own family, as participation in PC bang activities is cheap enough to be more than a 'second home' and the friendship/kinship of "blood brothers" is also very important.

10. Social codes and institutions

As Feenberg writes about Japanese play of the game "Go," games have a way of levelling out-of-game hierarchy, but sometimes that can seep back in (1995:197). I found that social codes tend to be more relaxed or diluted in the PC bang. Contrary to status quo beliefs and the general climate of public opinion, couples can display affection for one another in a more open manner in these relatively new youth-oriented environments.

Another example is that in Korea, women smoking in public is considered inappropriate, and one is more likely to find that behaviour in PC bangs. Unemployed people also go to PC bangs in order to save face in front of their families during the day/night.

11. Neighbouring

PC bangs exist in almost every urban neighbourhood, incorporated seamlessly into the myriad of shops and neon lights advertising the various services of particular buildings. Primarily male, young children, adolescents, and young adults are frequent visitors. With the exception of second-hand smoke inhalation and rumours of some PC bangs being fronts for organized crime, these environments generally have a community-centre type of feel. Players generally choose a PC bang based on surrounding amenities, being near to one's school, as central meeting place etc. They told me they liked new equipment, but did place much importance in the games in themselves.

12. Resources and exchange

There would be contests. The losing team could pay for everything, including the winning team's PC bang fee and the food consumed during that time, other another similar arrangement.

People can also sell items online. People will pay good money for a good character and reputation. I interviewed one played who made approximately $1000 USD from selling a character with a good name in Lineage. Another player talked about his height of playing a game called "Mu" for three solid months and making on average $400 per week during that time. He would "auto grind" and be almost asleep at his computer for hours, and he would know if he got something worthy of his attention if the game

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alerted him with sounds. He would wake up enough to pay attention to the issue, then go back to 'near sleeping.'

One situation I was aware of was when there was an argument offline about what the other party saw as an online insult. They met offline and nearly came to physical blows, but the guild leader present insisted at stopping with verbal insults.

13. Security

The PC bang is a warm, safe place to go at all hours of the day, for a very cheap price. Couples can also have their blind dates (or, "blind meetings" as Koreans say) at PC bangs. The venue is a low-risk, economically feasible rendezvous point.

14. Body

Some negative effects to the body include smoking, second-hand smoke, eyestrain, putting off washroom breaks, delaying meals or skipping them, lack of physicality during gameplay. Sedentary activity tends to displace physical activity.

15. Sustenance

People usually eat better meals outside of the PC bang. Even at the most high-end PC bangs, there might only be a small selection of snacks at a snack bar like instant noodles (ramyun), chips, and pop. It is thus understandable that people who spend long hours at the PC bang are usually perceived as being probably unhealthy.

16. Needful things

While there is an abundance of PC bangs to choose from, my informants were very selective of which one(s) they frequented and where they spent their dollar per hour.

While there was no dress code, people are generally seen there and dressing similar to one's peer group is acceptable. Under consideration were factors like a good concession stand, nice atmosphere. There is also the need for a supply chain of hardware, software, and the like.

17. Chores and ordeals

The PC bang can be both a temporary alleviation from everyday chores and ordeals, and a chore and ordeal in itself if one feels enough peer pressure to participate in games at the PC bang when one would rather not. Sometimes people do not want to go to PC bang. With the situation of Wang-tta, sometimes there is the avoidance of humiliation and losing by practicing, or avoiding the situation altogether.

18. Values

The common values and sentiments I encountered in the PC bang phenomenon were winning, losing, friendship, camaraderie, bonding, and dating.

Explanation of application

As a research method, the TEDA Ethos protocol has been useful for inspiring some of the questions I asked in my interview protocol, analyzing the data derived from my fieldwork, and highlighting intriguing facets of the research for future investigation. It is particularly useful for generating alternative explanations for why a particular technological product or service might have meaning in certain life contexts. I see this method being useful for acting as a cultural translator because the categories are cross-cultural in nature, helping to illustrate how certain aspects of lived experience are similar in one culture, as opposed to another.

In the context of the PC bang as third place and the concept of Wang-tta, I used the TEDA Ethos protocol as an organizational tool—a checklist of how those themes fit into the vital orientations of Korean youth, as well as highlighting other issues for consideration.

I found that the Ethos protocol had categories to account for the varied data I derived from PC bangs. The integration of the PC bang into Korean life affects, and is affected by all aspects of life and was intriguing to consider as a "total" culture of Korean youth. As one might see in my application of one aspect of the TEDA methodology (the TEDA Ethos protocol), there are a number of interesting points arising from my fieldwork that I could take further in future works, like the underemployment of youth, or gender as a determinant in technological use. In future works, I will be able to expand the lens to include larger segments of the population, or drill down even further to look at more focused communities.

Conclusion

In this paper, I reported on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in order to analyze possible sociocultural factors at work in Korean game communities and the context in which games have become integrated into everyday life in South Korea. Throughout the paper I suggested that perhaps an in-depth look at the culture, social structure, and infrastructure might cast Korea's reputation for excessive online gaming in a different light. By engaging in this first-hand study, I hoped to provide more cultural context and possible explanations for why gaming and its associated activities seem so immersive and

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compelling in Korea. In addition to that, one may make educated guesses as to why they are not in other parts of the world.

The original fieldwork, concerning the PC bang as a "third place," merged with theories of play add perspective to game research by highlighting the concept of online sociability as it is created in the interactions between players, online and offline.

