Play to Win, Profit & Entertain: a Study of Double Performance as Athlete and Streamer

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ABSTRACT

The differences between esports and live streaming are less than obvious and tend to become more diffuse as pro-players take advantage of popularity gained in esports to promote themselves as live streamers. The study presented in this paper intended to characterize the intersection between these two roles and activities, as represented in a case study. Methodological procedures involved observation, recording and mapping of 20 broadcasts. The discussion is supported by the notion of mediation, as proposed by the Latin American Communication School, performance theories and previous literature on the two activities, most of which focuses on one or the other. Results confirmed the need for different competences and the influence of different mediations in the two types of activity. In the case study, the contrast between the pro-player and the streamer personas granted authenticity to the latter, but the streamer persona was at service of the professional persona, not the other way around.

Keywords

esports, streaming, pro-player, streamer

INTRODUCTION

The expression "gameplay broadcasting" encompasses various types of activities, which include esports and live streaming. Esports refers to competitive games and involve professional players. The expression live streaming is usually reserved for non-professional (or semi-professional) user-generated gameplay video. Even when transmitted on the same platforms, such as Twitch, these two types of gameplay broadcasting imply different mediatic arrangements. The medium remains, but the institutional, social, cultural and even technical mediations (Orozco-Gomes, 2000) differ. As a result, the conditions and possibilities for players and viewers are different in each set up. This is easier to see in relation to viewers. In esports transmissions, the position of viewers is closer to that of the mass media public. Live streaming tends to be more interactive, allowing viewers to manifest over text-based chat. The existence of specific denominations, such as pro-player and streamer, suggests the existence of differences on the side of the players. However,

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these are not so obvious and can become even more diffuse as pro-players take advantage of the popularity gained in esports to promote themselves as live streamers.

In this paper, we characterize these two practices and discuss their intersection, as represented by the case study of a Brazilian pro-player and streamer. Methodological procedures involved observation, recording and mapping of 20 broadcasts. The discussion is guided by the ideas of mediations and performance.

The next sections introduce the theoretical background, starting from a characterization of esports and live streaming and the corresponding performances. This is followed by a presentation of the methodological protocols, starting with a description of the player chosen for the case study, and the presentation and discussion of results. Final considerations summarise the results, identify the limits of the study and point to future research.

ESPORTS AND LIVE STREAMING

Esports and live streaming are usually discussed separately. As the focus of the study presented in this paper was directed to the intersection of these two modalities, it is relevant to start with their similarities and differences.

The differentiation between esports and live streaming is made difficult by the use of the same platforms and same games. However, as stressed by the Latin American School, media and message are not sufficient to characterize communication processes. One of the most widely known concepts of that line of studies Martin-Barbero's "map of mediations" (2002). This model consists of two orthogonal axes, representing the synchronous and asynchronous elements which play a role in communication processes: one traverses from production logics to reception/consumption competencies, the other goes from cultural matrices to industrial forms. Four types of mediation appears in the resulting quadrants: sociability, institutionality, rituality and technicity (Figure 1).

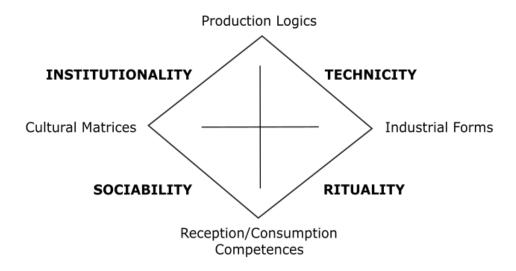


Figure 1 – Martin-Barbero's Map of Mediations.

This model dates from the early years of Barbero's movement "from media to mediations". Later, the author changed from treating the implications of sociocultural mediations on

media reception processes to an understanding of communication itself as a mediator of culture. The cost of this move was the loss of the empirical applicability, which was resolved by a reproposal of the concept of mediation and the construction of a new model of 5 types of "multiple mediations" (Orozco-Gomes, 2000). These are:

- Individual mediations: correspond to the cognitive abilities, learning structures, webs of beliefs and repertoires which mediate meaning construction;
- Referential mediations: structural characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, etc.
- Institutional mediations: relative to mid-scale social factors such as the influences of family, church, peer group;
- Mass mediatic mediations: correspond to the influences of the broadcasting apparatus and the implications of the technical configurations of different media;
- Situational mediations: relative to the immediate context of reception (physical surroundings, individual or collective, spontaneous or oriented, etc.)

