



2 The Influence of Video Games on  
 3 Social, Cognitive, and Affective  
 4 Information Processing

5 Kira Bailey, Robert West, and Craig A. Anderson

Chapter in J. Decety & J. Cacioppo (Eds.) *Handbook of Social Neuroscience*.  
 (pp. 1001-1011). New York: Oxford University Press. (page proofs)

6

**Abstract**

7 This chapter first reviews literature examining the effects of video games from the perspective of  
 8 social, cognitive, affective, and education science. It also considers how knowledge from social and  
 9 cognitive neuroscience may serve to enhance our understanding of the effects of video game  
 10 experience. The literature reveals some paradoxical effects wherein experience with the same types of  
 11 games can lead to an increase in aggression, a decrease in cognitive control, and an increase in  
 12 visuospatial abilities. A consideration of the behavioral, neuroanatomical, and physiological bases of the  
 13 effects of video games leads to the suggestion that exposure to these media is associated with plasticity  
 14 within neural networks supporting high level vision, emotion processing, cognitive control, and social  
 15 decision making. Future investigations focusing on within and between domain comparisons using  
 16 behavioral and neuromonitoring techniques are likely to provide greater insight into neural basis of the  
 17 effects of video games.

18 **Keywords:** attention, cognition, cognitive control, emotion, executive control, individual differences,  
 19 negativity bias, video games, video game violence, visuospatial cognition

**20 Introduction**

21 Computer and console-based video games represent  
 22 a pervasive form of leisure activity in industrialized  
 23 nations beginning in early to middle childhood and  
 24 continuing through adulthood. A recent representa-  
 25 tive sample of U.S. teens found that 99% of boys  
 26 and 94% of girls had played video games (Lenhart,  
 27 et al., 2008). Boys typically play more than girls  
 28 (Rideout, Roberts, & Foehr, 2005). For example, a  
 29 survey of over 600 eighth and ninth grade students  
 30 found that boys averaged 13 hours per week and  
 31 girls averaged 5 hours per week (Gentile, Lynch,  
 32 Linder, & Walsh, 2004). In addition to the enter-  
 33 tainment value of video games, evidence from a  
 34 growing number of studies demonstrates that video

35 games can produce positive pedagogical outcomes  
 36 related to the development of health-related knowl-  
 37 edge and behaviors (Baranowski, Buday, Thompson,  
 38 & Baranowski, 2008; Barlett, Anderson, & Swing,  
 39 2009) and military training (Gopher, Weil, &  
 40 Bareket, 1994).

41 Widespread use of video games begs the ques-  
 42 tion of what intended and unintended effects they  
 43 may produce. There is not a simple answer to this  
 44 question. For instance, exposure to a specific type  
 45 of game (e.g., violent action games) might have  
 46 multiple effects including increases in aggression  
 47 (Anderson & Bushman, 2001) and improvements  
 48 in visuospatial cognition (Green & Bavalier, 2003).  
 49 Because games differ on a range of dimensions and



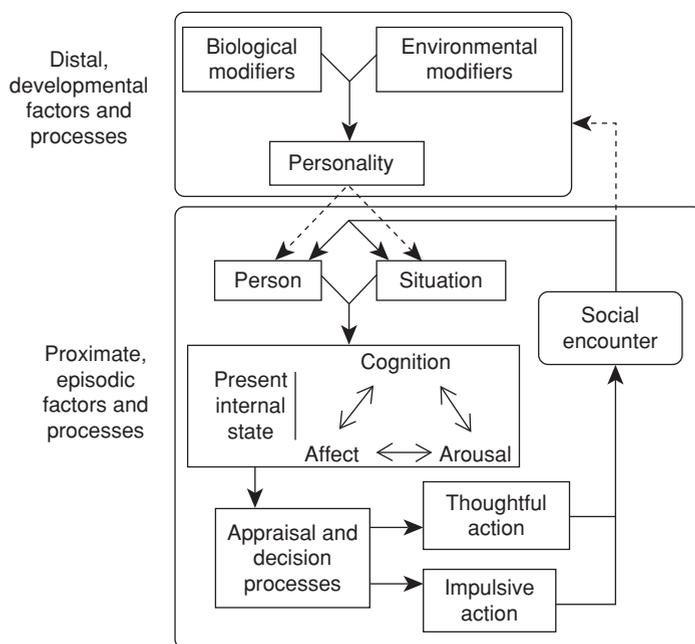
engage various cognitive, affective, and behavioral systems, it is reasonable to expect that they will influence multiple information processing systems (Gentile & Gentile, 2008). Indeed, there is growing evidence for a wide range of video game effects that influence social and antisocial behaviors, cognitive styles, and affective processing (Barlett et al., 2009). Furthermore, some of these effects may be moderated by personal characteristics (e.g., gender) or by social circumstances (e.g., parental involvement). Thus, the potential positive or negative effects of video game experience must be considered within the socio-cognitive-cultural context where the individual is embedded. With this in mind, the goals of the current chapter were twofold. First, we provide a review of the literature examining the effects of video games from the perspective of social, cognitive, affective, and education science. Second, we briefly consider how knowledge from social and cognitive neuroscience may serve to enhance our understanding of the effects of video game experience.

**Video Games: Social, Cognitive, Affective, and Education Science**  
**Social Science**

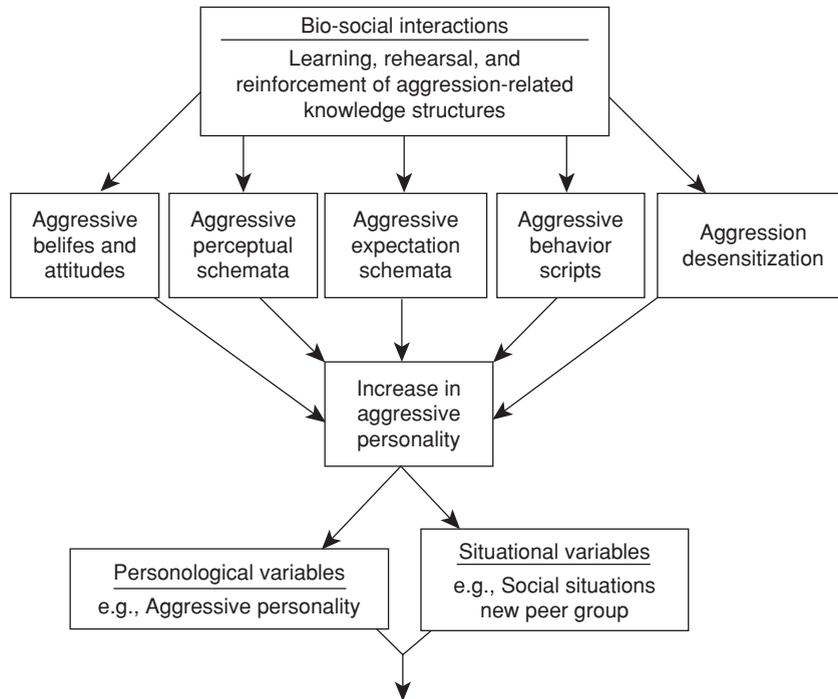
Building on a nearly 50-year tradition considering the effects of violence in television and film, the last decade has witnessed the blossoming of research examining the impact of video game violence (VGV) on aggression. At least some of this interest