After outlining the methodology employed in this study and painting a comprehensive picture of sociocultural context in Korea, I provided a synthesis of the Korean social issue of "Wang-tta," which includes the act of singling out one person in a group to bully and treat as an outcast. I used it to provide extra insight into one of the motivations to excel at digital games and one of the strong drivers of such community membership. As the results of this case study on Korea will indicate, the factors for excessive online gaming are most likely not cross-cultural (i.e. diagnosable as addiction in biomedical terms) and just as likely if not more to do with the 'game' in one's life context.

As an addition to understanding the place of the PC bang in the lives of Korean youth, I applied the Ethos Protocol of the Techno-Experiential Design Assessment (TEDA) methodology to my PC bang data to in order to exhibit how this analytical tool can manage the richness of ethnographic data derived from technological contexts.

In this case study, the *place* of Korea, as well as a "sense of place" for Korean youth was integral in understanding the many complexities inherent in the way Korean online game culture has come to be in its current state of being. I hope to have shown that other enabling factors not sufficiently addressed in conventional games studies might

play into Korea's reputation for many hours logged at the PC bang, such as culture, social

structure, and infrastructure.

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2:
ORDER AND CHAOS IN AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF KOREAN ONLINE GAME COMMUNITIES

Introduction

In this essay, I discuss the binary quality of different interpretive models for play formulated in Western thought and test their application to the empirical reality found in my ethnography of play and games in Korea. First, I outline the situation in Korea under analysis, the methodology, and the rationale for the case study. Second, I talk about a tradition of dichotomous play models that revolve around a binary analysis. This includes Nietzsche's (1967) use of the Greek gods Apollo and Dionysus as polar opposites representing order and chaos, which I argue to be organizing principles of play in Western civilization. I also discuss the classic works of Johan Huizinga (1955) and Roger Caillois (1961), and show how their models reflect the polarities of Apollonian and Dionysian play. Third, I discuss the use of a contemporary model of play that is less antonymic in nature, namely Brian Sutton-Smith's (1997) seven rhetorics of play, while showing that there are binary qualities to the interpretive model that he uses. I then analyze the rhetorics of progress and frivolity in terms of increased institutionalization of professional and amateur gaming, which provide rationalized forms of play in order to fit Dionysian results with Apollonian visions of modernity. I support this assertion by looking at the similarities between the implementation of progress rhetoric in contemporary Korea versus a case from France in the 1980s. My application of these models to various aspects of the empirical examples from the Korean online games situation highlight the nature of binary analysis that some might not recognize in more contemporary models of play, and implementation of play in policy. My application of these models towards understanding various aspects of Korean culture will highlight the

very nature of binary analysis that some might not recognize in more contemporary

models of play. In terms of the empirical reality I found in Korea, I discuss the mixed

messages found with implementation "from above" in the way of government initiatives

versus their manifestations at the grassroots. In exploring these ambiguities, the contrast

between an ideal technocratic society and the messy reality becomes apparent, and

represents a problem that scholars have attempted to resolve for a while. This exposition

will bring forth the question of whether or not absolute binary-dominant play models are

adequate for understanding what is going on in the Korean situation.

Korean sensibilities and situations

Within a relatively short period of time, Korea[7] has become known for

widespread broadband deployment to the home and a technologically receptive and

literate public. This perception is the culmination of a long process of rapid

industrialization and informatization due in large part to a long series of initiatives by the

Korean government. Since the end of the Korean war, and particularly since the 1970s,

successive Korean governments fostered these processes by diverting money, time,

energy, and industrial and telecommunication policy towards facilitating the nation's

swift modernization into one of the most advanced and digitally connected economies in

the world (K. Stewart, 2004:34). One of the results of these governmental and industrial

initiatives has been the widespread deployment and adoption of a sophisticated

broadband infrastructure to the home in almost all parts of the country. Korea currently

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[7] To clarify, I am speaking of South Korea in this case, hereafter referred to as Korea.

has the highest penetration of high-speed Internet usage, with twenty-five percent of the country's overall population using the Internet and seventy-five percent of its households equipped with Internet access.[8] Fifty-four percent of active users report playing online games (Jamieson, 2005)-- a proportion to which other countries have hardly begun to approach. As a result of such enthusiastic, and some might argue excessive, consumption of new technology, addiction to game playing has become a focal point of media controversy.

One of the most intriguing things about Korea is that unlike almost anywhere else in the world, those who are good at playing digital games are quite highly regarded. Players involved in professional gaming (also known as eSports) are often celebrities supported by major corporate sponsorship and a loyal fan base. Many people aspire to be like those famous professional gamers in many respects, and this contributes to the national passion for games. Koreans are internationally renowned for their enthusiastic game play and most Korean gamers worry less about the negative "geek" taboo that gamers must put up with in other parts of the world. A unique online games culture has flourished in this context.

Gamers in Korea have repeatedly made world headlines with reports on their fascination with games, their real life social activities apparently suffering because of their addictions to game parlours known as "PC bangs" (pronounced bahngs), general video game addictions, and even cases of Internet-related deaths. While these are serious matters, it is an often lopsided number of media-centric accounts which tend to foreground death and extreme virtual chaos in media use (Gluck, 2002; Ho, 2005; Kim,

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[8] Due to the dense population in Korea, it is much more common to have apartment high-rises than standalone houses. The fact that many families would live in one building has facilitated the implementation of broadband access for the populace.

