

# VIOLENCE SOCIALIZATION AND APPROVAL OF VIOLENCE: A WORLD PERSPECTIVE ON GENDER DIFFERENCES AND AMERICAN VIOLENCE\*

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## VIOLENCE SOCIALIZATION AND APPROVAL OF VIOLENCE: A WORLD PERSPECTIVE ON GENDER DIFFERENCES AND AMERICAN VIOLENCE

### Abstract

This paper examines whether American predominance among industrialized nations in homicide rates also applies to two other aspects of violence: violence socialization experienced and norms approving violence. The paper also considers gender differences in these aspects of violence. Data are from the International Dating Violence Study which was obtained through convenience samples of university students in 32 nations (N = 17,404). Results show that U.S. students are above the median of the 32 nations for within-family violence socialization and non-family violence socialization. However, for Violence Approval, the U.S. students are close to the median; and on approval of sexual aggression, the U.S. is in the lowest quartile. Thus, the U.S. is generally high in violent socialization, but paradoxically, typically near or below the median in Violence Approval. Gender comparisons reveal that men scored higher on the Violence Socialization scale and subscales and the Violence Approval scale and subscales. Nevertheless, nations that are high in violence socialization of men also are high for women ( $r = .78$ ), and nations that are high in Violence Approval by men also are high for women ( $r = .93$ ). Both violence socialization and violence approval decrease with the level of national economic development. Implications for violence prevention are discussed.

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The United States is often considered one of the most violent of advanced, industrial societies. This judgment is usually made because the U.S. homicide death rate is much higher than similarly developed nations. World Health Organization data (WHO 2002, Table A.8) show that the U.S. rate of 6.9 per 100,000 population is over five times higher than Canada's 1.4 per 110K, and higher than many Western European nations such as Germany (0.9), the Netherlands (1.3), Switzerland (1.1), Sweden (1.2), and the United Kingdom (0.8). Even the rates for some less developed countries are lower (1.0 in Hong Kong, 2.6 in Hungary). But there are reasons to examine the issue of U.S. primacy in violence in more detail. The US aggravated *assault* rate of 318 exceeds the Canadian rate by a factor of two, not five, and the US assault rate is much lower than in many developed nations, such as Belgium (553), Sweden (667) and Australia (737) (Winslow, Zhang, 2008, P. 325, Table 9-2). Other studies show a mixed picture. For example, Junger-Tas, Marshall and Ribeaud (2003: 49) found higher rates of violent juvenile delinquency in a U.S. city (Omaha) than in several European cities and European national samples, but lower than in other European sites. Another possibility is that the perception of the U.S. as a highly violent society reflects a greater cultural acceptance of violence more than differences in actual violent behavior. Finally, national differences in crime, as measured by official statistics, may reflect differences in the criteria for recording crime rather than differences in actual perpetration rates.

The objective of this article is to provide further information on how the U.S. compares to other nations in respect to socialization experiences which could increase the probability of violence, and the degree to which there is approval of certain types of interpersonal violence. We do this by comparing American university students with students in other nations. Specifically, we provide data on the extent to which students in 32 national settings have been exposed to behaviors and beliefs which constitute violence socialization, such as being hit a lot by parents; and data on the extent to which university students have attitudes approving violence, such as believing that a man should not walk away from a physical fight with another man. These national context comparisons can increase understanding of American violence by examining life experiences and attitudes which presumably influence perpetration of violence.

Men are typically more violent than women in most cultural contexts. Official statistics show that, the world over, men predominate in violent crime (Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter, & Silva, 2001; Straus & Dawson, 2005). This article provides data on similarities and differences between women and men in rates of violence socialization and approval of interpersonal violence. The theoretical importance of this aspect of the study is that if it reveals that males experience more violence socialization and have

attitudes that are more favorable to interpersonal violence than women, it would help explain male predominance in violent criminal behavior. On the basis of both theory and previous empirical research we hypothesized that women experience lower levels of violence socialization and are less approving of violence, and that this tends to apply world-wide.

Although we tested the theory that women experience less violence socialization and are less approving of violence, and the theory that despite these gender differences, national differences in violence socialization and Violence Approval by men and women are highly correlated, this paper is primarily descriptive. This is because we believe an understanding of violence in different nations is aided by beginning with a knowledge of the pervasiveness of violence and of etiological conditions such as violence socialization and the degree to which there are social norms approving or accepting various types of violence. A future paper will use the data on violence socialization and violence approval to test the theory that these two phenomena are part of the explanation for national differences in the prevalence of violent crime.

### **VIOLENCE SOCIALIZATION**

The importance of early childhood experiences on violence and criminal behavior later in life has been well documented. For example, Schwartz, Dodge, Pettit and Bates (1997) found that aggressive and delinquent children are more likely than other children to have been exposed to violence within the home. There are many other such studies, (for example Farrington, 2002; Hawkings et al., 2000; Magdol, Moffitt, Caspi, & Silva, 1998; Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter, & Silva, 2001; Stouthamer-Loeber, Loeber, Wei, Farrington, & Wikstrom, 2002; Tremblay, 2003), and a study which found that childhood violence socialization is related to approval of violence as an adult (Owens, Straus 1975).

We consider two dimensions of Violence Approval: within-family violence, non-family because the gender differences and national context differences may not be the same for these two dimensions

#### **Gender Differences**

There is a vast literature documenting differences in the socialization of boys and girls both within the United States and internationally (e.g. (Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter, & Silva, 2001); Tu and Liaa of China?? and Shimony's (2005) research in Israel). Gender differences in violence socialization start early in life. Many studies show that parents are more likely to spank do it more often with boys (Newsom & Newsom, 1976: Table 37; Straus, 2001; Straus and Stewart 1999). The phrase, "boys will be boys" reflects a greater cultural acceptance of violence by males than females early in life. Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957: 253) found not only a greater tolerance of boys' aggression but a greater expectation of aggression by boys. Indeed, many fathers have explicitly "trained" their sons in violence through their rough, aggressive and competitive play (see Henry, 1963).

#### **National Context Differences**

Societies vary not only in terms of the levels of violence present, but also in attitudes and beliefs about violence by children and violence in childrearing. Following Elias (1978) and Eisner (2003), we assume a world-wide "civilizing process" -- that as societies become more developed, the rule of law becomes more and more accepted as the means of resolving disputes, and violence becomes less acceptable. To take one of hundreds of examples, duels are no longer an accepted and honorable method of resolving disputes. This in turn means less exposure of children to violence and less use of violence in child rearing. The results we present assess where the U.S. ranks in respect to violence socialization compared to more and less developed societies.

### **APPROVAL OF VIOLENCE**

We present data on three dimensions of Violence Approval: within-family violence, male violence and sexual violence. This permits examining approval of types of violence that may be interwoven with gender role attitudes and the status of women.

#### **Gender Differences**

There is a consistent pattern showing that males have much higher rates of perpetrating violent crimes known to the police (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996; Steffensmeier, Schwartz, Zhong, & Ackerman, 2005) This also applies to the results of self-report crime surveys (Dawson, Straus, & Fauchier, 2007). However, the pattern of gender difference in *approval* of violence is less clear. Two

comprehensive but dated studies (Blumenthal, Kahn, Andrews, Head, 1972; Blumenthal, Chadiha, Cole, Jayarante, 1975) found gender differences for some, but not all types of Violence Approval. For example, men more frequently approved of violent political protest behaviors but the gender differences were small. There was no statistically significant gender difference in approval of approval violence for social control.