seems to be motivated by the commonly observed association between high levels of consumption of VGV and violent crime sprees committed by adolescents (e.g., West Paducah, Kentucky (December, 1997); Littleton, Colorado (April, 1999); Wellsboro, Pennsylvania (June, 2003)). Laboratory studies of the relationship between exposure to VGV and aggression demonstrate that brief exposure (e.g., 15–30 minutes) to violent content during game play can result in increases in aggressive thoughts and actions (Anderson, et al., 2004). Complementing this evidence, cross-sectional and longitudinal studies demonstrate that chronic exposure to VGV may represent a unique predictor of instances of aggression outside the laboratory (Anderson et al., 2004; Anderson, Gentile, & Buckley, 2007; Anderson et al., 2008).

The research examining the effects of VGV on aggression can be understood within the context of the *general aggression model* (GAM; Anderson & Bushman, 2002). GAM is a bio-social-cognitive theory designed to account for both short-term and long-term effects of exposure to media violence (Figure 66.1). Repeated exposure to, and reinforcement of, aggression that is embodied in violent video games can lead to the development of aggressive beliefs and attitudes, perceptual schemata, expectations, behavior scripts, and desensitization to aggression (Figure 66.2). Together, the development of these knowledge structures can lead to an



**Fig. 66.1** The General Aggression Model: Overall View.  
 Adapted from Anderson & Carnagey (2004) with permission of Elsevier.



**Fig. 66.2** The General Aggression Model: Developmental and Personality Processes.  
Adapted from Anderson & Carnagey (2004) with permission of Elsevier.

1 increase in aggressive personality as well as changes  
2 in situational variables including peer groups and  
3 social activities (Anderson & Bushman, 2002).

4 One of the fundamental predictions derived  
5 from the GAM is that short-term or long-term  
6 exposure to VGV should lead to changes in a constellation of thoughts and actions. Consistent with  
7 this prediction, meta-analyses demonstrate that  
8 exposure to VGV is associated with an increase in  
9 physical aggression, aggressive cognition, aggressive  
10 affect, and physiological arousal, and a decrease  
11 in helping behavior (Anderson et al., 2004).  
12 Furthermore, the magnitude of the effect of VGV  
13 on measures of aggression appears to be similar  
14 in experimental and cross-sectional studies. More  
15 recent longitudinal studies also find the expected  
16 relative increase in aggression over time in those  
17 who consume high levels of VGV (Anderson et al.,  
18 2008; Moller & Krahe, 2009; Wallenius & Pnamaki,  
19 2008).

20 The robust effect of VGV on aggressive behavior,  
21 thought, and affect leads to the question of what  
22 factors may give rise to this effect. This question has  
23 been examined in two types of investigations. Some  
24 studies have examined the effect of various experimental  
25 manipulations (i.e., situational variables) on  
26 the magnitude of the violent video game effect while  
27

28 other studies have examined the influence of individual  
29 differences (i.e., personological variables) on  
30 the violent video game effect.

31 Studies examining situational variables have considered  
32 variation in characteristics of the games that are used to prime aggression. Based upon available  
33 evidence, the violent video game effect appears to  
34 be insensitive to the story line, the nature of the  
35 aggression (e.g., first person shooter, driving, and  
36 hand-to-hand combat), and the humanness of the  
37 target (Anderson et al., 2004; Bushman & Anderson,  
38 2002). The level of aggression may also be similar  
39 for screen-based and more immersive technologies  
40 (Arriaga, Esteves, Carneiro, & Monteiro, 2008).  
41 There are, however, other characteristics of games  
42 that occasionally moderate the violent video game  
43 effect. For instance, the level of blood that is associated  
44 with in-game aggression moderates aggression  
45 both during and after game play (Barlett, Harris,  
46 & Bruey, 2008). The type of reinforcement that  
47 is associated with in-game aggression also seems  
48 to moderate the level of aggression (Carnagey &  
49 Anderson, 2005). Specifically, an increase in aggressive  
50 thoughts and actions is observed for individuals  
51 who are rewarded for violence during game play,  
52 but not for individuals who are punished for violence  
53 or play a nonviolent version of the game.  
54

1 Furthermore, punishing violent actions within a  
2 game leads to a dramatic decrease in the number of  
3 such actions. Consistent with the GAM, the evi-  
4 dence from the two later studies indicates that posi-  
5 tive reinforcement for aggression represents one  
6 source of violent video game effects.

7 Various individual difference and personality  
8 variables occasionally moderate or partially mediate  
9 the violent video game effect on aggression, though  
10 such cases are rare. For example, the violent video  
11 game effect is sometimes stronger for males than  
12 females (Bartholow & Anderson, 2002), although  
13 violent video games clearly lead to increased aggres-  
14 sion in females (Anderson & Murphy, 2003). Trait  
15 aggression also occasionally moderates violent video  
16 game effects, but again such interactions are rare.  
17 Furthermore, when found in correlational studies,  
18 such moderation may be a methodological artifact  
19 because trait aggression is itself influenced by  
20 repeated exposure to VGV. A more consistent moder-  
21 ator variable is level of parental involvement in  
22 media use (Anderson et al., 2007). Children whose  
23 parents are highly involved in the child's media  
24 choices and use are less affected by VGV. This moder-  
25 ation effect was observed in a short-term experi-  
26 mental setting (Study 1), a cross-sectional analysis  
27 of trait aggression (Study 1), and a longitudinal  
28 study (Study 3; Anderson et al., 2007). The effect of  
29 trait aggression on VGV may be partially mediated  
30 by revenge motivation (Anderson et al., 2004;  
31 Bushman & Anderson, 2002) or the perception of  
32 hostility (Bartholow, Sestir, & Devic, 2005) that is  
33 experienced in response to provocation.

