

University of Montana

ScholarWorks at University of Montana

Undergraduate Theses and Professional Papers

2016

“Are There Any Girls There?” Empowering Excursions and Gender Role Subversion in Dungeons and Dragons

Rachel M. Just

University of Montana, rachel.just@umontana.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/utpp>



Part of the [Sociology of Culture Commons](#)

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Just, Rachel M., ““Are There Any Girls There?” Empowering Excursions and Gender Role Subversion in Dungeons and Dragons” (2016). *Undergraduate Theses and Professional Papers*. 126.

<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/utpp/126>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Undergraduate Theses and Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.

“ARE THERE ANY GIRLS THERE?”
EMPOWERING EXCURSIONS AND GENDER ROLE SUBVERSION IN DUNGEONS AND
DRAGONS

By
RACHEL M. JUST

Undergraduate Thesis
presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the University Scholar distinction

Davidson Honors College
University of Montana
Missoula, MT

December 2016

Approved by:

Daisy Rooks, Faculty Mentor
Sociology

ABSTRACT

Just, Rachel, B.A., December 2016

Sociology

“Are There Any Girl There?” Empowering Excursions and Gender Role Subversion in Dungeons and Dragons

Faculty Mentor: Daisy Rooks

In this article, the author examines the gendered experiences of twelve women who play Dungeons and Dragons, a popular roleplaying tabletop game. The author utilizes Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann’s concept of the excursion to analyze how participants use roleplay in Dungeons and Dragons to achieve empowerment. Many of the women interviewed described being subjected to gendered behavioral expectations both in their everyday life and during gameplay. With an empowering gaming group, however, roleplay allowed the participants to challenge, and subvert, those gendered expectations. The author concludes that roleplay provides an empowering excursion from everyday life that allows women participants to deal with frustration about gendered treatment and challenge institutional gender roles.

“Are There Any Girls There?”

Empowering Excursions and Gender Role Subversion in Dungeons and Dragons

Introduction

In the 40 years since the creation of Dungeons and Dragons (D&D), the game has attracted over 20 million players and amassed over 20 billion dollars from merchandise, including gaming guides and equipment (Wizards of the Coast 2017). D&D is also the central to the plot of *Stranger Things*, a Netflix-original series that attracted 14 million viewers in 35 days (Holloway 2016). D&D’s popularity, thus its cultural influence, makes academic analysis necessary. Of the various facets of D&D that can be explored, gender is one of the most important.

Using data from twelve in-depth interviews with women who play D&D, I investigate how gender impacts the tabletop gaming experience. In particular, I examine the ways in which women use roleplay within D&D to challenge institutional gender roles.

Literature Review

Gaming provides an effective medium for examining dominant gender roles due to its interactive and personal nature. Therefore, many researchers have conducted studies on objectification and stereotyping in video gaming. These studies are primarily conducted on “subordinate groups,” a phrase used by Dick Hebdige in *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* to define what it is that makes a group a subculture. Most researchers have come to the same conclusion (1979:2). They have concluded that women are subjected to unsavory representation in game content and to differential treatment in social interaction within the video gaming subculture (Sherman 1997; Sun et al 2008; Schleiner 2001; Provenzo 2000). However, tabletop gaming remains widely understudied. Researchers in psychology and anthropology have

conducted much of the extant research on tabletop gaming. However, complex gender roles and gendered treatment exist within tabletop gaming that facilitate a rich and complex sociological analysis.

Katherine Angel Cross conducted research on tabletop gaming in 2012 and remains one of the few sociologists to explore this form of media. According to Cross (2012: 71), online and tabletop gaming can provide a “Laboratory of Dreams” for women to create virtual utopias in the dystopian patriarchy we now inhabit. In digital role-playing games (RPGs), players often create characters with which they identify. They also often make choices that determine the outcome of the game. Therefore, within the digital RPG environment, women can create a gaming experience that reflects their identity. Inversely, they can adopt a digital persona to challenge normative gender roles.