### **National Context Differences**

As with violence socialization, we expect that approval of violence is less prevalent in more developed nations. However, given the different nature of family violence, male violence, and sexual violence, we expect somewhat different patterns for the three dimensions measured. For example, family violence may be less linked to socio-economic development given its location within the private domain of the home, whereas sexual violence and male violence could be more highly linked to socioeconomic development which is generally accompanied by gains in the status of women.

## **METHOD**

### **The International Dating Violence Study**

The research reported in this paper is part of the International Dating Violence Study. Data were obtained from convenience samples at 68 universities in 32 nations in all major world regions by a consortium of researchers. The regional coverage includes two nations in sub-Saharan Africa, seven in Asia, 13 in Europe, four in Latin America, two in the Middle East, two in North America, and two in Oceania. Each consortium member used the same core questionnaire. The final section was reserved for each member to add questions about issues of specific local or theoretical interest. A detailed description of the study, including the questionnaire and all other key documents, and previous publications, is available at <http://pubpages.unh.edu/~mas2>.

**Questionnaire Administration.** The data were gathered in each nation, using procedures for protection of human subjects reviewed and approved by each of the universities in the study. The purpose of the study and the right to refuse to participate were explained to all students. They were assured of anonymity and confidentiality, and given a debriefing form that explained the study in more detail. The students were also provided contact information for area social service agencies should they need assistance. To respect the privacy and the voluntary nature of participation, the instructions emphasized that participation was not required and that they should turn in a blank questionnaire if they desired. At 60 of the 68 universities, the questionnaires were completed during a class period. The mean participation rate for universities where the questionnaires were completed in class was 83.4%. For the eight universities where the questionnaire was completed outside of class, the participation rate was 36.1%. For all universities, the mean participation rate was 79.6% (range 17.59% to 100%).

**Sample Size and Characteristics.** A total of 21,165 questionnaires were received. Of these, 2,289 had many unanswered questions and were dropped from the study. The data were then checked for aberrant responses, such as reporting an injury, but not reporting that an assault had taken place, and implausible responses such as reporting ten or more instances of attacks with a knife or gun in the previous 12 months. Based on these criteria, 7.8% were coded as having questionable data and removed from the sample, resulting in a sample of 17,404 (5,207 males; 12,197 females). Missing data was replaced by imputed values using the procedures described in Medeiros (2007) that can be downloaded from <http://pubpages.unh.edu/~mas2>. Seventy percent of the students were female because the questionnaires were administered in social science courses that tend to have a large percentage of female students. Because this study is focused on issues in which gender differences are crucial, the analyses were conducted separately for male and female students. Students' ages ranged from 18 to 40, with a mean of 23.3. The means for each national context varied from 19.8 to 34.0. The mean of 34 was for one site where the questionnaire was administered in a school of social work.

### **Measures**

Violence socialization and violence approval were measured by scales from the Personal And Relationships Profile (PRP) (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1999 (Revised 2007); Straus & Mouradian, 1999). The response categories for all scales are (1) Strongly Disagree, (2) Disagree, (3) Agree, and (4) Strongly Agree. For the individual items in these scales, the percent of

students who Agreed or Strongly Agreed is presented below. When the descriptive statistic is for a composite scale or sub-scale, the statistic shown is the average percent of scale items that men and women in each national context agreed or strongly agreed with the items in the scale. For example, a scale score of 58 for the students in a specific national context means that, on average, the students in that nation agreed with 58% of the items in the scale.

**Violence socialization.** The Violence Socialization scale consists of eight questions, five of which are about within family experiences, such as corporal punishment, and three are about non-family experiences such as being a victim of violence by a non-family member (see Table 1 for exact item wording). The alpha coefficients of reliability are .72 for both the males and females in this study. The exact item wording is given in Table 1.

**Violence Approval.** The Violence Approval scale consists of ten items, four of which are about approval of violence within the family, such as a husband slapping his wife's face, two about stereotypical male violence such as a man should not walk away from a fight, and three are about sexual aggression, such as whether there are circumstances when it would be acceptable for a man to force his wife to have sex (see Table 5 for exact item wording). The alpha coefficients of reliability are .71 for males and .72 for females in this study.

### **Validity Of Data**

The data quality control procedures described above were intended to remove cases of questionable validity. However, even if all students had responded accurately, the use of a convenience sample means that results describe what was found for the students in those classes in each country and cannot be taken as representative of the nation, or even of students in general. Fortunately, there is evidence that the behavior and beliefs of these students reflects the national context in which the students live. Analyses of the degree of correspondence between seven concepts as measured by the International Dating Violence Study and as measured by studies using representative samples found correlations that ranged from .43 to a high of -.69 (Straus, 2007b). For example, the current study contains three questions on corporal punishment by parents. The correlations of these three questions with a measure of the extent to which corporal punishment is legal in 29 of the 32 nations in this study was .50 for the question on whether the students believed that it is sometimes necessary to give a child a good had spanking, .37 for indicating that they had been spanked or hit a lot before age 12, and .33 for the question asking whether they had been hit a lot by their parents as a teenager. The highest correlation (-.69) was found for the relationship of male dominance in dating relationships as reported by students in this study to the score for these 32 nations on Gender Empowerment index published by the United Nations Development Program (2005). This correlation is very high considering how different the measures are: reports of students about the behavior of their parents and their own behavior in a dating relationships and national government statistics such as the percent of female members of the national legislature.

These correlations provide evidence of concurrent validity despite the use of convenience samples. We suggest that these validity coefficients occur despite the large differences in the measures and despite the convenience samples because they reflect the fact that each "national context" exerts an influence on residents of that nation. Thus, the students in each of the 32 nations, while not representative of the nation, were mostly born, socialized, and are living their lives under the influence of their different national cultural and social contexts. Nevertheless, the statistics to be presented are only rough guides, and it almost certain that some are not correct and that it is best to limited use of the data to identifying the approximate place in the distribution of national contexts such as whether the U.S. is located; for example "near the median" or "among the top quarter of nations" or tends to rank higher or lower than other advanced industrial nations.

### **Data Analysis Methods**

Because a major purpose of the paper is to describe how the U.S. compares with other nations in violence socialization and Violence Approval, we present a series of descriptive tables. The first table in each section shows the mean score for men and women on each of the scales and sub-scales and the correlation of male and female students across nations. This is followed by tables showing the rank order of the 32 nations on each scale and subscale. Each of these tables the data for the U.S. is identified by a box, and the box is shaded if there is a statistically significant gender

differences. Additionally, to aid in evaluating the rank orders, a line is drawn at the median of each table.

## RESULTS ON VIOLENCE SOCIALIZATION

(Insert Table 1 about here)

The first row of Table 1 shows that, on average, male students in this study had experienced 31% of the eight items in the Violence Socialization scale, compared to 22.2% of the items for the female students. The correlation of .78 shows that, despite the higher percent of men who experienced these aspects of violence socialization, in national contexts where men were high in violence socialization relative to men in other national contexts, women were generally also high relative to women in other national contexts.

### Gender and Within-Family Violence socialization

The Within-Family row of Table 1 shows that male students have a somewhat higher rate of experiencing within-family violence. Turning to the specific items in the Within-Family Violence Socialization scale, the percent of men who had these violent experiences was greater than the percent of women for four of the five items. Specifically, more male than female students were spanked or hit a lot before age 12 and also as a teen-ager, more had witnessed violence between a family member other than their parents, and more men were advised to hit back if someone hit them. Still, even on this prototypical male behavior, one out of five of the women in this study were told to hit back. The one item where the percentage was almost identical was witnessing violence between parents: about 13% of both male female students had seen this happen. The lack of gender difference on this item is consistent with the fact that it refers to behavior between the parents, not behavior directed at the student.

