



issues backgrounder

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NSW Parliamentary Library Research Service

Classification of computer games: introduction of an R18+ rating

Introduction

In Australia computer games, along with films and published material, are assigned a classification under the National Classification Scheme. A number of national inquiries have commenced in recent years examining various aspects of Australia's classification system. These reviews broadly aim to reassess the classification system in light of technological changes and the resulting convergence of media forms, changes in the nature of content and changes in the way in which people engage with the forms of media that are subject to classification. Chief among the issues that have been examined is the introduction of a R18+ rating for computer games.

National Classification Scheme

The National Classification Scheme was introduced in 1996 under the [Intergovernmental Agreement on Censorship](#) (IGA) and functions as a cooperative system between the Commonwealth and State and Territory Governments. The IGA provides that the relevant Commonwealth and State and Territory ministers must consider and approve certain changes to the Scheme, including amendments to the Code and Guidelines. In NSW, as in most other States and Territories, censorship is the responsibility of the State Attorney-General. The National Classification Scheme is overseen by the Standing Committee of Attorneys-General (SCAG).

The key piece of national legislation in the Scheme is the [Classification \(Publications, Films and Computer Games\) Act 1995](#) (Cth). The Act establishes two independent statutory bodies: the Classification Board makes classification decisions on relevant material; and the Classification Review Board can review decisions made by the Classification Board. Under the national cooperative censorship scheme, classification is compulsory for films and computer games unless they are exempt under s5B of the Commonwealth Classification Act 1995. The classification scheme requires:

- producers of classifiable products to submit products for classification,
- retailers and distributors of classified products to enforce relevant point of sale age restrictions and adhere to advertising and display requirements, and
- individuals to ensure that certain restricted material is not accessible to minors.

Under s7 of the Commonwealth Classification Act, the Classification Board and the Classification Review Board can currently apply the following classifications:

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

(Source: Australian Government (Attorney-General's Department), [Discussion Paper](#), 2009, p. 2)

Under section 9 of the Commonwealth Classification Act, classifications are to be made according to the [National Classification Code](#) and the [Guidelines for the Classification of Films and Computer Games](#). The National Code and Guidelines constitute classification criteria that are applied in making classification decisions. The National Code sets out the broad principles that classifiers are to give effect to, while the Guidelines provide details as to how principles are to be applied and assessments made in relation to the context, impact and classifiable elements of a given product.

Within the national cooperative scheme, enforcement is provided by State legislation. In NSW, the [Classification \(Publications, Films and Computer Games\) Enforcement Act 1995](#) (NSW) sets out such matters as the conditions for the public exhibition or demonstration, sale or advertising of films, publications or computer games, as well as penalties for relevant offences.

Classification of computer games

Under s5A of the Commonwealth Classification Act, computer games are defined as:

- (1) A... computer program and any associated data capable of generating a display on a computer monitor, television screen, liquid crystal display or similar medium that allows the playing of an interactive game.
- (2) A computer program, data associated with a computer program or a computer program and any associated data that:
 - (a) is capable of generating new elements or additional levels into a game (the **original game**) that is a computer game under subsection (1); and
 - (b) is contained in a device separate from that containing the original game; is also a **computer game**.
- (3) However, a **computer game** does not include an advertisement for a publication, film or computer game.

Under the National Code, computer games are to be Refused Classification (RC) if they:

- (a) depict, express or otherwise deal with matters of sex, drug misuse or addiction, crime, cruelty, violence or revolting or abhorrent phenomena in such a way that they offend against the standards of morality, decency and propriety generally accepted by reasonable adults to the extent that they should not be classified; or
- (b) describe or depict in a way that is likely to cause offence to a reasonable adult, a person who is, or appears to be, a child under 18 (whether the person is engaged in sexual activity or not); or
- (c) promote, incite or instruct in matters of crime or violence; or
- (d) are unsuitable for a minor to see or play.

While sections (a) to (c) apply to both computer games and films, section (d) is a provision which only applies to computer games. The inclusion of this additional condition for computer games effectively results in a lower threshold for refusal of classification to computer games than for films. Hence, a computer game containing material which may have been granted an R18+ rating were it in a film would be refused classification and could not be sold in Australia. As a result, under State enforcement legislation children and adults alike are subject to the prohibition on computer games that are deemed unsuitable for minors.