Sharon Sherman, however, notes in her research that digital gaming still provides limited opportunities to challenge gender roles. In the video game subculture, many women and girls respond to exclusion and sexism by changing the gender of the character and message within the game whenever possible (Sherman 1997). In Super Mario 2, for example, women and girls can play the game as Princess Peach rather than Mario or Luigi if they chose to do so (Sherman 1997). The freedom available in video games is becoming increasingly more common. In games like Mass Effect, players can choose between a female and male protagonist at the beginning of the game. However, the narrative arc remains the same. Sherman (1997) notes that the narratives within video games reinforce institutional gender roles. Slight changes to the narrative or imagery, like physical appearance and gender pronoun, do little to provide tools for gender role subversion to women and girls. Tabletop role-playing games, however, provide more

opportunities for gender role subversion than video games as each game is created from the imagination of the players.

In order to understand the potential benefits of roleplaying, it is important first to establish how institutional roles are constructed. In *The Social Construction of Reality*, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann argue that social order is a human construction that is subject to “habitualization,” which they define as “predefined patterns of conduct” that are carried out to ensure “economy of effort” (1967:55). This means that there is a pattern of behavior with minimum decision-making, “freeing energy . . . for deliberation and innovation” (1967:53). When “there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions” (1967:53), repeated patterns of conduct become institutionalized. In other words, institutionalization occurs when the institution in question typifies not only the actions but also the actors. Each institution has its own institutionally appropriate rules of conduct, and the institution expects the actors, or individuals within society, to conform to a predetermined set of behavioral expectations. This is a form of social control, as it limits an individual’s behavior.

The structure of roleplay within tabletop games provides the players with a way to temporarily suspend those rules and expectations through an “excursion from the reality of everyday life” (1967:25). Berger and Luckmann utilize the example of theater in *The Social Construction of Reality* to illustrate the concept of excursion. The authors state that theatregoers move from the reality of everyday life to the reality unfolding on stage with “the rising and falling of the curtain” (1967:25). In this new reality, they find themselves transported to another world with “its own meaning and order that may or may not have much to do with the order of everyday life” (1967:25). Roleplay, however, provides a significantly more interactive type of excursion, as the role of the roleplayer is one of active participation as opposed to the role of a

theater attendant as a passive observer. Nonetheless, the benefit of participating in an excursion is one of a temporary escape from everyday life in which “a radical change takes place in the tension of consciousness” (1967:26). The excursionist then translates the experiences that occur within the non-everyday experiences and integrates them with the everyday experiences. In this way, excursions from everyday life provide “finite provinces of meaning,” allowing the individual to derive meaning from their excursion into a different reality before returning to that of the everyday.

Berger and Luckmann, however, do not consider gender in their theory. Feminist standpoint theory fills this gap by providing a gender-focused analysis meaning creation. According to feminist standpoint theory, the meaning a woman would derive would be fundamentally different than the meaning a man would derive. In “The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism,” Nancy Hartsock argues that women’s position within every society is “structurally different from men” (1998:106). According to Hartsock, this structural difference is based on the sexual division of labor. Hartsock uses this term rather than gendered division of labor to indicate that women’s biological role as child-bearers places them in an inferior position in the workforce. Historically, society has expected women to make larger contributions to subsistence, unpaid labor, than men in addition to paid labor, which means that women typically work more hours per week than men (Hartsock 1998:114). Hartsock argues that this causes women to be more consumed by and continually in contact with production or work. This structural difference translates to differential treatment both within the dominant social order and the social order of subcultures.

The sexual division of labor grants women a unique perspective that allows them to understand gender roles in a more complete way. Like Berger and Luckmann, Hartsock asserts

that there are various levels of reality (1998:108). Hartsock's levels, however, are based on the Marxist duality of bourgeoisie and proletariat. In Hartsock's extended analogy, she compares women to the subordinate proletariat and men to the privileged bourgeoisie (1998:109). Hartsock argues that these levels are constructed in the process of child rearing. Because women are largely responsible for subsistence, society delegates child-rearing "as an institution rather than experience" to women (1998:116). While men are capable of and often do participate in child-rearing, the institutional behavioral expectations are placed on women. Women's subordinate position, then, provides an experience that "not only inverts that of the male, but forms a basis on which to expose abstract masculinity as both partial and fundamentally perverse, as not only occupying only one side of the dualities it has constructed, but reversing the proper valuation of human activity" (Hartsock 1998:114). The gendered differences in behavioral expectations, therefore, allow women to develop a standpoint that men are unable to realize.