### Gender and Non-Family Violence socialization

The row in Table 1 for the Non-Family Violence socialization scale shows that a much higher percent of male students experienced each of the three items in this scale (16.3 percentage points higher, which is a 55% higher score for males). Nevertheless, the correlation column shows that in national contexts where men have high scores on non-family violence socialization relative to men in other nations, so do women relative to women in other nations. The greatest gender difference is on the item: "When I was a kid, people (adults or kids) who were *not part of my family* pushed, shoved or slapped me, or threw things at me." This is consistent with the many studies, such as the National Crime Victimization Survey which consistently shows higher rates of violent victimization for men than women, with the important exception of rape/sexual assault (see, for example, Taylor, 1997). The largest gender difference in non-family violence socialization is the much greater percent of men (51.1%) than women (30.8%) who reported that a non-family member advised them to "Hit back if someone hit me or insulted me."

### Rank Order Of Nations In Violence Socialization

Table 2 shows the 32 national settings in rank order of the average percent of Violence Socialization scale score items male and female students reported experiencing. This permits examining where the USA ranks relative to students in the other 31 national settings, and also permits examining gender differences in rank order and gender differences for the U.S. sample.

(Insert Table 2 About Here)

**Overall Violence Socialization Scale.** The first column of Table 2 shows that, although there are huge differences between national settings, there do not appear to be clear patterns for the industrialized world versus the developing nations. Mexico, South Africa, and Tanzania do top the list, but Great Britain and the U.S. are not far behind. Nevertheless, the five national settings with the lowest rate of violence socialization (Sweden, Hungary, Japan, Switzerland, and Singapore) are all among the developed nations.

**The U.S. Context.** As just noted, the U.S. has a very high rate of violence socialization relative to other national contexts. Men in the U.S. samples rank fifth from the top of the 32 nations and women rank eighth. On average, U.S. men agreed with 35 percent of the violence socialization items, while women agreed with 25%. The shaded boxes indicate that this is a significant difference.

**Within-Family And Non-Family Violence socialization.** The center columns of Table 2 show that the rank order and gender difference for within-family violence socialization are almost

identical to the results for the overall Violence Socialization Scale. However, for the right hand columns on Non-Family Violence Socialization the U.S. does not rank quite as for Within-Family Violence Socialization -- 7<sup>th</sup> rather than 5<sup>th</sup> for men, and 12<sup>th</sup> rather than 8<sup>th</sup> for women. Nevertheless, both the U.S. men and women are above the median of the 32 nations in non-family violence socialization. Finally, the difference between U.S. men and women in non-family violence socialization is greater than the gender difference in the overall scale or the within-family Violence Socialization scale. This is consistent with a tendency in all 32 national settings for the gender differences to be smaller for within-family violence socialization than for non-family violence socialization.

### **Within-Family Violence Socialization Items**

(Insert Table 3 about here)

Although composite scales usually provide a better assessment of a concept, they can also hide important differences in the facets of the concept measured by each item in the scale. Tables 3 and 4 therefore show each of the items making up the Violence Socialization Scale.

**Corporal Punishment.** The first two columns of Table 3 show tremendous differences between national settings in the percent of students who recalled a large amount of corporal punishment as a child and as a teen-ager. The median national setting rate for corporal punishment of children below age 12 is 19% for male children and 16% for female children. Moreover, these figures probably underestimate the prevalence of corporal punishment because the item asked about being spanked or hit "a lot," and because it asked about "before age 12," which, at least in the U.S. is well beyond the peak ages for corporal punishment of age 2 to 5 (Straus & Stewart, 1999). The U.S. is the tenth ranking nation in corporal punishment of male children and the eighth highest in corporal punishment of female children. Although the percent of U.S. boys who experienced a lot of corporal punishment is significantly higher than the percentage of girls, the absolute difference is only 5.5 percentage points.

In respect to experiencing a lot of corporal punishment as a teen-ager, the U.S. students were just below the median of the 32 nations. Again, the gender difference, although in the theoretically predicted direction and statistically significant, is small (8.4% of male and 6.4% of female students).

Patterns previously noted for the overall Violence Socialization scales are generally reflected in the individual scale items in Table 3. For example, South African students are 2<sup>nd</sup> highest in respect to both the overall Violence Socialization scale and the two corporal punishment items; and students in Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Belgium are low in both the overall scale (Table 2) and the specific items (Table 3). A notable exception is Singapore, which is very low on the overall Violence Socialization scale, but for being hit frequently as a teen ranks fourth from the top for men and fifth for women. This is consistent with the world-wide reputation of Singapore corporal punishment established by the public caning of an American teen-ager (De Witt, 1994).

**Witnessing Violence Between Parents.** Perhaps second only to being a victim of violence as a violence socialization experience is growing up in a family in which parents are violent toward each other (Holden, Geffner, & Jouriles, 1998). Table 3 shows that in the median nation, about 12% of the students agreed or strongly agreed that they had this experience. This was also true of both male and female U.S. students. This figure is remarkably close to the prevalence rate for partner violence found in many U.S. studies (Straus & Gelles, 1990)

**Violence Between Other Adult Family Members** A much higher percentage of students in all the national contexts observed violence between other adult family members than between parents: about a third of male students and over a quarter of female students in the median national context. U.S. students were above the median — 9<sup>th</sup> for males (41%) and 10<sup>th</sup> for females (31%). Because the Netherlands is high in respect to socio-economic development, a surprising result is the 41% of male students and 48% of female students in the Netherlands who witnessed non-parental violence

**Advice by Parents to Hit.** The final pair of columns in Table 3 shows that 40% of U.S. male and 29% of U.S. female students in this study had been advised by a parent to hit back if someone hit or insulted them. These percentages make the U.S. students rank fifth from the top, and are nearly double the median percentages. Developed nations tended to rank lower than developing nations,

although male students in the Netherlands reported rates slightly above the median and female students slightly below the median.

### **Non-Family Violence Socialization Items**

(Insert Table 4 about here)

Witnessing violence outside the family, being a victim of non-family violence; and being told, by someone outside of the family, to hit back if hit or insulted can also be important violence socialization experiences. The first pair of columns in Table 4 shows that about two thirds of U.S. male student and almost half of U.S. female student had witnessed physical fights between non-family children. These percentages are both somewhat above the median. The columns headed Victim As Child in Table 4 show that a quarter of the U.S. male students and 10% of the U.S. female students in this sample had been pushed, shoved or slapped by another child, or had things thrown at them by a non-family member. In addition, both are below the median percentage, and the percentage for U.S. women students ranks 27<sup>th</sup> out of 32.

The columns headed Advised To Hit Back in Table 4 show the percent of U.S. students who were told by a non-family person to hit if someone hit or insulted them. These percentages are also high, in absolute terms and relative to students in other nations. Sixty percent of U.S. males received this advice, compared to the median of 48% and the low of 20%. Among the U.S. women in the study, 37% had been advised to hit, compared to the median for women of 27% and the minimum of 13%. Thus, the percent of men who were advised to hit was almost double the percent of women who received this advice, but the rank order of the nations based on the women in the sample is similar to that for the men. For example, the U.S. men in this study ranked fourth highest and U.S. women ranked sixth highest among the 32 nations.

