



Seriously Engaged Consumers: Navigating Between Work and Play in Online Brand Communities

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Abstract

Seriously engaged consumers create and manage online communities dedicated to brands or consumption activities, but this type of engagement remains under-examined. This study explores the contextual triggers and individual drivers of serious engagement in online communities and explains how seriously engaged consumers navigate the intersection between work and play that characterizes serious engagement. We draw from qualitative data spanning over a decade on the trajectory of four seriously engaged consumers who created and/or managed an online brand community for players of Microsoft's Xbox. Three contextual triggers (market-specific practices, marketplace shifts, sociotechnical advancements), when aligned with individual drivers (relevant skills and expertise, entrepreneurial vision, personal commitment), motivate consumers who have been engaged with a brand or consumption activity to deepen their engagement, becoming managers of or launching an online brand community. Consumers can navigate the in-between space of serious leisure through knowledge development or searching for personal fulfillment and/or external recognition. These findings support several contributions to the literature on consumer engagement: demonstrating the vital role seriously engaged consumers play in online community development; drawing attention to contextual triggers and individual drivers of consumer engagement that have not been addressed in prior research; and exploring how consumers navigate the in-between space arising from serious engagement in online communities, finding routes that can lead to deeper engagement in the community itself or redirect it to alternative targets.

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Introduction

Engagement in online brand communities involves interactions among community members and between members and the brand (Brodie et al. 2013). Highly engaged consumers are more likely to consider their engagement not only as mere play or an end in itself, but also as a serious commitment to achieving a desired identity or positions within a group (Grayson 1999; Taylor 2006) — that is, they take it seriously. Hence, we propose the concept of *serious engagement* to refer to the incorporation

of skills, knowledge, and responsibilities into the activities of creating and managing online brand communities. Serious engagement involves specific interactions, such as moderating discussions among community members and solving managerial and technical problems. Because serious engagement combines aspects of work and play (two domains frequently experienced as opposed to each other), it is fertile ground for tension.

Prior research has shown that consumer engagement in online communities may range from relatively low to extremely high levels (Brodie et al. 2013). Kozinets (1999), for instance, explains that consumer identification with an online community varies depending on two interrelated interests consumers may have: (1) in consumption activities and (2) in developing relations with other participants. This understanding supports

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the identification of four distinct types of online community members, each with a different level of engagement in the online community: devotees, insiders, tourists, and minglers. Recently, Martineau and Arsel (2017) revisited these types of engagement, linking each to different value-creating practices that require specific skills. The authors propose a new engagement-based typology of online community members that includes tourists, aspirers, utilizers, and communals.

Such typologies have pointed to relevant factors driving engagement, and they are useful for understanding that some consumers are more engaged than others. Nevertheless, they do not explain why consumers assume a position of serious engagement and how consumers maintain that level of engagement. Prior discussions on the intensity of consumers' engagement in brand communities have accounted for the role of relationships among community members (e.g., Kozinets 2002) and/or between consumers and the focal brand or activity (e.g., Cova and White 2010; De Valck, van Bruggen, and Wierenga 2009) as drivers of engagement. But we know little about contextual triggers other than relationships (e.g., industry and market-related aspects) that might inspire consumers to develop and maintain high levels of engagement with online consumption communities. As noted by Vibert and Shields (2003) and underscored by Brodie et al. (2011, p. 260), considering the contextual nature of engagement is of extreme importance, as “engagement, separated from its social, cultural, and political context, is a contradiction that ignores deeply embedded understandings about the purpose and nature of engagement itself.”

Despite growing scholarly attention to the individual drivers of engagement in the context of interactive marketing (Hollebeek, Glynn, and Brodie 2014; Pagani and Malacarne 2017), the personal motivations of consumers who pursue continued and high levels of engagement in online environments also remain unclear. Aiming to address these gaps, we propose the first of our two research questions:

RQ1: What contextual triggers and individual drivers prompt consumers to become seriously engaged in online brand communities?

Even though serious engagement in online brand communities has gone virtually unexplored by marketing researchers, studies of serious leisure (e.g., Stebbins 2007) and consumer dedication to activities (e.g., Luo, Ratchford, and Yang 2013; Seregina and Weijo 2017) provide relevant insights into understanding the benefits and challenges of sustaining high levels of engagement. In analyzing cosplayers, Seregina and Weijo (2017) note that time demands, precarious play-mood, competence plateaus, and material costs threaten the maintenance of these consumers' engagement with the consumption activity. The authors found that cosplayers individually adjust their consumption practices to minimize tensions and to preserve the ludic and playful character of the activity. While these solutions at the individual level were sufficient for highly engaged cosplayers to maintain their participation in the activity, consumers who are seriously engaged in online brand communities may not be able to individually adjust their practices without threatening the development and even the continued existence of the brand community. Therefore,

they may need to find different ways to navigate the in-between space between work and play to sustain both their position in the community and the community itself. Hence, we propose a second research question:

RQ2: How can consumers navigate the in-between space of serious engagement in online communities?

To address these research questions, we undertook an extended qualitative study of a Brazilian online customer-managed brand community for players of Xbox, a brand owned by Microsoft. In interpreting our data, we draw from research on the drivers of consumer engagement in online communities (Brodie et al. 2011, 2013; Hollebeek, Glynn, and Brodie 2014; Hsieh and Chang 2016), as well as consumer culture theory (CCT) research addressing the overlapping of work and play that is characteristic of high levels of engagement in leisurely consumption activities (Seregina and Weijo 2017; Tumbat and Belk 2011; Woermann and Rokka 2015).

This study investigates individual and contextual incentives for consumers to deepen their engagement, and examines the trajectories of four seriously engaged consumers to discuss their efforts to sustain – at least for a time – serious engagement. In doing so, it contributes to the interactive marketing literature by extending the understanding of extreme levels of engagement in online brand communities (Brodie et al. 2013; Hollebeek, Glynn, and Brodie 2014; Pagani and Malacarne 2017). This study also contributes to advancing managerial practices by calling attention to seriously engaged consumers and their vital role in the creation, growth, and continued existence of consumer-managed online brand communities.

The following sections introduce our theoretical framework, research methods, and context; describe our findings; and discuss their implications for interactive marketing research and practice.

Conceptual Background

Consumer engagement in online communities has been considered a psychological state or set of behaviors that is voluntary, pleasurable, and positively experienced by consumers (e.g., Baldus, Voorhees, and Calantone 2015; Brodie et al. 2013; Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001). In this sense, engagement can be likened to play, which has been defined as “voluntary, a source of joy and enjoyment, [...] carefully isolated from the rest of life, [and] unproductive [as] it creates no wealth or goods, thus differing from work or art” (Caillois 1961, p. 9). Marketing and consumer researchers have explored play in relation to the environmental and social conditions that interfere with and result from consumers' playful activities. Hence, these studies may support our examination of engagement as derived from individual and contextual elements. Table 1 summarizes the key individual and contextual drivers of consumer engagement accounted for in the online communities literature.