34 There is some evidence that individual differ-  
35 ences in empathy may partially mediate the violent  
36 video game effect (Bartholow et al., 2005). The  
37 findings of this study are consistent with the GAM  
38 (Anderson & Bushman, 2002), as exposure to VGV  
39 would be expected to activate schemata that could  
40 bias the individual toward interpreting the actions  
41 of others as being more hostile and acting on this  
42 perceived threat in a more aggressive manner.  
43 Furthermore, evidence from a pair of studies dem-  
44 onstrates desensitization to real violence may be the  
45 locus of the influence of empathy on the VGV  
46 effect. In one experiment (Carnagey, Anderson, &  
47 Bushman, 2007), participants played either a vio-  
48 lent or a nonviolent game and then viewed scenes of  
49 real violence while heart rate and skin conductance  
50 were measured. Those who played a nonviolent  
51 game experienced increases in heart rate and skin  
52 conductance while later viewing the real violence,  
53 whereas those who had played a violent game did

not. A second experiment (Bushman & Anderson, 54  
2008, Experiment 1) used the same basic experi- 55  
mental procedures but considered helping behavior 56  
directed towards the victim of a (staged) fight out- 57  
side the lab room. Those who had played a violent 58  
game were less likely to provide help and took longer 59  
to help than those who had played a nonviolent 60  
game. 61

62 The findings of studies examining neural recruit-  
63 ment during video game play are also consistent  
64 with the GAM, and have generally revealed that  
65 playing video games activates neural networks asso-  
66 ciated with reward processing and addiction (Koepp  
67 et al., 1998; Mathiak & Weber, 2006). Significant  
68 activation of the orbitofrontal cortex was observed  
69 when individuals played a computer game that  
70 involved capturing territory from an opponent  
(Hoefl, Watson, Kesler, Bettinger, & Reiss, 2008). 71  
This region is often associated with the encoding of  
72 reward value. Males demonstrated greater activation  
73 in the orbitofrontal cortex and the mesocorticolim-  
74 bic system, indicating that they may have found the  
75 competitive aspects of the game more rewarding  
76 than females. A second study found that dopamine  
77 levels were elevated during video game play and that  
78 this elevation was similar to that associated with the  
79 administration of amphetamine that is known to  
80 activate the reward system (Koepp et al., 1998).  
81 Studies using functional MRI also reveal what  
82 may be desensitization to violence. During violent  
83 video game play, the rostral anterior cingulate cortex  
84 and amygdala are deactivated (Mathiak & Weber,  
85 2006), and these neural structures are known to be  
86 related to the evaluation of the emotional content of  
87 stimuli. 88

### *Cognitive Science* 89

#### **VISUOSPATIAL COGNITION** 90

91 Evidence from a number of studies demonstrates  
92 that the same types of video games that lead to  
93 increased aggression can serve to enhance visuospa-  
94 tial cognition. This enhancement can be seen in  
95 individual differences between video game players  
96 (VGPs) and non-players (NVGPs; Green & Bavelier,  
97 2003, 2007; Lintern & Kennedy, 1984; Yuji, 1996)  
98 and in NVGPs after as little as 10 hours of training  
99 (Dorval & Pepin, 1986; Green & Bavelier, 2006).  
100 This research has revealed improvements in several  
101 domains including hand-eye coordination (Griffith,  
102 Voloschin, Gibb, & Bailey, 1983), visual attention  
103 (Castel, Pratt, & Drummond, 2005; Green &  
104 Bavelier, 2003), and flight simulation (Lintern &  
105 Kennedy, 1984).

1 Early studies in this area of inquiry examined  
2 the utility of video games in training pilots. Two  
3 studies using the Atari video game *Air Combat*  
4 *Maneuvering* revealed that the game was useful  
5 for identifying military personnel who would  
6 be successful pilots (Jones, Kennedy, & Bittner,  
7 1981). In a similar study, Gopher et al. (1994) com-  
8 pared the flight performance of Israeli Air Force  
9 cadets who had been trained on *Space Fortress II*  
10 and an untrained group. This study revealed  
11 that trained cadets performed better in almost  
12 all aspects of flight performance, resulting in  
13 the game being adopted as a part of the training  
14 program.

15 Green and Bavelier (2003) have systematically  
16 investigated the basis of the video game effect on  
17 visuospatial cognition. These authors have reported  
18 positive effects of video game experience in a number  
19 of tasks examining visual enumeration, the useful  
20 field of view, the attentional blink, multiple object  
21 tracking, and the spatial resolution of vision (Green  
22 & Bavelier, 2003, 2006, 2007). Together, the find-  
23 ings of these studies demonstrate that video game  
24 experience can enhance the spatial and temporal  
25 resolution of visuospatial cognition for both static  
26 and dynamic displays.

27 In a series of studies, Green and Bavelier (2006)  
28 have examined the locus of the video game effect on  
29 the span of apprehension, which reflects the number  
30 of stimuli that can be extracted from a brief expo-  
31 sure to a visual display. As measured in the visual  
32 enumeration task the span of apprehension is typi-  
33 cally 1.5 items greater for VGPs relative to NVGPs.  
34 Foundational work by Trick and Pylyshyn (1993)  
35 reveals that the output of two processes (i.e., subitiz-  
36 ing and counting) gives rise to the span of appre-  
37 hension. Subitizing represents the rapid, relatively  
38 automatic, extraction of 1 to 3 items from a visual  
39 display; in contrast, counting represents a slow,  
40 resource demanding, process that supports the  
41 extraction of 4 or more items from a visual display.  
42 By examining differences in response time and accu-  
43 racy in the visual enumeration task under different  
44 conditions, Green and Bavelier were able to deter-  
45 mine that the limit of subitizing was similar in VGPs  
46 and NVGPs, and that counting was more efficient  
47 in VGPs relative to NVGPs. These findings indicate  
48 that the expansion of the span of apprehension  
49 results from an increase in the efficiency of resource  
50 demanding cognitive processes rather than an  
51 increase in the number of items that can be auto-  
52 matically extracted from a display (Green & Bavelier,  
53 2006).

## EXECUTIVE FUNCTION AND COGNITIVE CONTROL

54  
55  
56 Evidence from a growing number of studies reveals  
57 that experience with the same types of games that  
58 produce benefits to visuospatial cognition may  
59 also be associated with disruptions of executive  
60 function or controlled attention. Two studies have  
61 reported that video game experience is positively  
62 correlated with attention deficits related to impul-  
63 sivity and hyperactivity (Gentile, 2009; Swing,  
64 2008). Gentile (2009) observed that adolescents  
65 reporting pathological video game consumption  
66 were 2.77 times more likely to be diagnosed with  
67 ADD or ADHD than were adolescents who report-  
68 ing non-pathological video game consumption.  
69 Evidence reported by Swing (2008) replicates this  
70 basic finding and demonstrates that the relation-  
71 ship between video game experience and attention  
72 pathology remains significant even after controlling  
73 for the overall level of exposure to films and televi-  
74 sion, indicating that there is a unique effect of video  
75 game experience on attention.

76 Other work in this domain has focused on the  
77 relationship between video game experience and  
78 cognitive control in the Stroop task. Kronenberger  
79 et al. (2005) reported a moderate positive correla-  
80 tion between video game experience and the Stroop  
81 interference effect. Complimenting this finding, a  
82 study using fMRI found that VGPs failed to recruit  
83 anterior cingulate and lateral prefrontal cortex on  
84 incongruent trials during performance of the Stroop  
85 task, whereas these structures were recruited by low  
86 video game players (LVGs; Mathews, et al., 2005).  
87 This finding led to the suggestion that video game  
88 experience is associated with a disruption in the  
89 ability to engage the cognitive control network  
90 (Mathews et al., 2005).