## **RESULTS ON VIOLENCE APPROVAL**

(Insert Table 5 About Here)

### **Gender Differences In Violence Approval**

**Overall Violence Approval.** The first row of Table 5 shows that the men in this study were somewhat more likely than the women to agree with the violence approval items. At the same time, the .93 correlation between the male and female percent approval for each national setting indicates that in national settings where men are high in Violence Approval, women are also high relative to women in other nations. The Violence Approval scores of men were also higher than those of women for approval of each of the three aspects of Violence Approval: within- family violence, male violence, and sexual violence.

The results in Table 5 indicate both that Violence Approval is greater among the men in this study than among the women, but also that the gender differences are not very great -- only 11 percentage points. Moreover, for all scales and items, in national settings where men are high in Violence Approval relative to other nations, so are women. To our surprise, the largest gender difference was not for approval of sexual violence, but for approval of stereotypical male violence. Perhaps this is because the level of approval of sexual violence was low (relative to the other aspects of Violence Approval) by both men and women. Within-family violence had the highest rate of approval, primarily because of approval of spanking by parents and approval of a wife slapping her husband.

**Gender and Approval of Family Violence.** Perhaps the most interesting thing about the Approval of Family Violence section of Table 5 is that, although percentage of men approving these aspects of family violence is greater than the percentage of women, the differences are not large, and in one case there is no difference: Just over half of both the women and the men in this study approved of a wife slapping her husband in some circumstances.. The aspect of family violence for which approval by men most exceeded approval by women is corporal punishment by parents. Men were nearly one and a half times as likely as women to approve of spanking a child or slapping a teen as discipline techniques. Yet, at least in the U.S. context they do it less than women (Straus & Stewart, 1999).

**Gender and Approval of Male Violence.** The rows for approval of male violence in Table 5 show consistently more approval by men. The largest difference is for believing that a boy who is hit

by another boy should hit back: More than half of the male students versus just over a third of female students agreed with this item.

**Gender and Sexual Aggression.** The sexual aggression item with the highest percentage of agreement and the least gender difference is for "Once sex gets beyond a certain point, a man can't stop himself until he is satisfied." About a third of both men and women agreed with this. However, although this item is a widely used to identify belief in "rape myths" (Burt, 1980), it does not necessarily indicate approval of that behavior. A study participant could believe that this is true, but regard it as an example of what is wrong with male behavior. The largest gender difference is for the item on forcing sex on a wife who has refused. The percentage point difference is not large because the percent is low for both men and women, but twice as many men approved of this item (13% of men versus 6% of women).

### **Rank Order Of Nations In Violence Approval Scales**

Table 6 displays the 32 national settings in rank order of the average percent of items students agreed or strongly agreed.

(Insert Table 6 About Here)

**Overall Violence Approval Scale.** An important aspect of Table 6 is the large difference between students in the different national settings. The first two columns reveal that, for the overall Violence Approval scale, male students in India on average agreed or strongly agreed with nearly three-quarters of the items and women agreed with over two-thirds, whereas in the Netherlands, the average number of items agreed to is less than one-third for both men and women. The line through the middle of the table shows that male students in the median nation agreed with 48.9% of the items and female students agreed with 36.3% of the ten items. Thus, as expected, women are less approving of violence than men. Nevertheless, in the median nation, female students agreed with just over a third of the pro-violence statements in this scale.

Student in many of the nations in Europe or of European settlement have low rates of Violence Approval across scales and items (e.g. Australia, Belgium, Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden). For example, Sweden and the Netherlands have the lowest rates of overall Violence Approval, as might be expected, given the reputation of these nations as humane, law abiding, and egalitarian. In general, the United States and Great Britain are similar to each other, and have higher rates of Violence Approval than other nations of European descent. India, Russia, Tanzania, China, Iran, and Korea are the national contexts with the highest rates of Violence Approval.

**The U.S. Context.** A somewhat paradoxical aspect of the overall Violence Approval columns in Table 6 is that male students in the U.S. on average approved of 46% of the pro-violence items, which is 10 percent more violence items than did women (36%). At the same time, relative to other nations, U.S. male students were just below the median Violence Approval level of male students in other nations, whereas U.S. female student were just above the Violence Approval level of female students in the other nations in this study (US male students ranked 19<sup>th</sup> while females ranked 13<sup>th</sup>).

**Approval of Family Violence, Approval of Male Violence, and Approval of Sexual Violence.** In the U.S. context, the gender difference for approval of within-family violence follows the same paradoxical pattern as for the overall Violence Approval scale. Family Violence Approval by male students averaged 42 percent of the items, which puts them close to the median for men in other nations, whereas even though the women have a lower average approval score (37%) than men, they are much higher in the ranking relative to women in other nations (10<sup>th</sup>).

The columns for Male Violence in Table 6 show that U.S. male students are more approving of this type of violence than U.S. female students, and that relative to men in other nations, U.S. men also rank somewhat higher than do U.S. women relative to women in other national contexts.

For sexual aggression, however, U.S. men and women are remarkably similar in the low average approval, both in absolute terms (13% and 10%) and relative to students in other national contexts.

**Summary.** The patterns found for overall Violence Approval are generally echoed for each of the three sub-scales. Most of the European nations have low rates of Violence Approval, while many developing nations have higher rates. For example, students in Sweden and the Netherlands are near the bottom for all subscales except for male violence where Sweden ranks somewhat higher than

expected. On average, men in the Swedish context agreed with nearly a third of the male violence items. Women's average agreement, at 13.5 percent of the items is much lower. Despite the generally high rates of Violence Approval in China and Iran, there are some very notable exceptions. For example, men in Iran and both men and women in the Chinese context support family violence much less often than most other countries. Also notable is the relatively high Violence Approval in Great Britain, Male and female students in Great Britain rank above the median on both the family violence and male violence subscales. The below the median overall Violence Approval in Great Britain is driven by very low approval by males and females on the sexual aggression sub-scale.

### **Rank Order Of Nations On Specific Scale items**

**Family Violence Items.** Tables 7, 8, and 9 present the percent agreement with each of the Violence Approval items because, as noted in the introduction to this paper, we believe an understanding of violence begins with estimates of the percent of the population who experienced each type of violence socialization and the percent who approve of each aspect of violence. The tables for individual items also permit identifying which individual items are driving observed differences in the scales.

(Insert Table 7 About Here)

Table 7 reveals that the relatively high Violence Approval by males in Sweden is driven by a large proportion of students in Sweden who agree or strongly agree that "A boy who is hit by another boy should hit back." Nearly 60 percent of men and a third of women in the Swedish context agreed with this item, compared to only low agreement that "When a boy is growing up, it's important for him to have a few fist fights" and "A man should not walk away from a physical fight with another man." On the other hand, for China and Iran, Table 7 shows that low family Violence Approval is not due to low agreement with a single item on the family violence scale, but rather due to relatively low agreement with all items except "I can think of a situation when I would approve of a husband slapping a wife's face" and in Iran for the men, agreement with all items except parents slapping a teen-ager.

