DIGITAL MASKS AND LUCHA LIBRE

VISUAL SUBJECTIFICATION AND ALLEGORY OF MEXICO IN VIDEO GAMES

DANIEL CALLEROS VILLARREAL

Hay hombres que luchan un día y son buenos.
Hay hombres que luchan un año y son mejores.
Hay quienes luchan muchos años y son muy buenos.
Pero los hay quienes luchan todos los domingos…
¡Esos son los chidos!

-Botellita de Jerez

Based on their conditions of production and loci of enunciation, video games are often treated as cultural objects that pertain exclusively to the global north. As with other mass media, the representational nature of video games is instrumental in the articulation of collective identities, providing spaces and elements that further define subjectivities.[1] However, as stated in Phillip Penix-Tadsen's introduction to this anthology, it is imperative to resort to interdisciplinary lenses that integrate perspectives from the periphery in order to open up the possibility to focus on cultural aspects previously ignored or marginalized.[2] While video games are a space in which identities, both central and peripheral, can be constructed, the representational elements employed in the articulation of said identities is skewed towards dominant normative notions of gender and race.[3] In his work on cultural ludology, Penix-Tadsen has identified the range of representations of Latin Americans in three categories: contras, tomb raiders and *luchadores*.[4] However, he also argues that it is imperative to reexamine how the cultural context in which video games are played can affect interpretation and forge diverse structures that guide meaning-formation processes in markets outside of the global north.[5] In a similar light, William Nericcio brings up the need to revisit representations of Mexicans across different media objects in order to better understand their origin and social impact, thus creating spaces of discussion that allow for deeper readings.[6] Taking up this task, this article scrutinizes the digital presence of the *lucha libre* [Mexican professional wrestling] mask in order to demonstrate how an essentializing representational practice also offers the possibility for the reappropriation of symbolic objects through the negotiation of cultural elements in the process of designing, marketing and playing video games.

Taking into consideration the complex power relations within the representation of Other subjects and the production of meaning through player interaction with video games, this chapter analyzes the visual and narrative construction of the Mexican subjects represented through the image of

1. Imma Tubella, "Television, the Internet, and the Construction of Identity," in *The Network Society: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Manuel Castells (Edward Elgar, 2004).
2. Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media* (MIT Press, 2002).
3. Jon Dovey and Helen W. Kennedy, *Game Cultures: Computer Games as New Media* (Open University Press, 2006).
4. Phillip Penix-Tadsen, "Latin American Ludology: Why We Should Take Video Games Seriously (and When We Shouldn't)," *Latin American Research Review* 48.1 (2013): 174-90.
5. Phillip Penix-Tadsen, *Cultural Code: Video Games and Latin America* (MIT Press, 2016).
6. William Nericcio, *Tex{t}-Mex: Seductive Hallucinations of the "Mexican" in America* (University of Texas Press, 2007).

the *luchador* [wrestler], from its historical and textual significations to the branching onto other mediations. As a point of departure, this article argues the importance of the lucha libre mask as a symbolic token for Mexico and for video game designers in general. From there, the focus will shift to the many appearances of luchadores from the earliest games to the eighth generation titles (meaning games for consoles released since 2012, including Sony's PlayStation 4, Microsoft's Xbox One and Nintendo's Wii U), highlighting criteria in the articulation of the characters and the cultural value assigned to the mask. Finally, this chapter analyzes the ways in which the peripheral culture enters the center to gain prominence and, in some cases, transform the video game into a digital interactive text through which didactic and persuasive cultural experiences, as well as self-representation, are possible.