2005; K. Stewart, 2004). Clearly, there is a need for more analyses of Korean gaming phenomena before one can begin to assess what is actually happening with respect to the whole picture of games, gamers, and their societal manifestations. In my analysis, I posit some other sociological (rather than pathological) reasons as to why "online video game addiction" and "online community" are ambiguous constructs, especially when looking at play and games. In past studies (Chee, 2003; F. Chee, and R. Smith, 2005), I have examined games and play by looking at what is happening at the grassroots user level in observations, interrogation, and participation. My interest in this methodology was the inspiration for the ethnography conducted in Korea. In particular, I wanted to assess the possible qualitative reasons why youth in Korea were so apparently likely to compromise their other familial and academic obligations in order to participate in online pursuits.[9] The findings from this study were interesting because they implicated a much broader system in which the media existed, rather than the media itself, as a direct reason for dysfunction.[10]

Because a more detailed description of the methodology and rationale is in the preceding essay of this volume, I will only briefly summarize the methodology involved in conducting the Korean fieldwork.

The field research for this study was conducted during a four-month period in Fall 2004, primarily in Seoul, South Korea, which is home to ten million of the nation's almost fifty million people. I will briefly summarize what allowed me to do this study, the events leading up to conducting the research, and the rationale I used during the

9 Scholars such as K. Stewart (2004) and Whang (2003) have collected excellent quantitative data in their studies on Korean cyberculture which concentrate on excessive media use and risk.

[10] Some main findings are discussed in (F. Chee, 2005)

fieldwork. One year before the fieldwork began in Korea, I prepared to conduct ethnography by learning to read and speak Korean. With my research being about daily life at the grassroots, I felt that it was very important to be prepared to speak Korean and blend in as much as possible. This decision ultimately affected my study in a positive manner, and my usage of the vernacular did indeed give me more access to everyday things. The opportunity for mutual acclimatization to my presence was one of the benefits of conducting ethnography over an extended period.

While in Korea, I conducted participant observation within the social contexts of home, school, and miscellaneous daily life and gaming culture. Adding to my cultural immersion, I had the privilege of doing a home stay with a multi-generational Korean family in the heart of Seoul as well as short-term stays in other types of Korean residences outside of Seoul, ranging from a traditional home dating back to the early 20th Century to the more common dense urban high-rises. Many of my experiences inside and outside of my temporary 'family' context provided much subtext for the behaviours I observed in during this research.

I was interested in the specific stories of people navigating through their lives and their specific encounters with games communities. In addition to the informal interviews that took place during my stay in Korea, I conducted formal in-depth interviews in both Korean and English with players who participate in game communities and subject matter experts in the field. Thus, the methods by and large reflected the way things are generally done in Korea—through a myriad of social networks and snowball samples. Using these techniques, I was able to analyze friendship networks within the gamer communities and evaluate general lifestyles.

Furthermore, I conducted focus groups in which I showed participants a BBC news article about Internet addiction in South Korea and asked them to comment on their perceptions of the article's veracity. I checked the varying perspectives in these focus groups against the interview/participant observation data to compare the perspectives on Internet usage in Korea while gaining information about how Koreans perceive their own relations to games, the Internet, technologies, to one another, and the international community at large.

A tradition of order versus chaos in play

In following sections, I will show that play models have largely revolved around the contrast of order versus chaos. One can trace this line of thinking from the 19th century Romantic thinkers, primarily from Nietzsche's Apollonian and Dionysian thought, to Huizinga's ludus and paidia, to Caillois' agon, alea, mimicry, and ilynx. I will argue that it is this tradition that has largely inspired key works in ludology, the study of play.[11]

Within the context of order and chaos, I then analyze of Sutton-Smith's seven rhetorics of play and show that those seven are in fact variants of Apollonian and Dionysian viewpoints of play.

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[11] It would indeed be interesting to look at the binaries of Durkheim's sacred/profane, as well as the Chinese philosophy of yin/yang in a future study.

Nietzsche's Apollonian and Dionysian play

In his first major work, *The Birth of Tragedy* (or, *Hellenism and Pessimism*) (1967),[12] Nietzsche explores the interweaving of Apollonian versus Dionysian sensibilities and artistic impulse (1967:81). Much of this work resonates to the core of contemporary philosophy, and the study of play is no exception. Consistent with the theme of order and chaos, I explore the Apollonian/Dionysian polarity with its antonymic, binary, and dichotomous qualities. *The Birth of Tragedy*'s alternate title, *Hellenism and Pessimism*, is quite intriguing. If Hellenism is alluding to order and beauty (Apollo), Pessimism is an interesting choice of words for Dionysus. It is as if Nietzsche was equating Dionysian realism with pessimism—those with Dionysian mentalities seeing through the illusion of Apollonian society. As I will explain, this ends up being very much what he seems to be conveying.

Nietzsche's writing was fundamentally playful, as he also believed that life itself was essentially a game. He attempts to overturn the illusion of sober, Socratic society in asserting that there was another side to the coin—a more chaotic, ecstatic, playful side. Nietzsche believed that society was little more than a 'playful' exchange of masks (Hans, 1981:x). He sought to reject the perceived nobility, the Hellenic character of the model Greek culture in favour of recognizing the Dionysian (formlessness) element that existed alongside the Apollonian (formalism) presence. I explain these polar opposites further in the following two sections.

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[12] First published in 1872.

Apollonian

As Megill points out, the spirit of Apollo is calm, clear, and luminous. Dominant in this rhetoric of Greek culture is the spirit of temperance, moderation, and justice. It is important to note that the Apollonian spirit emphasizes individual restraint, demanding the strict observance of individual limits or, the *principium individuationis* (1985:213).

Apollo represents order, light, but also implicit in the representation of light is illusion. Megill draws the parallel between rhetoric and illusion (1985:41), or what Foucault would call 'discourse' in what might be seen as a broader Apollonian project to create a utopian society.

