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(PRO)TESTING THE GAMING ARENA

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(Pro)Testing the Gaming Arena

Introduction

Inspired by the variety of youth engagement with political and social issues in digital spaces over the past two years, the (Pro)Testing the Gaming Arena project examines how digital games serve as environments where young people imagine, perform, and enact political resistance and democratic alternatives. Video games, far from being apolitical or escapist, are increasingly being used to criticize corruption, challenge nationalism, and articulate desires for different political futures (Prayogi, Hami, Nasrullah, 2024). *Free Palestine* and *Support for the Students of Serbia* are just two examples of youth political activism over the last year. The youth of Nepal reacted even more strongly when their government decided to ban 26 social media platforms, cutting off communication with many who had left Nepal in search of a better life. The 2025 political upheaval in Nepal is a landmark case of "digital constitutionalism," with the nation's youth by-

passing traditional political machinery to express their mandate via Discord. Amid widespread protests and a governance vacuum, over 150,000 users of the "Youths Against Corruption" server transformed a gaming platform into a deliberative democratic assembly. Through real-time debates and digital polling, this "Gen Z consensus" succeeded in appointing former Chief Justice Sushila Karki as interim Prime Minister. This event illustrates a shift from passive digital activism to a functional "Discord Revolution," in which decentralized platforms provide the legitimacy required to challenge established government structures.

Generations that grew up playing games like *Prince of Persia*, *Snake*, *Sudoku*, *Zuma*, or any playful but repetitive problem-solving format, digital or not, passively developed a remarkable cognitive habit: the willingness to face the same obstacle repeatedly, without frustration eroding their resolve. These games, by design, offered no shortcuts. A level failed was a level replayed. A puzzle unsolved was a puzzle returned to. And yet, players came back – not out of obligation, but out of something closer to optimism. Each attempt carried with it a subtle recalibration: a slightly different approach, a new pattern recognized, a fraction more patience earned. This kind of iterative resilience mirrors what psychologists call a growth mindset – the belief that ability is not fixed, but developed through effort and repetition (Dweck, 2006). What Dweck observed in classrooms, these games were silently reinforcing on screens and in puzzle books across the world. Failure was not a verdict; it was a data point. The game did not end; it could be resumed at any moment. In this sense, an entire generation may have been shaped not just by what they have learned, but also by how they learned to keep trying.

The political potential of gaming spaces became strikingly evident in a series of in-game protests and commemorations in recent times. In 2020, players in *Red Dead Redemption 2* and *Grand Theft Auto Online* organized virtual marches in solidarity with Black Lives Matter demonstrations (Penney, 2020). Meanwhile, Reporters Without Borders created the Uncensored Library inside Minecraft, allowing players living under press censorship to access a virtual archive of banned journalism (Reporters

Without Borders, 2020). Around the same time, pro-democracy protesters in Hong Kong migrated to *Animal Crossing: New Horizons*, using its gentle, seemingly apolitical universe to stage rallies, display resistance slogans, and recreate politically sensitive imagery – actions significant enough to cause Chinese authorities to monitor and remove in-game content. Beyond protest, young developers have turned to *modding*, i.e., the practice of modifying existing commercial games to insert counter-narratives, redistribute in-game power structures, or replace symbols of oppression with those of liberation, effectively transforming mainstream entertainment products into vehicles of dissent (Kücklich, 2005). Independently developed games have gone further still, functioning as fully realized political manifestos. Activist and educational circles have embraced games like *Papers, Please* (2013), which immerses players in the moral exhaustion of authoritarian border control, and *Orwell* (2016), a pointed critique of mass surveillance, as tools for fostering political empathy (Bogost, 2007). Meanwhile, live-streaming platforms have emerged as protest arenas in their own right. The 2020 US election cycle saw Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez broadcast *Among Us* to over 400,000 concurrent viewers as an explicit effort to mobilize voters (Stein, 2021), demonstrating how gaming's cultural infrastructure can be repurposed for direct political action. Throughout these examples, a consistent pattern emerges: rather than merely consuming, young people are actively inhabiting games as spaces where political imagination, resistance, and solidarity are practiced and performed (Flanagan, 2009; Papacharissi, 2015). In Southeast Europe (SEE), young people face a complex socio-political environment marked by stalled EU integration, widespread political disenchantment, and a deepening sense of democratic fatigue. The region is shaped by the paradox of simultaneous overexposure to geopolitical narratives and underrepresentation in formal decision-making processes (Đorđević, 2024; Edus, 2025). Video games, from their inception, have been recognized as a medium that can be used in many ways, such as training for new soldiers and serving as a platform for civic engagement. Like many things, video games cannot be separated from the political