Despite having been conceived for studies of mass media reception, this model has proven useful for a characterization of online gameplay broadcasting. Moreover, it was possible to apply the multiple mediations to both sides of the process. Table 1 shows a synthesis of this application, considering the two roles which are discussed in this paper: e-athlete and streamer. Given the peculiarities of digital communication, the mass media mediations were renamed technical mediations.

mediations	e-athlete	streamer
individual	game knowledge and mastery, tactics, creativity, improvisation, strategic thinking, professional restrain and expression control	game knowledge, creativity, improvisation, charisma, dramatical skills, expression control
referential	nationality, age, gender, type of game, title played	nationality, age, gender, type of game, title played
institutional	game developer, sponsors, team mates, fans	streaming platform, sponsors, public
situational	arena, field or public area	home, private or semi-public area
ludo-technological	mastery of the metagame and gaming equipment	mastery of the metagame, gaming equipment
broadcast	public presentation, large scale, out of control, intrusive but provided	mastery of the platform and streaming equipment, small scale, semi-controllable

Table 1 – Esports and Live Streaming: Multiple Mediations

The idea of mediations originated in the context of analogue media. Orozco-Gomez suggested the use of specific denominations, such as video-technological and radio-technological, to differentiate the technical mediations according to the type of medium. Following the same reasoning, the mediations which influence gameplay could be named ludo-technological mediations. It is important to notice that the mediations of playing a game are not the same as those of broadcasting it. Hence, gameplay broadcasting involves two levels of technological mediations, one relative to the gameplay and another relative to its transmission. "Online mediation" would be a good name for the distributive broadcast of streaming platforms such as Twitch, but not for the centralized broadcast of esports championships. For these reasons, Orozco's mass media mediations were divided into "ludo-technological mediations", relative to the gameplay, and "broadcast mediations", relative to the transmission.

WORK AND PLAY

Common sense tendencies to naturalize the separation between work and play have been reinforced by authors who, following Huizinga (2000), think of playing as that which is not serious and bears no real consequences for those involved. Work, on the other hand, implies commitment and has material and social implications. This assumption leads to other qualifying associations: due to its material consequences, work is considered necessarily motivated by profit, purposeful and tedious. Play, on its turn, is associated with leisure, entertainment and exhilaration.

This opposition has been challenged by the dynamics of late capitalism and the commoditisation of happiness. One example of the exploitation of joy as a resource is gamification, a label which encompasses different types of attempts to ameliorate the burden of work with carefully measured doses of the pleasure of play. Another example is that games have gone beyond being a commodity to become a work field for players. Goggin (2011) has called this hybridisation "playbour" (Kücklich, 2005) and exemplified with the cases of grinders and modders.

Grinders work within gameworlds, mining goods and items and levelling up avatars to sell them to wealthier players. Modders create or modify skins, maps and mechanics, adding content which ultimately results in profit for the game industry. In some cases, modders receive a small percentage of the profits; more often their share comes solely in the form of social capital (Apperley and Jayemane, 2012).

Esports and entertainment streaming are also ways of working with and within games. Both are novel types of work, but more formal than the previous examples. Over the last few years, esports championships have become mass events, attracting hundreds of millions of viewers and billions of dollars in brand investment in 2017 (Warman, 2017). E-athletes are employed by teams, under contracts similar to those of traditional sports such as soccer. Streamers sell advertising space and time in their channels and can be paid by the platform according to their popularity. The two activities are not mutually exclusive and several e-athletes have their own live streaming channels.

Previous authors have discussed possible approaches to the phenomenon of esports. Taylor (2012), for example, considered three perspectives: esports as serious leisure, lifestyle sports and unconventional work. She acknowledges the incompatibility between the idea of leisure and professional play, but chooses to focus on the fact that both, serious leisure and professional sports, occupy a central place in the daily life of participants. The second perspective considered by Taylor is that of lifestyle sports. These are alternative sports such as windsurfing or parkour, which require particularly strong commitment even at amateur level. Esports share the novelty of this type of sport, the existence of communities of practice, but not other characteristics, such as resistance to institutionalisation. The third approach is that of esport as "unconventional work", which Taylor defines as an occupation which provides so much enjoyment and fulfilment that the frontiers between obligation and leisure are blurred. Gaming is both leisure and work and it becomes difficult to separate the demands of one from the enjoyment of the other. In all three cases, the strongest link with esports is that of identity: pro players, and the support community which gathers around them, identify as gamers and/or athletes. It is the same with people who enroll in serious leisure, lifestyle sports or are unconventional workers.

