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Aggressive video games research emerges from its replication crisis (Sort of)

Christopher J Ferguson

The impact of aggressive video games (AVGs) on aggression and violent behavior among players, particularly youth, has been debated for decades. In recent years, evidence for publication bias, questionable researcher practices, citation bias and poor standardization of many measures and research designs has indicated that the false positive rate among studies of AVGs has been high. Several studies have undergone retraction. A small recent wave of preregistered studies have largely returned null results for outcomes related to youth violence as well as outcomes related to milder aggression. Increasingly, evidence suggests AVGs have little impact on player behavior in the realm of aggression and violence. Nonetheless, most professional guild policy statements (e.g. American Psychological Association) have failed to reflect these changes in the literature. Such policy statements should be retired or revised lest they misinform the public or do damage to the reputation of these organizations.

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Introduction

Concerns about aggressive video games (AVGs) are nothing new. They began in the 1970s with cabinet games like *Death Race* and continue today into the virtual reality age. Policy makers have often sought to regulate these games, ultimately culminating in the *Brown v EMA* (2011) US Supreme Court decision which forbade such regulation, and which declared research evidence linking AVGs to aggression to be unconvincing. Scientific studies into AVG effects have existed for nearly the same time frame, beginning in the 1980s. Despite producing hundreds of studies, no consensus among scholars ever emerged regarding effects [1]. More recently, psychology has

been experiencing a replication crisis and evidence suggests that AVG research has been part of that replication crisis.

AVG's replication crisis

Recent meta-analyses converge on the observation that effect sizes in AVG research, regarding outcomes related to aggression and reduced prosocial behavior, are only marginally different from zero [2]. However, scholars are not certain whether such tiny effects should be interpreted as meaningful or attributed to systematic issues such as demand characteristics, questionable researcher practices, unstandardized measures, single-responder bias and poor matching of experimental and control conditions [3].

Studies typically fall within two broad types. The first of these are experiments wherein players are randomized to play either violent or non-violent games, then examined on some measure of aggression [4]. Confounds can occur in such experiments through multiple means. Violent and non-violent games may differ in features other than violent content such as difficulty, competitiveness and frustration. Unstandardized aggression measures may create false positives when scholars can select outcomes that best fit their hypotheses [5]. Obvious hypotheses can create demand characteristics, influencing participant behaviors in the direction of the hypothesis.

There have, at this juncture, been approximately a half dozen preregistered experimental studies of AVG effects. In addition to preregistration used to reduce questionable researcher practices, most such studies used standardized outcomes and sought to match video game conditions more closely than had been the case in the past. To date, no preregistered experiment of video game effects has produced findings supportive of the hypothesized effects [6,7,8,9,10]. To be clear, this is not to suggest there are no studies at all that link AVGs to aggression, but rather that when studies are preregistered, they tend not to find effects. This does suggest that many reported experimental findings are false positive results. Indeed, recent meta-analyses have confirmed that publication bias explains most of the variance in experimental studies [11]. This is consistent with research across social science which finds that preregistered studies produce weaker effect sizes than non-preregistered studies, suggesting a fairly dramatic impact of researcher expectancy effects and questionable researcher practices on research outcomes [12].

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88 The second type of study includes correlational and lon-
89 ^{Q8}gitudinal studies, wherein individuals, often youth, are
90 tracked over time. Such studies examine whether playing
91 AVGs at time 1 can predict aggression at time 2 (months or
92 years apart). The more rigorous studies control for other
93 variables including gender, time 1 aggression, mental
94 health, trait aggression and family environment. Such
95 studies are weakened by poor controls, questionable
96 researcher practices, unstandardized measures and
97 demand characteristics.

98 Correlational studies are numerous in number with a wide
99 variety of outcomes. There are, at present, only two cross-
100 sectional studies that are preregistered. One found no
101 evidence for a relationship between AVGs and aggression
102 in youth [13●●]. The other did find evidence for a cross-
103 sectional association between AVGs and some (but not
104 all) aggression outcomes in college students [14●]. This
105 latter study is, in fact, the only preregistered study to find
106 any evidence for a relationship between AVGs and
107 aggression.

108 With longitudinal studies, effects are more definitive.
109 Most longitudinal studies find trivial to no relationships
110 between early AVG exposure and later aggression or
111 decreased empathy [15●,16,17●,18●,19●]. There are cur-
112 rently only two preregistered longitudinal analyses, both
113 of preexisting datasets. Neither of these found evidence
114 that AVGs predict aggression or decreased prosocial
115 behavior [20●,21●●]. However, more preregistered lon-
116 gitudinal studies would definitely be welcome.