The literature on individual drivers of consumer engagement is extensive, and some studies have attended to the context of online consumption communities in particular (e.g., Baldus,

Table 1
Drivers and triggers of consumer engagement in online communities.

Level of analysis	Drivers and triggers	Key elements	Key authors
<i>Personal level</i>	Personal commitment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Altruistic motives – Affective motives – Personal identification – Emotional bonding – Strength of the relationships among members 	Brodie et al. (2013), Hammedi et al. (2015), Pansari and Kumar (2017), Martínez-López et al. (2017), Mathwick and Mosteller (2017), Raïes, Mühlbacher, and Gavard-Perret (2015)
	Personality predictors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Openness to experience – Empathetic and cooperative self – Public self-consciousness – Uncertainty avoidance – Brand passion 	Baldus, Voorhees, and Calantone (2015), UI Islam, Rahman, and Hollebeek (2017), Wang, Ma, and Li (2015), Wirtz et al. (2013)
	Personal goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Personal empowerment – Self-expression – Self-discovery – Social enhancement – Entertainment – Hedonic rewards 	Baldus, Voorhees, and Calantone (2015), Brodie et al. (2013), Mathwick and Mosteller (2017)
<i>Contextual level</i>	Community settings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Members practices – Community design – Social support and empathy – Community user experience – Brand vs. user community management 	Breidbach, Brodie, and Hollebeek (2014), Claffey and Brady (2017), Dessart, Veloutsou, and Morgan-Thomas (2015), Hollebeek, Jurić, and Tang (2017), Schau, Gilly, and Wolfinbarger (2009)
	Brand settings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Brand management – Weak vs. strong brand – Brand narrative – Brand identity 	De Vries and Carlson (2014), Rosenthal and Brito (2017), Schamari and Schaefer (2015)

Voorhees, and Calantone 2015; Mathwick and Mosteller 2017; UI Islam, Rahman, and Hollebeek 2017). Rather than revisiting these studies here, we point readers to Martineau and Arsel (2017) for a recent overview of the individual drivers of consumer engagement.

Exploring the theoretical foundations of consumer engagement, Brodie et al. (2011) state that it occurs within a specific set of situational conditions generating differing levels of engagement. The authors address the nature of customer engagement as an “individual, context-dependent concept, which may be observed at different levels of intensity and/or complexity, at different points in time” (p. 260).

Brodie et al. (2013) follow up to highlight how consumer engagement is a *context-dependent*, psychological state with *different levels of intensity*. Vivek, Beatty, and Morgan (2012) also consider contextual elements in their modeling of customer engagement, arguing that “relationships are not just between buyers and sellers, but between any combination of (and among) potential and existing customers, noncustomers, society in general, their extended relationships, and sellers” (p. 10). Other research has accounted for community-level settings that contribute to creating and maintaining deep consumer engagement (Hollebeek, Jurić, and Tang 2017; Schau, Muñiz, and Arnould 2009). Brand-related drivers have also been considered key determinants of consumer participation in online brand communities (Schamari and Schaefer 2015).

Overall, prior studies explain how drivers other than individual characteristics move consumers from being passive audience members to having an interest in connecting with objects, events, people, and institutions. Nevertheless, these studies limit their

examination of external elements to community or brand settings, thereby leaving a broad array of contextual aspects unaccounted for. Some studies do consider the industry (e.g., Breidbach, Brodie, and Hollebeek 2014), social media (Labrecque et al. 2013), and firm-hosted commercial online communities (Wirtz and de Ruyter 2007) as contextual elements that may operate as antecedents for consumer engagement. Nevertheless, these studies do not explain how these contextual factors move consumers who are already engaged to deepen their engagement with online brand communities.

The In-between Space of Serious Engagement

Research developed in the field of CCT has addressed consumer engagement in online communities as playful (Schau, Gilly, and Wolfinbarger 2009). When individuals deepen their engagement, this experience may become less play, and more work-like. As Boulaire and Cova (2008) note, individuals sometimes become so immersed in a playful activity that they allow it to become something else: something serious, a regular part of daily life. As a result, it no longer works as an escape zone. Boulaire and Cova (2008) observe that, in such conditions, the viability of play (and we note, of engagement) hinges on the players' capacity to fully immerse themselves in an activity while maintaining the ability to exit from it and to alternate phases of play and nonplay. Hence, it is not in the consumers' best interest for the activity in which they are deeply engaged to revert to pure play (thereby reducing the seriousness of the engagement) or to become pure work (thus offering no escape from daily life). If consumers are able to maintain the contrast between play and

nonplay, the activity becomes more valuable and meaningful (Sherry, Kozinets, and Borghini 2007).

Prior research has also noted that when the number of participants in any given leisure activity increases, managing the activity becomes time consuming and requires that some participants make a central life activity of it or at least be willing to work in order to improve parts of it (Boulaire and Cova 2008; Stebbins 2007). This is especially true of consumer-managed online brand communities, whose technical and managerial requirements increase dramatically as a result of an increased user base.

Overall, as consumers deepen their engagement in an activity, the costs associated with the activity tend to increase. Analyzing individuals deeply engaged in leisure activities, Stebbins (1992) notes that one of the costs of serious leisure is the disappointment that arises from “the absence of expected rewards and their manifestation [and is] born in the failure of high hopes” (p. 100). In addition, serious engagement requires consumers to interact with more aspects of an activity, some of which consumers may not find enjoyable. This entails significant adjustments on the part of consumers as they attempt to avoid these aspects and focus on the ones they find most interesting (Stebbins 1992).

Seregina and Weijo (2017) observe that deeply engaged consumers face growing instrumental costs, including emotional, material, temporal, and competence-related costs. Other studies highlight costs such as efforts dedicated to cognitive development (Alba and Hutchinson 1987; Brodie et al. 2013), and boredom and stress (Woermann and Rokka 2015), which arise from the need to learn continuously and achieve mastery. These studies suggest that to assume and maintain extremely high levels of engagement, consumers may be compelled by different motivations and contextual aspects than those that initially motivated them to become engaged. Moreover, they indicate that deeper levels of engagement require consumers to navigate a space that combines features of work and play. Hence, it is important to understand how consumers navigate this in-between space.

Prior literature has proposed some insights into this phenomenon. Seregina and Weijo (2017) found that practice work – modularization, reinforcement, and collaboration – helps in reducing the costs and risks and sustains engagement in cosplay. Also, Boulaire and Cova (2008) note the creation of liminal zones, in which consumers may experience an activity as nonwork and nonplay, making it an intersection space of both work and play.