Women's standpoint informs the way in which women roleplay their character in the game. Therefore, analyzing the ways in which women's choices within the context of roleplay reflect that standpoint can provide men with a deeper understanding of the problematic gender roles women are subjected to, inspire more women to play tabletop roleplaying games as a means of challenging gender roles, and potentially provide insights about tools of subversion in everyday life to other women.

Background

Tabletop game is a broad term used to refer to dice, card, board and role-playing games that are played on a flat surface, face-to-face with other individuals. This term is particularly useful when distinguishing tabletop role-playing games like D&D from role-playing video games and live action role-playing (LARP). D&D is a fantasy pencil-and-paper, role-playing

game that operates on polyhedral dice mechanics. While standard rules exist, the appeal of open-ended adventure and imaginative gameplay often result in rule manipulation to create a unique experience for each campaign, or set of gaming sessions based on a single narrative. Each player creates a character and leads the character through quests and battles using roleplay. Roleplay is guided by the Dungeon Master (DM), an individual who moderates the gameplay by dictating the narrative and providing judgment calls for the group of players. Players can customize their gaming experience either by working with the DM to create a satisfactory narrative or finding a new group with which to play.

D&D was first published in 1974 by Gary Gygax and Dave Arneson. The two met at a convention Gygax hosted in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin called Lake Geneva Wargames Convention (Gen Con). The convention attracted gamers who not only wanted to play wargames but also wanted to discuss potential game designs. Gygax and Arneson shared a mutual desire to marry the mechanics of wargames and immersive narrative, an unprecedented feat that resulted in an incredibly successful game design.

Methods

I started playing D&D in 2010 with a couple of close friends and their group. I resisted for almost a month despite daily invitations because of the negative stereotypes that exist about people who play D&D. I had conceived of D&D as an entirely nerdy activity that I would not get any enjoyment out of, and I did not think I would be able to relate to any of the other players who I was not already friends with. When I finally caved and started playing, I fell in love with the limitless possibilities and found myself oddly attached to the charismatic elven sorcerer that I created. I loved that I could adopt an entirely new identity that differed from my own. I also became friends with all of the people in the group and found we had more in common than I

anticipated. When that group fell apart, I immediately began looking for a new group, which led to disappointment after disappointment. Some of the male DMs I played with stereotyped women within the game, they treated me differently than male players, and there were very few narratives with which I could identify. They were primarily based on combat and provided little opportunity for roleplay. I began to wonder if other women experienced the same kind of treatment, and if they did, what compels them to continue to play.

In order to answer those questions, I decided I would interview women who play D&D about their experiences with gaming. I then decided that I would attend Gen Con 2016 because I knew that women who were experienced D&D players would be attending. The Gen Con website refers to the convention as “the best four days in gaming” and was held on August 4th-7th in Indianapolis. Within the Indianapolis Convention Center (ICC) and Lucas Oil Stadium, there were various halls in which players hosted various tabletop games, sold games and art, and even provided opportunity to complete craft projects like chainmail bracelets. In a post-convention press release, Gen Con employee Stacia Kirby stated that over 200,000 people attended the 2016 convention (Kirby 2016). In the months preceding the convention, I posted a message on a forum moderated by Gen Con employees, asking women who were interested in participating in research during the conference to contact me. I received approximately twenty responses, which ultimately resulted in ten interviews with women from the South, Midwest, and Northeast regions of the United States and a couple from Canada. The participants ranged in age, from mid-twenties to mid-fifties. The women I interviewed also ranged in amount of time they have been playing, from as few as three years to as many as forty.

When I arrived in Indianapolis, it was immediately apparent that the convention had taken over downtown Indianapolis. For four days, I could not walk within a two-mile radius of

the convention center without visibly excited attendants wearing Gen Con badges. Thousands of gamers, game developers, and people dressed up as their favorite video game and movie characters travelled from across the country to play familiar games with new people and try out new releases.

