



Australian Government

Attorney-General's Department

DISCUSSION PAPER

**SHOULD THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL
CLASSIFICATION SCHEME INCLUDE AN R18+
CLASSIFICATION CATEGORY FOR COMPUTER
GAMES?**

December 2009

NOTE: This consultation is not intended to promote or oppose the introduction of an R 18+ classification for computer games. It does not indicate that any Minister or Government does or does not support introducing an R 18+ classification for computer games.

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DISCUSSION PAPER

Should the Australian National Classification Scheme include an R 18+ classification category for computer games?

Introduction

In Australia, the availability of films, computer games and some publications is regulated by the National Classification Scheme (NCS). The NCS is a cooperative arrangement between the Commonwealth, States and Territories.

The existence of the NCS allows Australian consumers to make informed decisions. For example, when a person visits a store to purchase or rent a DVD, they are guided by the classification or 'rating' of the product. The rating lets the person make a decision on the suitability of that product for themselves or other viewers in their household.

The Australian Government has produced this discussion paper to ask people in the broader community whether the categories of the NCS should apply to computer games in the same manner as it does for films. Although the NCS allows for the sale of R18+ DVDs, it does not allow the sale of R18+ computer games anywhere in Australia.

Some people think that preventing the sale of R18+ computer games is a good policy because it prevents the lawful sale of what they consider to be offensive material. Others say it prevents adults enjoying the ability to purchase games that are available in other markets overseas.

This is your opportunity to tell the Australian and the State and Territory Governments your views before they consider whether the current situation should be changed.

Overview of the National Classification Scheme

Commonwealth Legislation

The Commonwealth *Classification (Publications, Films and Computer Games) Act 1995* establishes which classifications should be applied to publications, films and computer games. The Classification Board is an independent statutory body that makes classification decisions under the Classification Act.

Many people will be aware of classifications such as 'G' for General Exhibition, suitable and legally available to all consumers and 'R18+' meaning a product may not be legally purchased or viewed by a person under the age of 18 years.

The Classification Act, Classification Code and classification guidelines create a 'sliding scale of classification categories for publications, films and computer games as shown in the table below:

Publications	Films	Computer Games
Unrestricted	G (General)	G (General)
	PG (Parental Guidance) – Not recommended for persons under 15 years without the guidance of parents or guardians	PG (Parental Guidance) – Not recommended for persons under 15 years without the guidance of parents or guardians
	M (Mature) - Not recommended for viewing by persons under 15 years	M (Mature) - Not recommended for viewing or playing by persons under 15 years
	MA 15+ (Mature Accompanied) Unsuitable for viewing by persons under 15	MA 15+ (Mature Accompanied) Unsuitable for viewing or playing by persons under 15 years
Category 1 restricted Unsuitable for those under 18. May offend some sections of the adult community	R 18+ (Restricted) – unsuitable for a minor to see	
Category 2 restricted Unsuitable for those under 18. May offend some sections of the adult community.	X 18+ (Restricted) films containing depictions of actual sexual activity between consenting adults and are unsuitable for a minor to see	
RC Refused Classification	RC Refused Classification	RC Refused Classification

The Classification Code

The Classification Code sets out the principles that the Classification Board must give effect to, as far as possible, in making classification decisions. The principles are:

- a) adults should be able to read, hear and see what they want;
- b) minors should be protected from material likely to harm or disturb them;
- c) everyone should be protected from exposure to unsolicited material that they find offensive;
- d) the need to take account of community concerns about:
 - i) depictions that condone or incite violence, particularly sexual violence; and
 - ii) the portrayal of persons in a demeaning manner.¹

The Classification Guidelines

The *Guidelines for the Classification of Films and Computer Games* describe the material permitted or not permitted in each of the classification categories. The Guidelines list the criteria to be used by the Classification Board when making classification decisions.

¹ National Classification Code, cl 1.