Consumer research on time allocation has found that learning and the development of expertise are key drivers of continued engagement (e.g., Luo, Ratchford, and Yang 2013; Schau, Gilly, and Wolfinbarger 2009). Similarly, Schau, Gilly, and Wolfinbarger (2009) highlight that continuous learning developed through community engagement expands opportunities for consumers to employ their favorite brands as symbolic and utilitarian resources, thereby creating value for consumers and brands alike. Finally, Luo, Ratchford, and Yang (2013) have found that consumers tend to specialize in a particular activity (that is, to dedicate increasing amounts of time to it) as their expertise in that activity increases. As they gain expertise by engaging in an activity, consumers perceive

that activity as more valuable, deriving more hedonic, social, and self-efficacy value from it; thus, they feel more compelled to engage in it further.

Overall, what these studies suggest is that if consumers' learning and expertise are increasing and they perceive that sufficient value is being created through their engagement in an activity, they will make efforts (i.e., engage in practice work) to sustain engagement regardless of whether they perceive the activity as work or play. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether these approaches can help seriously engaged consumers to sustain their engagement in online brand communities. We therefore analyze the trajectories of seriously engaged consumers to understand what drives them to become seriously engaged and examine the efforts they make as they navigate the in-between space of serious engagement.

Research Context

Our research setting is a consumer-managed community of Xbox players, Portalxbox, which was founded in October 2005 by three Xbox fans. The three founders, named in this paper as MrAx, Dicco, and DH, managed the community until its transition to a new platform in 2013. The founding consumers envisioned the community as a significant actor in the Brazilian market, aiming to spread the use of original games and to serve as an intermediary in relations between manufacturers, distributors, and final consumers. In 2012, Portalxbox had an average of 450 new users per week, peaking at more than 130,000 registered members and more than 2 million monthly member visits. Until 2013, the community managers shared updates on news regarding current and future Xbox game releases, provided reviews and previews of games and hardware, moderated discussions in several discussion forums, maintained a library of articles from gaming publications, produced a monthly e-zine called PXMazine, and hosted weekly podcasts. The site also included an image gallery, sections for tips, achievements, and user ratings, and coverage of national and international gaming events. The community not only helped to solve participants' problems with Xbox games and consoles, but also provided the most updated information on the Brazilian market, being a go-to reference for reviews and technical articles on Xbox in Portuguese. This content was developed by the community founders, and volunteer moderators (15 at the community' peak). In addition, a select group of around 120 community members, called the Elite, had permission to publish content to members (Field Notes, August 2008).

Portalxbox grew steadily until early 2013, when it was closed due to technical and administrative difficulties faced by the founding members. A few months later, one of the three founders invited a moderator, Raphael, to join the management team and re-launch the community on a new website, called PXB. This community is currently active and shares the same initial passion for Xbox games. Nevertheless, after the migration, the community portfolio was reduced to a discussion forum. Raphael continues to manage the community, under the mentorship of one of the founders, MrAx. The community has between ten and fifteen thousand active users and around 500

to 600 thousand member visits a month, and three moderators (Interview, December 2017).

Involvement by Microsoft was always indirect. National events such as the Portalxbox Forums I and II were held at Microsoft headquarters in São Paulo in 2008 and 2009. Microsoft provided the place, food, new games to be tested, and talks given by the Xbox product manager during the events. Moreover, at different moments, MrAx, Dicco, and Raphael each received the Xbox MVP title from Microsoft. The Xbox MVP title is awarded by Microsoft to individuals “who [have] demonstrated an exemplary commitment to helping others get the most out of their experience with Xbox products and services. They share their passion, knowledge, and expertise with Xbox and the community while encouraging others to do the same” (<https://mvp.xbox.com/home>). Microsoft never supported the community financially or provided any directions for its management.

Between 2008 and 2013, the community earned a modest revenue through voluntary member donations and sales commissions from affiliate websites of Brazilian video game retailers. During that period, the website was hosted on a costly international platform, and the community-generated revenue only partially covered the costs of hosting and maintaining the site. The remainder of the costs was absorbed by the community founders, all of whom maintained paid full-time jobs through the years in which they managed the community. After transitioning to the new platform, the website became smaller and the costs reduced. Currently, costs are covered by advertising and premium membership revenues. The brand PXB is registered to MrAx (the brand Portalxbox could never be registered due to Microsoft's ownership of the name). Overall, throughout the community's history, the founders never made any financial profit; rather, they invested their money and time to keep the community growing and alive. In the new platform, the new manager, Raphael, a professional designer, benefits indirectly from including the community in his portfolio, but he too does not make any direct revenue for his serious engagement.

Research Methods

Our involvement with this study's context, the Xbox community, is characterized by long-term immersion. Over 11 years (2006–2017), three researchers of the author team collected data on the focal community through different qualitative approaches, which cannot be considered exclusively online or offline. Both spaces were considered in this immersion, which involved, but was not restricted to, several interactions with the four key informants, as well as interviews with community moderators and leading users. To best describe this longitudinal effort, we present our data collection efforts as three chronological phases below.

Community Selection and Netnographic Observation (2006–2007)

The early years of this research were also the early years for the Portalxbox community. During this period, the first author

observed forums, read editorials and magazine articles, listened to podcasts, and participated in the online community by posting articles and comments. These observations, registered in field notes, were critical to understanding the community, its significance for its members, and how committed moderators and managers were to the community and its activities. At that time, the community managers were deepening their engagement and learning how to operate in their newly acquired roles.

Community Engagement and Offline Data Collection (2008–2010)

During this period two of the authors attended two offline events promoted by Portalxbox. On these occasions, a videographic study was carried out in which the authors interviewed the three seriously engaged founders, as well as 13 highly engaged members of the community, including forum moderators. These members could be characterized as insiders and devotees (Kozinets 1999). The interviews supported our understanding of serious engagement as situated in the intersection between work and play, and pointed to some of the personal and contextual factors related to community management. Field notes were taken from observations. In addition to the interviews, our recording of the events included scenes of participants engaging in game testing and playing. Interviews conducted at this stage resulted in 15 hours of video, which were transcribed to become 215 pages of single-spaced text.

Keeping in Touch with Seriously Engaged Consumers (2011–2017)

In 2011 and 2012, we continued observing the key developments in the online community. Two of the authors logged onto it at least once a month. Also, several conversations took place between the first author and one community founder, MrAx, via email or Skype. They exchanged about 100 emails in this period, several of which were on the activities of seriously engaged consumers in the community. Most of these email exchanges took place during a transition stage in which the online community migrated to the new platform. Hence, these exchanges surface the challenges of navigating the in-between space comprising work and play that the seriously engaged consumers were experiencing back then. In 2013, a third researcher joined the team and started observing and collecting data on the discussion forums of the new platform, PXB.