Players, games, and the ways one relates to the other have been transformed by digital technology. Given that the same is true about broadcasting media, it comes to no surprise

that the presentation and watching of games have also changed. In relation to games and broadcasting, the most significant novelty is not esport, but social live streaming. It consists of sharing one's gaming screen with others in real-time, usually through specialist services and platforms which also give support to interactions between the audience and the player, or streamer. Compensation comes in the form of social capital, financial gain or both.

Several e-athletes have chosen to take advantage of their popularity to launch and promote their own streaming channels. The two activities have much in common, but also many differences, which do not allow one to be confused with the other. As with esports, the ideas of serious leisure, lifestyle sports and unconventional work are insufficient to explain live streaming. In our study, we preferred to resort to a fourth concept: performance.

PLAY PERFORMANCE

E-athletes and streamers are performers, not in the sense of the representational arts, but as conceptualized by performance studies (Goffman, 1990; Schechner, 2003). Their performances are framed in space and time, conscious and aimed at a specific but vaguely defined public, which is the audience they suppose they have, or desire to have.

Sports and play are commonly associated with entertainment, competition and technical ability. The latter is usually the most pre-eminently valued quality in professional, semi-professional and even amateur players. However, the performance of play also has aspects of social performance, ritual, and, in the case of streamers and e-athletes, business. Play should not be reduced to instrumental actions, such as running to position oneself better when the dragon spawns. It encompasses ritualistic acceptance of the rules (that the dragon will spawn) and the sociability of making jokes about it.

Performances position those who perform in relation to others, defining social relationships. When consistently repeated and in accordance with the rights and duties associated with a given status, performances establish social roles (Goffman, 1990), such as those of e-athlete and streamer.

As noted by Schechner (2003), professional sport is a particularly complex type of performance. Pro-players are motivated by the pleasure of playing, but also by other factors, such as financial gain or desire for fame. The same is true about streamers. One of the differences between esport and streaming lies on the apparatus around them: e-athletes are the most visible part of an intricate arrangement which involves coaches, psychologists, nutritionists, media and technology. Streaming performance requires a much smaller support network.

The study presented in this article questioned the intersection of those two types of performances, as represented by the activity of a pro-player who is also a prominent streamer. The discussion of the implications of this double role require better descriptions of each. These are the topics of the next subsections.

Pro-Player Performance and Requirements

The ideas of "work playing" and "serious leisure" do not do justice to the hardships of being a pro-player. Those aiming at professionalisation usually started playing for fun, with friends, and concentrate their efforts on one title with which they had had a previous affinity. However, the challenges of the transition from amateur to professional player go beyond the ability to play the game. Esports championships are highly competitive and require face-to-face interaction. As others who perform in front of crowds, pro-players need

to overcome stage fright, control anxiety and keep their focus in spite of the cheers and boos (Taylor, 2012).

As noticed by Stein (2013), if the difference between sport and leisure is that athletes perform for an audience, professional competitions are defined by players and public simultaneously performing their respective roles. The expectations and idealisations of the audience frame the game, transforming it in sport. Besides the public, the e-athletes are defined in relation to their coaches and to the game developers. The latter exercise a specific type of cultural management through the control of the technical and social rules of the matches. As a result, they define "preferred performances" to be followed by the pro players, which are reinforced by the coaches, in the form of their embodied knowledge about professionalism, teamwork, other players and career sustainability (Witkowski & Manning, 2017, p.10).

Professional players learn how to act and present themselves. This includes being aware of the cameras and assuming a respectful and polite attitude during the matches, in interviews, in promotional settings, and less controlled situations.