"MASKED" CULTURE, MEN IN TIGHTS AND REPRESENTATIONAL FETISHES

In Mexico, the lucha libre mask is present in every conceivable social space and evokes a network of meanings engrained in the social imaginary. In the same manner, the symbolism of lucha libre has become a trope for Mexico in the global north and is used recurrently as a representational technique when it comes to the articulation of Mexican identities. Lucha libre and its iconography serve the purpose of synthesizing complex cultural contexts into simplified symbolic systems embedded in gamespace, facilitating the process of cultural representation for game designers. In other words, the lucha libre mask serves as a stereotyping fetish through which networks of historical, political and cultural discourses can be projected. In the terms of Homi Bhabha, when a stereotype is [re]articulated the represented peripheral identities reflect the identity of the center. Thus, the articulation of the Other through a fetishized image is a discursive construction that controls the identity of the represented group based on a dominant ideological framework. However, the representational fetish also has an ambivalence that creates fissures that allow for the disavowal of the stereotyping discourse.[7]

Although the remediation of cultural objects for representational purposes in digital media can divest them of their cultural value,[8] this practice also allows the gamer to easily identify images, characters and rhetorical constructs.[9] As a cultural motif, the lucha libre mask possesses basic characteristics through which recognizable digital identities are articulated. Based on its deep roots in the Mexican social imaginary, lucha libre has become a synecdoche of Mexican popular culture as a sporting practice and as a spectacle. Through the mask, Levi argues, it is possible to evoke allusions of Mexico and its cultural iconography.[10] Hence, the luchador *enmascarado* [masked wrestler] has become a trope for Mexico across mediatized representations in Latin America and the United States. The luchador is the product of a meaning-formation process accentuated by the visual aspects of a masked-faceless body. However, it simultaneously allows the integration of symbolic elements to create a character because "the mask helps to foreground some elements of performance and to mute others."[11] The mask is, therefore, a tool through which meaning articulation and objectifying processes are synchronized.

In Mexico, the *máscara* seeps into social spaces beyond the wrestling ring: musicians compose songs for luchadores or feature them in their music videos, enmascarados fulfill the role of comic book characters, television personalities, action movie heroes and even real-life activists who fight for a variety of social issues that range from animal cruelty and pollution to housing practices and

7. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, 2004).
8. Geoff King and Tanya Krzywinska, *Tomb Raiders and Space Invaders: Videogame Forms and Contexts* (I. B. Tauris, 2006).
9. Rachael Hutchinson, "Performing the Self: Subverting the Binary in Combat Games," *Games and Culture* 2.4 (2007): 283-99.
10. Heather Levi, *The World of Lucha Libre: Secrets, Revelations, and Mexican National Identity* (Duke University Press, 2008).
11. Levi, *The World of Lucha Libre*, 113.

gay rights.[12] The lucha libre mask has provided Mexicans with a cultural mechanism to enhance performative elements and create their own heroes. While Batman and Superman fought to keep safe their respective urban centers in the United States, Mexico's protection rested on El Santo's shoulders. Mexican intellectuals Octavio Paz and Samuel Ramos regarded this luchador, characterized by his trademark silver-lamé mask and his graciousness in the ring, as a new archetype that provided a new form of national masculinity. For his fans, however, El Santo was an influential presence that provided entertainment and taught them values that helped them deal with life in the growing urban centers of mid-20th-century Mexico.[13] In 1952, through the pen of Mexican artist José Guadalupe Cruz, el Santo's iconic mask went from the wrestling ring to the pages of his own comic book, *Santo, Emascarado de Plata*, which would be published for three and a half decades. In the same year, El Santo along with another luchador—Huracán Ramírez—kicked off the genre of luchador films, low-budget movies in which enmascarados would fight the evil in the shape of Martians, insane scientists and a mishmash of monsters.

El Santo and the luchadores that starred in the approximately 150 films released from the early 1950s to the mid-1990s became cultural icons not only in Mexico, but also became internationally recognizable.[14] Luchadores have also been featured prominently in American popular culture. For instance, the fictitious character Ángel de la Plata from Guillermo del Toro's cable television show *The Strain* (20th Television, 2014) is clearly based on El Santo and the luchador films of the 1960s. Other popular culture texts expressly created around the luchador include TV shows like Cartoon Network's *¡Mucha lucha!* (Warner Bros., 2002) and Rob Zombie's *The Haunted World of El Superbeasto* (Film Roman, 2009). It is not difficult to see how the luchador has become an easily recognizable symbol and why it has been mediated across platform outlets, also materializing in the digital world.

