



Pathological Gaming in Young Adolescents: A Longitudinal Study Focused on Academic Stress and Self-Control in South Korea

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Abstract

With the increase in social concern regarding pathological gaming among adolescents, the WHO (World Health Organization) included “gaming disorder” in the International Classification of Disorders, 11th version (ICD-11). However, little longitudinal research has been conducted examining social influences on pathological gaming, particularly in Asian countries (e.g., South Korea, China). With 4-year panel data from young adolescents ($N = 968$, 50.7% girls; $M_{\text{age}} = 13.3$ years) in South Korea, this study examined the effects of cultural environmental factors (parents’ excessive interference, communication with parents, and friends’ and teachers’ support) on pathological gaming through academic stress and self-control. The results showed the critical role of academic stress and self-control in the effects of environmental factors on pathological gaming. Parents’ excessive interference increased the degree to which youth experienced academic stress while the degree of communication with parents decreased this stress. Increased academic stress damaged self-control, which finally increased the degree of pathological gaming. Self-control affected the degree of pathological gaming stronger than gaming time did. The theoretical and practical implications from the study findings are discussed.

Keywords Pathological gaming · Gaming disorder · Excessive interference · Academic stress · Self-control

Introduction

Digital games have become a leading leisure activity among adolescents worldwide and such gaming may confer many benefits (Granic et al. 2014). However, overuse of games may also be associated with some negative outcomes. Pathological gaming refers to the excessive use of digital games to the extent that one’s social relationships and daily functions are significantly impaired (Jeong and Kim 2011). Issues related to the prevalence diagnosis and, indeed, independent existence of disorders related to pathological gaming remain hotly debated among scholars (Aarseth et al. 2017; Griffiths et al. 2017). In some cases, such as in South Korea, concerns over pathological gaming have led to government efforts to restrict youth access to the internet

during nighttime hours (Király et al. 2017), although the effectiveness of such strategies remains unclear (Lee et al. 2017).

Based on concerns regarding pathological gaming, several professional bodies have considered adopting diagnoses related to the phenomenon. For example, “Internet gaming disorder” (IGD) has been proposed as a classification for further study by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders, 5th version (DSM-5) (American Psychiatric Association 2013). Likewise, “gaming disorder” was included by the WHO in the ICD (ICD-11, 2018). As indicated by the provisional status of IGD in the DSM-5, more research on pathological gaming is needed in the fields of prevalence and etiology because there is currently no agreement among scholars with regards to its symptoms and antecedents (Bean et al. 2017; Kardefelt-Winther 2015). In addition, pathological gaming has been reported to be particularly common in Asian countries like China and South Korea (Mak et al. 2014). In these countries, special cultural features such as high levels of academic stress and parents’ stricter interference in their adolescent children’s lives, may place youth in these cultures at higher risk for gaming disorder (Lee and Lason 2009; Seok et al. 2018).

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58 Previous research on the antecedents to pathological
 59 gaming focused on adolescents' environmental factors, such
 60 as their parents' attitudes, peer groups, and teacher support
 61 (Yen et al. 2007; Zhu et al. 2015). Related to such factors,
 62 some perspectives provide theoretical bases to its potential
 63 causality. The diathesis-stress framework, for example,
 64 suggests that some individuals may have a preexisting
 65 vulnerability to pathological behavior given biological and
 66 genetic factors. Such individuals may exhibit pathological
 67 behaviors under periods of high degree of stress (Davis
 68 2001). Related, the deficient self-regulation model explains
 69 that lower self-control relates to problems regulating behav-
 70 iors which may lead to symptoms of pathological behavior
 71 (LaRose 2010; Özdemiir et al. 2014). Few studies, however,
 72 have investigated the effects of stress and self-control on the
 73 degree of pathological gaming in a path model. Moreover,
 74 little research has analyzed these in longitudinal settings
 75 involving adolescents.