In the 2009-2010 reporting year the Classification Board refused classification to four computer games, namely, *Aliens vs Predator*, *Left4Dead2*, *Crimecraft* and *Risen*. The reasons for the Classification Board's decisions in relation to these games are

set out at pages 45-46 of the Board's [Annual Report for 2009-2010](#). Another recent [example](#) was the Classification Board's decision to refuse classification to *Mortal Kombat 9* in February 2011, on the ground that it contained excessive levels of violence and was unsuitable for minors to see or play. In the five years prior to 2009-10 between two and five computer games were refused classification each year.

Current inquiries into the regulatory framework for classification in Australia

- [Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs References Committee Review of the National Classification Scheme](#)

On 16 November the Australian Senate referred the Australian film and literature classification scheme to the Legal and Constitutional Affairs References Committee for inquiry. The Inquiry's terms of reference covered a broad range of issues in relation to the classification of films and literature, including the application and enforcement of the scheme and the effectiveness of the Scheme in relation to new media. However, the terms of reference explicitly exempted the issue of the introduction of an R18+ rating for computer games, as this issue was being reviewed by the Commonwealth Attorney General's Department. The Committee's report, titled, [Review of the National Classification Scheme: achieving the right balance](#), was published in June 2011.

- [Australian Law Reform Commission \(ALRC\) National Classification Scheme Review](#)

The Federal Government [referred](#) the National Classification Scheme Review to the ALRC on 24 March 2011. The ALRC is to undertake widespread community, industry and stakeholder consultation to evaluate (among other issues) existing Commonwealth, State and Territory laws, current classification categories, the pace of technological change, and the effect of media on children. In announcing the Review, the Commonwealth Attorney-General, Robert McClelland indicated that the ALRC has been asked to 'develop options for ensuring the system of classification in Australia is able to accommodate developments in technology in light of media convergence and the global availability of media content'. The ALRC released an [issues paper](#) in May 2011, inviting submissions to the Review. The ALRC is due to report its findings to the Commonwealth Attorney-General by 30 January 2012. The Federal Government has also indicated that, as part of the ALRC's review of the Classification Scheme the Government will also be undertaking a [review of the 'refused classification' \(RC\) category](#) – an issue that has arisen in relation to the filtering of RC content by internet service providers.

- [Convergence Review](#)

This is an independent review established by the Federal Government and carried out by the Convergence Review Committee with the aim of examining the policy and regulatory frameworks that apply to converged media and communications in Australia. The Convergence Review Committee issued a [framing paper](#) in April 2011, and an [emerging issues paper](#) in July 2011. The Committee is due to report its findings by March 2012.

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- [House of Representatives billboard and outdoor advertising inquiry](#)

The Federal Government referred an inquiry in relation to the regulation of billboards and outdoor advertising to the House of Representatives Standing Committee for Social Policy and Legal Affairs on 14 December 2010. The Committee report on the inquiry, titled, [Reclaiming Public Space](#), was tabled on 4 July 2011.

- [Joint Select Committee on Cyber-Safety](#)

This Committee was established in September 2010 by the Commonwealth Parliament to examine a range of issues in relation to cyber-safety, including the online environment in which children are engaged, the nature of cyber-safety threats and the opportunities for collaboration across stakeholders. The Committee released an interim report, titled [High-wire act: cyber-safety and the young](#), in June 2011.

Introduction of an R18+ rating for computer games

On 14 December 2009 the Federal Government released a [discussion paper](#) on the issue of introducing an R18+ rating for computer games under the National Classification Scheme and sought submissions on the inclusion of this new classification under the National Classification Scheme.

The discussion paper set out the following key arguments in relation to the possible introduction of the new classification.