Two rounds of interviews were conducted in this period, the first one with two community founders (MrAx and DH) and the new community manager (Raphael) in July 2013, after the community transitioned to the new platform. Interviews from this phase added up to 13 hours of audio, which generated over 200 pages of single-spaced transcribed text. The final round of interviews was conducted in November–December 2017 with the remaining founder, MrAx, and the current manager, Raphael. These came to two hours of audio, generating 30 pages of single-spaced transcribed text. These interviews took place over Skype and, as all interviews in this project, were

Table 2
Key informants.

Informant (pseudonym, age, profession)	Community roles
MrAx, in his mid-forties, medical doctor	Community leading manager, founder, public relations, and mentor of the community growth for both Portalxbox and PXB. At the time of this study's conclusion, at the end of 2017, acted as advisor for PXB.
DH, in his mid-forties, information technology (IT) entrepreneur	Former commercial director and founder of Portalxbox; performed several roles, including supporting MrAx in managing Portalxbox and PXB at its founding. No longer has serious engagement with the community.
Dicco, in his early forties, IT technician	IT developer and community founder; responsible for Portalxbox platform until 2012, when he left the community. No longer has serious engagement with the community.
Raphael, in his twenties, graphic designer	Former moderator at Portalxbox; became a manager of the new PXB community. Currently runs the community.

conducted in Portuguese (the informants and researchers are native speakers). Table 2 provides a description of our key informants.

Throughout all phases, online data were collected on community forums, Facebook groups, specialized websites, and media outlets that covered Xbox news and developments.

Data Analysis

Selected archival data related to the research topic were read and categorized by three of the authors at discrete times. The emergent categories were compared to those that emerged from the coding of interviews. Interview transcripts were read and independently coded by the three first authors. The coding was influenced by the research questions and propositions, following guidelines for interpretive research (Miles and Huberman 1994). Finally, all authors conferred, and by iterating between the data and their understanding of the literature, identified the themes that are presented in our findings below.

The primary source of richness of our research is that the trajectories of these seriously engaged consumers with the online community were not merely reported to the authors, but also observed by them, as the data collection was continued throughout the development of the community. This in-depth knowledge allows us to analyze the individual drivers, contextual triggers, and interplay between work and play for seriously engaged consumers. Table 3 provides a summary of this longitudinal study.

Findings

In analyzing the trajectory of highly engaged Xbox consumers, we identified three individual drivers of serious

engagement: (a) *relevant skills and expertise*, which refers to the possession of technical, relational, or administrative skills required to assume responsibilities concerning the management and support of an online brand community; (b) *entrepreneurial vision*, whereby one visualizes the community as a potentially profitable business or as a platform for business opportunities; and (c) *personal commitment* to the brand, fellow consumers, or an associated cause that matters to these.

Our findings also point to three contextual triggers of serious engagement — specific aspects of the market in which an online brand community is inserted. These triggers are broader than the community and brand-related aspects prior research has noted as drivers of engagement (e.g., De Vries and Carlson 2014; Hollebeek, Jurić, and Tang 2017).

Through our long-term involvement in the gaming market, we identified the following contextual triggers: (a) *market-specific practices*, which are recurrent behaviors motivated by the core principles governing relationships between consumers and companies; (b) *marketplace shifts*, which are significant changes (e.g., brand repositioning, product innovation) in one or more market elements; and (c) *sociotechnical advancements*, which refers to the emergence of a specific set of technological and social elements that can be employed in an online brand community (e.g., social media, chat bots, voice-based search). These contextual triggers account for the forces shaping the cultural, social, technological, and economic contexts in which consumers and online communities are situated. (See Fig. 1.)

Our analysis suggests that it is the combination of individual drivers and contextual triggers that motivate consumers to become seriously engaged. Importantly, contextual aspects are perceived differently by different consumers, depending on their individual personalities, attitudes, and motivations.

Table 3
Methodology phases, activities, and goals.

Phases	Activities	Goals
1. Online data Period: 2006–2007	Online observation of Portalxbox activities, active users, and moderators	Gain confidence in community dynamics; understand who seriously engaged consumers are and their roles
2. Offline contacts and videography Period: 2008–2010	Event attendance; interviews with seriously engaged consumers, moderators, and active users; videography	Understand community dynamics and the individual drivers and contextual triggers in which seriously engaged consumers were involved, focusing on very active community members and moderators
3. Interviews and continuous contact Period: 2011–2017	Interviews, email exchanges, and continued contact with seriously engaged consumers	Understand tensions in maintaining the community in a platform transition, as well as new arrangements and new member roles, helping to cope with the navigation in the in-between space that includes work and play