reality of today's world (Taylor, 2009). As for the local context of SEE, it is noteworthy that young individuals have developed video games with strong political messages, such as "Ćaci[1] saving Ćaciland" (*Ćaci spašava Ćacilend[2]*) and *Dojajilo je[3]*. The first game puts you in the shoes of Miloš Pavlović (*Ćaci*) as you run along a path, similar to Subway surfers, collecting tents (symbol for those who agreed to support President Vučić by occupying tents in Pionirski Park), money (we can hear *Đilas[4]* when collecting it), and sandwiches (symbol of Vučić's bribery long before the escalation of the youth movement in November 2024) while avoiding student booklets with background music set to the chant of "The one who does not jump is Ćaci" (*Ko ne skače, taj je Ćaci).* The gameplay in *Dojajilo je* centers on tossing eggs at SNS (Serbian Progressive Party) political figures and loyalists, with a score that varies based on

[1] *Ćaci* is one of the key terms that originated from a prominent 2025 graffiti spelling error, where the letters for "students" (đaci) were accidentally replaced to create a nonsensical word. The term quickly evolved into a label used by general public to name those who embody functional illiteracy, attend state-sponsored counter-protesters, and ruling-party sycophants during widespread academic blockades. In a classic populist maneuver, the Serbian regime later co-opted the insult, turning "Ćaci" into an official badge of honor to frame their base as ordinary citizens fighting against an elitist academic class thus spining the narative.

[2] *Dojajilo* is a term that can roughly be translated to EggED. The term uses Serbian language and wordplay to combine being fed up with this political ruling and egging the ones that are leading actors in it.https://flowlab.io/game/play/2735581

[3] https://koneskace.itch.io/dojajilo-je

[4] Dragan Đilas (President of the Freedom and Justice Party and former Mayor of Belgrade): While investigative journalists and property registries like KRIK have detailed his extensive business operations and real estate holdings valued at millions of euros, he has never been officially indicted or convicted of financial crimes. Pro-government officials and media frequently accuse him of misappropriating €619 million during his political tenure; however, he has vigorously countered these claims through the legal system, winning over 150 civil defamation lawsuits against various media outlets and political figures.

who youhit. Political figures such as Ivica Dačić[5], Ana Brnabić[6], and Siniša Mali[7] award more points than the masked people who are ready to fight you near the fence, but we can also see Željko Mitrović[8] flying on a spaceship, earning the player the most points in the game. Both games feature a scoreboard and resonate with the Serbian population that is against the current ruling regime.

More (on) Games

The global gaming industry is predicted to rebound from a post-pandemic depression and reach $350 billion in annual revenue by 2030. The global player base, which reached 3.57 billion in 2025 (approximately 42% of the global population), is projected to rise to nearly 3.9 billion players by 2028-2030 (Newzoo, 2025). Looking at gaming statistics in Europe, the demography is broad

[5] Ivica Dačić (Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Internal Affairs): He was scrutinized in the "Banana Affair" after hidden camera footage showed him meeting with a high-ranking drug cartel member, though he maintained he was unaware of the individual's criminal background and faced no charges. He was also questioned as a witness in the 2006 "Suitcase Affair" involving a bribery attempt, which ultimately ended in the acquittal of the suspects.

[6] Ana Brnabić (President of the National Assembly of Serbia): She has not faced criminal prosecution, but she has been involved in civil litigation, including a 2025 final court verdict ordering her to pay damages to an opposition leader for public defamation. Opposition groups have also filed symbolic criminal complaints against her regarding her handling of local elections, though none have turned into official indictments.

[7] Siniša Mali (First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance): Investigative journalists linked him to offshore companies in the British Virgin Islands and the purchase of luxury apartments in Bulgaria, though the prosecutor's office declined to file criminal charges. He also faced a commercial court dispute ordering a family-linked company to return state land, and his 2013 doctoral thesis was officially annulled due to plagiarism.