91 A limitation of the study by Mathews et al.  
92 (2005) is that the task design makes it impossible  
93 to determine whether there is a general effect of video  
94 game experience on cognitive control or whether  
95 the influence is limited to specific control processes.  
96 We recently addressed this question using behav-  
97 ioral and event-related brain potential (ERPs) mea-  
98 sures to examine the influence of video game  
99 experience on proactive and reactive cognitive con-  
100 trol (Bailey, West, & Anderson, 2010). Proactive  
101 control represents a future-oriented form of control  
102 that serves to optimize task preparation; reactive  
103 control represents a just-in-time form of control  
104 that serves to resolve conflict within a trial (Braver,  
105 Gray, & Burgess, 2007). Bailey et al. found that the  
106 conflict adaptation effect (a behavioral measure of

1 proactive control) was attenuated in HVGs relative  
 2 to LVGs when there was a long delay between trials,  
 3 and that this effect was associated with an attenua-  
 4 tion of the medial frontal negativity and frontal  
 5 slow wave (ERP indices of proactive control) in  
 6 HVGs (Figure 66.3). In contrast, there was no dif-  
 7 ference between HVGs and LVGs for behavioral  
 8 or neural indices of reactive control. These find-  
 9 ings complement evidence revealing an association  
 10 between attention deficits/hyperactivity and lead to  
 11 the suggestion that video game experience may have  
 12 a selective effect on proactive cognitive control pro-  
 13 cesses that serve to maintain optimal goal-directed  
 14 information processing. Of course, additional research  
 15 using experimental and longitudinal designs is  
 16 required to establish the causal nature of the effect  
 17 of video game experience on cognitive control.

### 18 *Affective Science*

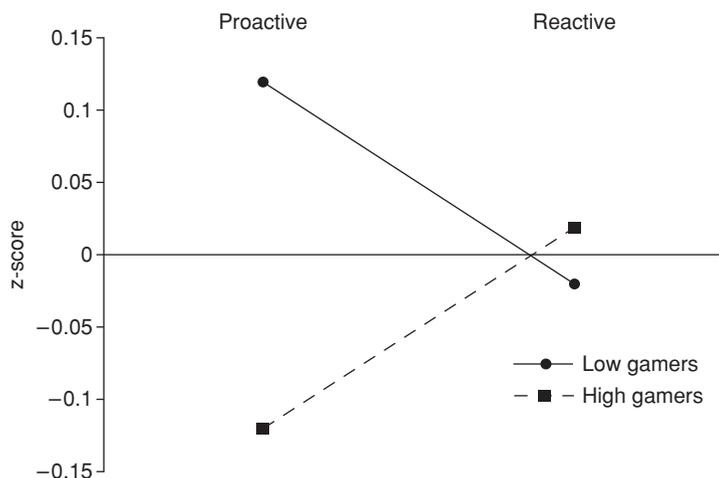
19 Violent video games have been shown to increase  
 20 aggression (Anderson & Bushman, 2001), but less  
 21 is known about how VGV affects the processing  
 22 of positively and negatively valenced stimuli. At  
 23 the behavioral level, Kirsh and colleagues (Kirsh &  
 24 Mounts, 2007; Kirsh, Mounts, & Olczak, 2006;  
 25 Kirsh, Olczak, & Mounts, 2005) have reported an  
 26 increase in the bias toward processing angry faces  
 27 and a decrease in the bias toward processing positive  
 28 faces associated with exposure to VGV and other  
 29 violent media. These studies suggest that exposure  
 30 to VGV may lead to alterations in the experience of  
 31 both positive and negative affect.

### 32 *Autonomic Measures*

33 One method of assessing the effects of video games  
 34 on affect is to measure physiological arousal.

35 Research has shown that playing video games can  
 36 lead to an increase in arousal as measured by heart  
 37 rate, blood pressure, and skin conductance (Arriaga,  
 38 Esteves, Carniero, & Monteiro, 2006; Bushman &  
 39 Huesmann, 2006; Schneider, Lang, Shin, & Bradley,  
 40 2004). As an example of this effect, Ballard and  
 41 Weist (1996) reported an increase in heart rate in  
 42 males while playing *Mortal Kombat* compared to  
 43 playing a billiards video game. They also found that  
 44 systolic blood pressure was increased in participants  
 45 playing a more graphically violent level (i.e., more  
 46 blood) of *Mortal Kombat* compared to a less graph-  
 47 ically violent level or billiards. Increased arousal can  
 48 be associated with greater aggression and hostility  
 49 following exposure to VGV (Anderson & Bushman,  
 50 2001). However, VGV has been found to lead to an  
 51 increase in aggressive behavior even when physio-  
 52 logical arousal is equated in the violent and nonvio-  
 53 lent video game conditions (Anderson et al., 2004).  
 54 This finding is important as it indicates that  
 55 increased arousal is not the cause of the VGV effect  
 56 on aggression.

57 Several attributes of video games have been  
 58 shown to influence physiological arousal. Increases  
 59 in heart rate are observed after playing games with  
 60 greater amounts of blood compared to the same  
 61 game with less blood or no blood (Barlett, Harris,  
 62 & Baldassarro, 2007). Using a light gun rather  
 63 than a standard controller to play a video game also  
 64 produces a greater increase in heart rate (Barlett  
 65 et al., 2008). Similarly, the addition of virtual reality  
 66 to the game increased heart rate compared to play-  
 67 ing the same video game on a computer monitor,  
 68 and this is true for both violent and nonvio-  
 69 lent games (Arriaga et al., 2008). In an interesting  
 70 study, Schneider et al. (2004) demonstrated that the



**Fig. 66.3** The effect video game experience had on proactive, but not reactive, cognitive control collapsing across behavioral and ERP measures of these two type of control. From Bailey et al. (2010) with permission of John Wiley and Sons.

1 presence of a storyline increased skin conductance  
2 levels in four different violent video games relative  
3 to the same games played without a storyline.  
4 Together, these findings lead to the suggestion that  
5 physiological arousal is influenced by the graphic  
6 and immersive nature of video games, as well as the  
7 violent content.