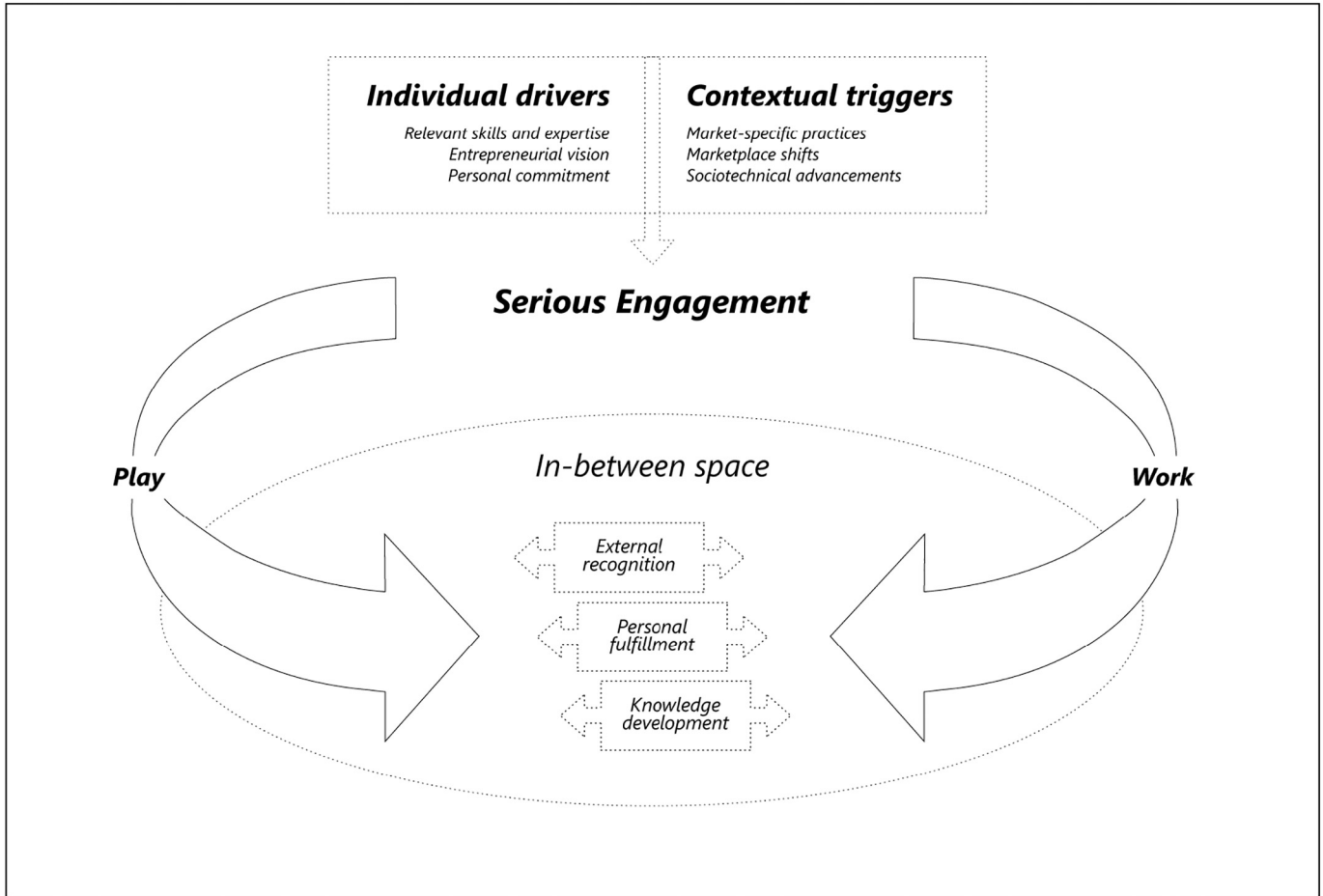


Fig. 1. Serious engagement in online communities.

In addition to identifying individual drivers and contextual triggers of serious engagement, our findings account for serious engagement's dialectic position in relation to play and work. We identify three ways in which consumers can navigate the in-between space of serious leisure: (a) *knowledge development*, (b) *search for personal fulfillment*, and (c) *search for external recognition*. We unfold these findings in the following sections. To properly explain the interaction of individual drivers with the contextual triggers of serious engagement, we illustrate these findings with data on the trajectories of four community managers: MrAx, Dicco, DH, and Raphael. To demonstrate consumers' efforts to navigate the in-between space of serious engagement, we show how these managers' trajectories intersect with the development of the focal online community. In particular, we highlight a critical moment in the community trajectory, when one of the consumer-managers decided to leave the community and a change in platforms was needed.

The Trajectories of Consumer-managers

In the early 2000s, when Microsoft entered the videogame market by releasing the first Xbox, the Brazilian market for videogames was riddled with piracy. Microsoft chose not to

launch the Xbox in Brazil, and Brazilian consumers who bought Xbox consoles abroad usually played pirated games. When original games for the first Xbox arrived in Brazil, they cost about 18 times more than a pirated game. Stores and street sellers openly commercialized pirated products, and consumers justified their purchase with arguments related to economic disadvantage, preferred value, or the lack of options (Andrade 2013). Xbox consumers interacted online on a forum called Xbox Brasil, discussing everything game-related, legal or not. Hence, a logic of piracy was prevalent in the Brazilian videogame market at the time, and market-specific practices (e.g., purchasing pirated games, discussing piracy on online forums) were based on that logic.

At that time, MrAx, Dicco, and DH were hardcore gamers and members of Xbox Brasil. They were highly engaged with the community, and MrAx was one of its forum's moderators. MrAx is a medical doctor in his late forties and long-time gamer who defines his passion for videogames by stating, "I was born playing" (MrAx, Interview, November 2017). For him, "[to play] videogames is not exactly a hobby, it is a *modus operandi* for many in my generation, it challenges me, releases adrenaline, enhances strategic thinking" (MrAx, Interview, November 2017). MrAx took his leisure seriously, despite his

quite demanding professional life. A passion for videogames associated with a strong sense of moral responsibility directed toward the fight against piracy made his serious leisure possible. MrAx was the contact point between the community and Microsoft, having first received the Xbox MVP award in 2010.

Dicco is an information technology (IT) entrepreneur in his early forties. Since the early 1990s, he had been involved in online communities and websites related to videogames. After his accumulation of videogame consoles and games generated tension between him and his wife (much like the threat of “material colonization” described by Seregina and Weijo (2017, p. 12)), Dicco sold his consoles and games, left the websites and communities, and started working as a systems architect for a Brazilian bank. He reengaged with the online communities at Xbox Brasil “[when I heard that] Microsoft was going to launch a console. After the initial shock, I was very excited, because I had spent my entire career programming on Microsoft technology, and, man, a console by that company could even be a way for me to join my professional life and my favorite hobby!” (Dicco, Autobiographical Article, 2014).

In 2010, while keeping the job at the bank and his managerial role in the online brand community, Dicco launched his software and games development company. Through the years, he has manifested a personal commitment to improving the Brazilian gaming scene, and contributed to initiatives such as the “Fair Game” movement, which lobbied for the reduction of taxes on imported videogames. He became an MVP in 2012, but no longer maintains the status. Currently, he manages his company and maintains a content portal and several social media pages focused on the game development industry.

DH is a personal friend of MrAx's since before the community. In his early 40s, DH has been a hardcore gamer since his childhood and was a successful entrepreneur, with business skills and expertise. His strong sense of moral responsibility in the fight against piracy and friendly personality traits supported his engagement in serious leisure. He owns a computer accessories store.

Raphael, in his late 20s, is a graphic designer “for fun, passion, and profession” (self-description on Portalxbox “About us” section, 2015). He has been a gamer since childhood, and participated in Xbox Brasil as a teenager. Through that community, he met and interacted with MrAx, Dicco, and DH. Raphael was very active on Xbox Brasil, and known for keeping a website with Portuguese translations of a popular Xbox game, demonstrating his commitment to making videogames more accessible to Brazilian players. Since graduating, he has worked as a user experience designer in a safety technology company. Raphael became an Xbox MVP in 2014. In 2015, he developed and launched an app that helps videogame players find and chat with other players.

As their trajectories show, these consumers had skills, expertise, an entrepreneurial vision, and were committed to gaming. These individual drivers alone motivated them to be highly engaged in existing online communities dedicated to video games. As we recount the launching of Portalxbox, we describe how the individual drivers converged with market-

related triggers prompting MrAx, Dicco, DH, and later Raphael to be seriously engaged.

On Becoming Seriously Engaged: The Launching and Growth of Portalxbox

The launching of a new console represents a marketplace shift in the gaming industry. A console launch brings the opportunity for consumers to further engage in a brand community dedicated to that new product by creating and sharing material related to the launch, developing knowledge and expertise about the new product, and interacting with other members to discuss it. For example, in 2004, Microsoft was launching the Xbox 360 in Brazil, which represented a significant shift in the national game market. At the Xbox Brasil community, the discussion forum was seeing increased levels of activity among its members and receiving a lot of attention from interested gamers, as well as the general press covering the launch of the new product. Amidst all the member enthusiasm, Xbox Brasil was hacked, and all of the content and information of its members were lost, resulting in the Xbox Brasil community closure. This configuration of marketplace shifts aligning with the entrepreneurial vision, personal commitment, and skills and expertise of MrAx, DH, and Dicco triggered in them the desire to create their own Xbox brand community.