THE DIGITALIZATION OF THE MASK: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF LUCHADORES IN VIDEO GAMES

The first video game representation of a Mexican character as a luchador appeared in the late 80s in the first wrestling title for the Nintendo Entertainment System (NES), *Pro Wrestling* (Nintendo, 1986). It was a masked wrestler named Star Man who wore a bright pink mask adorned with a purple star and whose listed origin read: "Mexico?" His *moveset*—the term referring to the collection of attacks and techniques a character has available, each of which is triggered by a specific control command programed by the developers—included flashy aerial techniques, characteristic of the lucha libre style. In 1990, the NES added *Tecmo World Wrestling* (Tecmo, 1989) to their game lineup. Said title included combatants representing countries around the globe. From Mexico hailed El Tigre, a luchador sporting a tiger-themed mask and matching cape. Those familiar with New Japan Pro-Wrestling (NJPW) and All Japan Pro Wrestling (AJPW) would notice the glaring similarities between El Tigre and famed Japanese wrestler Tiger Mask. However, to gamers who had no previous exposure to NJPW or AJPW, El Tigre could evoke the image of a *cuāuhocēlōtl,* an Aztec jaguar warrior. Three years later, another Mexican character arrived in an arcade game titled *Saturday Night Slam Masters* (*SNSM*) (Capcom, 1993), from Acapulco, Mexico: El Stingray (see Image 1.6.1). Unlike El Tigre, however, El Stingray was based on the real-life wrestler Lizmark, an actual Mexican luchador. The design of this *SNSM* character was faithful to its inspiration down to the costume color palette, his physical attributes and his presumed city of origin.

Beyond wrestling games alone, luchadores represent Mexican subjects in other video game genres. In

12. "Super Barrio," *Hemispheric Institute: Instituto Hemisférico de Performance & Política*, 16 October 2014, http://hemisphericinstitute.org/journal/1_1/sb.html.
13. Anne Rubenstein, "El Santo's Strange Career," *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Duke University Press, 2002).
14. Carlos Monsiváis and Gabriel Rodríguez, *Lucha Libre: Masked Superstars of Mexican Wrestling* (Trilce, 2005).

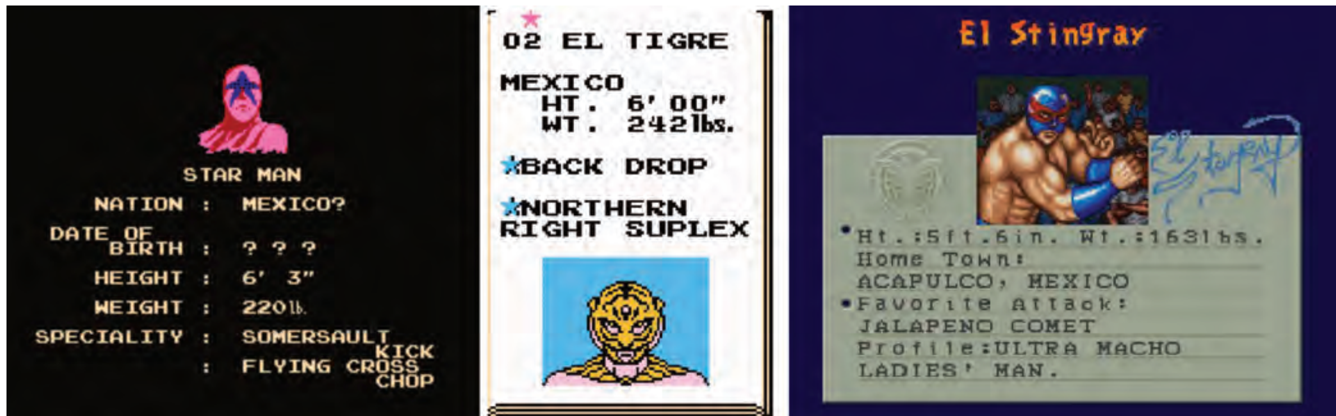

Image 1.6.1. Mexican characters in early wrestling computer games. From left to right: Pro Wrestling (1987), Temco World Wrestling (1990) and Saturday Night Slam Masters (1993).