### 8 **Cortical Measures**

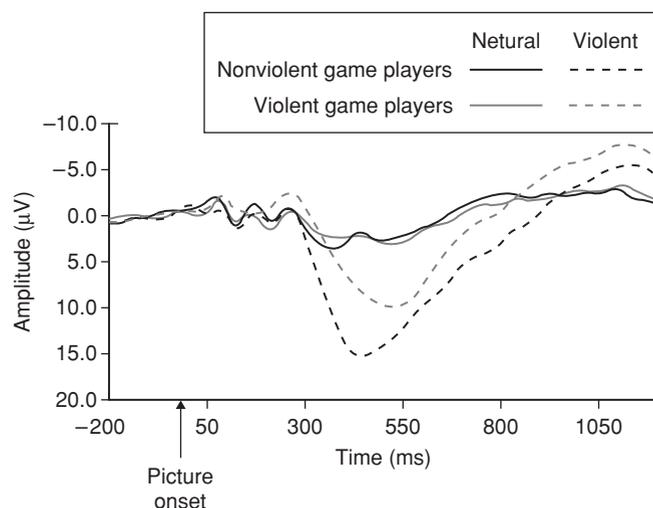
9 Two studies have examined the effects of VGV on  
10 the neural correlates of affective picture processing  
11 using ERPs. Bartholow, Bushman, and Sestir (2006)  
12 examined the influence of individual differences in  
13 exposure to VGV on the negativity bias. The nega-  
14 tivity bias represents an enhanced positivity over  
15 the parietal region of the scalp associated with the  
16 processing of negative images relative to positive  
17 or neutral images that is thought to reflect an  
18 automatic orienting of attention to motivationally  
19 significant information in the environment (Ito,  
20 Larsen, Smith, & Cacioppo, 1998). Based on the  
21 GAM, Bartholow et al. (2006) predicted that the  
22 amplitude of the P3 (i.e., negativity bias) would be  
23 attenuated in VGP's relative to NVGP's for violent  
24 images, resulting from desensitization. In this study  
25 males viewed violent, negative nonviolent, and neu-  
26 tral images. As predicted, an increase in exposure to  
27 VGV was associated with a decrease in the ampli-  
28 tude of the P3 for violent images (Figure 66.4). In  
29 contrast, there was no effect of exposure to VGV on  
30 negative nonviolent images. Based upon these data  
31 the authors concluded that desensitization associ-  
32 ated with exposure to VGV had a relatively selective  
33 effect on the processing of violent images.

34 In an extension of Bartholow et al. (2006),  
35 Bailey, West, and Anderson (2009b) examined the  
36 effects of individual differences in exposure to VGV  
37 on the processing of positive and negative pictures  
38 using ERPs. This comparison was motivated by  
39 work demonstrating that exposure to VGV influ-  
40 ences the processing of both positive and threaten-  
41 ing faces (Kirsh et al., 2006). In this study VGP's  
42 and NVGP's rated neutral, positive, negative nonvi-  
43 olent, and violent images on three dimensions (i.e.,  
44 pleasantness, how threatening, and colorful-  
45 ness; Bailey et al., 2009b). Consistent with the findings  
46 of Bartholow et al. (2006), the amplitude of the  
47 negativity bias was attenuated for violent images in  
48 VGP's relative to NVGP's. Comparison of the ERPs  
49 elicited by positive stimuli revealed a second inter-  
50 esting effect that reflected a modulation of the P3 in  
51 addition to slow wave activity over the occipital-  
52 parietal region of the scalp. In the pleasantness  
53 rating condition this effect distinguished positive  
54 images from neutral images in the NVGP's, and  
55 positive and violent images from neutral images in  
56 the VGP's. In contrast, in the threat rating condition  
57 this effect was not observed in either group. This  
58 finding is consistent with GAM and may indicate  
59 that exposure to VGV results in violent and positive  
60 images taking on similar affective valence.

### 61 **Education Science**

62 One application of video games that may produce  
63 positive outcomes for children is in educational  
64 settings. The popularity of this medium among  
65 young children and adolescents makes video games  
66 a prime vehicle for educational and health-related

**Fig. 66.4** The effect of video game violence on the amplitude of the P3 elicited by violent images, but not negative nonviolent images. Adapted from Bartholow et al. (2006) with permission of Elsevier.



1 messages. Video games may change behavior through  
2 the development of new skills and knowledge struc-  
3 tures leading to the enhancement of self-efficacy  
4 (Baranowski et al., 2008; Lieberman, 2001). To  
5 date, research has investigated the utility of educa-  
6 tional video games in the treatment of cancer (Beale,  
7 Kato, Marin-Bowling, Guthrie, & Cole, 2007;  
8 Kato & Beale, 2006), diabetes (Aoki et al., 2004;  
9 Brown et al., 1997), obesity (Lanningham-Foster  
10 et al., 2006), fetal alcohol syndrome (Padgett,  
11 Strickland, & Coles, 2006), and asthma (McPherson,  
12 Glazebrook, Forster, & Smith, 2006).

13 The management of childhood obesity is one  
14 promising area of investigation. Obesity has become  
15 a major health risk for many children in the  
16 United States. Active video games may be one way  
17 of combating this problem among children who  
18 prefer these media to traditional sports. Supporting  
19 this idea, one study found that the energy expended  
20 while playing games like *Dance Dance Revolution*  
21 is equivalent to that expended during physical activ-  
22 ities like running and playing basketball (Straker &  
23 Abbott, 2007). Therefore, this evidence, coupled  
24 with the increasing popularity of physically interac-  
25 tive games like *Wii Sports* and *Wii Fitness* may rep-  
26 resent a positive front in the battle against childhood  
27 obesity.

## 28 **Implications of Social and** 29 **Cognitive Neuroscience** 30 ***(De)sensitization and Video Games***

31 A curious aspect of the data reviewed in the previ-  
32 ous sections is that exposure to VGV appears to  
33 result in desensitized responses in some contexts  
34 (Bartholow et al., 2006; Carnagey et al., 2007) and  
35 sensitized responses in other contexts (Kirsh et al.,  
36 2006). These findings lead to the natural question  
37 of how opposite effects may arise from the same set  
38 of experiences. An answer to this question may be  
39 found in a consideration of the influence of VGV  
40 on the neural systems that are likely recruited in the  
41 service of these tasks.

42 A number of studies examining the neural basis of  
43 affective information processing have revealed a  
44 modulation of the ERPs (i.e., early posterior negativ-  
45 ity or EPN) over the occipital region of the scalp  
46 beginning around 250 ms after stimulus onset that is  
47 elicited by pictures of stimuli that are “high in evolu-  
48 tionary significance” (e.g., erotica and mutilations)  
49 (Junghöfer, Bradley, Elbert, & Lang, 2001; Schupp,  
50 Junghöfer, Weike, & Hamm, 2003). Most relevant  
51 to the current discussion, the amplitude of the EPN  
52 is greater for images of threatening faces than for

images of neutral or friendly faces (Schupp, et al., 53  
2004). In contrast, threat did not appear to influence 54  
the amplitude of the N170 (Schupp et al., 2004) that 55  
reflects a relatively early stage of face processing sup- 56  
ported by the fusiform gyrus. Based on this finding it 57  
may be that the increased sensitivity to threatening 58  
faces associated with VGV results from enhanced 59  
processing of facial features in higher-level visual 60  
areas that occurs shortly after identification of the 61  
stimulus as a face. The adaptive benefit of this effect 62  
becomes clear within the context of first person 63  
shooter games where the rapid discrimination 64  
between friend and foe has significant survival value. 65