I met with my participants in ICC food court and in the lobbies of nearby hotels. My interview schedule contained twelve questions covering how and why participants started playing D&D, the groups that they play with, and the kind of characters and stories they create (see Appendix). I asked follow-up questions when participants offered information that required clarification or elaboration. The interviews lasted between fourteen and forty minutes, and I recorded them all with a digital audio recorder to ensure proper transcription. Once I transcribed all of the interviews, I analyzed the twelve transcriptions with NVivo to identify common themes. Many themes emerged from this analysis, including gendered limitations of the game, participants' strong interest in fantasy literature, character connection, identity expression through roleplay gender roles, gendered gameplay, and empowering social excursion. While all of these themes lend themselves to deeper analysis, I chose to explore the last three themes in my thesis. These themes provide the best overall representation of how the temporary excursion of roleplay enables women to challenge gender roles.

Results

After analyzing the data, I found that my interviewees respond to everyday gendered expectations and limitations imposed on them by institutional gender roles within the roleplay environment. Many of the women interviewed were unsatisfied with gendered expectations about behavior society has placed on them, and some of my interviewees experienced gendered treatment while gaming. However, when the women I interviewed found an empowering group,

like the ones described in the empowering excursion subsection, they were able to challenge gendered expectations within roleplay. Analysis of three themes will explain how my interviewees utilize roleplay in tabletop gaming to challenge institutional gender roles: (1) gender roles, (2) gendered game play, and (3) empowering excursion.

Gender Roles

In their interviews, women talked about the roles they occupy in society and the expectations about behavior that accompany those roles. A few of my interviewees discussed gendered treatment specifically within the workplace while others described a more general, societal sense of gendered treatment and behavioral expectations. The simulated society that participants and their gaming groups create in D&D, however, allows them to challenge those behavioral expectations.

Sierra works in the male-dominated tech industry and is subjected to gendered treatment not only by co-workers, clients, and supervisors but also by family. At work, she is often discounted and underestimated by coworkers and clients because she is a woman. For example, she described getting “a lot of shit at work, like ‘Oh, she doesn’t know what she’s talking about,’ or ‘Oh, they just sent her to talk because she’s perky.’” When she has challenged her coworkers’ and clients’ expectation about how she should conduct herself at work, she was called gendered, derogatory names: “sometimes I have to be kind of a ‘bitch’ [air quotes] at work, and that bothers me, too, because that label is so terrible. I’m not being bitchy. I’m being in control.” Any behaviors she exhibits outside the institutionally expected behaviors for women, like standing up for herself or asserting control, cause her male coworkers to see her as a “bitch.”

Sierra, in response to workplace sexism, uses D&D to express her frustrations: “I can’t say what I really want to say to my coworkers, so I’ll just kill some orcs and be happy with it.”

Her D&D character, in addition to being physical strong, is also able to “say all the things that [Sierra] could say or wish [she] could say” at work and in her personal life. She explained that she tends to play stealthy characters, as these characters are able to “do whatever she wants and kill whoever gets in her way . . . doing [her] job and doing it well then at the end reaping the rewards.” In roleplay, the challenges she faces to do her job well and remain professional can be addressed, and she will not be called derogatory names. She is able to adhere to the socially prescribed rules of conduct at work, and then release the resulting pressure in roleplay.

Sierra also discussed the pressure she receives from family and friends to step back from work to have children: “People will say, ‘well, once you have babies, aren’t you going to step back?’ No, I’m not going to. If I did decide to breed, my husband would be staying home because you know what? I’m the breadwinner here.” Her family and friends expect that she will leave the workforce to care for children, an assumption that mirrors Hartsock’s argument about gendered expectations for women’s household contribution. Society expects women to stay home to care for children, and Sierra experiences that pressure. The people making this assumption assume that she will have children without considering whether or not she and her husband even want children. Her character in D&D, then, gives her the ability to challenge gendered behavioral expectations and embodies her desire to make her own choices: “She just was who she was and didn’t give any fucks about anything else.”