Key arguments in support of and opposing introduction of R18+ classification

The key arguments in support of the introduction of an R18+ rating include:

- The introduction of such a rating for computer games would ensure consistency between media categories under the National Classification Scheme, particularly in the context of the convergence of media forms.
- An R18+ rating would aid parents in making decisions about the suitability of content for minors and provide clarity about content to overcome variable use of control devices like parental locks.
- An R18+ rating would enable adults to make choices about legally accessing computer games with adult content while maintaining a prohibition on selling such games to minors.
- The introduction of an R18+ rating would strengthen the integrity of National Classification System: at an international level in bringing the NCS in line with classification systems in other countries which permit an adults only category for computer games, as well as in allowing Australian game developers to compete internationally; domestically in reducing illegal importation and piracy and strengthening the meaningfulness of the RC classification.

The key arguments against the introduction of an R18+ category include:

- The impacts resulting from the interactive and participatory nature of computer games necessitates that they be treated differently to other media forms, like film.
- The introduction of an R18+ rating would enable more games with content that is unsuitable for minors to be brought into the country, and their availability will make them more accessible to minors.

- There is difficulty in enforcing age restrictions, particularly in private settings like homes, once adult only content is available in the home.
- When weighing the risk of harm to minors from exposure to unsuitable content up against the relatively small number of games which are affected by the absence of an R18+ category, the imperative to protect minors from harmful content should outweigh the freedoms of adults to access adult only computer games.

Outcomes of the public consultation and survey

In December 2010 the Federal Government released the [final report](#) on the findings of the public consultation, as well as the results of a [telephone survey](#) on attitudes to the introduction of an R18+ rating. Both processes revealed strong support for the introduction of an R18+ rating for computer games.

- Of 58, 437 submissions received as part of the public consultation 98% (57, 500) supported the introduction of the R18+rating.
- The most commonly supported arguments in the public consultation related to the inconsistency between classification categories of films and computer games, and the removal of restrictions on the civil liberties of adults.
- The telephone survey revealed that 80% of respondents nationally supported the introduction of an R18+ classification for games. However, there were variations in the views of different age groups surveyed. The key reasons for supporting the introduction of an R18+ rating among those in the 50+ year age group included the link between violent games and violent behaviour and concerns about preventing children from accessing unsuitable material. By contrast the key reasons for supporting the introduction of an R18+ rating among those aged between 16 and 24 were the ability of adults to access games that were available in other countries and unsuitability of content for children.

Release of draft Guidelines for R18+ Computer Games

On 25 May 2011 the Federal Minister for Justice, Brendan O'Connor, [announced](#) the public release of draft [Guidelines for the Classification of Computer Games](#). The draft guidelines had been considered by Classification Ministers at a [SCAG](#) meeting in March 2011, and following their release were opened for public comment until 15 July 2011.

Positions of Commonwealth and Australian State and Territory Governments

Coinciding with the release of the results of the public consultation and telephone survey in December 2010, the Federal Government [announced](#) its decision to support the introduction of an R18+ rating for computer games. The Federal Minister for Home Affairs [stated](#) that in making a decision on the introduction of the new classification there was a need to balance the imperatives of protecting young people from adverse impacts and ensuring that adults are permitted to choose the games they play.

Following years of debate amongst Australian jurisdictions regarding the classification of computer games, on 22 July 2011 the [SCAG](#) declared that there was in-principle support among most Australian States and Territories for the introduction

of an R18+ rating for computer games. While NSW Attorney-General, Greg Smith, abstained from the proposal at the SCAG meeting, the NSW Government subsequently [declared](#) its support for the introduction of an R18+ rating on 10 August 2011.

As the Federal Minister for Home Affairs has [explained](#), the introduction of an R18+ classification could result in some games which are currently classified as MA15+ being reclassified as R18+. At the same time, the RC (refused classification) category would remain for games with, for example, gratuitous, exploitative or offensive depictions of sexual violence.

The South Australian Government has [declared](#) its intention to collapse the MA15+ classification for computer games into the R18+ rating, to ensure that violent computer games will only be available to adults.

NSW Parliamentary material and commentary by members of the NSW Parliament

Hon Greg Smith (NSW Attorney-General), ['NSW gives in-principle support to R18+ game rating'](#), media release, 10 August 2011.

[Computer games classification](#), Speaker: Hon Greg Donnelly, Hansard, Legislative Council, 5 August 2011.

[Computer games classification](#), Speaker: Hon Greg Donnelly, Hansard, Legislative Council, 2 December 2010.