the action-adventure title *Saints Row: The Third* (THQ, 2011), the player encounters a group known as "Luchadores," a criminal organization whose members wear wrestling masks (see Image 1.6.2). Their leader is Killbane, an American man who fled to Mexico after killing an opponent in a wrestling match. During his time south of the border, Killbane adopted a luchador mask and returned to the fictional city of Steelport in the United States to command a criminal ring of drug trafficking, gambling and arms dealing. Although the gang members' nationalities are revealed as non-Mexican in some cases and not specified in others, their origins are rendered irrelevant, since they all are "Mexicanized" through the use of the lucha libre mask.

In the fighting genre, video game designers and developers recurrently resort to the luchador trope in order to personify Mexican characters. In this type of game, the digital subjects' nationalities are often referenced, integrating them in different narrative spheres that range from in-game stories and iconography to promotional campaigns built around specific characters' based on their country of origin,[15] The *Street Fighter* (*SF*) (Capcom, 1987-), *Tekken* (Namco, 1994-) and *The King of Fighters* (*KoF*) (SNK, 1994-) franchises represent an important collection of titles in the genre based on their longevity, influence in other games, remediation in other popular culture texts and their economic and critical success worldwide.[16] Although the games have a faithful consumer base spread wide outside of their loci of production, most of the selectable characters represented are depicted as American or Japanese. Of the more than 220 characters that have populated the rosters of these games since the early 90s, fourteen are Latin American: five Brazilians, a Colombian who lives in Brazil and seven Mexicans. Although Japanese and American characters are portrayed in a rather diversified manner—law enforcement officers, soldiers, mercenaries, secret agents, martial artists, boxers, movie stars, athletes, musicians, Casanovas, businessmen, etc.—Brazilians have a tendency to be capoeira practitioners and Mexicans are usually depicted as luchadores. With the exception of *Street Fighter*'s T. Hawk—an indigenous man from an undetermined region in the Arizona-Sonora desert—all the other Mexicans have a strong association with lucha libre. After T. Hawk flopped as a character, *SF* publisher Capcom went back to the drawing board and came up with El Fuerte, a Mexican wrestler reminiscent of both iconic luchador El Santo and Nacho from the American comedy film *Nacho Libre* (Paramount, 2006).

15. See "KOF14 Developers Interview by Famitsu, pt2," *Mad Man's Café*, 23 August 2017, http://www.mmcafe.com/news/posts/10212.html.
16. "Capcom Platinum Titles," *Capcom*, 24 February 2016, http://www.capcom.co.jp/ir/english/business/million.html; see also "Game Database," *VGChartz.com*, 13 May 2015, http://www.vgchartz.com/gamedb/.

Image 1.6.2. "Luchadores," one of the gangs behind the criminal activity in Saints Row: The Third.

In Namco's *Tekken* series there have been two Mexican characters: King and Armor King, both of whom use realistic feline wrestling masks. The *KoF* saga has three Mexican characters in its ranks: Ángel,[17] Tizoc,[18] and *Ramón;*[19] Successive Characters: Ramon," *The King of Fighters Official Web Site*, 19 June 2016, http://kofaniv.snkplaymore.co.jp/english/character/index.php?num=ramon; see also "Team Mexico: Ramón," *The King of Fighters XIV Official Website*, 22 June 2016, https://www.snkplaymore.co.jp/us/games/kof-xiv/characters/ramon.php. the latter two are luchadores. The Mexican wrestlers in these fighting games are encoded through the articulation of recognizable signifiers. In *Mythologies*, Roland Barthes argued that "[t]he physique of the wrestlers […] constitutes a basic sign, which like a seed contains the whole fight […] The different strata of meaning throw light on each other, and form the most intelligible of spectacles."[20] *Tekken*'s King and Armor King's bodies as well as *KoF* 's Tizoc's physique—robust men wearing boots and tights—are in themselves signifiers that allow them to pass as wrestlers. However, their

17. "KOF Successive Characters: Angel," *The King of Fighters Official Web Site*, 19 June 2016, http://kofaniv.snk-corp.co.jp/english/character/index.php?num=angel; see also "Team Mexico: Ángel," *The King of Fighters XIV Official Website*, 22 June 2016, https://www.snkplaymore.co.jp/us/games/kof-xiv/characters/angel.php.