The Classification Board classifies material based on the treatment of individual classifiable elements (themes, violence, sex, language, drug use and nudity) as well as their cumulative effect.²

Except for the X18+ category, each classification category takes a similar form. It begins with an “impact test” that determines the threshold for the category. It then lists the six classifiable elements, with a statement limiting the content of each element.

The Guidelines use the following hierarchy of impact:

very mild	-	G
mild	-	PG
moderate	-	M
strong	-	MA 15+
high	-	R 18+
very high	-	RC

Assessing the impact of material requires considering not only the treatment of individual classifiable elements but also their cumulative effect. It also requires considering the purpose and tone of a sequence.

State and Territory Law

Each State and Territory and the Commonwealth appoint Ministers responsible for censorship, normally the Attorney General, or in the case of the Commonwealth, the Minister for Home Affairs.

At the present time, State and Territory classification law sets out the effects of classification decisions, by creating a range of offences. This includes prohibitions on selling unclassified or Refused Classification (RC) films and computer games and age-based restrictions on access to some content, such as the prohibition on selling an R 18+ film to a minor.

There are at present some differences in the availability of classified material. For example, X 18+ films can only be sold in the ACT and parts of the Northern Territory. Publications classified Restricted Category 1 or 2 cannot be sold in Queensland.

A change to classification categories would require amendments to the Commonwealth Act, the Code and the Guidelines, as well as State and Territory enforcement legislation. Under the Intergovernmental Agreement on Censorship and the Commonwealth Act, the Code and Guidelines can only be amended with the agreement of all Censorship Ministers.

States and Territories enact their own laws and make their own decisions for the purposes of deciding which classification categories will be available in their State or Territory. Each jurisdiction makes their own decision about whether to permit the sale of each classification category and not all jurisdictions would necessarily make the same decision.

² Guidelines for the Classification of Films and Computer Games 2005; Links to the Act, Code and Guidelines are available at www.ag.gov.au/Classificationpolicy

Computer Games Classification

The Classification Guidelines apply to both films and computer games. Each available classification level for films and computer games has the same description of appropriate content. However, the Act, Code and Guidelines distinguish between the classification categories available for films and computer games, as shown in the table above.

The highest classification level for computer games is *Mature Accompanied (MA 15+)*. MA 15+ games are not recommended for persons under 15 years of age and are in a legally restricted category.

Computer games that are unsuitable for a minor to see must be classified *Refused Classification (RC)*. These games may not be sold, hired, exhibited, displayed, demonstrated or advertised. This means that a computer game that contains material that would have been rated R 18+ in a film may not be sold in Australia.

Were an R 18+ classification introduced, the RC category would still exist for games with, for example, gratuitous or exploitative depictions of sexual violence, such as the sexual assault simulation game *RapeLay*. It could also include games that included violence with a 'very high' impact that offends against the standards of morality, decency and propriety generally accepted by reasonable adults to the extent that they should not be classified.

Why this discussion paper is being released now

Research commissioned by the Interactive Games and Entertainment Association (IGEA) indicates adults are increasingly consumers of computer games.³

The Australian Government has been discussing the adult classification of computer games with its State and Territory counterparts for some time. The Ministers responsible for censorship have considered the issue of an adult classification for computer games on a number of occasions. Before these Ministers consider the matter further, it is timely to consider the views of the community.

Scope of consultation

The consultation represented by this discussion paper is not intended to promote or oppose the introduction of an R 18+ classification for computer games. This paper does not indicate that any Minister or Government supports or does not support the introduction of an R 18+ category for computer games.

Rather, this paper briefly summarises some of the key arguments. It asks for views from the community, to inform any future consideration of whether the NCS should include an R 18+ classification category for computer games. The paper therefore assumes that the criteria for which material would be classified R 18+ would not change. This consultation is not in any way concerned with changes to the categories to allow minors to access higher-level material.