[8] Željko Mitrović (Founder and Owner of Pink Media Group): As a powerful media magnate rather than a government official, he has faced numerous civil lawsuits for defamation, insult, and broadcasting violations, leading to court-ordered financial damages. He also faced heavy public scrutiny following a 2013 fatal traffic accident involving his son, who was later convicted of traffic safety offenses.

and active. Gaming is popular among 54% of the population aged six to 64. While the average player is 31 years old, the gaming demographic is predominantly adult, with 75% of players 18 or older. Participation is high across all age groups, peaking at 85% among those aged 11–14 and remaining significant even in the 45–64 bracket at 33%. Overall, the total number of players continues to rise, reaching a new peak of 128.3 million in 2024 (VideoGamesEurope, 2025). The growth of these numbers is evident in reports from major game developers and Google Play, which covers the developing mobile video gaming scene. Unfortunately, there is no data specifically collected for the SEE area.

Case Study: Roblox & Freedom of Palestine and Serbia

Roblox is a massive global platform where users can create, share, and play millions of 3D games made by other players. Rather than being a single game, it functions like a digital universe or "metaverse" where your personal avatar can move between different experiences, from life simulators to intense obstacle courses. It is free and available on most smartphones, tablets, computers, and consoles. Roblox operates as a low-risk civic stage where young people can convert play into organized political expression: avatars, user-built environments, and chat systems are repurposed into the raw materials of protest (Bogost, 2011).

In response to the ongoing conflict in Gaza, young players began building virtual reconstructions of Palestinian neighborhoods and refugee camps within the game, using the platform's accessible design tools to bear witness to destruction that mainstream media often failed to capture in full. Memorials to civilian casualties were erected inside game worlds, and players organized virtual gatherings under names invoking Palestinian solidarity, wearing avatars dressed in the colors of the Palestinian flag or the recognizable keffiyeh pattern. These acts were not merely symbolic, but also communicative, reaching a global audience of predominantly young players who might not otherwise engage with the conflict through traditional news sources. Similarly, in response to the political crisis in Serbia and the wave of student-led protests that swept the country following the collapse of a railway

canopy in Novi Sad in 2024, Serbian youth took their demonstrations into Roblox servers. Students recreated protest sites, such as the blocked bridges and faculty occupations that came to represent the movement. They organized in-game marches that mirrored those happening on the streets of Belgrade and other cities. Chants and demands were written into in-game signs and chat functions, turning the platform's communication infrastructure into a bulletin board of civic defiance. In both cases, Roblox served two purposes: it was a space of mourning and solidarity for those directly affected, and an amplifier for political messaging directed at a generation of youth who inhabit digital worlds as naturally as physical ones.

Roblox enables youth political expression through a combination of features that were never designed for politics, making suppression harder. Its user-generated building tools allow young people to reconstruct real-world sites of conflict, protest, or mourning directly within the game world. The avatar customization system turns player characters into walking political statements, often draped in national colors, resistance symbols, or solidarity iconography (Flanagan, 2009). The chat and server infrastructure enables real-time organizing across borders, bypassing the algorithmic suppression increasingly applied to political content on mainstream platforms like Instagram or TikTok. Perhaps most strategically, Roblox's reputation as a children's game grants it a degree of perceived innocence that has historically attracted less scrutiny from state censors, creating a window of relative freedom that politically engaged youth have learned to exploit (Papacharissi, 2015). And because servers are globally distributed and easily rebuilt, protest activity inside Roblox carries less physical risk of demonstrations and physical violence that are fully understandable within the majority of users that are still predominantly under aged.

Roblox player demographics showed significant growth by the end of 2025, reaching 144 million daily active users in the fourth quarter, an almost 50% increase compared to the same period in 2024. This expansion was largely driven by the platform's successful "aging up" strategy, as the 17–24 age group emerged as

its fastest-growing segment. By late 2025, approximately 61% to 66% of users were aged 13 and over, marking a clear transition from its origins as a children-only platform toward a mainstream social and entertainment hub. Additionally, a newly implemented age-verification system revealed that roughly 27% of verified users are now 18 or older, a cohort that monetizes at a rate 40% higher than younger players. This demographic shift is supported by high engagement, as users spent a total of 35 billion hours on the platform during Q4 2025 alone (Roblox, 2026).