18. In *KoF XIV* (2016) Tizoc appears under his alter ego persona: The King of Dinosaurs. However, it is made clear through in-game narratives that The King of Dinosaurs is, in fact, Tizoc, the same man who would wrestle under the moniker of "The Griffon Mask." See *"KOF* Successive Characters: Tizoc," *The King of Fighters Official Web Site*, 19 June 2016, http://kofaniv.snkplaymore.co.jp/english/character/index.php?num=tizoc; see also "Team Mexico: King of Dinosaurs," *The King of Fighters XIV Official Website*, 22 June 2016, https://www.snkplaymore.co.jp/us/games/kof-xiv/characters/kod.php.

19. "KOF

20. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Noonday, 1957), 18.

masks accentuate their height and muscular mass, suggesting they are luchadores and differentiating them from American and Japanese wrestlers. These characters' visual construction, whether or not intended as a simulation of a *cuāuhocēlōtl*, simultaneously conjures an indigenous component to his identity (see Image 1.6.3).

Image 1.6.3. King (left) and Armor King (right) about to suplex Kazuya in Tekken Tag Tournament 2.

DETERRITORIALIZATION AND LUCHA LIBRE: WHEN MEXICAN CULTURE ENTERS GAMESPACE

The juxtaposition of lucha libre and a pre-Hispanic past, as well as the dynamics of representation and cultural negotiation, cannot be seen more clearly than in the "metroidvania" game *Guacamelee!* (Drinkbox Studios, 2013), developed by Toronto-based company Drinkbox Studios. The game is themed around the world of lucha libre and its symbology, and from the beginning of the game, images of luchadores are scattered throughout the world of *Guacamelee!*

Soon after the beginning of the game, Carlos Calaca kills Juan Aguacate, sending him to the world of the dead, which turns out to be an alternate version of the world of the living. The action serves to introduce another trope of Mexican culture: el Día de los Muertos. Shortly after his death, Juan meets a masked luchadora by the name of Tostada, who announces that "The Mask" has chosen him to put a stop to the chaos Calaca has generated. Juan then transforms into "Luchador," an evil-fighting enmascarado, complete with bleeding heart tattoos, tights, wrestling boots and a championship belt. As an anthropological object, that the unworn mask is in itself an entity of its own, with the potential to project preconceived meanings and power.[21] While Juan was swiftly defeated with a single attack earlier, Luchador gained immeasurable strength by wearing The Mask.

Although *Guacamelee!* was developed by a Canadian studio, it materializes the vision of the Mexican-

21. John Emigh, *Masked Performance: The Play of Self and Other in Ritual and Theatre* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), xviii.

Image 1.6.4. Fervor for the luchador image in Guacamelee!

born artist and illustrator Augusto Quijano, who wanted to create a game where the luchador would serve as the heroic figure in a digital world saturated with references from his own cultural experiences.[22] Eduardo Marisca argues that *Guacamelee!* provides the gamer with an unequivocal experience of the dynamic nature of cultural negotiation. He says the game presents culture as being "permanently under redesign," suggesting an "open, complex system, rather than a closed, defined set of traditions."[23]