Taylor (2012) identifies 7 types of competences which differentiate pro-players from amateurs: embodied skill and mastery; technical facility; game and systems mastery; tactical and strategic thinking; skilled improvisation and imagination; social and psychological skills and career and institutional savvy. The first relates to the importance of body fitness for esports, an aspect which is not always evident in digital sports. The second, directed towards a higher level of knowledge of digital systems operations, is essential for monitoring technical disturbances which can compromise technical performance. Knowledge of the game is a condition for the creativity to improvise and imagine alternative approaches. This can not be conceived individualistically: coordination with the other members of the team tends to be more important than the personal talent of the best players. In respect of social and psychological skills, the myth of the antisocial gamer would suggest that pro-players are even less sociable and psychologically fragile than the media stereotype. However, players who suffer with social difficulties need to overcome them to become professionals. In addition to the pressures of public performance and the highly competitive environment, e-athletes need to able to accept and give positive criticism, understand the ideas of others and explain their own. The last competence listed by Taylor (2012) relates to career management, a skill which is particularly important for public performers in general, who need to take advantage of their period of stardom, make it last and, after retirement, continue to profit from their reputation. This implies creating a brand for themselves, dealing with contracts and sponsors, change teams when the time comes and, in many cases, adapt their gaming style to remain up to date with the competitors.

Streamer Performance and Requirements

Streaming a gameplay is different from playing a game for personal entertainment, and also from playing professionally. The technical mediations mark those differences quite prominently: as previously said, broadcasting adds a second layer to the ludo-technological mediation inherent to the gameplay situation. In this paper, esports and streaming are differentiated by their mediations. For example, the broadcasting mediations of live streaming are reduced in scale, as players stream their own content, usually with dedicated platforms. In esports events, the configuration of the broadcasting apparatus is closer to the mass media, with equipment, infra-structure and managerial decisions beyond the reach of the player. Similar differentiations have been suggested by authors who adopted only one

denomination, for example Karhulahti (2016), who referred to "personal" and "impersonal" live streaming. The impact of those two configurations on the performance of the player has been described by Walker (2014) as "active" and "passive" streaming postures.

Other mediations which influence the performance of the player and are related to the broadcasting mediations include the existence, and even the desire of an audience. Any regime of audience demands attention and affects the gameplay. For this reason, the relation between the streamer and its audience can be thought of as a type of "tandem play", a practice which has been defined as two or more players engaged simultaneously in a single-player game (Scully-Blaker et. al, 2017, p. 5). Tandem is different when players share agency over the game (play with) and when their gameplay is influenced by the audience (play along). The concept comes from physical gaming environments and it is questionable whether online streaming fits into either of those categories. However, the perception that the feasibility of the more direct forms of tandem is inversely proportional to the number of participants (Scully-Blaker et. al, 2017) is relevant for a discussion of streaming. The popular streamers, who are watched by thousands of viewers at a time, are more likely to play for their audience than along or with them. In those cases, the influence of the viewers is more diffuse, but not less important: the awareness of the existence of the viewers is an essential drive of the streamer's performance, and the larger the public, the more exposed and controlled the persona.

Given that streaming is different from playing, the competences required of a streamer are different from those required from a player. The requirement of mastery of the game and the system, for example, is different from that of the professional player, as the greatest challenge for the streamer is not winning the matches, but assuring that the transmission goes smoothly. The game mastery of live streamers is compromised by the need to monitor the broadcast, play and interact with their viewers at the same time (Paz, 2016; Montardo et al, 2017), but this does not mean that they are not careful about the content they make public. Instead of focusing on the skills at gameplay, streamers concentrate on entertaining the audience. According to Montardo et al, the performance of a streamer is split between player and entertainer, with great advantage for the latter (2017). As a consequence, the most important social competences for a streamer are different from those of a professional player: streamers do not need to be good at team work or act according to the desires of the game publisher. They need to please their audience and, eventually, their sponsors. To this end, streamer personas are likely to be charismatic, funny and promote identification.

Runeson (2017) identified 5 features which compose the persona of a streamer: appearance and manner, social front; dramatization; idealization and expressive control. Appearance and manner informs the public about the streamers' "ritual state", that is, what type of activity they are engaged on, for example, work or leisure. Runeson's idea of social front comes from Goffman (1990), who compared the performances of daily life with theatrical situations. The front stage personas try to correspond to the expectations of others. As a public representation, streaming requires a degree of dramatization. A quiet, restrained streamer would not be interesting to watch, but exaggerated expressions of cheerfulness or anger can generate discomfort. Streamers need to keep their attitudes constantly in check by monitoring the chat and trying to maintain their actions and reactions within optimal levels. These parameters define the feature Runeson (2017) called "idealization", which corresponds to the correct attitude to each situation. For example, after a challenging obstacle is overcome, viewers are likely to expect euphoria in a degree that corresponds to the value they attribute to the achievement. All these features converge in the "expressive control", which relates to the need (and the difficulty) of restraining or hiding certain

gestures, attitudes or events from the public. For example, the streamers studied by Runeson usually eat and drink during the streaming, but tend to do it discreetly, or out of the camera field.