Rev the Hon F Nile, [Fred Nile condemns new violent video classification R18+](#), media release, 12 August 2011.

D Shoebridge, [Smith: grow up on R18+ rating](#), media release, 22 July 2011.

[Computer games R18+ rating](#), Speakers: Rev the Hon Fred Nile, Hon John Hatzistergos, Hansard, Legislative Council, 28 February 2008.

[Classification \(Publications, Films and Computer Games\) Enforcement Amendment \(Uniform Classification\) Bill](#), Speakers: Hon John Hatzistergos, Hon Greg Pearce, Hon Arthur Chesterfield-Evans, Hansard, Legislative Council, 26 October 2004.

B Debus (NSW Attorney-General), [Classification \(Publications, Films and Computer Games\) Enforcement Amendment \(Uniform Classification\) Bill](#), Second Reading Speech, Hansard, Legislative Assembly, 16 September 2004.

Legislative Council Standing Committee on Social Issues, [Safety net? Inquiry into the Classification \(Publications, Films, and Computer Games\) Enforcement Bill 2001](#), Parliamentary Paper No. 89, 2002.

J Hannaford (NSW Attorney-General), *X and R rated computer games banned in NSW*, 13 May 1994. (hardcopy available in the library)

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Material from the Commonwealth and other Australian States and Territories

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Office of Film and Literature Classification, *A review of the classification guidelines for films and computer games: discussion paper*, 2001 (hardcopy available in library)

K Jackson, [Censorship and classification in Australia](#), E-brief, 19 October 2001, Commonwealth Parliamentary Library, 2001.

W Jarred, [Violence in the mass media: are there negative consequences?](#), Research Bulletin No. 4/01, Queensland Parliamentary Library, 2001.

K Durkin and K Aisbett, [Computer games and Australians today](#), (report prepared for the Office of Film and Literature Classification), 1999.

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Office of Film and Literature Classification, *Report on public submissions on draft Computer Games Classification Guidelines*, 1993. (hardcopy available in the library)

Senate Select Committee on Community Standards Relevant to the Supply of Services Utilising Electronic Technologies, *Report on Video and Computer Games and Classification Issues*, 1993.¹

¹[http://www.ag.gov.au/www/agd/rwpattach.nsf/VAP/\(CFD7369FCAE9B8F32F341DBE097801FF\)~CPB+-+Video+and+Computer+Games+Classification+Issues+\(October+1993\)+-+Parl+Committee+Reports257930.pdf/\\$file/CPB+-](http://www.ag.gov.au/www/agd/rwpattach.nsf/VAP/(CFD7369FCAE9B8F32F341DBE097801FF)~CPB+-+Video+and+Computer+Games+Classification+Issues+(October+1993)+-+Parl+Committee+Reports257930.pdf/$file/CPB+-)

Senate Select Committee on Community Standards Relevant to the Supply of Services Utilising Electronic Technologies, *Report on Overseas Sourced Audiotex Services, Video and Computer Games and R-Rated Material on Pay TV*, 1994.²

Key interest groups

The following list is largely based on the information provided in Figures 27 and 28 of the Commonwealth Attorney-General's [Final Report On the Public Consultation on the Possible Introduction of an R 18+ Classification for Computer Games](#), indicating organisations that made [submissions](#) as part of the public consultation process.

Organisations in favour of R18+ classification
Australian Catholic Bishops Conference
Australian Computer Society
Australian Democrats (ACT Division)
Australian Interactive Media Industry Association
Centre for New Media Research and Education, Bond University
Civil Liberties Australia
Communications, Entertainment and Technology Law Committee of NSW Young Lawyers
Electronic Frontiers Australia and AusGamers
Fox Interactive Media Australia
Game Developers' Association of Australia
Interactive Games & Entertainment Association Ltd
Media Classifiers' Association of Australia
PAL Gaming Network and EveryonePlays
Save our Souls Gaming Clan
Telstra
The Older Gamers
Watch on Censorship
XLAN Inc