76 To fill these gaps, this study proposed an integrated
 77 model of pathological gaming from the perspectives of the
 78 diathesis-stress framework and the deficient self-regulation
 79 model. Through the analysis of 4-year panel data collected
 80 from adolescent game users in South Korea, the role of
 81 academic stress and self-control between environmental
 82 factors and pathological gaming was examined.

83 **Stress and Socio-Environmental Factors: Diathesis-** 84 **Stress Framework**

85 Stress, which refers to the degree by which an event or a
 86 psychological threat affects a person's mental health, is
 87 considered an important factor posing psychosocial risks
 88 and causing health problems for individuals (Windle 2013).
 89 According to the diathesis-stress framework, a representa-
 90 tive psychological theory that attempts to explain the rela-
 91 tionship between stress and sociopsychological disorders,
 92 psychological/mental disorders occur through an interaction
 93 between biological genetic risk and elevated levels of
 94 environmental strain. In particular, people with genetic or
 95 biological vulnerabilities that involve an increased risk of
 96 disease development respond more sensitively to stress than
 97 others do. Moreover, stress serves as a key factor causing
 98 physical and psychological problems for vulnerable people
 99 (Van der Aa et al. 2009; Windle 2013). Individuals exposed
 100 to stress cope with stressful situations or try to relieve their
 101 stress in various ways, such as by taking drugs and escape
 102 from reality, as the latter of which may include excessive
 103 and compulsive use of media (Caplan 2002, 2010; Maroney
 104 et al. 2018). In addition, as individuals who are exposed to a
 105 certain level of stress, especially those with vulnerabilities,
 106 perceive a given behavioral as a refuge from stress, they
 107 cannot easily escape from such habits and are thus constan-
 108 tly immersed in and dependent on them (Jacobs 1986).

109 Research reflecting the diathesis-stress framework has
 110 also been carried out in relation to pathological video game,
 111 internet, smartphone, and media use. Cho et al. (2017)
 112 reported that stress has a significant effect on adult overuse
 113 of smartphones. Velezmoro et al. (2010) also reported that
 114 many college students feel overwhelmed with stress and
 115 turn to and possibly overuse Internet to cope. In addition, it
 116 was reported in other research results that high levels of
 117 stress can have a significant influence on overuse behaviors,
 118 and that escapist coping strategies, such as avoidance, tend
 119 to aggravate such behaviors (Chwaszcz et al. 2018). In the
 120 same vein, reports on pathological gaming revealed that
 121 stress is a key reason for excessive game use by adolescents
 122 (Seok et al. 2018).

123 The impact of stress among adolescents may vary
 124 depending on whether one is in conflict with or receives
 125 support from one's parents, friends, and teachers. The
 126 article by Windle (2013) examines the dynamic diathesis-
 127 stress model for the adolescent children of alcoholics and
 128 demonstrates parenting deficits, limited socialization
 129 options, and isolation from peers serve as risk factors for
 130 negative outcomes in this population. Moreover, a recent
 131 study on pathological internet gaming reported that rela-
 132 tionships with parents, teachers, and schoolmates have
 133 become major factors in triggering or preventing proble-
 134 matic behaviors among adolescents (Zhu et al. 2015). More
 135 specifically, teacher support can help reduce stress in the
 136 school environment, thereby inhibiting pathological gaming
 137 (Yu et al. 2015).

138 On the other hand, parent-adolescent conflicts and the
 139 deterioration of family functions, however, lead to the
 140 accumulation of stress stimuli and increase the severity of
 141 negative outcomes (Yen et al. 2007). Family intimacy or
 142 interpersonal relationships with peers and teachers also
 143 affect pathological gaming among adolescents (Lee and Bae
 144 2015; Kim 2016). Particularly in relationships with parents,
 145 a high degree of parental control (excessive interference)
 146 increases stress or psychosocial problems, ultimately having
 147 a negative effect on the adolescent's game behaviors
 148 (Charoenwanit and Sumneangsator 2014; Yen et al. 2007).