METHODS

The discussion presented in this paper is anchored in a case study of the performances of a Brazilian pro-player and streamer over the period of the Group Stage of the Brazilian League of Legends Championship (CBLoL) 2017. The methodological framework of choice was a descriptive perspective of content analysis, with emergent coding.

The next section describes the methodological procedures and the profile of the player chosen for the study.

Case Study

The empirical material analysed in this study is comprised of two types of broadcasts of gameplay by the Brazilian pro-player and streamer known as "brTT": a) 10 matches originally broadcast during the second round of the Brazilian League of Legends Championship (CBLoL) 2017 and b) 10 matches originally broadcast on the player's personal channel on Twitch. This section presents the gamer chosen for the case study and describes the data collection and analytical procedures.

Non-disclosure of the identity of the player has been considered, but it was not feasible. BrTT is a famous character, whose public personas are built on distinctive peculiarities. The study did not take into account private, "back stage" information.

The E-Athlete and Streamer Brtt

The player chosen for the case study is probably the best known Brazilian e-athlete and streamer, "brTT", who has played competitively since early adolescence. After a few years playing *Counter-Strike* (Valve 2000) and *DotA AllStars* (Icefrog 2005), in 2011 brTT joined the Brazilian *League of Legends* (Riot Games 2009) team "Pain Gaming". Over the last 7 years, the team won several titles and brTT became one of the few Brazilian players to participate in the 2015 League of Legends World Championship. Elected Brazil's favourite player of 2017 by public vote, brTT is also an active streamer and accumulates a considerable number of faithful viewers in his Twitch channel. His story has been included in the Legends Rising series (Riot Games, 2015), which features the best players in the world. He was also the first player to have had a catchword integrated to a *League of Legends* character².

Data Collection and Analytical Procedures

The sample constructed for this study comprised of 20 videos, 816 minutes in total. Half of those videos were competitive matches downloaded from the Riot Games Brazil channel³, the other half were personal streams downloaded from brTT's Twitch channel. The professional matches covered the first and second phases of the Championship and took place between June 17 and August 20. Players' voices during the match as well as interviews and interactions between players which took place before and after were not available in the Riot Games Brasil channel and could not be taken into account.

The first of the 10 live streams took place two weeks after the end of brTT's participation in the championship. The interval was considered small enough to be representative of a single phase in the player's career, but long enough to avoid the interference of the physical challenges imposed by the sequence of competitive matches (Taylor, 2012) on the

performance as streamer⁴. The final material consisted of 816 minutes of video, of which the camera images and game images during the matches and streaming were analysed and compared. Player sound was available only in the streaming videos and, therefore, could be analysed but not compared. Viewer interventions in the streaming chat and commentaries left on the RGB channel were not considered relevant as the study was directed exclusively to the performance of the pro-player and streamer.

Each video was decouped in a chart with 4 fields: time (as in the video file), game image, player image and sound. Decouping consisted of two phases: in the first, descriptive, events were translated to verbal descriptions (Table 1). The second, classificatory, consisted of the creation of an emergent tag-based descriptive coding scheme.

Table 1:

Time	Game Image	Player Image	Sound
1215	champion is returning to base, showing the scores screen (he presses tab several times)	he speaks in a tone of complaint	I do not know why, but when I use two screens my fps drops hard, dude. Like, it gets from 80 to 79 over there, but in the game he looks pretty laggy. The next time I think I'll do it with just one
1410 s	champion is coming back from the base to the bot lane	he turns the whole body to read commentary from viewers on the second screen	thanks a lot for the 300 bits brow ~ fluffy pillow ~ he he, we rule brow. Thank you very much
1437s	freezes the lane near the ally tower	he puts on a concentrated expression and types in the game chat	

Table 1: Sample of first phase of "stream game no 1" video decouped data. Player's speech has been translated by the authors.