Lucha libre has also been the vehicle for Mexican video game designers to internationalize their product. *Lucha Libre AAA: Héroes del Ring* (Konami, 2010), developed by Mexican studio Immersion Software and Graphics (then known as Slang), is to date the only video game widely distributed through a major transnational publisher. Although the studio director, Federico Beyer, had Latin America in mind as the primary market for the title,[24] the game ended up providing gamers in the global north with a cultural context that distinguished and differentiated lucha libre from traditional American wrestling. The game expanded on the traditional mechanics of the wrestling genre. Beyond the introduction of actual luchadores and a basic creation mode where the gamer can design masks and outfits for their characters, *Héroes del Ring* provides a historical—though, not necessarily accurate—overview of the cultural practices and traditions surrounding lucha libre. Penix-Tadsen argues that this title offers "the player an opportunity for the acquisition of contextualized cultural knowledge through the process of play."[25] The player selects a luchador and advances through the storylines by winning matches and completing specific in-game tasks. Periodically, the game displays documentary-style videos where luchadores explain the nuances of lucha libre as a Mexican cultural phenomenon. When it comes to technologically advanced cultural objects in which Latin American subjects are represented, it is generally assumed that they are products of the global north and have

22. Augusto Quijano, "The Art of Making Guacamelee! From Folklore to Finish," Presentation at Game Developers Conference, 2014, http://www.gdcvault.com/play/1020419/The-Art-of-Making-Guacamelee.
23. Eduardo Marisca, "Developing Game Worlds: Gaming, Technology and Innovation in Peru," Master's Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2014, 142.
24. Brandon Sheffield, "Q&A: Federico Beyer On Targeting Latino Market with Slang, Lucha Libre," *Gamasutra*, 9 June 2010, http://www.gamasutra.com/view/news/119723/QA_Frederico_Beyer_On_Targeting_Latino_Market_With_Slang_Lucha_Libre.php.
25. Penix-Tadsen, *Cultural Code*, 42.

little cultural significance from a Latin American perspective. However, it is possible to see that the cultural dynamics that come into play in the creation of these are not as unilateral as once thought, particularly when clearly recognizable symbols—such as the lucha libre mask—are involved.[26] That is to say, these cultural objects serve as a clear example illustration how media products from the global north are influenced and modified by localized cultural practices that originate in the different markets in which said media products circulate, including the global south.[27]

ONE, TWO, THREE: GAME OVER?

García Canclini argues that globalization diminishes the importance of foundational myths and national boundaries to give way to electronic media as the primary source of cultural identity.[28] In the same way in which García Canclini questions how local cultural identities are maintained while they are simultaneously exposed to globalization, it is imperative to explore the dynamics in which disembedded cultural objects are reintroduced into their original locales. The video game (re)produces and projects an essentialized and fixed representation of otherness without allowing for a space to disavow the representation from within the mass culture object itself. While it is possible to undermine the stereotype by accentuating the fissures in the hegemonic discourse that shaped it,[29] the most effective practice comes in the form of gamer interaction with the video game. In other words, the players "do not merely consume a pre-established piece of media, but instead are active participants in the creation of their experience through interaction with the underlying code during gameplay."[30] Even though the cybertyping of the Mexican subjects in video games occurs within a representational system that conditions the used images and their annexed meanings, the intended interpretation does not necessarily reconcile with the meaning produced within different social contexts when the gamer plays the game and experiences the animations, iconography and narrative.

Furthermore, in the cutthroat industry of video games, technological advancement and polished graphics do not guarantee commercial success, as gamers are more attracted to immersive stories, gameplay and replayability. Hence, even when it could appear that the consumers do not have an impact on the shaping of video game titles, game developers are actively researching methods through which they better appeal to their consumer base. For example, when gamers considered that Capcom had not included enough Latin American fighters in their crossover game *Street Fighter X Tekken* (Capcom, 2012), Don Ramón—a character from the popular TV show *El Chavo del Ocho* (Televisa, 1971)—made its way into the roster of the PC version of the game. As Thaiane Olivera, José Messias and Diego Amaral argue in their chapter in this anthology, *modding* (or software modification) serves "encourage the emergence of affective communities and the subversion of representations in the pop culture by inserting local references," showing that video games are not fixed cultural objects and can be transformed to accommodate the desires of players from different markets. In *The King of Fighters XIV* (SNK, 2016), SNK rendered a localized stage for Team Mexico: The Dynamite Ring, a lucha libre ring surrounded by *calaveras* and other Day of the Dead decorations in a recreation of a colonial plaza in Guanajuato, México. With *Tekken*, Namco decided to allow gamers to visually customize their characters. Among the graphic elements available for King, the gamer can add a championship belt and an alternate mask, which replaces the realistic jaguar mask with a more traditional, feline-themed *máscara*.