Men and women in the U.S. universities did not differ much in their approval of spousal violence: More than half of men and approved a wife hitting her husband in certain situations, and less than one in five approved of a husband hitting his wife under certain situations

Given the large and unusually consistent body of research evidence suggesting detrimental effects of corporal punishment (Gershoff, 2002; Straus, 2001), one of the obstacles to taking steps based on that research to reduce use of corporal punishment is indicated by the fact that more than half of the men and 46% of the women agreed or strongly agreed that "It is sometimes necessary to discipline a child with a good, hard spanking." While fewer approved of slapping a teen who "talks back or is getting in trouble," the rates are still high at 42% for men and 34% for women. These approval rates rank U.S. men second in approval of spanking a child and eighteenth in approving of slapping a teen. U.S. women rank ninth in approval of slapping a child and fourteenth in slapping a teen.

(Insert Table 8 about here)

**Male Violence Items.** Table 8 reveals that 38% of male students in the U.S. believe that it is important for a boy to get into a few fistfights when growing up. This is about double the percent of U.S. women, and puts U.S. male students high in the ranking relative to male students in other nations. There was very strong agreement with the idea that a boy should hit back if hit by another boy: 63% of male students and 42% of female students, putting U.S. students in the upper quartile of the nations in this study, On the other hand, a somewhat contradictory result is for agreeing that "A man should not walk away from a physical fight with another man." Nineteen percent of U.S. male students and 9% of US female students agreed. The figures for both U.S. men and women are well below the median for students in this study (27% for men and 16% for women).

The rank order of the other national contexts is roughly consistent with the idea that approval of male violence is higher in less developed nations, but with the exception that the U.S. and Great Britain are more approving of male violence than other advanced industrial nations. However, there are important exceptions to this pattern for which we have not formulated an explanation. For example, Swedish students and female students in the Netherlands were far more likely than we

expected to approve boys' "hitting back." Further, female students in the Netherlands ranked only slightly below the median in approval of boys' having fist fights, and female students in China ranked well below the median.

(Insert Table 9 About Here)

### **Sexual Violence Items**

Table 9 shows that the tendency found for less developed nations to have high scores on the overall Violence Approval scale also tends to apply to the individual items on the sexual violence sub-scale. However, the US, which ranks high on other measures of Violence Approval is below the median on all three of the sexual Violence Approval questions. Another exception is that although male students in China are high in agreement with the rape myth that "once sex is started, a man cannot stop until he is satisfied" (53%), female students in China rank below the median (35%). Nonetheless, the fact that over a third of female students in China agreed or strongly agreed with this item, as did 16% of students in the Netherlands, indicates a world-wide tendency to accept this rape myth.

Overall, there are very large differences between students in different national contexts in agreement with these three aspects of approval of sexual violence. Believing that a raped woman had "probably asked for it" was approved by a high of 54 percent of men in Iran but no men in the Netherlands or South Africa, and no women in Great Britain or Japan. However, the median approval was on the low side, (7 percent of men in Malta and nearly four percent of women in South Africa). The range of approval of forcing a wife to have sex is even greater: from zero by men in the Netherlands and women in Switzerland to 71 percent approval by men in Tanzania. The range is somewhat more condensed for agreement with "Once sex gets beyond a certain point, a man cannot stop himself unless he is satisfied." Agreement with this item ranges from just above 15 percent for female students in the Netherlands to over two thirds by female students in Tanzania.

The U.S. ranks below the median for each of the three items on the sexual Violence Approval sub-scale and absolute gender differences are small. However, nearly twice as many male (3.4%) as female (1.9%) students felt that a raped woman had somehow asked for it. U.S. male students were also more than twice as likely (8.4%) as female students (3.2%) to feel that it was acceptable for a husband to force sex on his wife. Finally, roughly a quarter of students in the U.S. (male and female) agreed that once sex was initiated, a man could not stop until he was satisfied.

### **SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENT AND VIOLENCE**

(Insert Figure 1 about here)

At several points, when describing the results, we noted a tendency for the level of violence socialization and violence approval to be lower in less economically developed nations. We tested this relationship by correlating the Gross Domestic Product Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2006) with the mean Violent Socialization for the 32 nations in the study. Figure 1 shows a very strong tendency for the GDP Index to be associated with lower Violence Socialization and Violence Approval scores.

### **SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS**

#### **Violence Socialization**

This study of students in 32 nations found that, the world over, substantial percentages of university students had experienced that constitute socialization for violence. For example, in the median nation, 19% of male students reported that they were spanked or hit *a lot*, and 12% witnessed violence between parents. At the same time, there are important differences between nations and between male and female students in the extent to which they experienced violence socialization. The percentage in each national context who were spanked a lot ranged from 2% to 42% and the percent who witnessed violence between parents ranged from 4% to 37%.

**Gender.** Although more male than female students reported seven of the eight violence socialization experiences, the excess of males over females was much less for within-family violence socialization. This is consistent with the fact that within the family there is little gender difference in actual violence, either parent-to child violence or rates of perpetration of physical assault between partners (Dutton, 2006; Felson, 2002; Fiebert, 2004; Straus, 2005, 2007a).

**National Context.** Our findings suggest that national context is related to the socialization of boys and girls in similar ways; that is places with high violence socialization for boys also typically have higher levels of violence socialization for the girls, albeit lower than for the boys.

In general our findings suggested that many advanced, industrialized nations, particularly those located in Western Europe are the places where violence socialization is lowest. However, the pattern is not without exception, which is particularly clear when individual items are examined. For example, men in the Netherlands rank fourth of men in 32 national contexts for witnessing parental violence.

The United States often looks more like the developing world in terms of violence socialization, suggesting that there may be something about U.S. culture and social organization that that fosters the experiences included in our Violence Socialization scale.

### **Violence Approval**

Our results also show a very large range of Violence Approval across national contexts. The differences are far greater than those observed for violence socialization, with some aspects of violence being approved of by no respondents in some countries (e.g. no men in the Netherlands felt that "If a wife refuses to have sex, there are times when it may be okay to make her do it.") and some items achieving approval by the vast majority of respondents (e.g. 86% of Korean men and 84% of Korean women felt "It is sometimes necessary to discipline a child with a good, hard spanking.") .

**Gender.** Men were typically far more approving of violence than women, with the exception that just over half of U.S. male and female students agreed that there are circumstances where they could approve of a wife slapping her husband, compared to 18% of males and 16% of females who approved of a husband slapping his wife. The much smaller percent approving slapping by a husband than by a wife may reflect the long standing norm about "never hitting a girl," or an understanding that the consequences of male violence are often more severe than those of female violence (Greenblat, 1983). It may also reflect efforts by the battered women's movement to stop male partner violence. However, that 18% of male students continue to think that slapping a wife may be justified is one of many indicators that feminist effort to end violence against women is not yet completed. Moreover, the 52% of U.S. students who agreed that they could think of a situation when they would approve of a wife slapping her husband suggests the need to expand the effort to end domestic violence to perpetration by women, not only because it is wrong, but also because women's own violence increases her risk of victimization by a partner (Feld & Straus, 1989; Straus, 2005, 2007a; Straus & Scott, In press).

**National Context.** National contexts with high levels of Violence Approval by men tend to also have high levels of Violence Approval by women. As was the case for violence socialization, there is a tendency toward less Violence Approval in the advanced, industrialized nations than in lesser developed countries. However, the U.S. stands out as being more tolerant of violence than many of its similarly situated socio-political-economic peers.