Case study: Minecraft

Minecraft is a "sandbox" game focused on building, exploring, and surviving in a world made entirely of 3D blocks. Players can gather resources like wood and stone to build anything they can think of, from simple huts to complex cities, while also fending off nocturnal creatures like zombies and skeletons. It has two modes: Creative, with unlimited resources for pure building, and Survival, which requires that you manage health and hunger. Minecraft, with its deceptively simple block-based construction system, has proven to be one of the most politically expressive environments available to young people online. In the context of Palestinian solidarity, players have used the game's building tools to reconstruct destroyed neighborhoods, bombed hospitals, and demolished mosques, structures whose real-world erasure they refused to accept as final. Within these reconstructed spaces, young players organized vigils, placed virtual candles and flags, and inscribed names of casualties into the landscape, turning the game world into a living memorial that circulated widely through screenshots and recorded videos shared on TikTok and Instagram. The Uncensored Library, built by Reporters Without Borders in 2020, demonstrated the model: a fully realized architectural space inside Minecraft housing banned journalistic content, accessible to players in Gaza and the West Bank, where certain websites remain blocked but the game functions as a delivery mechanism for suppressed information (Reporters Without Borders, 2020). In Serbia, following the railway canopy collapse in Novi Sad in 2024 and the subsequent wave of student protests,

young Minecraft players began recreating notable protest locations – blocked faculty buildings, candlelit squares, and the ruins of the collapsed structure – as acts of documentation and defiance. These reconstructions served a dual purpose: preserving a visual record of events that official media was downplaying, and broadcasting solidarity to an international peer audience already familiar with the language of the game. Minecraft's persistent, build-centric world invites longer-term civic prototyping: its block-based materiality makes abstract political concepts tangible through construction. Youth and organizers use servers to erect memorials, build barricades, design public squares, and stage assemblies; they role-play parliaments, negotiate rules, and prototype resource-sharing systems that mirror governance dilemmas (Jenkins, 2006).

The demographic of Minecraft players maintained a strong, mature presence through the end of 2025, reaching an average of 212 million monthly active users. Unlike the younger skew often associated with sandbox games, the average Minecraft player is now 24 years old. The demographic is heavily dominated by Generation Z and young adults, with the 15–21 age group making up the largest share at 43%, while players under 15 account for only about 20.6%. Interestingly, adults aged 22 to 65 represent a significant 36% of the global community, many of whom utilize the game's open-ended architecture for complex technical engineering or creative decompression. The United States remains the largest interconnected market at roughly 21%, though the localized free-to-play edition in China boasts an independent registered user base of over 700 million (DemandGage, 2026).

Minecraft's pedagogical benefit is procedural literacy: players learn to draft rules, allocate scarce resources, manage commons, and resolve conflicts through embodied practice rather than abstract instruction. These experiences foster a problem-solving habitus familiar to generations raised on iterative games, and often translate into real-world organizing skills and digital civic competencies (moderation, server governance, coalition building) (Goldberg & Larsson, 2013). As with Roblox, Minecraft experiments reveal both opportunities and limits: they

create opportunities for creative civic imagination and long-term collaboration, yet their outcomes are mediated by server rules, community norms, and the technical affordances of the platform. Scholars and educators should account for such factors when considering games as legitimate sites of political formation (Salen Tekinbas & Zimmerman, 2003).

Closing Thoughts – Policy Recommendation

The challenge at the heart of this project is precisely the gap between how games are perceived and what they are actually doing. Institutions, governments, and even many researchers continue to treat gaming as a leisure activity – apolitical, escapist, and socially inconsequential. Yet the evidence points in the opposite direction. Minecraft memorials to demolished Palestinian neighborhoods, Roblox recreations of blocked Serbian faculty buildings, and the Discord server that effectively shaped the appointment of an interim Prime Minister in Nepal are all gaming platforms that function as deliberative spaces, protest infrastructures, and archives of collective memory. The intriguing question is not whether this is happening, but rather why it is happening here, within these spaces, and what it reveals about the general state of democratic participation. What we do not yet know, however, is considerable. We lack systematic data on the scale and impact of in-game political activity, particularly in under-researched regions like Southeast Europe, where even basic player demographics remain uncollected. We do not fully understand how political experiences inside game worlds translate – if they do – into real-world civic engagement, organizing capacity, or lasting democratic attitudes. We know very little about who is excluded from these spaces or whether gaming as a political arena reproduces current access, gender, and class inequalities. Furthermore, we do not know how sustainable these forms of expression are, since privately owned platforms like Roblox and Minecraft are subject to corporate moderation decisions that can erase political content without warning or accountability. These disparities are significant because democratic insti-