Dionysian

The spirit of Dionysus is frenzied, extravagant, ecstatic, and tumultuous. In contrast with the Apollonian emphasis on individual restraint, "the Dionysian spirit is the spirit of hubris, of mystical jubilation, of the shattering of the *principium individuationis* in a savage and ritual unity" (Megill, 1985:213). Dionysus revels in the chaos where Apollo would find an ordered means of enjoyment.

Greek culture, as with every culture, possesses a relationship between order and chaos, formalism and formlessness.[13] In fact, Megill attributes a culture's creativity to the presence of an Apollonian and Dionysian spirit in creation and destruction (1985:214). It is Apollonian illusion however, which protects us against Dionysian chaotic realism.

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[13] These polar opposites are less discrete in other manifestations of order and chaos in other cultures. Yin and yang indicates a symbiotic relationship, as does the Indian Vishnu and Shiva in their creative/destructive capabilities.

In the next section, I will talk about the presence of Apollo and Dionysus in contemporary analyses of play and society.

Huizinga's ludus and paidia

Johan Huizinga's (1955) work, _Homo Ludens: a study of the play element in culture_, discusses the instinct for play as an important factor in the growth of civilization while lamenting the loss of its freeness. "Civilization to-day is no longer played, and even where it still seems to play it is false play—I had almost said, it plays false, so that it becomes increasingly difficult to tell where play ends and non-play begins" (Huizinga, 1955:206). What is important to consider in this work is how he highlights the presence of a play instinct in everything profound in society, such as law, war, academia, and science. Huizinga describes certain aspects of society as representing either orderly play (for example, law) and disorderly play (for example, poetry). These fit under his meta-categories in the form of ludus and paidia. In the following sections, I will describe the pertinence of these categories to the argument of order and chaos.

Ludus

As Huizinga describes, "Ludus covers children's games, recreation, contests, liturgical and theatrical representations, and games of chance" (1955:35). Ludus very much coincides with the concept of the Apollonian magic circle, where disbelief is suspended and the illusion maintained within those boundaries in some semblance of refined order. Huizinga's concept corresponds with what Nietzsche has to say about

Apollo and illusion, "The compounds alludo, collude, illudo, all point in the direction of the unreal, the illusory"(1955:36).

Paidia

The more Dionysian concept, paidia, is the domain of what Huizinga sees as childlike activities. The concept is Dionysian because it has the connotation of being chaotic, fuzzy, trifling, and carefree (Huizinga, 1955:30). However, Huizinga's main project in the book does not seem to expose paidia adequately. Rather, he seemed to divert most of his resources into discussing how play permeated what those at the time (and debatably still do) thought to be 'serious' venues in which play did not exist. Clearly, Homo Ludens in this work is presented as more ludic than paidic indeed. At least, the adults are.

In the following section, I explicate how Roger Caillois builds upon the concepts of ludus and paidia in his proposition of having four fundamental categories of play and games.

Caillois' four fundamental categories

Caillois (1961) in _Man, Play, and Games_ was aiming for a more diversified model of play. He wanted to consider the many different individual and societal needs that play served in different cultural contexts. In this section, I will explain his four fundamental categories of games: agôn (competition), alea (chance), mimicry

(simulation), and ilinx (vertigo). I will then show the binary qualities of order/ chaos, Apollo/ Dionysus, and ludus/paidia into which these four categories are able to fit.

Agôn

Agôn is a group of games in which the emphasis is competition. Usually, the focus is on a rivalry of one particular quality such as speed, endurance, strength, and so on (Caillois, 1961:14). There is also agonistic (competitive) emphasis in activities like chess and spelling competitions. Agôn is essentially fulfilling the need to demonstrate superiority and merit under a given rule set.

Alea

Alea is the complete antithesis to agôn in its absolute lack of emphasis on merit. The form negates work, patience, experience, and qualifications (Caillois, 1961:17) in favour of chance, divine favour, randomness, fate, and destiny. It is for this reason that gambling is very attractive to those who wish to win by chance and escape "the system."

Mimicry

According to Caillois (1961:19), mimicry allows the escaping of the real world and the creation of another. "One can also escape himself and become another." This category assumes the existence of organized play and the "magic circle," where suspension of disbelief is dominant. The play in this category presupposes the temporary acceptance of an illusion, whether by masks, imagination, or acting. "It is not the athletes who mimic, but the spectators" (Caillois, 1961:22). The layman's desire to be a star is what fuels Hollywood, not the stars themselves.

Ilynx

Ilynx includes those types of play that are based on thrill, the pursuit of vertigo, and other such panic-inducing activities. People willingly subject themselves to these types of activities every day like drinking alcohol, riding roller coasters, skydiving, and spinning around in office chairs. This category resembles 'freeplay' in a very true sense with minimal deliberate structure around activities. It is fair to say that these activities are often not formally recognized as play and exist on the fringes and easily bleed into "corrupted play" in the way Caillois would view play when it becomes destructive, such as drinking alcohol to the point that the drinker compromises other long term goals and life activities.