³ See, eg, demographic information in Interactive Australia 2009, (2009 IEAA Report) National Research prepared by Professor Branch, Bond University for the Interactive Entertainment Association of Australia, 2008, www.igea.net/category/industry-research 'Game Play Australia 2005' (2005 IEAA Report), Brand (Bond University), www.igea.net/category/industry-research 'Interactive Australia 2007- Facts About the Australian Computer and Video Game Industry' (2007 IEAA Report), Brand (Bond University) www.igea.net/category/industry-research

This discussion paper is also not about introducing the equivalent of an X 18+ classification for sexually explicit computer games. The Australian Government does not invite submissions on those matters.

HOW TO MAKE A SUBMISSION

To participate in this consultation, you need to answer the question:

Should the Australian National Classification Scheme include an R 18+ classification category for computer games?

Please use the submission template attached to this paper.

Submissions can be sent by email in Word format without embedded images. Submissions can also be posted or faxed. You are also encouraged to keep any commentary short and succinct.

Unless you clearly request confidentiality, **submissions are public documents** and may be accessed by any member of the public, may be published on a website and quoted in further review papers. If you do not want your submission to be published, or you would like to request anonymity, you must clearly request this in your submission.

Submissions must be received by **28 February 2010**. Submissions received after this date may not be able to be considered.

Submissions should be sent to:

Email: classificationreview@ag.gov.au
Fax: 02 6141 3488
Post: Classification Review
Attorney-General's Department
3 -5 National Circuit
BARTON ACT 2600

SUMMARY OF KEY ARGUMENTS

The National Classification Scheme is intended to strike a balance between allowing adults to be free to read, hear and see what they want and community concerns about depictions that condone or incite violence. The NCS also clearly reflects the principle that minors should be protected from material likely to harm or disturb them.

For films, the classification principles are balanced by including an R 18+ classification level for films that are unsuitable for a minor to see. State and Territory legislation restricts the sale or exhibition of films classified R 18+ to only adults.

Since the NCS commenced in 1996, advances in technology and investment in product development mean that computer games have become more sophisticated, with filmic content and complex graphics and storylines.

However, for computer games, there is no R 18+ classification. Under State and Territory legislation, the sale or demonstration of computer games that are unsuitable for minors is prohibited, even to adults.

There is a range of arguments about why an R 18+ classification should or should not be applied to computer games. These arguments are summarised below.

Some arguments against including an R 18+ classification for computer games

- *Computer games should be treated differently from films given the specific, negative effects of interactivity on players, particularly their participation in violent and aggressive content.*

Concerns are frequently raised that playing violent computer games has a greater negative effect on people than viewing the same degree of violence in films. There is research that indicates at least a correlation between exposure to violent computer games and an increased likelihood of aggression.⁴

Craig Anderson, a prominent American researcher in the field of media violence, asserts consistent findings across studies of different forms of media violence. Those findings are that children and adolescents with a higher exposure to violent media exhibit higher amounts of aggressive behaviours than those with less exposure.⁵

The need to protect minors from material that may harm them is considered to outweigh the principle that adults should be free to read, hear and see what they want. Introducing an R 18+ classification for computer games should not occur because of the risk that minors will be able to access more computer games with high impact violence than is currently possible.

This discussion paper is not intended to be a comprehensive literature review of the effect of playing violent computer games. However, it is important to note that research into the effect of violent computer games is polarised. Some researchers consider that playing violent computer games can have an adverse effect on children, some do not.

Dr Tanya Byron observes that it is difficult to base policy responses on the polarised research evidence about the effects of video game violence on minors.⁶ The Byron Review found that:

Most researchers consulted during the Review would say that they believe there is some kind of effect of inappropriate content on some children in some contexts and circumstances. But the right studies are lacking due to the nature and complexity of the problem and because truly robust longitudinal research approach to this question would simply be unethical (i.e. to let children play violent games over time and assess the effects on their attitudes, beliefs and behaviour).⁷

⁴ For example, Anderson, C., and Swing, E., (2007) 'The unintended negative consequences of exposure to violent video games', *Cognitive Technology*, Vol. 12. Issue 1, Spring 2007, 3-13; Murray, J., 'Video Game Violence – Update 10 March 2008', Children's Hospital Boston, Center on Media and Child Health (CMCH).