26. Néstor García Canclini, *Consumidores y ciudadanos: Conflictos multiculturales de la globalización* (Grijalbo, 1995).
27. Yuri Takhteyev, *Coding Places: Software Practice in a South American City* (MIT Press, 2012).
28. García Canclini, *Consumidores y ciudadanos*, 95.
29. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.
30. Gordon Calleja, *In-Game: From Immersion to Incorporation* (MIT Press, 2011), 55

James Paul Gee has argued that game designers must follow certain principles in use of symbolic materials: "To understand or produce any word, symbol, image, or artifact in a given semiotic domain, a person must be able to situate the meaning of that word, symbol, image, or artifact within embodied experiences of action, interaction in or about the domain."[31] In this respect, the lucha libre mask is a cultural object that circulates materially and symbolically, metonymically representing Mexico across media platforms. While the lucha libre mask is intended to serve as a representational fetish that is easily recognizable and through which specific national identities can be articulated, it is also an important symbolic object that enables cultural negotiation in the world of video games.

WORKS CITED

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. Noonday, 1957.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge, 2004.

Bolter, Jay David and Richard Grusin. *Remediation: Understanding New Media*. MIT Press, 1999.

Calleja, Gordon. *In-Game: From Immersion to Incorporation*. MIT Press, 2011.

Cervera, Humberto and Quesnel, Jacinto. "Mexico." In *Video Games Around the World*, edited by Mark J. P. Wolf. MIT Press, 2015.

Crawford, Chris. *The Art of Computer Game Design*. Osborne/McGraw-Hill, 1984.

Dovey, Jon and Helen W. Kennedy. *Game Cultures: Computer Games as New Media*. Open University Press, 2006.

Emigh, John. *Masked Performance: The Play of Self and Other in Ritual and Theatre.* University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

Frasca, Gonzalo. "Ludology Meets Narratology: Similitude and Differences between (Video) Games and Narrative." *Ludology.org.*, 1999, http://www.ludology.org/articles/ludology.htm.

—. "Simulation versus Narrative: Introduction to Ludology." In *The Video Game Theory Reader*, edited by Mark J. P. Wolf and Bernard Perron, 221-236. Routledge, 2003.

Galloway, Alexander R. *Gaming: Essays on Algorithmic Culture*. University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

García Canclini, Néstor. *Consumidores y ciudadanos: Conflictos multiculturales de la globalización*. Grijalbo, 1995.

Gee, James Paul. "Semiotic Domains: Is Playing Video Games a 'Waste of Time'?." In *The Game Design Reader: A Rules of Play Anthology*, edited by Katie Salen and Eric Zimmerman. MIT Press, 2006.

Hutchinson, Rachael. "Performing the Self: Subverting the Binary in Combat Games." *Games and Culture* 2.4 (2007): 283-99.

King, Geoff and Tanya Krzywinska. *Tomb Raiders and Space Invaders: Videogame Forms and Contexts*. I. B. Tauris, 2006.

31. James Paul Gee, "Semiotic Domains: Is Playing Video Games a 'Waste of Time'?," in *The Game Design Reader: A Rules of Play Anthology*, eds. Katie Salen and Eric Zimmerman (MIT Press, 2006), 240.

Levi, Heather. *The World of Lucha Libre: Secrets, Revelations, and Mexican National Identity.* Duke University Press, 2008.

Manovich, Lev. *The Language of New Media*. MIT Press, 2002.

Marisca, Eduardo. "Developing Game Worlds: Gaming, Technology and Innovation in Peru." Master's Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2014, http://cmsw.mit.edu/wp/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/233509575-Eduardo-Marisca-Developing-Game-Worlds-Gaming-Technology-and-Innovation-in-Peru.pdf.

McAllister, Ken S. *Game Work: Language, Power, and Computer Game Culture*. University of Alabama Press, 2004.