149 It is very likely that adolescents' academic stress is
 150 closely related to the degree of pathological gaming.
 151 Research conducted on elementary school students found
 152 that academic achievement and negative family relations
 153 significantly predict pathological gaming (Zorbaz et al.
 154 2015). It should be noted, however, that as pointed out in
 155 the previous studies related to DSM-5, the Northeast Asian
 156 countries, including South Korea and China, show much
 157 fiercer competition in education than other countries do.
 158 Therefore, pathological gaming may be more serious among
 159 the adolescents in such countries due to their higher levels
 160 of academic stress. In this context, it can be predicted that
 161 the students in the given countries are more easily exposed

162 to problems due to academic stress, and that the degrees and
163 impact of pathological gaming among them become even
164 more significant

165 **Self-Control and Pathological Gaming: Deficient** 166 **Self-Regulation Model**

167 Self-control (or self-regulation) refers to the ability to con-
168 trol one's actions for the attainment of a particular goal. It
169 involves the capacity to pursue long-term goals by con-
170 trolling one's undesirable behavior (Tangney et al. 2004;
171 Vohs and Baumeister 2004). High levels of self-control are
172 closely related to the ability to resist temptation and sup-
173 press impulsive behavior and sensory pursuits to achieve
174 long-term goals (Hofmann et al. 2009).

175 Self-control ability has been examined as an important
176 variable related to problematic media use and has been
177 reported to have a significant impact on problematic internet
178 and game behaviors (Kim et al. 2008; LaRose 2010).
179 Tokunaga (2015) showed that problems with self-regulation
180 are a significant cause of internet overuse and argued that
181 the deterioration of self-regulation resulting from such
182 psychosocial factors as depression, loneliness, and lack of
183 social competence ultimately leads to pathological internet
184 use. In the same vein, Kim et al. (2008) reported that online
185 game overuse among adolescents is closely linked to the
186 absence of self-control, based on the fact that high levels of
187 self-control have a protective effect on pathological online
188 game behaviors (Kim et al. 2008). On the other hand, low
189 levels of self-control cause adolescents to seek immediate
190 satisfaction rather than depend on long-term plans, leading
191 to problematic behaviors such as game overuse due to a
192 reduced ability to control their impulses (Cao et al. 2007;
193 Özdemir et al. 2014).

194 It is notable in the deficient self-regulation model that
195 personal self-control can exhibit a significant mediating
196 effect between stress and pathological gaming. Self-control
197 can also help suppress negative emotions and inadequate
198 coping responses caused by extreme stress. When individ-
199 uals suffer from symptoms of psychological distress, such
200 as depression or anxiety, they may exhibit problematic
201 behaviors like excessive obsession with certain media as a
202 means to mitigate such emotions (LaRose et al. 2003). This
203 means that self-control can be degraded when the individual
204 is overwhelmed by a psychological threat, and it is also
205 consistent with previous research findings showing that self-
206 control may be temporarily impaired during the process of
207 inputting resources to address external environmental and
208 psychological problems (Ching and Tak 2017; Tice et al.
209 2001). Thus, self-control is influenced by psychosocial
210 problems, including stress (Sinha 2009; Tokunaga 2017),
211 and can in turn affect problematic behaviors, such as
212 pathological gaming.

Current Study

213
214 The current study addressed four research questions. The
215 first question was about the relationships between cultural
216 environmental factors and academic stress. Specifically, the
217 question considered what effects parenting attitudes (i.e.,
218 parents' excessive interference and communication with
219 parents), as well as teachers' and friends' support have on
220 academic stress among adolescents. The second question
221 regarded the associations between academic stress and the
222 other factors (i.e., self-control, daily gaming hours, and
223 pathological gaming). The third research question regarded
224 the effect of adolescents' self-control on the level of
225 pathological gaming with control for daily gaming hours.
226 The last question considered whether self-control has a
227 mediating role between academic stress and pathological
228 gaming.