DH recalls calling MrAx as soon as he heard that the forum had ended. Even before the hacking of Xbox Brasil, MrAx, DH, and Dicco were increasingly bothered by the community's alignment with players of pirated games, which conflicted with their personal values. Hence, when considering creating a new online brand community, they contemplated designing it to support “what was right and [...] have an impact, and cause a difference” (MrAx, Interview, July 2013) in the Brazilian videogame market. Given the prevalent market practices at that time, it took entrepreneurial vision to foresee that a community set against piracy could become significant in the Brazilian context, as Dicco notes: “As I am saying it today, almost ten years later, this may seem banal, but only those who lived it will know how crazy it sounded at the time to create a community forbidding discussions about piracy” (Dicco, Autobiographical Article, 2014). Before launching their website, the three consumer-entrepreneurs offered to establish a partnership with the managers of Xbox Brasil:

Perhaps they would like to do a partnership, that way we wouldn't start from scratch. They said no. There was no future there, and when we said that we wanted a website that was against piracy, they laughed at us.

(MrAx, Interview, July 2013)

At about the same time, in another significant marketplace shift, Microsoft launched Live (officially announced on May 12, 2004, and released on November 6, 2004), developing a system to prevent piracy on the Xbox 360. When a user played pirated games or altered the console, Microsoft would no longer allow that console to connect to Live, the online network that enhanced the Xbox gaming experience by allowing users to play online against each other. This marketplace shift

reinforced the entrepreneurial vision and the personal commitment of the three community founders as they moved from being highly engaged members of Xbox Brasil to becoming the seriously engaged founders of Portalxbox, an online brand community dedicated to advocating piracy-free gaming with the Xbox.

Founding an online community requires more effort, knowledge, and expertise than participating in an established one. It requires a commitment to sustained engagement for an extended period. Dicco's programming skills and experience managing websites, DH's experience with business, and MrAx's experience as a moderator for Xbox Brasil prompted them to persist through the hurdles of setting up an online community from scratch:

Dicco was the technological mentor and I was the philosophical mentor. Dicco invested loads of his time. He manually created the whole system. We also invested a lot of time logged on, to supervise, because for every person who got it right, we had ten individuals who got it wrong.

(MrAx, Interview, July 2013)

MrAx describes his first role in the community as public relations. He connected gamers to one another and kept “the spirit of the community” alive — an activity that matches his values, relational skills, and expertise. MrAx was deeply committed to developing the online brand community and keeping its anti-piracy focus. Noting his commitment, community members constantly referred to MrAx by the moniker “The General.”

DH, whose first role in the community was that of commercial director, acted in this and several other management roles using the skills he developed in his business career and his gaming expertise. Raphael, who was 16 when the community was launched, was invited to be a moderator at the forums. He was acquiring skills and expertise as a designer, and applying those at Portalxbox. For him, the most noticeable shift towards serious engagement happened in 2013, when he was invited to support the management team after Dicco resigned.

On Sustaining and Letting Go of Serious Engagement: The Community Faces a Crisis

From its launch in 2004 through 2011, Portalxbox grew steadily, partly as a consequence of the transformation in market-specific practices. As the market shifted towards playing authorized copies, there was more interest in a community that was dedicated to piracy-free gaming. When an online brand community increases in size, it requires not only additional technological capacity in terms of servers and more dedicated and skilled IT professionals to handle the technological requirements and problems created due to the traffic on the website, but also additional efforts from its managers to properly administer the influx of members and the increase in activity in the community.

By 2012, Portalxbox was large and expensive to maintain. The platform that hosted it required constant maintenance time

and increasing expertise. When the community reached 130,000 active users at the beginning of 2013, the management manifested the first signals of distress in attempting to keep up with their serious engagement: “Maintaining a website like Portalxbox is incredibly gratifying, but it is no easy task. There is a great team behind the pages you read, and they are working hard to bring you information and content of quality” (Portalxbox, “About” section, 2013). At that time, and throughout most of the community development, the management team dedicated time and effort, and invested personal finances into the community without receiving any monetary compensation for their work.

Dicco, who was responsible for the programming and maintaining the website, was particularly overloaded with the sociotechnical advancements brought by community growth and technology development. For him, work and play were thoroughly intertwined because his professional trajectory and paid work were also in IT. Most importantly, in these final years, he was not developing any new skills or acquiring expertise in the community, but rather putting his current ones into (non-paid) service. Facing the need to dedicate more time to his start-up business, he reduced his participation in the community and, because no other manager had equivalent IT skills and expertise, the website started to suffer technological problems.

By the beginning of 2013, technical issues were imposing real restrictions on community activities. In May 2013, Dicco wrote a post mentioning that he was leaving the community for several reasons, but mainly due to his lack of time. He explains that his decision had nothing to do with “any resentment against anyone in the community, especially MrAx and DH, who continue to be more than friends, who are brothers [to me].” Dicco congratulates the remaining members of the team for successfully managing the system migration and promises to be around to post about his gaming interests.

A few years before, in 2009, Dicco seemed excited about the community's future, but more than that, he seemed motivated about the business, the possibility of extending his IT experience, and the team's community management experience:

We reached a level of maturity in management that is very good, an experience that would be, perhaps, a pity not to use in other online communities. We are in a good situation because it's like, we started riding as train passengers, then we have [...] been the drivers, and I increasingly think we're going to be the owners of the railroad.

(Dicco, Interview, September 2009)

While expressing his comfort with the management of the community at the time, this quote also points to Dicco's entrepreneurial vision — he seems to be looking forward to expanding to “other online communities,” and to own “the railroad.” Possibly, having pursued these business opportunities could allow Dicco to sustain his serious engagement. Nevertheless, Dicco's entrepreneurial vision did not align with the contextual triggers that characterized the Brazilian market for videogames at the time of his resignation.

In 2013, a new console, the Xbox One, was launched. This would be the first time the Brazilian market was part of a global launch, which generated much expectation among consumers. However, in contrast to the 360, which was a very popular console, the Xbox One arrived in Brazil with a bad image and pricing issues, which led to Microsoft losing significant market share (Statista 2018). Additionally, market-specific practices had changed, and piracy was no longer a major concern. Original unaltered consoles were needed to play in Live, and the prices of original games had been in steady decline in Brazil. Marketplace shifts represented by the new generation of consoles combined with sociotechnical challenges prompted Dicco to leave the community, and the remaining founding managers to reconsider their serious engagement in the online brand community.