### **Limitations**

**Validity of The Data.** Because the percentages reported for each scale for the items are based on university students rather than the general population, and because they are convenience samples of students, they provide only a rough indication of what is characteristic of a nation. At the same time, the evidence on validity presented in the methods section shows that nation-to-nation differences for several variables based on the responses of these student samples are highly correlated with nation-to-nation differences based on nationally representative samples or official national statistics. This suggests that the data reported in this paper are likely to be valid, at least for interpretations limited to identifying the approximate place in the distribution of national contexts a nation such as the U.S. is located "near the median" or "among the top quarter of nations." Nevertheless, it is unclear how the sample selectivity may have influenced the findings. In each of the nations, the more privileged are most likely to attend universities and differences between these individuals and the population may be greatest in nations where college attendance is rarest.

Another limitation is problems with the wording of some questions. For example, as previously noted, agreeing that "Once sex gets beyond a certain point, a man can't stop himself until he is satisfied" does not necessarily indicate approval of that behavior. A study participant could believe

that this is true, but regard it as an example of what is wrong with male behavior. Another example is the question which asks about "being hit a lot" by parents as a teenager. "A lot" may be perceived differently in different cultural contexts.

Finally, this descriptive analysis of violence socialization and approval of violence considered only gender differences within nations. Socioeconomic status differences and cultural differences within and between nations have not been considered. Future work that considers some of these more nuanced relationships may reveal some important patterns.

### **Conclusions And Implications**

The results on gender differences show that female students had consistently lower levels of violence socialization and lower approval of violence than male students. The consistent gender difference was in respect to all aspects of violent socialization and violence approval, and in respect to all 32 nations in this study. Moreover, women and men's violence socialization and approval of violence followed the same pattern of national differences. Although the gender differences were almost always significant because of the large sample size, they were not large. Consequently, it is as appropriate to conclude that the study found high rates of violent socialization of women and high rates of Violence Approval by women as it is to conclude that women were less violently socialized and had less approval of violence than men.

The introduction to this paper raised the question of whether the high rate of homicide in the U.S. relative to other industrial developed nations reflects a general propensity to violence. We did find that the U.S. does tend to rank high in violence socialization, and is around the median for Violence Approval, which is higher than most other advanced industrial societies. Moreover, the results followed our expectations concerning violent socialization and Violence Approval in other national contexts. For example, students in Africa, Asia and the Middle East tended to have higher scores on Violence Approval and Violence Socialization, while students in economically developed nations like the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland tend to have witnessed less violence, have lower rates of corporal punishment and fighting as a child, and tend to be less approving of violence.

These results make it plausible to think that the violent socialization experiences and the cultural acceptance of violence measured by this study are part of the explanation for the higher rate of homicide and other violent crime in the U.S. than in other advanced industrialized nations. This is an issue we plan to pursue in future papers.

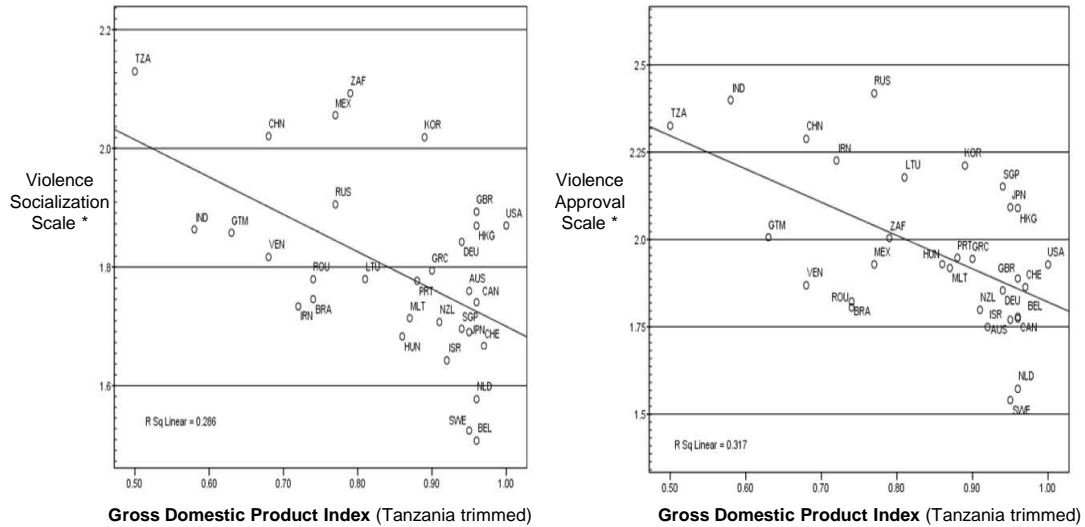
Although this is a cross-sectional study, the differences between more and less developed nations parallel the centuries long "civilizing process" described by Elias (1978) and Eisner (2003) which is associated with a reduction in homicide. Clark (2007) and Eisner (2003), for example have found large decreases in homicide rates in the Western world, starting in the late middle ages. A fundamental aspect of the civilizing process is a decrease in the use of violence for socially legitimate purposes such as duels, torture, trial by ordeal, cruel forms of execution such as burning at the stake, flogging as punishment for crime, and most recently, the prohibition of capital punishment by any method in most Western nations. The right of husbands to use corporal punishment ended late in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the last decade the right of parents to use corporal has ended in 23 nations. The tendency of Gross Domestic Product to be associated with lower scores on the Violence Socialization and Violence Approval scales suggests that the "civilizing processes" explaining the decrease in homicide in Europe since the late Middle Ages also applies to other world regions as economic development proceeds.

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Fig. 1 NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS ASSOCIATED WITH LESS VIOLENCE SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN AND LESS APPROVAL OF VIOLENCE BY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS



ID52 \* Mean scores for students in each nation of the International Dating Violence Study. Mattingly, M., & Straus, M. A. (2008). Violence socialization and approval of violence: A world perspective on gender differences and American violence. Paper presented at the American society of criminology, St. Louis, 13 November 2008. 13

Table 1. Percent Who Experienced Violent Socialization by Gender, and Correlations Between Mean Male and Female Scores Across Nations

Scale and items	Men	Women		Correlation	
<b>Overall Violent Socialization Scale (Average Percent Agreement with 8 Items)</b>	31.0%	22.2%	***	0.78	***
<b>Within-Family Socialization Scale</b>	22.1%	17.9%	***	0.86	***
"When I was less than 12 years old, I was spanked or hit a lot by my mother or father"	23.2%	18.6%	***	0.88	***
"When I was a teenager, I was hit a lot by my mother or father"	9.9%	7.0%	***	0.81	***
"When I was a kid, I saw my mother or father kick, punch, or beat up their partner"	13.3%	13.9%		0.85	***
"When I was a kid, I saw an adult in my family who was <u>not</u> my mother or father, push, shove, slap, or throw something at someone"	34.1%	27.8%	***	0.78	***
"My father or mother told me to hit back if someone hit me or insulted me"	30.1%	22.1%	***	0.81	***
<b>Non-Family Violent Socialization Scale</b>	45.8%	29.5%	***	0.61	***
"When I was a kid, I often saw kids who were not in my family get into fights and hit each other"	56.1%	41.4%	***	0.15	
"When I was a kid, people (adults or kids) who were not part of my family pushed, shoved or slapped me, or threw things at me"	30.2%	16.1%	***	0.84	***
"When I was a kid, people (adults or kids) who were not part of my family told me to hit back if someone hit me or insulted me"	51.1%	30.8%	***	0.59	***
Sample Size	5,207	12197		32	

\*\*\* p&lt;0.0001

Table 2. Average Number of Items Agreed with in Violent Socialization Scales by Nation and Gender