⁵ See in particular: Anderson, A., & Gentile, D., (2008) 'Media violence, aggression, and public policy', in Borgida, E. & Fiske, S. (Eds.), 'Beyond Common Sense: Psychological Science in the Courtroom' (pp.281-300). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

⁶ Byron, T, March 2008, 'Safer children in a digital world – the report of the Byron review', (the 'Byron Review'); <http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/byronreview/>

⁷ Byron Report, p.131

Given the above methodological issues, the Byron Review concluded that ‘it would not be accurate to say that there is no evidence of harm but equally it is not appropriate to conclude that there is evidence of harm.’⁸

- *It would be difficult for parents to enforce age restrictions for computer games.*

Computer games are played in the home, so once a game has been purchased, the responsibility for ensuring that it is not accessed by minors lies with parents and other adults. This effect of an R18+ classification for computer games is the same as for DVDs classified R 18+. Even with the availability of parental locks, international research indicates that parents may not be well positioned to enforce classification restrictions.

Research by the New Zealand Office of Film and Literature Classification found that: ‘Some underage gamers are attracted to restricted games and many are not likely to abide by an R18 classification. At least some stores and parents facilitate access to restricted games and break the law by doing so.’⁹

Research conducted for the British Board of Film Classification indicates that parents of children aged seven to 17 who play computer games, even when motivated to enforce restrictions, felt their children were able to obtain ‘forbidden’ games from other sources.¹⁰

- *Minors would be more likely to be exposed to computer games that are unsuitable for them.*

One of the principles in the NCS is that minors should be protected from material likely to harm or disturb them. R 18+ games would, by definition, be unsuitable for minors. However, permitting R 18+ level games would lead to more games at this level being available in Australia and consequently more minors being exposed to them.

There is no reliable information about how many games might simply not be distributed in Australia (and therefore classification not sought) because distributors know they would be likely to be classified RC.¹¹

The introduction of an R 18+ category may increase distributors’ willingness to bring out games with higher level content. As a consequence, more material that is unsuitable for minors may be distributed and available in Australia, with more minors able to access it.

⁸ *ibid*, p. 152. The methodological limitations of the relevant research is also considered in: Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA) 2007, ‘Media and communications in Australian families 2007 – report of the media and society research project’, Commonwealth of Australia, pages 270-273

⁹ ‘Underage Gaming Research’, New Zealand Office of Film and Literature Classification, 2005, www.censorship.govt.nz (NZ OFLC Report) p.17

¹⁰ Dawson, C., Arnold, C., Taylor, C. and Toombs, B., (2007), ‘Video Games – research to improve understanding of what players enjoy about video games, and to explain their preference for particular games’, British Board of Film Classification, London (‘BBFC Research’) p.100

¹¹ Classification Board Annual Report 07-08

- *An R 18+ for computer games would exacerbate problems associated with access to high level material in Indigenous communities and by other non-English speaking people*

Classification restrictions are less effective for people who don't understand classification categories or don't have information available to them in their languages.¹² The classification system can only be effective if parents and other adults can draw a meaningful distinction between computer games that are restricted to persons aged over 18 years and those available to persons under 18 years. Allowing games with higher level content will increase the risk that minors in certain parts of the community will be exposed to inappropriate content because adults do not understand the classification system.

This is a known problem. In both the Northern Territory *Little Children are Sacred Report* and the South Australian report on sexual abuse in the APY Lands, there was evidence that legally restricted material (referred to as pornography in the reports) was freely available in homes and watched by large groups of persons.¹³ The Northern Territory Department of Justice pornography classification education program in Indigenous communities has shown that there is a significant lack of knowledge and understanding of the NCS in these communities.