tutions across Southeast Europe and beyond are struggling to engage youth through traditional channels, whereas millions of young people are rehearsing governance, practicing solidarity, and building political identity within game worlds. Ignoring these spaces does not make them less political, but it does leave their potential unexamined, their risks unaddressed, and their participants unsupported. This is a conversation that researchers, educators, game designers, youth workers, and policymakers should all participate in.

The political activity documented in this project has been hiding in plain sight – taking place on platforms used by hundreds of millions of people while remaining largely invisible to the policymakers, educators, and researchers who must deal with it the most. With Minecraft reaching 212 million monthly active users and an average player age of 24, and Roblox closing 2025 with 144 million daily active users and its fastest growth concentrated in the 17–24 range, these are no longer niche children's platforms but mass media environments whose primary audience is precisely the generation this project is concerned with. Therefore, political expression happening within these games is not reaching a marginal audience; rather, it is reaching one comparable in scale to mainstream social media platforms, and it is doing so largely beneath the radar of institutional scrutiny. When policymakers, journalists, or educators wave away in-game protest as childish or inconsequential, the demographic data directly contradicts them. These are young adults making deliberate political choices inside platforms they know intimately – the same generation driving the Serbian student protests, the Free Palestine movement, and the Nepal Discord Revolution. Moreover, the fact that both platforms are actively and successfully "aging up" signals that the overlap between gaming culture and civic culture will only deepen in the years ahead, making the questions this project raises not just timely but increasingly urgent. Understanding who plays is therefore inseparable from understanding why these spaces have become politically significant, and why they can no longer be ignored.

Recommendation 1 – Researchers – Develop cross-disciplinary, participatory research frameworks with video game studies and anthropology to study and co-design civic activities in open worlds

Formalize collaborative research models that combine ethnography, game studies, and participatory action methods so researchers can ethically and accessibly study youth political imagination inside games while overcoming geographic barriers. **Implementation steps:** form consortia of game scholars, anthropologists, youth researchers, educators, and youth organizations; pilot supervised participatory projects inside platforms (moderated servers, study worlds) to co-design activities and collect contextualized data; produce open toolkits and ethical templates for consent, child protection, and data minimization tailored to in-game research; fund training so researchers learn game design methods and communities gain research literacy. **Why it matters:** interdisciplinary, participatory approaches yield richer, context-sensitive insights, reduce extractive practices, and make research accessible to youth who are otherwise geographically or politically excluded.

Recommendation 2 – Game Development – Open up platform data and introduce civic-friendly design features under strong privacy safeguards

Encourage developers to provide anonymized, aggregated analytics and opt-in civic tools so policymakers and researchers can understand in-game civic dynamics and developers can use insights to improve safety and engagement. **Implementation steps:** publish aggregated metrics relevant to civic engagement (frequency of user-created events, moderation actions on political content, age-band participation in public servers); offer secure research application programing interfaces (APIs) or data enclaves for vetted researchers under strict privacy controls; introduce opt-in civic features (event tagging, moderated civic server templates, youth-friendly reporting and appeal flows); establish formal developer-researcher feedback loops and pilot programs

that translate findings into product and policy updates. **Why it matters:** transparent, privacy-preserving data sharing and civic-aware design help platforms better serve communities, enable evidence-based policymaking, and foster safer spaces where young people can experiment with political imagination without undue censorship or risk.

Recommendation 3 – Education – Integrate game-based civic literacy into formal and nonformal education.

Support curricula and extracurricular programs that use Roblox, Minecraft, and similar platforms to teach **procedural literacy** (rule-making, resource allocation, conflict resolution), digital organizing skills (moderation, coalition building), and media literacy about platform governance. **Implementation steps:** pilot teacher training modules co-developed with game designers and youth organizations; fund school-community partnerships to run supervised civic servers; create open educational resources and assessment rubrics that measure civic competencies gained through play. **Why it matters:** recognizing games as legitimate civic laboratories equips young people with transferable skills for democratic participation and reduces the gap between informal digital practice and formal civic education.

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