66 Based on data published by Bartholow et al.  
67 (2006) it appears the effects of desensitization  
68 emerge at a stage of information processing that is  
69 later than is reflected by the EPN. Specifically,  
70 Bartholow observed that the amplitude of the P3  
71 component was attenuated in HVGs relative to  
72 LVGs. The cognitive processes reflected by the P3  
73 have been intensively studied over the last 30 years  
74 (Polich, 2007). The P3 is commonly thought to  
75 arise from the engagement of neural processes asso-  
76 ciated with the allocation of attentional or mental  
77 resources to stimulus processing during motivated  
78 decision-making processes (Duncan-Johnson &  
79 Donchin, 1977) that involve dopaminergic modu-  
80 lation of the locus coeruleus-norepinephrine system  
81 (Nieuwenhuis et al., 2004). Based on these ideas  
82 related to the origin of the P3 component it may be  
83 that the desensitizing effect of VGV on the process-  
84 ing of violent images results from a reduction in the  
85 allocation of attention or a decrease in the degree  
86 that these stimuli are deemed motivationally signifi-  
87 cant (Cacioppo et al., 1994; Ito et al., 1998).  
88 Furthermore, together the evidence reviewed in this  
89 and the previous paragraphs leads to the suggestion  
90 that VGV may be associated with the enhancement  
91 of relatively early processing of threatening stimuli  
92 supported by visual association areas, and a reduc-  
93 tion in activation of higher cortical areas associated  
94 with decision making.

## 95 ***Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity***

96 From a public health perspective, one of the more  
97 alarming observations emerging from the literature  
98 is the relationship between video game experience  
99 and ADHD. At an anecdotal level, parents of chil-  
100 dren with ADHD often report that one of the few  
101 activities their child can engage in for an extended  
102 period of time is playing video games. Several recent  
103 findings may call the wisdom of this practice into  
104 question. Bioulac, Arfi, and Bouvard (2008) found

1 that children with ADHD who also reported prob- 53  
2 lem video game playing demonstrated higher levels 54  
3 of disorder-related symptoms, and higher levels of 55  
4 delinquency and aggression. Consistent with this 56  
5 finding, Gentile (2009) found that 8–18 year olds 57  
6 with pathological video game habits reported a 58  
7 higher incidence of diagnosis with ADD or ADHD,  
8 greater difficulty paying attention at school, and  
9 lower grades. Also, recent work by Swing (2008)  
10 indicates that there may be an interaction between  
11 nonpathological variation in impulsivity and hyper-  
12 activity and video game experience when predicting  
13 grade point average. Together these findings reveal  
14 what appears to be a nontrivial relationship between  
15 video game experience and disorders of attention.

16 How might the confluence of video game experi-  
17 ence and ADHD be understood within the context  
18 of what is known about the cognitive neuroscience  
19 of these two domains? As described earlier, exposure  
20 to violent video games may be associated with a dis-  
21 ruption in the ability to recruit neural structures  
22 that support proactive cognitive control (Bailey  
23 et al., 2010). Disruption in the recruitment of these  
24 same structures is often implicated in the behavioral  
25 pathology of individuals with ADHD (Barkley,  
26 1997; Nigg & Casey, 2005) and conduct disorders  
27 (Kronenberger et al., 2005; Mathews et al., 2005).  
28 Together these findings lead to the suggestion that  
29 ADHD in combination with high levels of video  
30 game experience may have a negative synergistic  
31 effect on the neural architecture that supports  
32 cognitive control and self-regulation. Importantly,  
33 other recent evidence demonstrates that playing  
34 strategy-based video games may lead to enhance-  
35 ments in cognitive control (Basak, Boot, Voss, &  
36 Kramer, 2008). This finding then leads to the sug-  
37 gession that directing individuals toward games that  
38 exercise specific executive processes could in fact  
39 lessen, rather than magnify, the effects of ADHD.

## 40 Conclusions

41 Here we have reviewed the literature examining the  
42 effects of video game experience in the domains of  
43 social, cognitive, affective, and education science.  
44 This literature reveals some paradoxical effects  
45 wherein experience with the same types of games  
46 can lead to an increase in aggression, a decrease in  
47 cognitive control, and an increase in visuospatial  
48 abilities. A consideration of the behavioral, neuro-  
49 anatomical, and physiological bases of the effects  
50 of video games leads to the suggestion that expo-  
51 sure to these media is associated with plasticity  
52 within neural networks supporting high level vision,

emotion processing, cognitive control, and social  
decision making. Future investigations focusing on  
within and between domain comparisons using  
behavioral and neuromonitoring techniques are  
likely to provide greater insight into the neural basis  
of the effects of video games.

## References

- Anderson, C. A. & Bushman, B. J. (2001). Effects of violent  
video games on aggressive behavior, aggressive cognition,  
aggressive affect, physiological arousal, and prosocial behav-  
ior: A meta-analytic review of the scientific literature.  
*Psychological Science*, 12, 353–359.
- Anderson, C. A. & Bushman, B. J. (2002). Human aggression.  
*Annual Review of Psychology*, 53, 27–51.
- Anderson, C. A., Carnagey, N. L., Flanagan, M., Benjamin, A. J.,  
Eubanks, J., & Valentine, J. C. (2004). Violent video games:  
Specific effects of violent content on aggressive thoughts and  
behavior. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 36,  
199–249.
- Anderson, C. A., Gentile, D. A., & Buckley, K. E. (2007).  
*Violent videogame effects on children and adolescents: Theory,  
research, and public policy*. New York: Oxford University  
Press.
- Anderson, C. A. & Murphy, C. R. (2003). Violent video games  
and aggressive behavior in young women. *Aggressive behavior*,  
29, 423–429.
- Anderson, C. A., Sakamoto, A., Gentile, D. A., Ihori, N.,  
Shibuya, A., Yukawa, S., et al. (2008). Longitudinal effects of  
violent video games aggression in Japan and the United States.  
*Pediatrics*, 122, e1067–e1072.
- Aoki, N., Ohta, S., Masuda, H., Naito, T., Sawai, T.,  
Nishida, K., et al. (2004). Edutainment tools for initial edu-  
cation of type-1 diabetes mellitus: Initial diabetes education  
with fun. *MEDINFO*, 855–859.
- Arriaga, P., Esteves, F., Carneiro, P., & Monteiro, M. (2008). Are  
the effects of unreal violent video games pronounced when  
playing with a virtual reality system? *Aggressive Behavior*, 34,  
521–538.
- Arriaga, P., Esteves, F., Carneiro, P., & Monteiro, M. (2006).  
Violent computer games and their effects on state hostility  
and physiological arousal. *Aggressive Behavior*, 32, 146–158.
- Bailey, K., West, R., & Anderson, C. A. (2010). A negative asso-  
ciation between video game experience and proactive cogni-  
tive control. *Psychophysiology*, 47, 34–2.
- Bailey, K., West, R., & Anderson, C. A. (2009). The influence of  
video game violence on the processing of positive, negative,  
and violent images. Unpublished data.
- Ballard, M. E. & Wiest, R. (1996). Mortal Kombat: The effects  
of violent videogame play on males' hostility and cardiovas-  
cular responding. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 26,  
717–730.
- Baranowski, T., Buday, R., Thompson, D. I., & Baranowski, J.  
(2008). Playing for real: Video games and stories for health-  
related behavior change. *American Journal of Preventive  
Medicine*, 34, 74–82.
- Barkley, R. A. (1997). *ADHD and the nature of self control*.  
New York: Guilford Press.
- Barlett, C. P., Anderson, C. A., & Swing, E. L. (2009). Video  
game effects confirmed, suspected and speculative: A review  
of the evidence. *Simulation & Gaming*, 40, 377–403.