117 Thus, we can see although many earlier studies did find
118 relationships between AVGs and aggression, such out-
119 comes are largely explained by publication bias and
120 researcher degrees of freedom including questionable
121 researcher practices. Several other issues point to the
122 problem of the replication crisis in AVG research. One
123 is that questionable researcher practices, such as recom-
124 puting AVG variables differently across different publica-
125 tions using the same dataset, have been well documented
126 [13]. The other is that some studies have specifically been
127 retracted [22,23]. The intent here is not to be unduly
128 critical of those studies. Good-faith mistakes can always
129 happen, and authors should be commended for responsi-
130 bly correcting the scientific record. However, it is plausi-
131 ble that a pressure to produce volumes of significant
132 findings may create perverse incentive structures that
133 make false positive results more likely [24].

Sexualization in games

134 From the AVG literature we can see several patterns.
135 First, statements of effects by some scholars and profes-
136 sional guilds such as the American Psychological Associ-
137 ation (APA) and American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP)
138 often do not match the actual available evidence. Second
139 there are a number of methodological and science culture
140

141 issues that elevate the risk of false positive results. Third,
142 preregistered studies are less likely to produce hypothesis
143 supportive findings.

144 A parallel area of research has developed regarding the
145 potential impact of sexualized video games (SVGs) on
146 aggression or hostility toward woman. What constitutes a
147 ‘sexualized’ video game is notoriously ill-defined (as is
148 ‘violent’ video game) but can be broadly construed as
149 games wherein characters are presented in hypersexual,
150 commodified ways, in which their role in the game is
151 reduced to their sexual value. Most concerns are regard-
152 ing female characters and impacts on male aggression or
153 female body dissatisfaction.

154 Compared to the AVG field, the SVG field is much
155 smaller and the involvement of preregistration much
156 more limited. Some early studies did not consider actual
157 gameplay at all, but simply showed slides of game char-
158 acters [25]. Others are difficult to interpret. For instance,
159 one study suggested women playing a sexualized avatar
160 with their own face increased rape myth acceptance
161 whereas playing a sexualized avatar with a fictional
162 character’s face *decreased* rape myth acceptance compared
163 to a control group [26]. Methodological issues have also
164 plagued this field. For instance, one study suggested
165 playing sexualized games such as *Grand Theft Auto* might
166 decrease male players’ empathy toward women [27].
167 However, a reanalysis of this study found not only were
168 these results mistaken, but the claimed randomization to
169 game condition had not taken place and game condition
170 was irretrievably conflated with participant age (younger
171 players mainly played *Grand Theft Auto* (GTA)) [28●●].

172 Other recent studies have, for the most part, also not
173 found evidence for effects for SVGs on player aggression
174 toward women correlational [29●], longitudinally [30●●]
175 or experimentally [31●,32●]. To be fair, these findings are
176 not universal, and some studies do find negative effects
177 [33●]. Further, some studies are simply difficult to inter-
178 pret. For instance, one study [34●] found that playing
179 sexualized video games was unrelated to hostile sexism
180 (e.g. traditional misogyny) but was correlated with benign
181 sexism (i.e. believing women are morally superior to men
182 or deserving of male protection). However examining the
183 benevolent sexism items, they appeared *unwinnable* such
184 that answering them in the direction of ‘benign sexism’
185 respondents might simply have been trying to avoid
186 hostile sexism (for instance, ‘Women are more moral
187 men’ an affirmative response *could* be benign sexism,
188 or it could be simply trying to avoid implying women
189 are *less* moral than men by saying ‘no’).

190 Unfortunately, to date, there is only a single preregistered
191 study in this field [35●]. This study considered the effects
192 of sexualized games on female players’ body dissatisfac-
193 tion and aggression toward other women. No effects for

194 sexualized game play were found. Although this finding
195 replicates similar outcomes for preregistered studies in
196 the AVG realm, more preregistered studies would obvi-
197 ously be welcome.

198 **The way forward**

199 To summarize, early bodies of literature were mixed, but
200 often nonetheless misinterpreted as suggesting clear links
201 between AVGs and aggression. More recent preregistered
202 work has largely clarified that earlier findings were likely
203 spurious and exaggerated the impact of AVGs via publi-
204 cation bias, citation bias and researcher expectancy
205 effects. I close by suggesting some approaches that
206 may help ensure that AVG research is more completely
207 extricated from psychology's replication crisis.