Maggie also discussed gendered workplace expectations in her profession. As a woman in the nursing field, Maggie’s supervisors, co-workers, and patients expect her to be nurturing and caring. As she describes, she has to “spend twelve hours a day being super nice and helpful.” This is difficult for someone who has “fairly serious problems with depression and anxiety” as Maggie does. Her supervisors, coworkers, and patients expect her to maintain control of her

emotions, putting her patients' well-being before her own. However, when she plays D&D, she allows "the dark side come out to play a little bit." She likes to play "kind of darkish characters" that allow her to "let go of everyday crap and do stuff you couldn't do in your usual life." When I asked about her favorite character, she told me about one she created when she was "having a rough time with family issues." This particular character started out evil and, over the course of the campaign, became good. Maggie noted that "part of her arc actually came about because I was feeling a whole lot better." D&D, then, provided a space in which Maggie could explore the feelings she was having and process them.

For River, gendered behavioral expectations affect how she was able to express emotions in her everyday life. As she explained in her interview, though, participating in D&D campaigns with supportive players, offered her opportunities to subvert those gendered expectations and process emotions in her own way:

I think that playing Dungeons and Dragons allows me to enact out some of my more masculine tendencies without fear of retribution. Often times, I've heard that an angry woman is a dumb woman or a scary woman or can never be trusted . . . D&D allowed me to engage that part of myself without fear of retribution. I could be really bossy and angry all the time. My character could act out in ways that I could never act out in real life, but still be accepted by the group.

Through roleplay, River is able to explore the emotional aspects of her personality without feeling judged. This is only possible with a group of people who are willing to support her challenging gender roles. Unfortunately, this is not always attainable for women who play D&D.

Gendered Game Play

My interviewees described similar challenges with men in the tabletop gaming subculture as in everyday life: exclusion, objectification and patronization. River has been playing D&D for thirty years, so she has a wealth of information on this. When River first started playing D&D, she was often excluded by male players. She “got turned down a lot, flat.” Mary, who has also been playing for thirty years, experienced this when she had a boyfriend who played D&D but excluded her from his games:

He had a regular game, and they never thought to ask me to play, even though he knew [that] I played or I had played, and [that] I knew what he was talking about. I never got invited. At the time, it never occurred to me that that was an issue because I had so many other things going on with school and whatnot. Now that I think, once I got back into things, and I thought about it, it’s like, that wasn’t right.

Both Mary and River continued to play despite these initial difficulties, and in their interviews, both explained that things have changed since they’ve started playing. Over time, River explained, “guys have started to stand up for us” and there has even been “a lot of really good support from media,” including realistic depictions of women gamers showing other women gamers “how to shut [sexism] down.” Both women also noted that it has become easier to find an inclusive group, which is key to a positive gaming experience for them.

The differential treatment that other interviewees described included oversexualizing and objectification of characters and patronization. Yara, for example, noted that she would go periods of time without playing because “it was such a novelty to the [men] playing that a girl was playing,” and she felt like her character was being “oversexualized” even though she was playing a female dwarf with traits that would not necessary fit the common definition of what is attractive. This made Yara feel as though male players reduced her character to a sex object

rather than a fully developed character capable of contributing to the narrative. As she explained, “I guess there’s a difference between feeling like you’re part of a story unfolding and you’re actually a part of it rather than just living out these really vain, cliché fantasies of, you know, ‘Are there any girls there?’” Although she and her character aspired to be active participants, male players often forced them to be passive objects, used as novel plot devices. River also discussed how, despite the changes in interaction, some male players continue to objectify her character by expecting her female character “to have sex with [their] characters.”

Several of my interviewees mentioned an even more insidious form of gendered game play: being patronized by male members of their gaming group. When River would try to find a new gaming group, men would often ask if she would “cry when [they] kill [her] character.” This led her to believe that they did not think she was emotionally stable enough to handle playing. Ashley also discussed the ways in which some male players would talk down to her because she’s a woman. She experienced “for lack of a better term, mansplaining” when she would join new groups:

[emulating male’s voice] ‘Thiiii is a character sheet. Thiiii is called polyheedral dice. They’re funny looking!’ It’s unbelievable. So, a lot of that, or a lot of just kind of talking over or, OR in the middle of move suggesting, ‘Well, I would do that. If I were you, I would do that. That’s the smartest thing to do.’ And me going, ‘I don’t remember having asked ANYONE to tell me what to do.’ So, a lot of that.