- 1 Barlett, C. P., Harris, R. J., & Bruey, C. (2008). The effect of  
2 the amount of blood in a violent video game on aggression,  
3 hostility, and arousal. *Journal of Experimental Social*  
4 *Psychology, 44*, 539–546.
- 5 Barlett, C. P., Harris, R. J., & Baldassaro, R. (2007). Longer you  
6 play, the more hostile you feel: Examination of first person  
7 shooter video games and aggression during video game play.  
8 *Aggressive Behavior, 33*, 486–497.
- 9 Bartholow, B. D. & Anderson, C. A. (2002). Effects of violent  
10 video games on aggressive behavior: Potential sex differences.  
11 *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 38*, 283–290.
- 12 Bartholow, B. D., Bushman, B. J., & Sestir, M. A. (2006).  
13 Chronic violent video game exposure and desensitization to  
14 violence: Behavioral and event-related brain potential data.  
15 *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 42*, 532–539.
- 16 Bartholow, B. D., Sestir, M. A., & Davic, E. B. (2005). Correlates  
17 and consequences of exposure to video game violence:  
18 Hostile personality, empathy, and aggressive behavior.  
19 *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31*, 1573–1586.
- 20 Basak, C., Boot, W. R., Voss, M. W., & Kramer, A. F. (2008). Can  
21 training in real-time strategy video game attenuate cognitive  
22 decline in older adults? *Psychology and Aging, 23*, 765–777.
- 23 Beale, I. L., Kato, P. M., Marin-Bowling, V. M., Guthrie, N., &  
24 Cole, S. W. (2007). Improvement in cancer-related knowl-  
25 edge following use of a psychoeducational video game for  
26 adolescents and young adults with cancer. *Journal of*  
27 *Adolescent Health, 41*, 263–270.
- 28 Bioulac, S., Arfi, L., & Bouvard, M. P. (2008). Attention deficit/  
29 hyperactivity disorder and video games: A comparative study  
30 of hyperactive and control children. *European Psychiatry, 23*,  
31 134–141.
- 32 Braver, T. S., Gray, J. R., & Burgess, G. C. (2007). Explaining the  
33 many varieties of working memory variation: Dual mecha-  
34 nisms of cognitive control. In Conway, A. R. A., M. J. Kane,  
35 A. Miyake, & J. Towse (Eds.), *Variation in working memory*  
36 (pp. 76–106). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- 37 Brown, S. J., Lieberman, D. A., Gemeny, B. A., Fan, Y. C.,  
38 Wilson, D. M., & Pasta, D. J. (1997). Educational video  
39 games for juvenile diabetes: Results of a controlled trial.  
40 *Med Informatics, 22*, 77–89.
- 41 Bushman, B. J. & Anderson, C. A. (2002). Violent video  
42 games and hostile expectations: A test of the general aggres-  
43 sion model. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*,  
44 1679–1686.
- 45 Bushman, B. J. & Anderson, C. A. (2008). Comfortably numb:  
46 Desensitizing effects of violent media on helping others.  
47 *Psychological Science.*
- 48 Bushman, B. J. & Huesmann, L. R. (2006). Short-term and  
49 long-term effects of violent media on aggression in children  
50 and adults. *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine,*  
51 *160*, 348–352.
- 52 Cacioppo, J. T., Crites, S. L., Gardner, W. L., & Bernston, G. G.  
53 (1994). Bioelectrical echoes from evaluative categorization:  
54 I. A late positive brain potential that varies as a function of  
55 trait negativity and extremity. *Journal of Personality and Social*  
56 *Psychology, 67*, 115–125.
- 57 Castel, A. D., Pratt, J., & Drummond, E. (2005). The effects  
58 of action video game experience on the time course of  
59 inhibition of return and the efficiency of visual search. *Acta*  
60 *Psychologica, 119*, 217–230.
- 61 Carnagey, N. L. & Anderson, C. A. (2005). The effects of reward  
62 and punishment on violent video games on aggressive affect,  
63 cognition, and behavior. *Psychological Science, 16*, 882–889.
- Carnagey, N. L., Anderson, C.A., & Bushman, B. J. (2007). The  
64 effect of video game violence on physiological desensitization  
65 to real-life violence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology,*  
66 *43*, 489–496.
- Dorval, M. & Pepin, M. (1986). Effect of playing a video game  
68 on a measure of spatial visualization. *Perceptual and Motor*  
69 *Skills, 62*, 159–162.
- Duncan-Johnson, C. C. & Donchin, E. (1977). On quantifying  
71 surprise: The variation in event-related potentials with sub-  
72 jective probability. *Psychophysiology, 14*, 456–467.
- Gentile, D. A. (2009). Pathological video game use among youth  
74 8 to 18: A national study. *Psychological Science, 20*, 594–602.
- Gentile, D. A. & Gentile, J.R. (2008). Video games as exem-  
76 plary teachers: A conceptual analysis. *Journal of Youth and*  
77 *Adolescence, 37*, 127–141.
- Gentile, D. A., Lynch, P. L., Linder, J. R., & Walsh, D. A. (2004).  
79 The effects of violent video game habits on adolescent hostil-  
80 ity, aggressive behaviors, and school performance. *Journal of*  
81 *Adolescence, 27*, 5–22.
- Gopher, D., Weil, M., & Bareket, T. (1994). Transfer of skill  
83 from a computer game trainer to flight. *Human Factors, 36*,  
84 387–405.
- Green, C. S. & Bavelier, D. (2003). Action video game modifies  
86 visual selective attention. *Nature, 423*, 534–537.
- Green, C. S. & Bavelier, D. (2006). Enumeration versus multiple  
88 object tracking: The case of action video game players.  
89 *Cognition, 101*, 217–245.
- Green, C. S. & Bavelier, D. (2007). Action-video-game  
91 experience alters the spatial resolution of vision. *Psychological*  
92 *Science, 18*, 88–94.
- Griffith, J. L., Voloschin, P., Gibb, G. D., & Bailey, J. R. (1983).  
94 Difference in eye-hand motor coordination of video-game  
95 users and non-users. *Perceptual and Motor Skills, 57*, 155–158.
- Hoefl, F., Watson, C. L., Kesler, S. R., Bettinger, K. E., &  
97 Reiss, A. L. (2008). Gender differences in the mesocorti-  
98 colimbic system during computer game-play. *Journal of*  
99 *Psychiatric Research, 42*, 253–258.
- Ito, T. A., Larsen, J. T., Smith, N. K., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1998).  
101 Negative information weighs more heavily on the brain: The  
102 negativity bias in evaluative categorizations. *Journal of*  
103 *Personality and Social Psychology, 75*, 887–900.
- Jones, M. B., Kennedy, R. S., & Bittner, Jr., A. C. (1981).  
105 A video game for performance testing. *The American Journal*  
106 *of Psychology, 94*, 143–152.
- Junghofer, M., Bradley, M. M., Elbert, T. R., & Lang, P. J.  
108 (2001). Fleeting images: A new look at early emotion dis-  
109 crimination. *Psychophysiology, 38*, 175–178.
- Kato, P. M. & Beale, I. L. (2006). Factors affecting acceptabil-  
111 ity to young cancer patients of a psychoeducational video  
112 game about cancer. *Journal of Pediatric Oncology Nursing,*  
113 *23*, 269–275.
- Kirsh, S. J. & Mounts, J. R. W. (2007). Violent video game play  
115 impacts facial emotion recognition. *Aggressive Behavior, 33*,  
116 353–358.
- Kirsh, S. J., Mounts, J. R. W., & Olczak, P. V. (2006). Violent  
118 media consumption and the recognition of dynamic facial  
119 expressions. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 21*, 571–584.
- Kirsh, S. J., Olczak, P. V., & Mounts, J. R. W. (2005). Violent  
121 video games induce an affect processing bias. *Media*  
122 *Psychology, 7*, 239–250.
- Koepp, M. J., Gunn, R. N., Lawrence, A. D., Cunningham, V. J.,  
124 Dagher, A., Jones, T., et al. (1998). Evidence for striatal dop-  
125 amine release during a video game. *Nature, 393*, 266–268.