Methods

Participants

229
230 A panel survey was conducted among 2000 young ado-
231 lescents recruited from a professional survey agency in
232 South Korea. This longitudinal survey was conducted four
233 times within a span of 4 years (once per year, from T1 to
234 T4). The participants received culture vouchers (valued at
235 around US\$50) as compensation for taking part in the sur-
236 vey. The accomplished survey forms that had missing
237 values were excluded from the analysis, and the data
238 obtained from the 968 study participants who had partici-
239 pated in all the four surveys were included. Of these, 477
240 (49.3%) were males and 491 (50.7%) were females, and
241 345 (35.6%) were elementary school students, 333 (34.4%)
242 were middle school students, and 290 (29.9%) were high
243 school students

Materials

Parents' excessive interference

244
245
246
247 To assess parents' overprotective behavior as perceived by
248 the adolescent survey respondent, three questions were
249 adopted (e.g., "My parents often stop me from doing what I
250 want," "My parents are always interfering in my minor
251 activities,"; National Youth Policy Institute 2013).

Communication with parents

252
253 Three items on the Open Family Communication Scale
254 were used to check the quality of communication with
255 parents (e.g., "It is easy for me to express all my true

Table 1 Descriptive statistics, reliability, and discriminant validity of constructs

Constructs	No. of items	Mean (SD)	Cronbach's alpha	CR	AVE
Friends' support	3	3.28 (0.58)	0.863	0.841	0.940
Teachers' support	3	3.51 (0.83)	0.874	0.730	0.890
Parents' excessive interference	3	2.26 (0.63)	0.700	0.537	0.776
Communication with parents	3	3.78 (0.80)	0.809	0.623	0.831
Academic stress	3	0.75 (0.49)	0.792	0.739	0.894
Self-control	3	3.17 (0.52)	0.790	0.570	0.798
Pathological gaming	20	43.72 (18.0)	0.966	0.532	0.940
Daily gaming hours	1	3.54 (1.7)			

SD Standard deviation, *CR* composite reliability, *AVE* average variance extracted

256 feelings to my parents," "My parents and I understand each
257 other well"; Barnes and Olson 1982; Liu et al. 2015).

258 Friends' support and teachers' support

259 Social support refers to the subjective feeling of being
260 accepted, of being loved, and of being needed all for oneself
261 (Taylor 2011). For measuring friends' support, three items
262 were used (e.g., "My friends comfort me when I am sad,"
263 Choi and Moon 2010). Likewise, three items of teachers'
264 support were also measured (e.g., "I have a good relation-
265 ship with my teacher," Kang and Shin 2015).

266 Academic stress

267 Academic stress is a major concern for students who are
268 required to achieve good grades for college entrance. To
269 measure the degree of academic stress, three items on the
270 Life Stress and Coping Scale for Junior High School Stu-
271 dents were used (e.g., "I tried hard, but my grades did not
272 improve," Seo and Kim 2006).

273 Self-control

274 For the measurement of self-control, three items on The
275 Brief Self-Control Scale were used (e.g., "I do certain things
276 that are bad for me if they are fun,"; Tangney et al. 2004).

277 Pathological gaming

278 To measure the degree of pathological gaming, 20 items of
279 the scale of Young's Internet Game Addiction was adopted
280 (e.g., "I often do not sleep because I play games," "I often
281 do find myself saying 'just a few more minutes' when
282 gaming,"; Young 1998).

283 Daily gaming hours

284 For the daily gaming hours, the average time of daily
285 gaming was asked, "How many hours do you play games a

day?" with 9 options: 1 (None), 2 (<30 min), 3
286 (30 min–1 h), 4 (1–2 h), 5 (2–3 h), 6 (3–4 h), 7 (4–5 h), 8
287 (5–6 h), and 9 (over 6 h). 288

289 Reliability and Validity test

290 Reliability and validity tests were performed for the mea-
291 surement values obtained. The reliability test results inclu-
292 ded Cronbach's alpha, composite reliability (CR), and
293 average variance extracted (AVE) (see Table 1). The cor-
294 relation and discriminant validity of the constructs were also
295 checked (see Table 2). The result scores were all valid for
296 the model test (0.8 for CR and 0.5 for AVE; Chin 1998).
297 For missing data, a regression imputation method in the
298 Amos program was used. This method is to replace missing
299 data with substituted values by making linear regressions
300 among variables (Graham 2009).