Driven by a commitment to preserve the community, MrAx and DH decided to remain strongly engaged, despite the increasing costs of this engagement, such as the time demanded to keep the community running, their upset in having to deal with numerous complaints from community members, and the failure of their high hopes for the future of the community. Without Dicco, and overloaded by managerial tasks, they invited Raphael to join the management board. Raphael recounts that he saw this as an opportunity to leverage his skills and expertise, further advancing his web design learning. Raphael also explains his strategy for sustaining his serious engagement by assuming a design-related position in the community:

They had the idea to renovate the brand and create a new website: That was my big break. My work would be to put into place the new path that MrAx envisioned. The biggest problem was that I am a designer and I didn't know a lot about programming.

(Raphael, Interview, July 2013)

At that time, sociotechnical advancements facilitated the continuation of serious engagement by offering an affordable hosting platform that demanded fewer technological skills, and triggering Raphael to become seriously engaged. Hence, contextual triggers were relevant to determining Portalxbox's migration to a new platform, with a new name (PXB) and management team including Raphael. After the transition, the community drastically decreased from 120,000 users on Portalxbox to approximately 20,000 on PXB.

Despite the relevance of consumers' possession of the necessary knowledge to engage in a determined consumption activity (Alba and Hutchinson 1987; Ratchford 2001), the management crisis faced by Portalxbox illustrates the interaction of the individual drivers with the contextual triggers that allowed these consumers to rise to a position of serious engagement. Nevertheless, changes in contextual triggers constantly interact with (shifting) individual drivers to either sustain or challenge this engagement. Therefore, maintaining high levels of engagement in virtual communities constitutes an interactive process (Bowden 2009; Brodie et al. 2013), which takes into account the shifting opportunities, desires, and capacities that directly affect the level of engagement.

Each of our key informants made specific efforts to sustain serious engagement, if only for a time, and particularly at this critical point in the community's trajectory. We expect that other seriously engaged participants in other online communities can navigate the in-between space of serious engagement through similar routes, depending on how the prevailing individual drivers interact with contextual triggers specific to the industry or market in which their community is situated. In the next subsections, we discuss these efforts, referring to them as routes for navigating serious engagement.

The knowledge development route

One possible route for navigating the in-between space of serious engagement is knowledge development. Raphael, for instance, reports on activities that are comparable to those of an intern learning from experienced professionals:

Since I was the youngest, I was always quiet to listen to what [the community founders] were planning for the community [...]. I was just observing, mainly [...] They were older, and I was trying to learn something.

(Raphael, Interview, July 2013)

In addition to learning from experienced consumer-managers, Raphael employed the knowledge acquired through his serious engagement to developing a design portfolio that supported his search for internships. Conversely, in his internships, he acquired knowledge that he brought back to the community, creating a cycle of learning and specialization that further intertwines the two domains and deepens Raphael's engagement in both. This process is similar to the model of activity consumption described by Luo, Ratchford, and Yang (2013), in which consumers who deepen their expertise see more value and spend more time on it:

I started to align two things that I really like – videogames and design – I did what I liked, and I actually looked for things to do on the community. [...] I wanted to work, to do things at the Portal [...] to the point that [...] I was looking for jobs, internships at that time, [and] a lot of stuff in my portfolio was things I had created for the Portal.

(Raphael, Interview, July 2013)

Raphael navigated the in-between space of serious engagement through knowledge development, combining work and play as interchangeable domains of knowledge acquisition and application. Through this route, he coped with the community crisis and deepened his engagement by assuming prominent roles in the transition to the new platform.

Once Raphael reaches a development goal, he sets the next one, indicating that this is not a one-time tactic employed to diffuse tension around a critical moment, but rather a (successful) route for navigating the in-between space of serious engagement. For instance, because his management tasks in the community required him to deal with technical issues that exceeded his skills and expertise, he learned how to solve these issues. Raphael is now looking at how to develop social media content to extend community reach: “[T]his is

one of the things I am trying to figure out [...] to find a way to reach more people without losing this community essence — the content has to come from the community itself. I need to find a way to diffuse members' opinions so they will contribute more and we will grow” (Raphael, Interview, December 2017). As Raphael's trajectory suggests, knowledge development allows for the realignment of individual drivers (particularly relevant skills and expertise) and contextual factors, thereby making it possible for him to sustain serious engagement.

The Personal Fulfillment Route

Another possible route for consumer-managers to navigate the complexities of serious leisure is to search for personal fulfillment in the in-between space. For instance, MrAx's trajectory suggests that managing the community allowed him to fulfill a lifelong dream of working in IT. Additionally, his serious engagement with the Xbox community allowed him to act on his personal goals of mentoring gamers and combating piracy in the videogame market. Therefore, MrAx sustained his serious engagement by framing challenges as a kind of moral obligation that, if endured, would help him achieve personal fulfillment. It was this route that allowed him to navigate the crisis faced by the community and spearhead Portalxbox's transition to the new PXB platform.

Realigning the contextual triggers of the time with the personal commitment that initially moved him to become seriously engaged, MrAx set a new goal to pursue in his route toward personal fulfillment — to preserve the community: “I don't accept to die in this way. Because the [community] does not belong to me anymore, or to DH, or to Dicco. It is an environment for an entire nation. We have a responsibility towards these people” (MrAx, Interview, July 2013). Upon the successful transition to the new platform, MrAx still relied on pursuing the fulfillment of personal goals to sustain his serious engagement.

After a decade of serious engagement, MrAx reports a sense of triumph in fighting piracy: “[T]o know how much we changed minds makes me happier nowadays. The perception that people started to know what belongs to them or not” (MrAx, Interview, December 2017). In November 2017, considering that the community crisis had been averted and the site was running smoothly under Raphael's management, MrAx manifested a feeling of fulfillment.

Upon achieving those goals and dreams, MrAx gradually disengaged from the community. The skills and expertise which prompted him to become seriously engaged (“what I know is of human relations, behavior”, Interview) were not sufficient for him to set new personal goals whose pursuit could sustain his engagement in the new platform. Currently, he remains a counselor for Raphael in certain PXB-related issues, but is not involved in daily management tasks.

The External Recognition Route

Consumer-managers may navigate the in-between space of serious engagement through pursuing external recognition from

the focal company, other consumers, or other industry actors. This route is best unveiled through accounts of the blockages seriously engaged consumers encounter in pursuing it. In this excerpt, DH analyzes the achievements of the community through time, and reflects on his relationship with Microsoft:

In seven years, I never received a console from Microsoft, not one console, and I've bought three. Oh, wait, I lost mine at the beginning, with that three lights flashing red thing that became a horror case inside Microsoft. [...] After a long time, I purchased one, paid [US\$1,000] at the time, and then it died. My dad brought me another one from the US, and it died again. Then I thought, no way, and I called, and sent an email explaining what happened. [They] said ‘no worries, we'll send you another one.’ I imagined they would send me a new one. They sent me a used one! All marked with fingerprints, wrapped in cardboard. [...] this is the kind of thing that hurts, and makes you think ‘I don't need this.’