208 **Preregistration**

209 As indicated, studies which are preregistered likely offer a
210 more rigorous test of hypotheses and tend to produce
211 outcomes that differ from non-preregistered studies.
212 Authors should consider preregistration, including anal-
213 yses for secondary data [36]. At minimum, preregistration
214 should indicate expected sample size, all hypotheses, all
215 materials and all planned statistical analyses. Any devia-
216 tions from the preregistration should be openly discussed
217 in the final paper.

218 **Standardization**

219 The use of unstandardized aggression measures has
220 resulted in unreliable results and undoubtedly contributed
221 to AVG's replication crisis [37]. Future research should
222 focus on standardized laboratory measures [e.g. 38] and
223 clinically validated measures such as the *Child Behavior
Checklist* for survey studies.

224 **Game matching**

225 In experimental studies, most control games have sub-
226 stantially differed from experimental games on qualities
227 other than violent content which introduces significant
228 confounds [39]. Providing perfect matching between
229 games can be difficult, but researchers need to be more
230 diligent in their matching on story, characterization, dif-
231 ficulty, competitiveness and potential for frustration.
232 Simplistic games such as *Tetris* should never be used as
233 control games.

234 **Multivariate controls**

235 Survey studies should control for theoretically relevant
236 third variables including gender, trait aggressiveness,
237 family environment and mental health. More aspiration-
238 ally, genetics could be controlled where available [40].
239 Bivariate correlations are upwardly biased and tend to
240 capture spurious variance that has little to do with AVGs.

241 **Betas rule metas**

242 One weakness of meta-analyses is their common reliance
243 on bivariate correlations which, as noted above, makes

244 them spurious evaluators of research fields. Reliance on
245 bivariate correlations results in significant overconfidence
246 in meta-analytic results supporting a particular hypothesis.
247 The common rationale for use of bivariate correlations is
248 that they are more homogeneous than standardized regres-
249 sion coefficients, although an examination of bivariate data
250 in AVG research finds this, in fact, is not true [41]. Many
251 scholars now advocate for the use of standardized regression
252 coefficients (which adjust for variable explained by other
253 theoretically relevant variables . . . for instance boys play
254 more AVGs and are more aggressive, thus it is important to
255 control for gender) in meta-analysis as these tend to provide
256 a clearer picture of whether hypotheses are truly being
257 supported in research fields than do bivariate correlations
258 [42,43,44].

259 **The meaningless of mean effect sizes**

260 Many meta-analyses tend to interpret weighted mean
261 effect sizes as indicative of population effect sizes, in
262 effect declaring 'the average effect size wins!' This is a
263 poor and unjustified use of meta-analysis. Mean effect
264 sizes from meta-analyses are now known to significantly
265 inflate effect sizes and do not approximate population-
266 level effects [45]. Because of publication bias, system-
267 atic methodological flaws and questionable researcher
268 practices, weighted mean effect sizes tend to be upwardly
269 inflated, for example, the Garbage-In, Garbage-Out
270 (GIGO) phenomenon of meta-analysis. Meta-analyses
271 are more useful in examining how methodological issues
272 such as standardization, attempts to reduce demand char-
273 acteristics, citation bias, and so on, can influence effect
274 sizes. In the future, meta-analyses could compare pre-
275 registered versus non-preregistered AVG studies.

276 **Retirement and moratorium on professional guild statements**

277 Evidence has now clarified that professional guild policy
278 statements such as by the APA and AAP were based on
279 selective interpretation of evidence, citation bias, and
280 grossly misrepresent the AVG and other Media effects fields
281 [46]. These statements should no longer be cited as
282 credible. Current statements such as the APA's 2015 video
283 game task force should be retracted or retired, and profes-
284 sional guilds should refrain from further statements until
285 more preregistered studies become available.
286

287 **Conclusions**

288 Arguably, interest in the notion that AVGs contribute to
289 significant violence or aggression in society is waning, as is
290 typical for Media-based moral panics [47]. Although some
291 scholars certainly continue to argue for the potential
292 harmfulness of AVGs [e.g. 48] this increasingly appears
293 to be a minority view [1]. AVG research provides a
294 cautionary tale in how the moral valence of a topic and
295 lax scientific standards can create significant misinformation.
296 Further, AVG research also illustrates how principles

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297 of preregistration and open science can extricate a
298 research field from its replication crisis.

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302 Nothing declared.

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- of special interest
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