301 The current article reports how sample size was deter-
302 mined, all data exclusions, all manipulations, and all mea-
303 sures in the study (Simmons et al. 2012).

304 Results

305 Research Model Test

306 For the research questions, structural equation analysis was
307 conducted using Amos 22.0. The results yielded valid and
308 adequate indices for the model fit: IFI = 0.915, CFI =
309 0.914, and RMSEA = 0.065 (see Fig. 1).

310 The results showed that parents' excessive interference
311 and communication with parents at T1 significantly affected
312 the degree of academic stress at T2 ($\beta = 0.317$ and -0.156 ,
313 respectively, $p < 0.001$, see Fig. 1). Teachers' support was
314 also significant ($\beta = -0.187$, $p < 0.001$). Academic stress
315 increased the adolescents' daily gaming hours at T3 ($\beta =$
316 0.199 , $p < 0.001$). In contrast, academic stress decreased
317 self-control at T3 ($\beta = -0.702$, $p < 0.001$). Self-control
318 decreased the degree of pathological gaming at T4 ($\beta =$
319 -0.408 , $p < 0.001$) while daily gaming hours increased

Table 2 Correlations and discriminant validity analysis

Constructs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Friends' support	0.940						
Teachers' support	0.481	0.890					
Parents' excessive interference	-0.244	-0.133	0.776				
Communication with parents	0.422	0.466	0.405	0.831			
Academic stress	-0.195	-0.240	0.325	-0.311	0.894		
Self-control	0.163	0.151	-0.218	0.188	-0.376	0.798	
Pathological Gaming	-0.233	-0.194	0.186	-0.188	0.261	-0.387	0.940
Daily gaming hours	-0.176	-0.108	0.091	-0.181	0.110	-0.202	0.352

The square root of AVE (average variance extracted) is presented in boldface in the diagonal cells for the corresponding construct

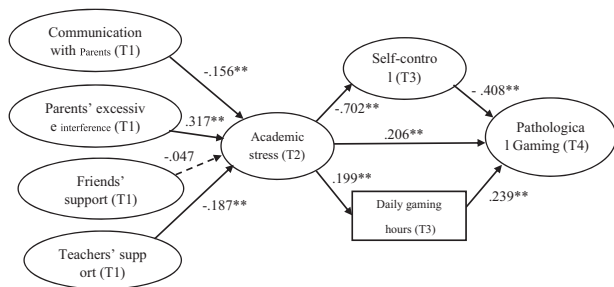


Fig. 1 Structural equation model. The coefficients are standardized, * $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.001$

320 pathological gaming ($\beta = 0.239$, $p < 0.001$). Finally, acad- 321 emic stress at T2 was associated with increased patho- 322 logical gaming ($\beta = 0.206$, $p < 0.001$)

Mediating Effect test

324 For testing the mediating effect of self-control, four con- 325 ditions were tested: (1) whether academic stress sig- 326 nificantly affected pathological gaming without including 327 the mediator (i.e., self-control); (2) whether academic stress 328 affected self-control; (3) whether self-control affected 329 pathological gaming; (4) whether the relationship between 330 academic stress and pathological gaming became insignif- 331 icant or decreased when self-control was included. The 332 direct effect of academic stress on pathological gaming 333 without self-control was significant ($\beta = 0.237$, $p < 0.001$). 334 Academic stress also significantly affected self-control ($\beta =$ 335 -0.305 , $p < 0.001$), and self-control showed a significant 336 effect on pathological gaming ($\beta = -0.344$, $p < 0.001$). The 337 effect of academic stress decreased ($\beta = 0.145$ from 0.237, 338 $p < 0.001$) when self-control was included ($\beta = -0.300$, $p <$ 339 0.001). Thus, the result showed that self-control partially 340 mediated the effect of academic stress on pathological 341 gaming (James et al. 2006).