Organisations opposed to R18+ classification
Australian Christian Lobby
Australian Council on Children and the Media (Young Media Australia)
Australian Family Association (Western Australian Branch)
Catholic Women's League Australia
Commissioners for Children and Young People and Child Guardians (Qld, ACT, SA, WA, Tasmania, NSW, Vic, NT)
Endeavour Forum (Inc)
FamilyVoice Australia
Media Standards Australia
Presbyterian Church of Australia
Sporting Shooters' Association of Australia, Inc
Women's Health Victoria

+Video+and+Computer+Games+Classification+Issues+(October+1993)+-
+Parl+Committee+Reports257930.pdf

²[http://www.ag.gov.au/www/agd/rwpattach.nsf/VAP/\(CFD7369FCAE9B8F32F341DBE097801FF\)~CPB+-+Overseas+Sourced+Audiotex+Services,+Video+and+Computer+Games,+R-Rated+-+Parl+Committee+Reports257928.pdf/\\$file/CPB+-+Overseas+Sourced+Audiotex+Services,+Video+and+Computer+Games,+R-Rated+-+Parl+Committee+Reports257928.pdf](http://www.ag.gov.au/www/agd/rwpattach.nsf/VAP/(CFD7369FCAE9B8F32F341DBE097801FF)~CPB+-+Overseas+Sourced+Audiotex+Services,+Video+and+Computer+Games,+R-Rated+-+Parl+Committee+Reports257928.pdf/$file/CPB+-+Overseas+Sourced+Audiotex+Services,+Video+and+Computer+Games,+R-Rated+-+Parl+Committee+Reports257928.pdf)

Select overseas jurisdictions: regulation of computer games

One of the key issues to emerge from the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department's public consultation on the introduction of an R18+ rating was the lack of parity between Australia's classification scheme and international classification schemes. As the Department [stated](#):

Australia is unique among developed countries that have a classification scheme for computer games (either government regulated or industry self-regulated) because it does not have a classification category that is restricted to adults.

Country/Region	* Classification of computer games (regulating body, nature of system, adult rating category)
Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Pan European Game Information system (PEGI) was launched in 2003 and is used in 30 countries across Europe (Austria, Denmark, Hungary, Latvia, Norway, Slovenia, Belgium, Estonia, Iceland, Lithuania, Poland, Spain, Bulgaria, Finland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal, Sweden, Cyprus, France, Israel, Malta, Romania, Switzerland, Czech Republic, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Slovak Republic and the United Kingdom). • Voluntary industry-based rating system • Provides an 18+ classification for computer games
USA and Canada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Entertainment Software Ratings Board (ESRB) • Voluntary industry-based rating system • Includes an 'Adults Only' category applicable to content that is only to be played by those aged over 18 years of age.
Japan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Computer Entertainment Rating Organisation (CERO) for console games and the Ethics Organisation for Computer Software (EOCS) for PC games • Industry-based rating systems • Both systems include a rating for content that is only suitable for those aged over 18 years (currently 'CERO Z' and EOCS '18')
Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Entertainment Software Self-Regulation Body (USK), (games that exceed the USK 18 criteria are sent to the Federal Department for Media Harmful to Young Persons (BPjM) for further ruling as to whether they can be sold in Germany). • The classification procedure is organised by the USK, a body established by the computer games industry. However age ratings are issued by relevant state authorities in accordance with German law. From 2011 the USK has also established a procedure for the classification of online games without state involvement. • 'USK 18' for computer games restricted to those over 18 years of age
South Korea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Game Rating Board • Government regulated classification system • '18+' rating for computer games restricted to those over 18 years.
New Zealand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Office of Film and Literature Classification • Government regulated classification system • 'R18' rating for computer games restricted to those over 18 years of

	age.
Singapore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media Development Authority • Government regulated classification system • 'M18' category restricts computer games to those aged 18 years and over.
Hong Kong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Television and Entertainment Licensing Authority (TELA) • Voluntary government regulated classification system • Arcade licenses issued by TELA impose special conditions for the installation of machines with games that are classified by the Obscene Article Tribunal (OAT) as indecent and not suitable for persons under 18 years.
South Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Film and Publication Board • Statutory body classifies computer games • '18' category for computer games restricted to persons aged 18 and over.