Ludus and paidia as Apollo and Dionysus

Having suggested that ludus is the manifestation of the Apollonian element in play and paidia is the Dionysian element in play, one can see that Caillois himself views his categories in a binary continuum that goes from the categories of ludus to paidia (1961:36). Within Caillois' four categories, he gives examples of an internal continuum of order and chaos. For agôn, non-regulated activities like racing and spontaneous wrestling are more paidic while boxing, billiards, and chess are more ludic. In alea, counting out rhymes and flipping a coin is more paidic while roulette and betting on horseracing is more ludic. Paidic activities in mimicry involve the wearing of masks, playing tag, and games of illusion while the ludic involve scripted spectacles like theatre and various rituals. Lastly, paidic activity in ilynx includes whirling, swinging, and dancing while the ludic aspect of this category is more organized in the manners of skiing,

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mountain climbing, and tightrope walking. Indeed, there are binary aspects within the

four categories, as some activities are more organized and "Apollonian" than others.

Table 2.1: *Looking at three authors, Nietzsche, Huizinga, and Caillois, one can see that their categories of play fit into the broader fundamental binaries of order and chaos. .*

Author	ORDER		CHAOS	
Nietzsche	Apollo		Dionysus	
Huizinga	Ludus		Paidia	
Caillois	Agôn	Mimicry	Alea	Ilynx

Looking at Caillois' four fundamental categories independently, they also fit into

two groups of Apollonian and Dionysian groupings. The ordered competition of agôn and

ritual simulation often found in mimicry resonate with ludus and Apollo. The chance-

taking of alea and recklessness of ilynx resonate with paidia and Dionysus. These four

fundamental categories can yet boil down again into the fundamental binaries of order

and chaos.

Sutton-Smith's rhetorics of play

In this section, I use Brian Sutton-Smith's book, *The Ambiguity of Play,* as a

theoretical compass pointing to the way various interests and disciplines describe what is

happening in play. His seven "rhetorics of play" bring to the forefront ancient and

modern discourses of progress, fate, power, identity, the imaginary, the self, and frivolity.

While the book concentrates on these rhetorics of play in a typically Western context, I

examine the applicability of the rhetorics of play in the context of Korean online games.

After outlining the seven rhetorics and marking them as Apollonian or Dionysian

dominant, I expand upon two of the rhetorics that resonate most in this case: that of

progress and frivolity as they are represented via the professional and amateur online

game contexts in Korea. I use the Korean fieldwork to add another dimension to the

analysis of theoretical binaries and empirical reality. While these rhetorical models are

useful for categorizing action, I hope to show that in an Internet age, the ambiguous

constructs of play Korean youth now find themselves in, is an example of an Apollonian

vision for an Information age, with a Dionysian result. I argue below that Sutton-Smith's

rhetorics of play provide an alternative vocabulary for expressing what is going on in

Korean online gaming, with order and chaos as present themes.[14]

The concept of 'play' itself holds different meanings for different people, often

depending much upon their disciplinary persuasion(s). Because there is no simple

definition of play, Sutton-Smith has focused upon the way the ambiguities of play are

instigated by seven ideological rhetorics: progress, fate, power, identity, the imaginary,

the self, and frivolity (Sutton-Smith, 1997). He outlines these seven value systems in

detail while showing the respective tendencies towards manifest hegemonies in certain

specialized disciplines (1997:214). I will briefly characterise the seven rhetorics of play

in his book, with my interpretive categorization in brackets.

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[14] Other ways to think about play include the work of James Hans' (1981) The Play of the World. His is a model that reaches outside of the binaries I discuss here to look at play as rhizomatic, based upon grafting (games lead to new skills, innovation, and involves a whole process of play). Hans relies much upon Derrida for his thinking.

Progress (Apollonian)

The rhetoric of play as progress involves adapting and developing through play. The major emphasis is on play as a tool that enables growth and socialization. Largely inspired by rational thought from the Enlightenment, play is seen as instrumental, occurring in various species as they evolve. One experiences this rhetoric to the greatest extent in contemporary educational literature about the benefits or consequences of play, games, and stimulation.

Fate (Dionysian, with Apollonian influences)

The rhetoric of play as fate is usually applied to gambling and games of chance. Games that involve what we think of as magic and luck, such as rolling dice, random shuffling of cards, or 'divine favour' fall under this category. The equivalent term for this rhetoric in Caillois (1961: 44) is "alea." The manifestations of this rhetoric occur in contemporary games and play. One example is the growing of a "playoff beard," in order to influence positive outcomes of a hockey game. Though it is not readily apparent how this beard would influence the score of a playoff game, players will generally observe this 'superstition' on the off chance that this associated ritual might play a role in their victory. I would suggest that the confidence in fate's randomness is quite Dionysian, but the rules under which certain conditions occur have Apollonian influences.

Power (Apollonian dominated)

The rhetoric of play as power is commonly experienced in sports, athletics and contests. It is about the use of play as the representation of conflict and as a way to increase and/or strengthen the status of those who control the play, resulting in a victory,

surrender, or loss. The creation and existence of heroes, of politics and war as they manifest in the everyday is also evidence of this rhetoric.

Identity (Apollonian)

The rhetoric of play as identity is associated with traditional, community-oriented celebrations and festivals. It typically occurs when the play tradition is seen as a means of confirming, maintaining, or advancing the power and identity of the community of players. A means of facilitating cooperation, Huizinga (1955) would view this as key for the maintenance of civil society.

Imaginary (Dionysian)

The rhetoric of play as the imaginary is invoked in the contexts of playful improvisation of all kinds in literature, and idealizing the imagination, flexibility, and creativity of the animal and human play worlds. Child phantasmagoria fits under this category, as does the free play of Dungeons and Dragons improvised play games, or imaginary conversations a child has while pretending to talk on the phone. This is evident in creative materials that arise from games and play, such as fan fiction, professional and amateur created art, and narratives built around such activities.