- 1 Kronenberger, W. G., Matthews, V. P., Dunn, D. W., Wang, Y.,  
2 Wood, E. A., Giauque, A. L., et al. (2005). Media violence  
3 exposure and executive functioning in aggressive and control  
4 adolescents. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 61*, 725–737.
- 5 Lanningham-Foster, L., Jensen, T. B., Foster, R. C.,  
6 Redmond, A. B., Walker, B. A., Heinz, D., et al. (2006).  
7 Energy expenditure of sedentary screen time compared with  
8 active screen time for children. *Pediatrics, 118*, 2535.
- 9 Lenhart, A., Kahne, J., Middaugh, E., Macgill, E. R., Evans, C.,  
10 & Vitak, J. (2008, Sept 16). Teens, video games, and civics.  
11 Washington, DC: Pew Internet & American Life Project.
- 12 Lieberman, D. A. (2001). Management of chronic pediatric  
13 diseases with interactive health games: Theory and  
14 research findings. *Journal of Ambulatory Care Management,*  
15 *24*, 26–38.
- 16 Lintern, G. & Kennedy, R. S. (1984). Video game as a covariate  
17 for carrier landing research. *Perceptual and Motor Skills, 58*,  
18 167–172.
- 19 Mathiak, K. & Weber, R. (2006). Toward brain correlates of  
20 natural behavior: fMRI during violent video games. *Human*  
21 *Brain Mapping, 27*, 948–956.
- 22 Mathews, V. P., Kronenberger, W. G., Wang, Y., Lurito, J. T.,  
23 Lowe, M. J., & Dunn, D. W. (2005). Media violence  
24 exposure and frontal lobe activation measured by functional  
25 magnetic resonance imaging in aggressive and nonaggressive  
26 adolescents. *Journal of Computer Assisted Tomography, 29*,  
27 287–292.
- 28 McPherson, A. C., Glazebrook, C., Forster, D., James, C., &  
29 Smyth, A. (2006). A randomized, controlled trial of an inter-  
30 active educational computer package for children with  
31 asthma. *Pediatrics, 117*, 1046–1054.
- 32 Moller, I. & Krahe, B. (2009). Exposure to violent video games  
33 and aggression in German adolescents: A longitudinal analy-  
34  *Aggressive Behavior, 35*, 75–89.
- 35 Nigg, J. T. & Casey, B. J. (2005). An integrative theory of atten-  
36 tion-deficit/hyperactivity disorder based on the cognitive and  
37 affective neurosciences. *Developmental Psychopathology, 17*,  
38 785–806.
- Padgett, L. S., Strickland, D., & Coles, C. D. (2006). Case  
39 study: Using a virtual reality computer game to teach fire  
40 safety skills to children diagnosed with fetal alcohol  
41 syndrome. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology, 31*, 65–70.
- Polich, J. (2007). Updating P300: An integrative theory of P3a  
43 and P3b. *Clinical Neurophysiology, 118*, 2128–2148. 44
- Rideout, V., Roberts, D. F., & Foehr, U. G. (2005). *Generation*  
45 *M: Media in the lives of 8–18 year-olds*. Menlo Park: The  
46 Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. 47
- Schneider, E. F., Lang, A., Shin, M., & Bradley, S. D.  
48 (2004). Death with a story: How story impacts emotional,  
49 motivational, and physiological responses to first-person  
50 shooter video games. *Human Communication Research, 30*,  
51 361–375. 52
- Schupp, H. T., Junghofer, M., Weike, A. I., & Hamm, A. O.  
53 (2003). Emotional facilitation of sensory processing in the  
54 visual cortex. *Psychological Science, 14*, 7–13. 55
- Schupp, H. T., Ohman, A., Junghofer, M., Weike, A. I.,  
56 Stockburger, J., & Hamm, A. O. (2004). The facilitated  
57 processing of threatening faces: An ERP analysis. *Emotion, 4*,  
58 189–200. 59
- Straker, L. & Abbott, R. (2007). Effect of screen-based media  
60 on energy expenditure and heart rate in 9-to12-year-old  
61 children. *Pediatric Exercise Science, 19*, 459–471. 62
- Swing, E. L. (2008). *Attention abilities, media exposure, school*  
63 *performance, personality, and aggression*. Unpublished master's  
64 thesis, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa. 65
- Trick, L. M. & Pylyshyn, Z. W. (1993). What enumeration  
66 studies can show us about spatial attention: Evidence for  
67 limited capacity preattentive processing. *Journal of Experi-*  
68 *mental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance, 19*,  
69 331–351. 70
- Wallenius, M. & Punamäki, R. (2008). Digital game violence  
71 and direct aggression in adolescence: A longitudinal study  
72 of the roles of sex, age, and parent-child communication,  
73 *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 29*, 286–294. 74
- Yuji, H. (1996). Computer games and information processing  
75 skills. *Perceptual and Motor Skills, 83*, 643–647. 76