Decouping charts were recombined by type of data. The 4 resulting charts retained information about the original source being either esport or live streaming video. The descriptive charts were then classified in relation to the average frequency of occurrence (rarely, sometimes, frequently) in the 10 videos of each type of performance⁵. This revealed patterns according to type of data and repetition which are representative of brTT's performances as pro-player and as streamer, as seen in Chart 1.

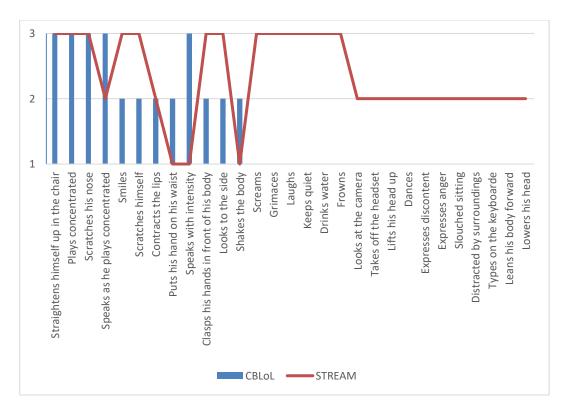


Chart 1: Type and frequency of brTT's actions as identified in CBLol and streaming videos.

THE E-ATHLETE AND THE STREAMER

In this section we present the evidence about brTT's pro-player and streamer personas, as manifested in his performances in the 20 matches analysed. The discussion of their intersection takes into account the competences required (Taylor, 2012; Runeson, 2017) and the mediations (Orozco-Gomes, 2000) which influence each of these roles.

The professional nature of the championships is reflected in the aesthetically rich decoration of the arena, with coloured light beams and large screens for the public. The two teams are distributed on a central stage. Sat in gaming chairs, players wear team uniforms and noise-cancelling headphones. The public, of the order of thousands, surround the stage and coaches, technical crews and presenters control the rituals of the match and the broadcast

The environment of brTT's live streaming is homely and informal. He appears to broadcast from a dedicated room and the equipment configuration is similar to that of the CBLoL, with the addition of a second screen, which he uses to monitor his image and the chat. It is possible to see a second computer and gaming chair to his side and a pet meandering in and out. In certain streams, the room appears untidy, with clothes abandoned on a chair.

During the championship brTT dresses tidily, has his beard and hair trimmed and appears serious and focused. At home, he wears t-shirts, which at times seem battered, and is always wearing a cap. He concentrates during specially difficult moments in the game, but most of the time shares his attention between the gameplay, the chat, food and drinks. Occasionally, his girlfriend is in the same room and he talks to her while streaming.

The "expressive control" described by Runeson (2017) is clear in the athletic composure of brTT's professional persona, but not on his streaming. His face remains inexpressive and his body language portrays confidence even in the most difficult moments. The only consistent physical manifestation of stress and anxiety was a characteristic shaking of his legs during the selection of the champions for the match [nota explicativa]. During the championship matches he moves less frequently than at home and his gestures are more restrained. Actions which are frequent in the streaming videos, such as making faces and scratching, do not disappear completely, but their rarity suggest that he tries to avoid them. Their frequency at home do not appear to be a consequence of forgetting the streaming situation, as brTT often looks straight to the webcam and talks to his public. The body language, facial expression and his use of catchphrases are properly attuned to the events of the game. They appear to be spontaneous, nearly uncontrollable, but are part of a carefully measured dramatization. For example, brTT reacts to frustrating situations in streamed games by shouting. This never happens during championship games, which are of more consequence for him. The streamers observed by Runeson ate and drank while playing, but were discreet about it, while brTT even talks to his viewers about his food and drinks. However, it would be precipitous to affirm that brTT presents his "back stage" persona (Goffman, data) to the public when streaming. His appearance and actions, such as the choice of battered clothes, dancing on the chair, and his choice of food and drinks add up to construct the character of a health-conscious, extrovert, streetwise guy, who is seen being comfortable in his own house, interacting with his mates (the viewers). The "authenticity" of this persona is more likely to be a response to the expectations of brTT's Brazilian public.