Self (Dionysian)

The rhetoric of the self applies to solitary activities or high-risk phenomena like bungee jumping. Feelings of personal exhilaration or individual-centric sentiment are the norm. Here the central advocacies of the secular and consumerist manner of modern (individualist as opposed to collectivist) life invade the interpretations of play and are

questioned because of their twentieth-century relativity. The emphasis is on one's

individual peak experience, rather than the collective.

Frivolity (Dionysian)

The rhetoric of play as frivolous takes on the opposite meaning of play as

progress. It inverts the classic "work ethic" view of play, against which all the other

rhetorics exist as rhetorics of rebuttal (Sutton-Smith, 1997:11). In this view, play is free,

with no meta-purpose driving its conduct. In this case, various activities may be

dismissed as useless if other rhetorics of play are dominant.

*Table 2.2:   An analysis of Sutton-Smith's rhetorics of play as they fit with the other taxonomies
of play in the meta-categories of order and chaos. .*

Author	ORDER			CHAOS			
Nietzsche	Apollo			Dionysus			
Huizinga	Ludus			Paidia			
Caillois	Agôn		Mimicry	Alea		Ilynx	
Sutton-Smith	Progress	Power	Identity	Fate	Imaginary	Self	Frivolity

An analysis of progress and frivolity – professional and amateur gaming

While I would like to go through all seven rhetorics as they apply to the

Korean online games scene, the scope of this paper only allows me to explore a couple of

the most interesting rhetorics: that of play as progress and play as frivolity, as they are

the most seemingly opposed. Within the broader context of a society embracing

technological literacy and the implementations of various initiatives that hail broadband

access as the gateway to a progressive global future, the presence of online games and their related activities have permeated the everyday lives of Koreans. However, the participation in such activities has come to be viewed as an unfortunate casualty of technological progress. Within that sphere of seemingly frivolous activity, I will talk about the complexities of two seemingly related but really quite different activities associated with online gaming in Korea: professional and amateur gaming, with additional input from Huizinga and Caillois. Though game playing is pervasive in Korean society, it is interesting to look at how these cases, with increasing levels of institutionalization, have as a result pulled more out of 'fringe' activities and into a process of rationalization.

Professional gaming

Professional gaming, or "eSports" emerged in Korea in the late 1990s alongside the popular real time strategy (RTS) game StarCraft by Blizzard. Since then, it has developed into a fully integrated industry that includes gamers, teams, corporate sponsors and their audiences (Lee, 2005:16). Pro-gamers in Korea enjoy exemption from stigmatization as "geeks." To the contrary, the pro-gamers are idolized to the extent that typical celebrities are, involved in their fair share of gossip and intrigue, marrying supermodels, and other such sensational activities.

While in Korea, I was able to watch these professional gamer competitions on television and participate as an audience member at live studio broadcasts of pro-gamer tournaments. From a particularly vivid memory of the first live broadcast I attended, I recall walking into the studio in the basement of a large shopping mall. Two hours prior to the start time, I wanted to assess the unfamiliar situation. The walls were plastered

with posters and logos from what looked like the major sponsors of the 'event.' It was still rather dark, but with all the devotion that one might see adolescent girls waiting for the Backstreet Boys, there were girls in this studio, sitting by homemade pom-poms and giant posters professing their adoration. They had saved seats. There was also the occasional couple spending time together and warming a bench. I was unsure of how everyone had been there. I left to get some lunch, and when I came back, it was bright, crowded, and standing room only in the back for me. I squished in with the standees, and did not stand out when I was taking photos because everyone else was doing it with their digital cameras and mobile phones. The professional gamers were at their computer stations at the front of the studio wearing their blue and white SKY uniforms. When the broadcast began, so did the screams, cheers, colour commentary akin to Hockey Night in Canada, and strobe lights. I stood there in the back of the studio in awe at the spectacle that was before me, with the drama similar to that of professional wrestling matches, complete with team members of a losing side weeping. The atmosphere was unavoidably social, claustrophobic, and full of excess youthful energy.

One cannot underestimate the role of the mass media in prolonging the enthusiasm for games like StarCraft that, in other parts of the world, has long since subsided. The interesting thing to ponder in this case is whether or not this 'frivolous' form of entertainment is still frivolous. Or, has 'play' in this sense become rationalized as a work process that is entertaining?[15] Huizinga (1955:7) would reflect the idealist position on play in saying that professional gamers probably are not "playing" as playing to order is no longer play, but an imitation of it. Caillois (1961), who wrote his work after

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[15] One can think about this similarly in how celebrity actors are viewed as having jobs while they are able to partake in theatrical 'plays.' I would argue that acting, as a trade, has been through a longer process of rationalization as work and productivity and the rhetoric surrounding acting is naturalized.

Huizinga would classify work (earnest) not in the same category as play and instead a "corruption" of the true principle of play, which is supposed to be somewhat free and altruistic. Sutton-Smith also notes that "work is obligatory, sober, serious, and not fun, and play is the opposite of these" (1997: 202). This classification has implications for how we may think about gaming for money in similar terms as professional sports like soccer in the devotion and time required to be successful. According to Gruneau (1999:06), Huizinga makes use of both the rhetoric of play as progress and frivolity in saying that the spirit of the play force is responsible for the advancement of western civilization (progress) and also that play must be free (frivolity) in order to retain its qualities that are beneficial (progress) for society. The eSports scene in Korea is a mixture of the technology enabled by the rhetoric of play as progress and yet, still has the connotation of frivolity for those who invest time, energy, and money in the outcomes. In the following section, I will explore how the situation might or might not be different for gamers who are considered to be amateurs.