- *There is no demonstrated need to change existing restrictions.*

While it is clear that some people will access RC or restricted material whether it is legal or not, there is no demonstrated practical need to include an R 18+ classification for computer games in the National Classification System.

Given the very low numbers of games that are affected by the absence of the classification category, the introduction of an R 18+ category is only an argument of principle.

The risk of possible harm through increasing the exposure by children to unsuitable material is not theoretical and the classification system should be kept in its present form. Primacy should be given to the need to protect children from material likely to harm them over the rights of some adults to have access to higher level games.

Some arguments for including an R 18+ category for computer games

- *The R 18+ classification category sends a clear, unambiguous message to parents that the game material is unsuitable for minors*

There is widespread understanding that R 18+ films are unsuitable for minors and that they are restricted. The existing MA 15+ classification is not a complete prohibition on children under 15 having access to this material. Rather, a person under the age of 15 years must be accompanied by a parent or adult guardian if buying a computer game classified MA 15+. Under the current ratings, the decision about whether their child is sufficiently mature to view the material is left with the parents.

¹² 'Children on Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (APY) Lands – A report on sexual abuse', South Australian Government, p 154 makes a point about the kind of 'pornography' (really R 18+ films) available on AUSTAR, and that although AUSTAR provides instructions regarding blocking this material, it does so only in English.

¹³ South Australian Report, p.28

Parents may find an R 18+ classification for computer games more useful than the MA 15+ rating. The R 18+ category would create a blanket prohibition on minors accessing an unsuitable game, sending a clearer message to parents that they should not permit their children to access this material in the home.¹⁴

- *Consistent classification categories for films and computer games are easier to understand*

There is evidence that consumers do not fully understand the meaning of the MA 15+ classification.¹⁵ This problem may be exacerbated by the different classification categories for films and computer games and the way in which the distinction between computer games and films is becoming blurred.

Technology allows games and films to be played on the same equipment. Modern delivery methods can include films and computer games on the same disc. Creative ideas and content may be transferred between the two mediums.

For example, most DVD film releases include extra material, which can include interactive computer games. In these situations, the classification decision for the film release becomes complicated if some of the content of the game exceeds that permissible at MA 15+ category. This complication will be resolved if the film and computer games classification categories are fully aligned.

The NCS provides the Classification Board with the power to decide whether to treat the product as a film or a game. The Board's characterisation of the whole product as either a film or computer game could be the difference between the product being classified R 18+ and so being legally available to adults or being classified RC and so not legally available at all.¹⁶

The development of a new classification category would mean that any adult consumer could access computer games with higher-level content regardless of whether the game was a 'stand alone product' or associated with a film release. The classification system will be strengthened through increased consistency of classification decisions for the same kind of content, regardless of the delivery media.

- *A new classification will supplement technological controls on minors' access to age-inappropriate computer games*

Recent technological developments enable parents to restrict the games played on various games devices. The IGEA reports that major game console developers and the Microsoft Windows Vista operating platform offer parental controls in their current systems. These controls, often referred to as parental locks, allow parents to set a limit on the level of material to be played. Playing higher-level material requires a PIN or password to override the limits that have been set.

However, parental locks may not be a sufficient control to prevent children accessing inappropriate material. The development of parental locks on new consoles is not a

¹⁴ See, eg, IEAA 2009 Report, pp 45- 46

¹⁵ See, eg, the IEAA Reports and Galaxy Report

¹⁶ See, eg, 'An R 18+ Classification for Computer Games: A Discussion of the Gap in the National Classification Scheme' (2007 IEAA Paper) www.igea.net/category/information

guarantee that they will be used. Further, parents who set limits themselves may find that their children visit other households where locks are not used. Finally, parental lock systems are not included in older games consoles.

The development of a new R18+ category would enhance the protection of minors by making it clear to anyone using a higher-level computer game that the material is not suitable for minors. Technological enhancement, through parental lock systems, would be a supplement to the new level of information about the game.