(Key Sources: Australian Government (Attorney-General's Department), [Discussion Paper](#), 2009, p. 12; J Brand, [A comparative analysis of ratings, classification and censorship in selected countries around the world](#), 2003)

* Please note that there may be variations in the content that is permissible within the adult rating under each of the classification systems listed above. Adult ratings in other countries may not be directly comparable with the proposed R18+ rating for computer games in Australia.

Relevant academic literature

For a review of academic literature relating to the impacts of violent video games on aggression see the results of a [literature review](#) carried out by the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department (AGD), [released](#) in December 2010. See also the [libertus.net](#) compilation of studies and research on media effects. Other relevant academic articles not contained in the AGD literature review include the following.

J Lipton, ['Violent video games and the first amendment'](#), *Australian Law Journal*, vl. 85, no. 9, 2011

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M Miller, ['Exploring the relationship between video game ratings implementation and changes in game content as represented by gaming magazines'](#), *Politics and Policy*, vl. 38, no. 4, 2010.

L Kutner et al., ['Parents' and sons' perspectives on video game play: a qualitative study'](#), *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 23:76, 2008.

G Porter and V Starcevic, ['Are violent video games harmful?'](#), *Australasian Psychiatry*, vl. 15, no. 5, 2007.

P Kearney and M Pivec, '[Sex, lies and video games](#)', *British Journal of Educational Technology*, vl. 38, no. 3, 2007.

P Nikken et al., '[Parents interest in video-game ratings and content descriptors in relation to game mediation](#)', *European Journal of Communication*, vl. 22:315, 2007.

K Thompson et al, '[Content and ratings of mature-rated video games](#)', *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine*, vl. 160, April 2006.

R Rabkin, '[Do kids need government censors?](#)', *Policy Review*, February and March 2002.

D Walsh and D Gentile, '[A validity test of movie, television and video game ratings](#)', *Pediatrics*, vl. 107 (6), 2001.

T Dwyer and S Stockbridge, '[Putting violence to work in new media policies: trends in Australian internet, computer game and video regulation](#)', *New Media & Society*, 1:227, 1999.

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M Dapin, '[In the firing line](#)', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Good Weekend, 20 August 2011.

M Woods, '[Rating games, suing for privacy](#)', *The National Interest*, ABC Radio National, 19 August 2011.

ABC News, '[Governments agree on R18+ games rating](#)', 22 July 2011

AAP, '[WA politicians rail against R18+ video games](#)', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 July 2011.

M McKenna, '[A-G backs R18+ games rating](#)', *The Australian*, 20 July 2011.

M McKenna, '[Paul Lucas backs R18+ games rating](#)', *The Australian*, 20 July 2011.

AAP, '[SA supports R18+ games but only if MA15+ is scrapped](#)', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 April 2011.

ABC News, '[ACT moves on classifying R18+ video games](#)', 29 April 2011.

M Fyfe, '[Videos, games to fly under board's radar](#)', *The Sun-Herald*, 3 April 2011.

M Fyfe, '[Video games reform rebuffed over violence fears](#)', *The Age*, 2 April 2011.

ABC News, '[Government threatens R-rating games showdown](#)', 17 March 2011

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E Duff, ['Declare 'game over' on video'](#), *The Sun-Herald*, 14 March 2010.

Overseas material

United Kingdom

[The UK Council for Child Internet Safety](#) (UKCCIS)

T Byron, [Do we have safer children in a digital world? A review of progress since the 2008 Byron Review](#), March 2010

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Department for Culture, Media and Sport, [Government response to a consultation on options for a strengthened video games classification system](#), June 2009.

Department for Culture, Media and Sport, [New system of video games classification will help protect children – PEGI system adopted for all UK games](#), media release, June 2009.

New Zealand

D Wilson, ['Censorship in New Zealand: the policy challenges of new technology'](#), *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, Issue 19, December 2002.

United States

R Barnes, ['Supreme Court strikes Calif. law banning sale of violent video games to minors'](#), *The Washington Post*, 28 June 2011.

[Edmund G. Brown, Jr., Governor of California, et al, Petitioners v. Entertainment Merchants Association et al.](#), Supreme Court of the United States, No. 08-1448, decided 27 June 2011.

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