Monsiváis, Carlos and Gabriel Rodríguez. *Lucha Libre: Masked Superstars of Mexican Wrestling*. Trilce, 2005.

Nakamura, Lisa. *Cybertypes: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity on the Internet*. Routledge, 2002.

Nericcio, William Anthony. *Tex{t}-Mex: Seductive Hallucinations of the "Mexican" in America*. University of Texas Press, 2007.

Newman, James. *Videogames*. Routledge, 2004.

Ohmann, Richard M. *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century*. Verso, 1996.

Penix-Tadsen, Phillip. *Cultural Code: Video Games and Latin America*. MIT Press, 2016.

—. "Latin American Ludology: Why We Should Take Video Games Seriously (and When We Shouldn't)." *Latin American Research Review* 48.1 (2013): 174-190.

Rubenstein, Anne. "El Santo's Strange Career." In *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, edited by Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson. Duke University Press, 2002.

Takhteyev, Yuri. *Coding Places: Software Practice in a South American City*. MIT Press, 2012.

Tubella, Imma. "Television, the Internet, and the Construction of Identity." *The Network Society: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Manuel Castells. Edward Elgar, 2004.

Wark, McKinzie. *GAM3R 7H3ORY*. Harvard University Press, 2007.

Wilde, Tyler. "The Worst Street Fighter Characters Ever." *Game Radar*, 21 March 2008, http://www.gamesradar.com/the-worst-street-fighter-characters-ever/2/.

Wolf, Mark J. P. *The Medium of the Video Game*. University of Texas Press, 2001.

LUDOGRAPHY

Backbone. *Super Street Fighter II Turbo HD Remix*. Capcom, 2008.

Brezzasoft. *The King of Fighters 2001*. SNK, 2001.

Capcom. *Saturday Night Slam Masters*. Capcom, 1993.

—. *Street Fighter Alpha 3*. Capcom, 1998.

—. *Street Fighter II*. Capcom, 1991.

—. *Street Fighter IV*. Capcom, 2009.

—. *Super Street Fighter II*. Capcom, 1993.

—. *Super Street Fighter II Turbo*. Capcom, 1994.

—. *Super Street Fighter IV*. Capcom, 2010.

—. *Super Street Fighter IV: Arcade Edition*. Capcom, 2011.

—. *Street Fighter X Tekken*. Capcom, 2012.

Drinkbox Studios. *Guacamelee!.* Drinkbox Studios, 2013.

Namco. *Tekken*. Namco Bandai, 1994.

—. *Tekken 2*. Namco, 1996.

—. *Tekken 3*. Namco, 1998.

—. *Tekken 4*. Namco, 2002.

—. *Tekken 5: Dark Resurrection*. Namco, 2007.

—. *Tekken Tag Tournament*. Namco, 2002.

Namco Bandai. *Tekken 6*. Namco Bandai, 2009.

—. *Tekken Revolution*. Namco Bandai, 2013.

—. *Tekken Tag Tournament 2*. Namco Bandai, 2012.

Nintendo. *Pro Wrestling*. Nintendo, 1987.

SNK. *Art of Fighting 3: The Path of the Warrior*. SNK, 2006. =

—. *Garou: Mark of the Wolves*. SNK, 1999.

—. *The King of Fighters '94*. SNK, 1994.

—. *The King of Fighters 2000*. SNK, 2000.

—. *The King of Fighters 2002*. Playmore, 2002.

—. *The King of Fighters XIV*. SNK, 2016.

SNK Playmore. *The King of Fighters 2002: Unlimited Match*. SNK Playmore, 2009.

—. *The King of Fighters Neowave.* SNK Playmore, 2005.

—. *The King of Fighters 2003.* SNK Playmore, 2003.

—. *The King of Fighters XI*. SNK Playmore, 2007.

—. *The King of Fighters XIII*. SNK Playmore, 2010.

Temco. *Temco World Wrestling*. Temco, 1990.

Volition. *Saints Row: The Third*. THQ, 2011.