- *Adults should not be prevented from playing R 18+ level computer games simply because they are unsuitable for minors*

IGEA research indicates the current average age of computer gamers is 30 years (up from 24 years in 2005) and predicts that the average age of gamers will be the same as the average age of all Australians by 2014.¹⁷ In that research, a gamer “was a person who indicated they play computer or video games.”¹⁸ The study includes the gaming patterns of casual gamers playing for only a few minutes to those gamers playing for four or more hours in one go.¹⁹

An argument for the introduction of an R 18+ category is that adults, who represent the average computer gamer, should be able to access adult level computer games. An R18+ category will allow that access while prohibiting the sale of those games to minors.

- *Comparable international classification systems have an adult rating for computer games - international parity is desirable*

Australia is unique among countries that have a classification system for computer games (either government regulated or industry self-regulated) because it does not have a classification category that is restricted to adults. It has been argued that the lack of an adult classification for computer games in Australia undermines the international credibility of the NCS.

There have been cases of computer games being edited for Australia to enable them to be classified MA 15+. The original higher-level game, is sold as an adult game with the same title in other countries. The existence of two games with different level content but the same name can lead to further confusion about what the Australian system permits. Parents may mistakenly believe that imported, uncut versions of the game are classified MA 15+ and suitable for under 18s. The development of an adult category for computer games would resolve that confusion.

The development of an R 18+ category would also allow Australian game developers to compete in an international market. According to the Game Developers Association of Australia, there are approximately 50 game developers based in Australia, employing around 1500 people and generating annual revenues of \$140 million. The lack of an adult classification for computer games in Australia may affect the competitiveness of this industry internationally and could be resolved through the introduction of an adult category.

¹⁷ IA9 -, p. 6

¹⁸ Ibid p. 58

¹⁹ Ibid see discussion at p. 21-22

- *Consumers access games which would be R 18+ illegally – it would be better if they were legally available with appropriate restrictions*

Refusing classification for some games does not necessarily prevent them being played by Australians. Anecdotal evidence indicates that some gamers import Refused Classification games or access them online. Adults who play computer games may be more likely to comply with restrictions they understand and can support in principle – such as the restriction on material to adults by using an R 18+ classification.

Introducing an R 18+ classification level could reduce illegal importing and piracy, as gamers could legally obtain a game, rather than burning it from an overseas copy. This would be beneficial to Australian distributors, retailers and copyright owners.

Australians who access adult games that are available in other countries may also mistakenly believe that all RC games are classified that way simply because they are unsuitable for minors. They may not appreciate that some RC games may contain extreme content.

The introduction of an R 18+ classification will reduce the number of RC games and strengthen the meaning of an RC classification. The RC classification will signal to consumers that the game contains extreme content not suitable for use, rather than material that is not suitable for a minor.

Some information about adult classifications in other countries

- The PEGI (Pan European Game Information) system is used in numerous **European Union** countries. It is a voluntary system in which the ratings are carried out by the members of the games industry. PEGI provides an 18+ classification for computer games.
- In the **United States of America** and **Canada**, the ESRB (Entertainment Software Ratings Board) provides a voluntary rating system that is applied to computer games and provides for an 'Adults only' category. This applies to games that contain 'prolonged scenes of intense violence and/or graphic sexual content and nudity'.
- **Japan's** CERO (Computer Entertainment Rating Organisation) provides a rating for ages 18 and over.
- In **Germany**, the USK (Entertainment Software Control) may classify computer games as restricted to persons aged 18 years and over. This rating category applies to games that may contain scenes of brutal, moderately bloody violence and they may glamorise war or the violation of human rights. However, if a game is particularly violent it is sent from the USK to the BPjM (Federal Verification Office for Child-Endangering Media) who can rule that it is not to be advertised or sold openly in Germany, making it difficult to obtain.
- In **New Zealand**, under the Office of Film and Literature Classification, computer games may receive the restricted ratings of R 16 and R 18 (note- the same classification rating applies to films and computer games). The Office for Film and Literature Classification only classifies games with restricted or objectionable content. The Office of Film and Literature Classification also has the power to ban computer games, the consequence of which is that it is illegal to possess, supply or import the game.
- The **South Korean** Game Rating Board is a government organisation that classifies arcade games, computer games and mobile phone games. The system provides for an 18 + rating.
- **Singapore** has an M18 classification for computer games which restricts games to those aged 18 years and above. Checks are conducted at the point of sale to ascertain a customer's age. Games will be classified M18 if they contain mature themes, realistic depictions of violence and drug use, nudity or frequent use of strong coarse language.
- Under the **Hong Kong** Television and Entertainment Licensing Authority, arcade games are approved for persons aged 16 years and above or persons under the age of 16, however, there appears to be no rating or approval system for computer and console games.