342 In order to confirm the mediating effect of self-control, 343 Sobel's test was conducted. The bootstrapped 95% con- 344 fidence interval was checked for the standardized indirect

Table 3 Model fit statistics and chi-square difference test

Model	χ^2/df	CFI	IFI	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2(df)$	p
Model-1	5.165	0.915	0.914	0.065	–	
Model-2 (delete: academic stress — pathological gaming)	5.197	0.911	0.912	0.066	21.91(1)	<0.001

effect. The mediated effect of academic stress through self- 345 control was significant (Sobel's $z = 7.513$, $p < 0.001$; 95% 346 CI = [0.26, 0.40]). Thus, self-control was finally confirmed 347 to mediate the effect of academic stress on the degree of 348 pathological gaming. 349

Sensitivity Analysis

350 For the robustness of the findings, this study examined an 351 alternative model (Model-2) where the direct path between 352 academic stress and pathological gaming was excluded. The 353 new model also showed valid indices for the model fit: IFI 354 = 0.911, CFI = 0.912, and RMSEA = 0.066. However, the 355 result of chi-square difference test showed that the first 356 model (Model-1) is significantly better than the second 357 model (Model-2) in the model fit (model-1 vs. model-2: 358 $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 21.91$, $p < 0.001$, see Table 3). Thus, model-1 was 359 the final model. 360

361 The sensitivity of the results was also examined using a 362 simple OLS regression. In this regression all the T1, T2 and 363 T3 variables were entered as predictors, with T4 patho- 364 logical gaming as the outcome. There was no multi- 365 collinearity in this model, with the highest VIF at 1.801. 366 This is obviously a crude analysis, and does not capture the 367 complexity of the interaction between variables that was 368 possible with the SEM. However, this method can help 369 ensure that SEM did not inadvertently create spurious 370 findings. As expected, T2 academic stress, T3 gaming hours 371 and T3 self-control were all predictors of pathological 372 gaming as was T1 friends' support. Although these analyses

do not adequately capture the theoretical model or complex interaction between variables at different time points, they do provide assurance that the ultimate findings of the SEM were not due to methods variance.

Discussion

Debate regarding whether pathological gaming is best conceived as a unique mental health disorder or as sequelae of other mental health issues such as stress continues in the academic community. This debate has intensified since the WHO declared it would include “gaming disorder” as a diagnosis in the forthcoming ICD-11. The current study was designed to examine the relationship between cultural environmental variables and the degree of adolescents’ pathological gaming in a longitudinal setting. The roles of academic stress and self-control were investigated in an integrated model based on the stress-diathesis framework and the deficient self-regulation model. Results from this model suggest that conceiving of pathological gaming as a unique diagnosis rather than as a symptom of stress or other mental health concerns, may be mistaken.

The results of this study provide initial empirical evidence that support both deficient self-regulation model and stress-diathesis framework. According to the deficient self-regulation model, self-control as a cognitive factor plays a critical antecedent role to the problematic use of internet games (LaRose et al. 2003; Tokunaga 2017). By analyzing 4-year game-user panel data based on the previous results, this study showed that self-control has a stronger relationship with pathological gaming than gaming time. Likewise, this study demonstrated that academic stress is strongly related to self-control. This result is also in line with the diathesis-stress framework, which speaks to the role of stress in the development of mental disorders (Caplan 2002, 2010; Maroney et al. 2018).

Notably, the model results highlight the need to consider Asian countries’ cultural peculiarities in studies of pathological gaming. As noted earlier, pathological gaming has been particularly reported within Asian countries such as China and South Korea where there are special cultural features such as high levels of academic stress and parents’ excessive interference in their adolescents (Lee and Lason 2009; Seok et al. 2018). Related to the two variables, one of the common cultural factors between the two countries (i.e., South Korea and China) is the highly competitive college entrance exam. For entering best-level colleges, adolescents must receive high scores in the exam and parents generally interfere with their adolescents’ daily life from the time of the adolescents’ elementary school in order to put pressure on youth to study. Thus, it is natural to say that adolescents in these countries experience a higher degree of academic

stress with excessive interference of their parents. The results of this study support the critical role of academic stress between cultural environmental variables and pathological gaming, and the role of parents in relation with academic stress.