Amateur gaming

The rhetoric associated with amateur gaming in Korea is even more complex in its intersections between progress and frivolity. General public consensus (Kim, 2005; K. Stewart, 2004; Whang, 2003) would indicate that online gaming is still perceived as a frivolous (and addictive) activity, used merely for entertainment and a distraction from the more important purposes technology should serve in the progress of the nation. However, rather than viewing their gaming activities as frivolous, the players interviewed in this study highlighted significant social and economic reasons for investing many hours in game activities.

How Korean youth seem to be so intensely engaged in online gaming can be explained in part by understanding the background of contemporary Korean society. First, Koreans have been found to spend a lot more time nurturing social networks in depth and breadth than other countries like the United States (Yee, 2000). This is exhibited in the behaviour of Koreans of all ages with various activities. The choice for youth is often to participate in these dominant gaming activities, or stay away at the risk of alienating oneself from the common activity of the social group. Huizinga asserts, "Play can be deferred or suspended at any time. It is never imposed by physical necessity or moral duty. It is never a task. It is done at leisure, during "free time". Only when play is a recognized cultural function—a rite, a ceremony—it is bound up with notions of obligation and duty" (Huizinga, 1955:08). In the real world of practice, this is only sometimes true. Almost all the youth I encountered talked about their online activities with relation to obligation and duty—to their friends and designated times or to their guild, clan or band of blood brothers. Second, many Korean youth choose to game because in instances like the PC game rooms, they are able to be together online and offline and the activity is a vessel for social interaction which is readily available, and economical at about a dollar US per hour (F. Chee, 2005). Gaming venues even command an important place for the courtship of some young couples because of the cost-effectiveness of being social there, rather than other more costly places.[16] Third, the economic circumstance of youth in Korea makes earning money independently online an attractive option. Cross-referencing of census data from the Korean National Statistical Office indicates that the youth are underemployed at about a 93% unemployment rate in

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[16] So much so, that there are special "couple zones" with workstations that include two computers close together, joined with a loveseat.

the age 15-19 category (KNSO, 2005). The young, relatively inexperienced workforce in Korea is structurally compelled to remain inexperienced for a longer period of time than in North America.[17] There is thus some ambiguity in classifying these play activities as mere frivolity.

In Korea, the soonest one can typically start working is eighteen years of age and many do not. Professional gamers, often starting younger than eighteen, are already the exceptions to the rule as child celebrities earning a living in North America would be. As it is highly irregular to move out of one's family home until marriage, once someone turns eighteen, it is on a case-by-case basis whether or not someone chooses to work, if one is able to find a job. If someone takes a job, it is often a low paying part-time job, known as "arubeit". On the other hand, if one chooses to do so, it is quite possible to earn more selling online game items than holding a part-time job, which would require the right age, experience, and an accepted application—which in the gaming world would not be required. Those who make money by selling virtual items on sites like the Korean virtual item auction site Itembay.com cannot compete with professional gamer levels of income, but I was surprised to find out that amateur players can make sometimes $100 USD per week[18] or more in their online/offline exchanges (whether by using Itembay or personal arrangements). It is therefore important to consider contextual reasons in addition to the obvious monetary reasons for why players might spend what some might call an excessive amount of time logged on, buying or selling items. Researchers like Castronova (2001) have noted that online pursuits allow more meritocratic events to

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[17] There are many sociocultural reason for this, such as Confucian ideology which privileges seniority. It is very common to for someone to stay with and rely upon one's parents until marriage (generally occurring in one's early or late 20s for females or early to late 30s for males).
[18] This figure is derived from my interviews and observations of game players. Due to lack of trackability, data on this in Korean as well as international statistical studies is rather inconclusive.

occur to a greater extent than their offline equivalents, and therefore are generally more appealing than offline activities. Perhaps games, with their flexible environments, are a retrieval of the organic connection with the structure of society. Huizinga notes that

> "In modern social life sport occupies a place alongside and apart from the cultural process. The great competitions in archaic cultures had always formed part of the sacred festivals and were indispensable as health and happiness-bringing activities. This ritual tie has now been completely severed; sport has become profane, "unholy" in every way and has no organic connection whatever with the structure of society, least of all when prescribed by the government." (Huizinga, 1955:197-198)

One might see how earning money by selling online items might be attractive for many reasons. First, in an already saturated job market, the income may provide extra pocket change and an increased sense of independence from one's family. In terms of progress rhetoric, Huizinga talks about play as a training ground of sorts for the young to grasp what serious work later on in life will entail (1955:02). Second, there seems to be a feeling of productiveness associated with earning a living, especially after military service when people are often in a state of uncertainty, and one is in a state of limbo while searching for a job and/or finishing post-secondary. Caillois is slightly more nuanced in that he might explain what we are seeing here in those who do not earn as much as more of a frivolous compensation by saying, "Daily competition is harsh and implacable as well as monotonous and exhausting. It provides no diversion and accumulates rancor. It abuses and discourages—for, practically speaking, it provides scarcely any hope of improving one's status by means of one's earnings alone. Therefore everyone seeks to compensate" (Caillois, 1961:119). The practise of selling items may very well be a way people try to empower themselves with more agency and sense of

self-worth, fringe benefits, alongside significant social practices of youth navigating within a society of conflicting rhetorics.