(DH, Interview, July 2013)

After the community faced the platform transition crisis, DH participated in the new administration board, due to loyalty to the community and MrAx, but having faced blockages in the route for external recognition (“I don't expect much more. Actually, we did expect recognition, but today we don't expect it anymore” [DH, Interview, July 2013]), this route was not sufficient to sustain his engagement, and he started to disengage from the community.

DH did not have a strong entrepreneurial vision for the community, and his commitment was mostly directed at his fellow founder, MrAx, and the fight against piracy. Even though DH sustained his serious engagement through external recognition while the community transitioned to the new platform (“I have to be MrAx's partner. I won't leave him on his own.”, Interview), in our last interaction with the informants (December 2017), DH was no longer officially engaged with the community.

Discussion

Our contribution to marketing research on online brand communities resides in introducing the concept of the seriously engaged consumer. Although consumer engagement typologies have been developed for online brand communities (Brodie et al. 2011; Martineau and Arsel 2017), little attention has been given to consumers who create and manage these communities. Serious engagement characterizes the highest level of engagement assumed by consumers in online brand communities. We purposefully employ the adjective “serious” to emphasize that, in this state of engagement, consumers employ and develop skills, knowledge, and responsibilities consonant with complex external conjectures to create and manage online brand communities. The characterization of serious leisure as a state of engagement in online brand communities opens avenues for further research on the practices of seriously engaged consumers, and on how these practices yield value for other consumers (members of the community or not) and for the

brand in distinct domains to which engagement is key, such as service relationships or brand co-creation.

Moreover, extending prior research that has noted how consumer membership in online communities is dynamic (Brodie et al. 2013) and explored the challenges for consumers who want to become deeply engaged in consumption activities (Boulaire and Cova 2008; Seregina and Weijo 2017), we draw attention to the intersection of contextual triggers and individual drivers that prompts consumers to become seriously engaged in online brand communities. These findings address Brodie et al.'s (2011, p. 263) call for research on “the key triggers of particular CE intensity within specific contexts,” demonstrating that serious engagement derives from an alignment between contextual triggers and individual drivers. Complementarily, looking at critical incidents in a community's history and personal trajectories of the consumer-managers leads us to understand that seriously engaged consumers may choose not to make the effort it takes to re-establish alignment between contextual triggers and individual drivers, consequently disengaging from the community they created or manage. Rather, seriously engaged consumers might choose to (re)engage with others' consumption or professional domains rather than the focal community. Hence, serious engagement needs to be recognized as a temporary state that requires effort to be preserved, and is prone to be redirected to other targets such as professional development or leisure consumption activities.

Hence our contribution also involves characterization of the in-between space consumers navigate in their serious engagement in online communities. While Seregina and Weijo (2017) have found that consumers engage in practice work to sustain their participation in cosplay despite rising costs, we find that seriously engaged consumers navigate the in-between space of online communities through pursuing certain temporary routes that allow them to (re)align individual drivers and contextual triggers when faced with critical incidents that threaten their engagement. Sustaining serious engagement depends on continuous maintenance *en route*, as long as the alignment between contextual triggers and individual drives offers interesting routes to be pursued. Routes to navigate the in-between space of work and play are possibilities to be followed, but seriously engaged consumers may not want to navigate them indefinitely. Discovering new objectives within the same route seems the most efficient way to navigate them. It is no wonder that in analyzing four distinct seriously engaged consumers and their routes, the knowledge development route proved to be the most effective in the long term, as it seems less subject to external factors or potential disappointments. This route was most evident in Raphael's case and, due to the sustained challenges brought by the community, it continues to compel to him. In other cases, when seriously engaged consumers reach their goal or are prevented from it by contextual triggers, they stopped navigating the route. Further research might focus on detailing the causes surrounding consumers' schism with the serious side of their engagement. We predict that milestones in life trajectories can be a significant factor in one's break with the established route.

Managerial Implications

Our study offers many managerial implications. Firstly, companies should identify and recognize seriously engaged consumers as vital actors for the existence and maintenance of online brand communities. A valuable digital market strategy thus involves supporting seriously engaged consumers, creating mechanisms to align contextual triggers with individual drives, and encouraging consumers to navigate the routes we describe above. Support does not necessarily involve financing the community. Above all, it should include recognition of seriously engaged consumers' roles, offering training for these consumers to advance their community management/development skills, making technical support available to help the community exceed demands imposed by sociotechnical advancements, and offering resources to seriously engaged consumers to anticipate marketplace shifts.

Our results also call the attention of managers to the temporality of seriously engaged consumption. Companies should always support highly engaged consumers to become seriously engaged. And because some seriously engaged consumers will transform their engagement into profitable activities or reduce their dedication (thereby becoming regular members or even leaving the community), companies should establish institutional environments that are conducive to driving more consumers toward serious engagement. One aspect of such environments might involve pairing seriously engaged consumers who have found routes for navigating the in-between space with highly engaged consumers who wish to deepen their engagement.

Complementarily, our findings have managerial implications for community management. Consumers can derive entrepreneurship opportunities from their serious engagement, transforming the community into a business. This involves the creation of a new route, navigating toward a profitable work target. The Portalxbox trajectory exemplifies that consumers navigate serious engagement with a desire to keep their engagement as an unpaid activity, complementing their work through paid professional activities. However, their individual drives (relevant skills and expertise, entrepreneurial vision, personal commitment) could support profitable entrepreneurial projects, such as monetizing user privileges or hosting paid activities for the community.

Finally, although seriously engaged consumers represent a small proportion of consumers, they are key actors in building and managing online communities. As Martineau and Arsel (2017) point out, engagement involves distinct forms of participation in community activities, as well as practices that create value for the community. Serious engagement proves to be a useful concept for understanding both participation and value creation in online brand communities. In calling the attention of marketing researchers and managers to this significance, we contribute to advancing interactive marketing research and practice, and point to directions for continuing to develop these understandings.

Although the trajectories of consumers in our findings are compellingly long, we acknowledge that the number of consumers and routes analyzed is limited. Other consumers

might pursue other targets, navigating diverging routes. Further research should also be conducted in multiple online communities, allowing researchers to explore variations in cognitive or personality-related aspects of seriously engaged consumers that may account for their sustained participation in that role. In addition, the consumption of videogames naturally involves a blurry relationship between play and work (Yee 2006). Also, in this community all respondents were male, as were most community members. Future studies should explore serious engagement in brand communities from other industries, such as education, technology, or fashion which might have different consumer profiles.

In conclusion, this study has demonstrated the vital role seriously engaged consumers play in online community development; drawing attention to contextual triggers and individual drivers of consumer engagement that have not been addressed in prior research; and exploring how consumers navigate the in-between space arising from serious engagement in online communities, finding routes that can lead to deeper engagement in the community itself or redirect it to alternative targets.

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