Overall				Within Family Violence				Non-Family Violence			
Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
MEX	42.8%	ZAF	37.8%	ZAF	34.7%	ZAF	30.8%	MEX	57.0%	ZAF	49.4%
ZAF	40.8%	TZA	34.6%	MEX	34.2%	MEX	29.4%	GBR	56.3%	TZA	45.7%
TZA	39.8%	TWN	34.5%	TZA	30.7%	TWN	28.4%	TZA	54.9%	TWN	44.7%
GBR	36.1%	MEX	32.4%	TWN	26.9%	TZA	28.0%	VEN	52.0%	GBR	40.8%
<b>USA</b>	<b>35.0%</b>	CHN	28.0%	<b>USA</b>	<b>26.0%</b>	KOR	24.8%	NZL	51.5%	PRT	39.4%
VEN	34.0%	KOR	27.9%	RUS	25.3%	CHN	23.3%	ZAF	51.1%	MEX	37.4%
GTM	33.9%	GBR	27.2%	ROU	25.2%	<b>USA</b>	<b>20.6%</b>	GTM	50.0%	CHN	35.9%
CHN	33.8%	<b>USA</b>	<b>24.6%</b>	GRC	24.6%	IRN	19.7%	<b>USA</b>	<b>49.9%</b>	IND	33.8%
GRC	33.6%	IND	23.8%	CHN	24.3%	GBR	19.1%	CHN	49.6%	KOR	33.1%
TWN	33.4%	VEN	22.9%	GTM	24.2%	HKG	18.2%	GRC	48.7%	VEN	32.8%
RUS	33.1%	PRT	22.4%	KOR	24.1%	IND	17.8%	MLT	48.2%	GRC	31.3%
NZL	31.8%	ROU	22.4%	GBR	23.9%	ROU	17.2%	DEU	47.2%	<b>USA</b>	<b>31.2%</b>
KOR	31.2%	HKG	21.4%	VEN	23.2%	GTM	17.1%	CAN	46.4%	ROU	31.0%
ROU	31.0%	DEU	21.3%	IRN	22.5%	VEN	17.0%	RUS	46.3%	DEU	30.5%
DEU	30.8%	GTM	21.2%	NLD	22.2%	LTU	16.4%	BRA	46.0%	AUS	28.9%
NLD	30.8%	GRC	21.1%	BRA	21.1%	AUS	16.4%	ISR	45.8%	ISR	28.7%
BRA	30.4%	AUS	21.0%	AUS	20.9%	RUS	15.9%	NLD	45.0%	MLT	28.2%
MLT	29.6%	IRN	20.5%	DEU	20.9%	DEU	15.8%	PRT	44.4%	GTM	28.0%
CAN	29.2%	CAN	19.7%	NZL	20.0%	CAN	15.6%	TWN	44.3%	HKG	26.7%
AUS	28.3%	RUS	19.3%	HKG	19.8%	NZL	15.3%	KOR	43.0%	CAN	26.6%
IND	27.1%	MLT	19.2%	IND	19.3%	SGP	15.3%	BEL	42.1%	BRA	25.6%
HKG	26.3%	LTU	19.1%	CAN	18.9%	GRC	15.0%	ROU	40.7%	CHE	25.3%
PRT	25.8%	ISR	18.3%	MLT	18.5%	NLD	14.6%	AUS	40.6%	RUS	24.9%
IRN	25.5%	BRA	18.2%	LTU	16.5%	HUN	14.3%	IND	40.1%	LTU	23.6%
ISR	24.8%	NZL	17.9%	SGP	16.1%	MLT	13.8%	HUN	37.3%	HUN	22.8%
BEL	23.8%	CHE	17.6%	JPN	15.6%	BRA	13.7%	HKG	37.3%	NZL	22.1%
LTU	22.9%	HUN	17.5%	PRT	14.7%	JPN	13.0%	SWE	36.4%	IRN	21.8%
SWE	22.1%	SGP	16.4%	CHE	13.9%	CHE	12.9%	LTU	33.6%	SWE	20.3%
HUN	21.8%	NLD	15.8%	SWE	13.5%	ISR	12.1%	CHE	32.7%	JPN	19.8%
JPN	21.0%	JPN	15.5%	BEL	12.8%	PRT	11.8%	IRN	30.6%	SGP	18.3%
CHE	21.0%	SWE	13.9%	HUN	12.5%	SWE	10.0%	JPN	30.0%	NLD	17.8%
SGP	20.0%	BEL	11.8%	ISR	12.2%	BEL	8.4%	SGP	26.5%	BEL	17.3%

Shaded boxes indicate statistically significant gender differences in the USA (p<0.001).

Table 3. Percent Agreement with Family Violent Socialization Items by Nation and Gender