Regarding the variables that influence academic stress, the results imply the critical role of parents in the mental health of young adolescents. There were contrasting results between parents’ excessive interference and communication with parents. Parents’ excessive interference significantly increased the degree of academic stress while communication with parents substantively decreased the academic stress. In addition, parents’ excessive interference was much stronger in the effect on academic stress than those of friends’ and teachers’ support. Therefore, in order to decrease the degree of pathological gaming, parents need to control the degree of interference and increase the degree of communication with their adolescents.

Likewise, this study showed teachers’ role in adolescents’ mental health. Teachers’ support of adolescent game users decreased the degree of the adolescents’ academic stress. As adolescents spend most of their daily hours in school, teachers’ support of and interest in their adolescent students may have a crucial role. Different from the expectation, however, friends’ support did not show any significant effect on academic stress. Most Korean adolescents (over 70%) in their teens are playing games as a cultural routine (Kim 2016). As a social norm among adolescents, playing games with peers have become part of the general youth culture. Thus, such cultural routines of gaming with peers could desensitize the adolescents’ perceived effect of peer support on stress. Future studies could investigate more about adolescents’ gaming with peers on their mental health.

From the perspective of adolescent development, the results of this study are in line with those of previous studies in relation with mental health. With the salience of psychosocial challenges throughout the adolescence, environmental factors around family and school play important roles in the adolescents’ stress and psychopathology (Tate et al. 2007). Over the course of adolescence, environmental factors influence the adolescents’ stress and pathological behaviors (Dawes et al. 2000), and stress has a close relationship with psychopathology (Grant et al. 2004). This study helped demonstrate the effects of environmental factors such as parenting attitudes and teachers’ support on the adolescents’ academic stress and finally on the degree of pathological gaming. Considering adolescent development, those results suggest that much attention should be paid to environmental factors involved with coping with stress and how this influences pathological gaming among adolescents.

475 It is also notable that self-control mediates the effect of
476 academic stress on the degree of pathological gaming. This
477 result suggests the critical role that self-control may play in
478 the development of pathological gaming. Adolescents with
479 a high degree of academic stress may become susceptible to
480 pathological gaming if they have a low degree of self-
481 control. Those adolescents with higher degree of academic
482 stress and lower degree of self-control could be especially
483 vulnerable to pathological gaming.

484 **Developmental Implications**

485 Continued debate exists regarding the conceptual and
486 developmental framing of pathological gaming. One school
487 of thought argues that games are uniquely problematic due
488 to their reward structures or even similarities to illicit sub-
489 stances (Saunders et al. 2017). Another school of thought
490 has emerged to suggest that pathological gaming is better
491 understood as one symptom of a larger constellation of
492 issues related to stress, family structure and mental health
493 (Aarseth et al. 2017). The current evidence more closely
494 aligns with the second school of thought and suggests that
495 direct comparisons between pathological gaming and sub-
496 stance abuse may be an incorrect association. Furthermore,
497 these observations raise the question of whether the theo-
498 rized reward structures of gaming are primary in the
499 development of gaming disorder, or whether it may be
500 better to conceptualize gaming as a coping mechanism for
501 stress.

502 Thus, developmental pathways suggest that initial pro-
503 blems come from interactions with parents and teachers
504 which can develop into academic stress. This stress, in turn
505 both increases time spent gaming as well as difficulty in
506 controlling gaming habits. Gaming, then, is a coping
507 mechanism for stress, not the ultimate cause for the youth's
508 difficulties, which appear to originate earlier in family and
509 school systems. In this sense, conceptualizing gaming as a
510 unique disorder may also be mistaken as it is likely that
511 other activities that can be over done such as eating, sex,
512 exercise, work, shopping, even dance (Maraz et al. 2015)
513 could serve a similar coping function and, if overdone,
514 perceived as pathological. Thus, conceptualization of a
515 behavioral regulation disorder may make more sense than
516 the World Health Organization's "gaming disorder" diag-
517 nosis (Aarseth et al. 2017).