It is not possible to access brTT's audio during the CBLoL matches, but the images show him talking all the time to his team mates, quietly and confidently. When streaming, he speaks less often, joking, winding up his duo (game partner), making fun of adversaries. He addresses his fans, particularly the subscribers, as his "children", and calls the community of viewers a family. His role in this family would be that of the patriarch. This is coherent with the image of self-confidence and considerable experience which is part of his two personas, the e-athlete and the streamer. When brTT talks about the game, it is usually with catchphrases that reinforce this image. For example, when he is confronted by another player in a one-to-one situation and wins, he says he is "an old monkey" or warns "reshhpect me", a derivation of his most famous expression, which translates as "reshhpect the rat".

Game mastery and inventiveness are competences required of e-athletes and streamers alike. However, they can manifest differently in each situation. When playing professionally, BrTT avoids unnecessary risks, takes his team mates into consideration and positions his champion with care. Mastery consists of increasing the chance of success of his team. During streaming, he is more individualistic, tries dangerous moves, complains or mocks other players. Mastery appears to become synonymous with being a star. In competitive matches, brTT chooses his champions in agreement with his team and coaches, varying only when necessary. While streaming, he prides himself on changing champion as much as possible and justifies it as a way to "broaden his teaching the crowd".

The streamer performance constantly reinforces brTT's image of experienced player. It contributes to the construction of the athletic myth and is an instrument to maintain and constantly monitor his fan base. Financial gain is always at stake: every time he repeats "reshhpect", brTT reinforces the name of his brand of clothes. BrTT's streaming is an exercise of career savvy on the part of the pro-player, a competent advertising campaign

which starts from his choice of clothes, which coincide with what is on sale in this online shop, and traverses the multiple mediations of the two activities.

CONCLUSION

This paper intended to characterize the performances of pro-players and gameplay streamers and discuss their intersection, based on a case study of a popular e-athlete who is also a streamer.

The characterization of the two activities was based on previous literature, most which focuses on one or the other. The comparison was supported by the notion of mediation, as proposed by the Latin American School of Communication. Performance studies provided the main framework to focus on the activity of the player, avoiding the shortcomings of dichotomised oppositions between work and play.

The empirical study was based on 10 live streamings and 10 videos of the Brazilian League of Legends Championship 2017. Data analysis confirmed theoretical assumptions such as the mediations of championship and personal streaming. The ideas of performance, persona and front stage were important for the interpretation of the results.

The contrast between brTT's persona during the championship and his streamer persona is remarkable. In the first situation, he presents a facade of extreme composure and demonstrates fierce control of his emotions even in the most difficult moments of the game. In the second, he presents himself as careless and over-reacting, for example by expressing excessive bonhomic towards his viewers or by shouting and swearing to manifest anger and frustration with the game.

The presumed "authenticity" of the latter persona was called into question by two perceptions. The first was the importance of attributes such as experience and self-confidence for both roles. The streamer persona builds upon the professional to validate those qualities and, in the process, reinforces the importance of the e-athlete. The same can be said about his style of play, which changes from careful and team-driven in professional settings to individual stardom when streaming. The second was the high proportion of elements in the streams which are directed to financial gain. These go from the choice of clothes, which are similar to the ones commercialized in his online shop, to the repetition of the catchphrase which is the brand's name. Hence, the performance of the streamer is at service of the pro-player, not the other way. This conclusion is far from derogatory. In parallel to the technical, physical, cognitive and social competences required to be a popular streamer and international e-athlete, brTT had the intelligence to construct and maintain the two personas and put one at service of the other to his own advantage.

To conclude, it is relevant to emphasize that the results presented in this paper derive from a case study and, therefore, are not suitable for generalization. Case studies provide indepth knowledge which is suitable to anchor theoretical perspectives, but have no statistical validity in and of themselves.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ https://www.twitch.tv/brtt
- ² The catchphrase is 'rexxxpeita o rato' (reshhhpect the mouse), later reduced to the catchword rexpeita, has been attributed by Riot to the mouse Twitch (in Portuguese). It can be heard at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OXK4Vw7uHqs [05 February 2018]. This catchword is now the name of brTT's brand of clothes.
- ³ https://www.twitch.tv/riotgamesbrazil
- ⁴ Twitch removes videos 60 days. The downloaded files will be kept for 5 years and remain available for other scholars on request.
- ⁵ The use of averages was considered sufficient due to the consistency of frequent actions in different matches of each type. Charts and video files will be stored for 5 years and remain available on request to any of the authors.