This patronizing behavior caused Ashley to feel like an outsider within her own subculture, a place that “people migrate to because it’s the only place they can find acceptance.” Finding acceptance within the D&D subculture was of great importance to many of the women I

interviewed, as it is a unique space in which they can challenge gendered behavioral expectations.

Empowering Excursion

For many of the participants, D&D provided a release from the gendered pressures of everyday life; this release was the key appeal of this subculture for these women. However, this release was only possible when participants found gaming groups that were supportive and empowering. My interviewees described two components of an empowering roleplay environment: empowering narrative and empowering group members.

The narrative in a campaign is the one of the most important components to consider, as it informs the types of interaction the players are able to have with each other. For example, Maggie explained that her DM has sometimes “strayed into some sensitive and triggering areas.” However, “he’s willing to listen” to concerns that she brings up and is “good about pulling it back when people are starting to get uncomfortable.” Maggie’s DM listened when Maggie explained that some topics are more uncomfortable for women than they are for men. He then adjusted the narrative to be enjoyable and empowering rather than threatening.

As Maggie’s DM proved, team-based interaction is just as important as narrative content. Nikki described how important it was to have encouraging people in the group when she first started playing D&D. Although “learning the rules was a lot of work,” the male DM that she started playing with “was so welcoming and encouraging,” which meant she “wasn’t afraid to make a mistake.” Her supportive gaming group enabled her to continue playing and reap the benefits of roleplay, which, for her, included playing a “high charisma character” able to come up with “wonderful, sparkling things to say” to release some pressure from the social anxiety she experiences.

Sierra also felt lucky to have “a great mix of people” in her gaming group. She stated that there is “all this acceptance that goes along” with the group, which provides a “you are who you are” dynamic between the group members. The group has played some campaigns with “a little bit of an evil streak,” in which her character has taken part in some morally questionable activities. Since “in real life” Sierra’s group members are “nice people,” it is possible to “get that release” while playing D&D. When women have access to empowering excursions through roleplay, River explains, D&D provides “a way for people to express themselves and enact out feeling and situations they wouldn’t normally be able to.” Although “gaming should be empowering,” River and other participants explain that it only is when women have access to supportive and empowering gaming groups.

Discussion

Before I began collecting data, I expected to find that many other women experienced the same difficulties finding inclusive and egalitarian groups as I did. While some of the women I interviewed did experience sexism and differential treatment, as I did, in their interviews many of my participants instead focused on the positive aspects of tabletop gaming that keep them gaming. They discussed the gendered behavioral expectations placed on them by society, explained how D&D allows them to challenge those expectations, and described the qualities of empowering gaming groups.

Participants’ unexpected focus on the benefits of tabletop gaming is significant because it means that it is more important to discuss the benefits than any potential drawbacks. This was clearly evident from their responses to several of the questions on my interview schedule. When I asked the women to describe their favorite characters and some of the narratives their groups use during gameplay, the tone of the interview changed dramatically. Most participants became

more open and talkative, which I interpreted as excitement about participating in the game and, more generally, the subculture.

This suggests that tabletop roleplay is fulfilling a particular need for the participants. When applying Berger and Luckmann's (1967) social constructionist theory and Hartsock's (1998) feminist standpoint theory, that particular need identified in the data is the need to escape from the pressures of gendered social roles and behavioral expectations. By studying women's experience and the worlds they create, we can understand the various ways in which women in this subculture experience and deal with problematic gender roles.

When the women I interviewed found a comfortable gaming group, they were able to challenge gendered behavioral expectations. Through roleplay, they would be able to do this in a way that would not result in condemnation. According to Angel Cross (2012) and Sherman (1997), this is something that cannot be accomplished with video games. In tabletop roleplaying games like D&D, the players' ability to confront gendered expectations is limited only by their imagination. For example, if a narrative reflects institutional gender roles, women can choose to react in a way that challenges those roles rather than be limited to the relatively unchangeable narrative arc in video games.