How does one go about understanding the rhetoric of play as progress and frivolity as evident in the Korean case study? There are indeed some tensions and contradictions to be observed and negotiated at the intersection of individual agency and social structure, in order and chaos. There are ambiguous mixed messages coming from government and industry technology that technology is the answer, but still much ambiguity on how the embracing of those technologies is being acted out at the user level. The professional gamers might not be 'playing' and the amateurs are somewhat playing. It is ambiguous, orderly, and at the same time possesses its own chaos. The real context of online gaming in Korea is not easily definable in purely theoretical terms. There seems to be a fusion of play and work in this case. I hope that this look at order and chaos, with the application of contemporary ludology assists in the further understanding and future inquiry of the parameters of play within local contexts.

Apollonian visions with Dionysian results?

As one might see from the examples of professional and amateur gaming, the implementation of forms of play from a public policy standpoint tends to favour rhetorics of progress over frivolity. While this may seem to be a natural starting point, in empirical reality, the unyielding, theoretical dichotomy of progress (Apollo) vs. frivolity (Dionysus) breaks down. I will show how Apollonian visions of technological modernity sometimes have Dionysian results by drawing parallels between what I saw in Korea and

a case study from France. Policy makers begin with an Apollionian vision that disparages Dionysian play. The Dionysian elements seem to pollute the Apollonian play, but later lead to a fusion of the two. The result is something that is neither purely Apollonian nor Dionysian, and reflects life more accurately—a mixture of progress and frivolity.

A number of social constructions of technology have resulted from the introduction of new media on national scale. After many years of promoting technological innovation and widespread Internet usage in South Korea (K. Stewart, 2004), the Korean government has been involved with funding a number of initiatives that seem to be at odds. An example of this is the Center for Internet Addiction Prevention and Counselling (CIPC), which operates under the Ministry of Information and Communication (MIC) and the Korea Agency for Digital Opportunity and Promotion(KADO) (Chee, 2003). At this centres, players who are classified as "Internet addicts" go through counselling in order to harmonize their online life with their offline life.[19]   At the same time, the government encourages investment in the Korean games industry and funnels resources into promoting the nation as a haven for professional and amateur games. The government-run Korea Game Development and Promotion Institute (KGDI) partners with such organizations as the Computer Entertainment Software Association (CESA) in order to produce industry awareness and promote investment in Korean games. There seems to be a policy disconnect between initial vision, actual usage, and the policies that arise after the fact.

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[19] However that may happen is beyond the scope of this paper.

A similar phenomenon occurred in France, with the particularly interesting case of Andrew Feenberg's (1995) study on the social construction of the French Minitel during the 1980s. In order to propel the nation into the next century, the French government through its telephone company distributed millions of free terminals called "Minitels" (A. Feenberg, 1995:148). However, once equipped with the terminals, households did not make much use of the data at their disposal until two years into its implementation, when hackers revamped the system into a messaging system. The operators of the service opposed the move initially, but later institutionalized this new service and "made a fortune" (1995:150). Even as the system matured, the official documents continued to underestimate the potential for sociability and communication via this new medium.

The cases in France and Korea are surprisingly similar for a major reason: at the conception of their respective technological initiatives, both countries were attempting to conform to a notion of modernity that was largely defined by what the world saw in the technological 'progress' of the United States. Feenberg states that it is difficult for Americans to imagine striving for modernity because America defines modernity (1995:147). France and Korea were both striving for their own visions of technological progress in order to ensure their participation in the immanent information age, as they perceived it to be.

In this French Minitel case, the original definition of the technology was rejected by users (A. Feenberg, 1995:165). Instead of using the technology for their intended purposes, users latched onto what they found interesting about it, experiencing

acceptance and opposition, with the 'new' way of using the technology later being institutionalized by service providers.

In Korea, we see a 'moment in time' similar to the French case, but online games in Korea have in no way become obsolete. Instead, the Korean government, through its various divisions, actively participates in the promotion and control of the nascent games culture. As cases like Feenberg's work on the Minitel indicate, the games we 'play' in society are nothing new. They are merely technological variations on a theme, which elicit different behaviours, but nothing we have not seen before, or as destructive as anything else ever was. What they do highlight though, is the constant tension between rhetorics of progress versus frivolity found between institutional vision of technological implementation and the social construction of technological use.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I have outlined a number of approaches in the West that have been used to understand, explain, and evaluate the role of play in society. I discussed the binary quality of different interpretive models for play formulated in Western thought and tested their application to the empirical reality as found in my ethnography of play and games in Korea. First, I outlined the situation in Korea under analysis, the methodology, and rationale for the case study. Second, I talk about a tradition of dichotomous play models that revolve around a binary analysis as it related to this paper, includes Nietzsche's (1967) use of the Greek gods Apollo and Dionysus as polar opposites representing order and chaos. I then discussed the classic works of Johan Huizinga

(1955) and Roger Caillois (1961), in order to show how their models reflect the polarities of Apollonian and Dionysian play. Third, I discussed my use of a less antonymic model of play, namely Brian Sutton-Smith's (1997) seven rhetorics of play, while showing that there are binary qualities even to the interpretive model. I then analyzed the rhetorics of progress and frivolity in terms of increased institutionalization of professional and amateur gaming, which provide rationalized forms of play in order to fit Dionysian results with Apollonian visions of modernity. I supported this by looking at the similarities between the implementation of progress rhetoric in contemporary Korea versus a case from France in the 1980s. My application of these models to various aspects of the empirical examples from the Korean online games situation highlighted the nature of binary analysis that some might not recognize in more contemporary models of play, and implementation of play in policy. While it is true that binary-dominant play models are useful for understanding some of the order and chaos associated with Korean online game culture, it is important to realize the symbiotic relationship between progress and frivolity, Apollo and Dionysus.

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