518 Results from this study also provide some practical
519 implications. First, the results provide policymakers and
520 activists with useful directions for developing effective
521 preventive policies regarding pathological gaming. South
522 Korean adolescents, for example, are prohibited from
523 playing games between midnight and 6 a.m. (Király et al.
524 2017). This policy is based on the premise that gaming time
525 regulation is the most effective way of preventing

pathological gaming. The results of this study show, how-
ever, that for preventing pathological gaming, it can be
much more effective to concentrate on adolescents' self-
control and academic stress. Decreasing adolescents' aca-
demic stress by providing healthy guidance for their par-
ents' involvement in youths' academics or by increasing the
degree of the teachers' support would likely be more suc-
cessful in preventing pathological gaming among adoles-
cents. Furthermore, this study results offer implications in
the public health area, where internet games are often
considered a primary causative factor for mental disorders.
The degree to which Korea's policy on restricting access to
gaming at night has failed to produce results can be
understood in light of this study's findings (Lee et al. 2017).

540 **Limitations**

541 As with all studies, this study has some limitations. The data
542 that were used in this study were collected from only one
543 country. Future studies could collect data from similar
544 countries like China and Japan and contrast the results of
545 the effect size of the antecedents to pathological gaming
546 with those obtained in Korea. Likewise, data from Western
547 countries, particularly in highly technological environ-
548 ments, can be used to compare the different effects of social
549 variables on pathological gaming cross-nationally. In addi-
550 tion, from the perspective of diathesis-stress model, future
551 research could include genetic data to more fully test the
552 model in comparison of cultural factors. Furthermore, from
553 various data, more models based on different perspectives
554 and theories can be compared.

555 **Conclusion**

556 Debates continue regarding whether pathological gaming
557 can be attributed to features of technology or to social
558 influences within youth family and school environments.
559 Current results suggest that pathological gaming is a
560 symptom of underlying stress and mental health issues,
561 rather than an "addictive" diagnosis in and of itself.
562 Increasingly, the concept of problematic gaming as a unique
563 disorder has been challenged. Rather, evidence from the
564 current study as well as considerable past research finds that
565 problematic gaming tends to originate as a symptom of
566 other syndromes related to stress, depression and anxiety.
567 The concept of problematic gaming is probably best
568 understood as a symptom of larger problems in the family
569 and school spheres of life, rather than one brought on due
570 simply to exposure to video games.

571 **Authors' Contributions** EJJ conceived of the study, conducted data
572 collection and statistical analyses, wrote the draft of the manuscript;

573 CJF helped write the final draft and helped with additional analyses;
574 SJL assisted in conceiving of the study and assisted in the statistical
575 analyses and writing. All authors read and approved the final
576 manuscript.

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578 **Data Sharing Declaration** Data of Korean Game Panel Study (KGPS)
579 were used. The data that support the findings of this study are available
580 from Korea Creative Content Agency (KOCCA, [http://www.kocca.kr/
581 gameguide/contents.do?menuNo=203705](http://www.kocca.kr/gameguide/contents.do?menuNo=203705)) but restrictions apply to
582 the availability of these data, which were used under license for the
583 current study, and so are not publicly available. However, data are
584 available from the first author upon reasonable request and with per-
585 mission of KOCCA.

586 Compliance with Ethical Standards

587 **Conflict of Interest** The authors declare that they have no conflict of
588 interest.

589 **Ethical Approval** The study received the ethical approval of the
590 Institutional Review Board (IRB) in Konkuk University, 7001355-
591 201408-HR-031.

592 **Informed Consent** Youth and their parents were provided with
593 informed consent about the survey and its basic nature as part of the
594 panel recruitment.

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