In addition, my interviewees' indicated that they are able to make decisions in the game based on events occurring in their lives or current emotional status. Sierra provided an excellent example of this when she described how she uses D&D to deal with gendered treatment from male supervisors, coworkers, and clients. At work, Sierra had to deal with the pressure of being underestimated yet called gendered, derogatory names when she took control and did her job well. The pressures she described are a direct result of the "predefined patterns of conduct" Berger and Luckmann discuss (1967:55). When she responded by "killing some orcs" and

“killing whoever gets in her way” within the temporary excursion of roleplay, she was using roleplay to challenge gendered behavioral expectations and subvert institutional gender roles.

Conclusion

Overall, the women I interviewed use roleplay in unexpected ways to challenge institutionalized gender roles and relieve the pressure they feel from attempting to fit neatly within them. Unlike video games that can act as an additional source of gendered treatment (Sherman 1997), my interviewees indicated that D&D allows them to address their frustrations with gender roles. This is possible through the temporary excursion from everyday life roleplay offers. The meaning these women derived from that excursion takes on a greater significance when viewed through the lens of Hartsock’s (1998) feminist standpoint theory, as their subordinate position in society grants them a unique perspective that is only possible through experience with gendered treatment.

Appendix: Qualitative Interview Schedule

1. Can you tell me how you started playing Dungeons and Dragons (D&D)?
2. What aspects of D&D attracted you most?
 - a. Why?
3. Can you tell me about any barriers you encountered when you started playing?
4. Can you describe the kind of people with whom you play regularly or most recently?
5. How do you find new groups?
6. Can you describe your experiences with DMs (dungeon masters - in charge of narration dictation and rule enforcement)
7. Can you describe the themes and motifs in the content of the game?
 - a. How well do you identify with those themes?
8. What would you change about gameplay?
 - a. Why?
9. Can you describe some of the characters with which you've played?
10. How do you choose which race/class your character will be?
11. Can you describe your favorite character with which you've created and played?
 - a. Why was this one your favorite?
12. How well do you think your character represents you?

References

- Adams, Aubrie S. 2013. "Needs Met Through Role-Playing Games: A Fantasy Theme Analysis of Dungeons and Dragons." *Kaleidoscope*, 12
(<http://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1169&context=kaleidoscope>).
- Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann. 1967. *The Social Construction of Reality*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Cross, Katherine Angel. 2012. "The New Laboratory of Dreams: Role-playing Games as Resistance." *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 40(3/4): pp. 72-90(<https://muse-jhu-edu.weblib.lib.umt.edu:2443/article/493863>).
- Hartsock, Nancy C.M. 1998. "The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism." Pp. 105-132 in *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited and Other Essays*. Westview Press.
- Hebdige, Dick. 1979. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. Methuen & Co. Ltd.
- Holloway, Daniel. 2016. "'Stranger Things' Ratings: Where Series Ranks Among Netflix's Most Watched." *Variety*. <http://variety.com/2016/tv/news/stranger-things-tv-ratings-netflix-most-watched-1201844081/>
- Kirby, Stacia. 2017. "Gen Con 2016 Continues Turnstile Attendance Records in Transformative Year." *Gen Con*. <http://www.gencon.com/press/postshowrelease>.
- Provenzo, E.F., Jr. 2000. "Computing, Culture, and Educational Studies." *Educational Studies: Journal of the American Educational Studies Association* 31(1): 5-19.
- Schleiner, Anne-Marie. 2001. "Does Lara Croft Wear Fake Polygons? Gender and Gender-Role Subversion in Computer Adventure Games." *Leonardo* 34(3) (2001): 221-226(<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1576939>).

Sherman, Sharon R. 1997. "Perils of the Princess: Gender and Genre in Video Games." *Western Folklore*, 56(3/4): pp. 243-258(<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1500277>).

Sun, Jennifer, Yasmin Kafai, Carrie Heeter, and Jill Denner 2008. *Beyond Barbie and Mortal Kombat: New Perspectives on Gender and Gaming*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.

Wizards of the Coast. 2017. "What is D&D?" <http://dnd.wizards.com/dungeons-and-dragons/what-is-dd>.