It is important to remember that adult classifications in these countries may not be comparable to material that would be permissible at R 18+ if it were available.

Do you want to find out more about the issue?

More information about the National Classification Scheme is available at www.ag.gov.au/classificationpolicy.

Some Australian research on the effects of computer games and the demographic information about game players includes:

- Durkin, 'Computer Games –Their Effects on Young People: a Review,1995' (a report commissioned by the Office of Film and Literature Classification)
<http://www.ag.gov.au/classificationpolicyresearch>
- Durkin & Aisbett, 'Computer Games and Australians Today', 1999 (a report commissioned by the Office of Film and Literature Classification)
<http://www.ag.gov.au/classificationpolicyresearch>
- Brand (Bond University), 'Game Play Australia 2005' (a report commissioned by the Interactive Entertainment Association of Australia)
<http://www.igea.net/category/industry-research/>
- Brand (Bond University) 'Interactive Australia 2007- Facts About the Australian Computer and Video Game Industry' (a report commissioned by the Interactive Entertainment Association of Australia)
<http://www.igea.net/category/industry-research/>
- Brand (Bond University), 'Interactive Australia 2009' (a report commissioned by the Interactive Entertainment Association of Australia)
<http://www.igea.net/category/industry-research/>
- Unsworth, G., Devilly, G., and Ward, T., 'The Effect of Playing Violent Video Games on Adolescents: Should Parents be Quaking in Their Boots?' August 2007, in *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 13(4): 383-394
- Galaxy Research, 'Classification Decisions and Community Standards 2007 – Report' (a report commissioned by Censorship Ministers)
<http://www.ag.gov.au/classificationpolicyresearch>

Some international research on effects of computer games:

- 'Underage Gaming Research', New Zealand Office of Film and Literature Classification, 2005, <http://www.censorship.govt.nz>
- Anderson, C., and Swing, E., (2007) 'The unintended negative consequences of exposure to violent video games', *Cognitive Technology*, Vol. 12. Issue 1, Spring 2007, 3-13
- Anderson, A., & Gentile, D., (2008) 'Media violence, aggression, and public policy', in Borgida, E. & Fiske, S. (Eds.). 'Beyond Common Sense: Psychological Science in the Courtroom' (pp.281-300). Malden, MA: Blackwell
- Anderson, C et al (2008) 'Longitudinal Effects of Violent Video Games on Aggression in Japan and the United States', *Official Journal of the American Academy of Pediatrics*, Vol. 122 No. 5 , 5 November 2008

- Byron, T, March 2008, 'Safer children in a digital world – the report of the Byron review'; <http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/byronreview/>
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- Dawson, C., Arnold, C., Taylor, C. and Toombs, B., (2007), 'Video Games – research to improve understanding of what players enjoy about video games, and to explain their preference for particular games', British Board of Film Classification, London
- Kutner, L. & Olson, C (2008) 'Grand theft childhood: the surprising truth about violent video games and what parents can do', Simon & Schuster Murray, J., 'Video Game Violence – Update 10 March 2008', Children's Hospital Boston, Center on Media and Child Health (CMCH)