Spanked A Lot <12				Hit Lot Teen				Kid Witness Parental Violence				Kid Witness Non-Parental Violence				Parent Advised Hit Back			
Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
MEX	46.7%	MEX	42.1%	TZA	38.1%	TZA	25.0%	JPN	37.0%	KOR	35.0%	ROU	58.7%	TZA	52.8%	NZL	57.4%	CHN	45.5%
ZAF	40.0%	GTM	35.7%	ZAF	26.7%	GTM	24.3%	IRN	33.3%	JPN	27.8%	RUS	54.6%	NLD	48.3%	CHN	44.8%	RUS	34.3%
HKG	37.4%	ZAF	31.9%	TWN	20.6%	ZAF	20.7%	ZAF	33.3%	ZAF	26.7%	IRN	53.8%	ZAF	43.7%	GBR	42.3%	GBR	32.2%
HUN	36.3%	TZA	31.5%	SGP	20.5%	KOR	13.5%	NLD	29.6%	CHN	26.5%	PRT	51.1%	MEX	43.2%	GTM	41.0%	ZAF	31.1%
TWN	35.6%	SGP	31.1%	MEX	17.8%	SGP	11.3%	PRT	24.4%	LTU	25.4%	TZA	48.9%	KOR	41.7%	USA	39.6%	USA	28.7%
TZA	34.5%	IRN	26.7%	VEN	17.1%	MEX	11.2%	TZA	22.3%	ROU	25.1%	GTM	47.0%	IRN	40.0%	JPN	33.3%	MEX	28.4%
IRN	33.3%	DEU	25.7%	ROU	14.8%	JPN	11.1%	TWN	21.9%	VEN	24.7%	ZAF	46.7%	TWN	35.7%	PRT	31.1%	GTM	22.9%
DEU	33.1%	USA	25.2%	IND	13.6%	LTU	10.7%	VEN	21.6%	MEX	22.3%	BRA	44.6%	NZL	35.3%	IND	30.5%	ISR	20.2%
GRC	31.1%	AUS	22.6%	PRT	12.6%	IND	10.5%	CHN	19.8%	CAN	20.4%	USA	41.1%	VEN	31.6%	BRA	29.4%	TWN	20.0%
USA	30.7%	IND	21.6%	IRN	12.5%	ROU	8.1%	MLT	19.2%	HKG	19.2%	NLD	40.7%	USA	31.0%	GRC	28.4%	PRT	19.6%
SGP	26.5%	NZL	21.6%	GRC	12.2%	DEU	8.1%	ISR	18.8%	GRC	17.8%	VEN	40.5%	BRA	30.0%	ZAF	26.7%	MLT	18.6%
NZL	24.2%	HKG	21.2%	BRA	12.0%	IRN	8.0%	NZL	18.6%	TZA	17.6%	GBR	38.0%	GBR	29.1%	ROU	25.4%	IND	17.9%
CHN	23.3%	CAN	21.0%	HKG	11.0%	NZL	7.8%	GRC	16.2%	GTM	14.8%	KOR	37.5%	GRC	29.0%	LTU	23.9%	BRA	17.3%
GBR	22.5%	KOR	19.6%	AUS	10.9%	AUS	7.7%	AUS	13.0%	DEU	14.5%	AUS	37.0%	GTM	28.8%	HUN	23.7%	IRN	16.0%
AUS	21.7%	GBR	17.9%	JPN	10.1%	TWN	6.8%	KOR	12.5%	BRA	14.2%	TWN	35.6%	DEU	28.7%	VEN	22.5%	HKG	15.5%
CAN	21.0%	ROU	17.8%	RUS	9.8%	HUN	6.7%	HKG	12.2%	HUN	14.2%	GRC	35.1%	CHN	27.9%	NLD	22.2%	LTU	15.4%
RUS	19.1%	GRC	16.0%	DEU	9.8%	GRC	6.6%	BRA	12.0%	RUS	13.1%	CHE	34.3%	CHE	27.7%	CAN	22.1%	VEN	14.9%
ROU	18.5%	HUN	15.8%	CHN	9.6%	CAN	6.5%	GTM	11.9%	USA	11.8%	CAN	33.9%	CAN	27.2%	MEX	21.9%	AUS	14.4%
KOR	17.2%	RUS	15.0%	USA	8.4%	USA	6.4%	DEU	11.7%	ISR	11.7%	JPN	33.3%	ROU	27.1%	AUS	21.7%	KOR	14.1%
IND	15.3%	CHE	13.1%	GTM	8.2%	HKG	6.4%	CAN	10.9%	GBR	11.2%	DEU	31.9%	HKG	27.1%	TWN	20.6%	CAN	13.8%
MLT	14.8%	CHN	13.1%	MLT	7.4%	VEN	6.3%	USA	10.2%	MLT	10.3%	LTU	29.9%	AUS	26.9%	ISR	18.8%	NLD	13.7%
VEN	14.4%	MLT	12.4%	GBR	7.0%	CHN	6.1%	HUN	10.2%	AUS	10.1%	SWE	29.5%	SGP	26.0%	DEU	17.8%	DEU	13.7%
NLD	14.3%	LTU	10.4%	CAN	6.6%	PRT	5.9%	IND	10.2%	BEL	10.1%	MEX	28.5%	IND	24.6%	SWE	17.8%	CHE	13.1%
LTU	13.0%	TWN	9.3%	LTU	6.5%	RUS	5.8%	GBR	9.9%	SWE	10.0%	IND	27.1%	MLT	22.7%	BEL	17.2%	TZA	13.0%
CHE	12.8%	SWE	8.8%	KOR	6.5%	BRA	5.6%	SGP	9.6%	TWN	9.2%	ISR	25.3%	LTU	20.1%	HKG	16.9%	SWE	12.5%
GTM	12.7%	ISR	7.8%	NZL	6.1%	GBR	5.2%	BEL	9.1%	PRT	8.7%	CHN	24.2%	PRT	19.6%	KOR	16.7%	GRC	12.2%
BEL	10.2%	VEN	7.5%	CHE	5.9%	MLT	5.2%	ROU	7.9%	IND	8.0%	MLT	23.2%	HUN	18.3%	MLT	15.2%	HUN	11.7%
JPN	10.1%	JPN	7.4%	SWE	4.9%	SWE	4.5%	SWE	7.4%	CHE	7.5%	BEL	22.6%	ISR	17.0%	CHE	12.8%	BEL	10.4%
SWE	8.0%	BEL	5.7%	BEL	4.8%	ISR	3.6%	RUS	6.1%	NLD	5.2%	NZL	21.3%	SWE	14.5%	IRN	9.7%	JPN	10.2%
BRA	7.6%	PRT	5.2%	NLD	4.8%	CHE	3.0%	MEX	6.0%	NZL	5.2%	HKG	21.3%	BEL	13.6%	TZA	9.4%	ROU	7.7%
PRT	4.6%	NLD	3.2%	HUN	3.4%	NLD	2.7%	LTU	4.5%	SGP	4.5%	SGP	16.9%	RUS	11.3%	RUS	9.1%	NZL	6.9%
ISR	1.5%	BRA	1.5%	ISR	1.5%	BEL	2.4%	CHE	3.9%	IRN	3.6%	HUN	10.2%	JPN	8.3%	SGP	7.2%	SGP	3.4%

Shaded boxes indicate statistically significant gender differences in the USA (p<0.05).

Table 4. Percent Agreement with Non-Family Violent Socialization Items by Nation and Gender

Witness Kids Fight				Victim as a Child				Advised to Hit Back			
Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
MEX	82.2%	TZA	75.9%	TWN	54.8%	TWN	46.5%	CHN	62.7%	PRT	47.9%
ZAF	80.0%	ZAF	75.6%	DEU	48.5%	HKG	31.6%	GBR	62.0%	ZAF	47.4%
TZA	79.9%	MEX	65.0%	HKG	48.0%	DEU	28.7%	GTM	61.2%	CHN	47.3%
GBR	77.5%	GRC	64.0%	CHN	40.2%	KOR	27.6%	<b>USA</b>	<b>60.1%</b>	GBR	47.0%
ISR	74.6%	IND	62.7%	ROU	38.1%	CHN	26.9%	GRC	58.1%	TWN	46.5%
KOR	71.0%	ROU	58.3%	BEL	36.6%	TZA	26.9%	NZL	57.9%	<b>USA</b>	<b>36.9%</b>
NZL	69.7%	GBR	58.2%	JPN	36.4%	JPN	25.9%	BRA	56.5%	VEN	36.8%
GRC	68.9%	PRT	57.7%	RUS	36.4%	ZAF	25.2%	MEX	55.6%	BRA	34.5%
VEN	68.5%	KOR	49.7%	TZA	36.0%	SWE	20.3%	MLT	55.6%	TZA	34.3%
BRA	67.4%	ISR	48.9%	SWE	34.4%	CHE	19.9%	PRT	55.6%	RUS	32.5%
MLT	66.7%	<b>USA</b>	<b>47.0%</b>	PRT	33.3%	NLD	18.2%	ROU	55.6%	MEX	31.5%
ROU	66.7%	AUS	46.6%	ZAF	33.3%	GBR	17.1%	VEN	54.1%	GTM	28.0%
PRT	64.9%	VEN	45.4%	VEN	33.3%	GTM	16.1%	BEL	48.9%	IND	27.6%
<b>USA</b>	<b>64.4%</b>	MLT	44.3%	KOR	32.3%	VEN	16.1%	TZA	48.9%	AUS	26.9%
CAN	62.6%	CAN	43.8%	GTM	30.6%	MEX	15.7%	RUS	48.5%	MLT	26.8%
RUS	60.1%	HUN	41.7%	CAN	30.3%	NZL	15.5%	TWN	48.0%	ISR	26.6%
GTM	58.2%	TWN	41.1%	GBR	29.6%	PRT	14.3%	CAN	46.2%	IRN	25.3%
IND	57.6%	GTM	39.8%	HUN	28.8%	HUN	14.2%	DEU	45.4%	LTU	25.1%
AUS	52.2%	LTU	39.5%	AUS	28.3%	MLT	13.4%	ISR	41.8%	CAN	24.4%
IRN	50.0%	DEU	38.4%	NLD	25.9%	AUS	13.0%	AUS	41.3%	DEU	24.2%
LTU	49.4%	CHE	38.2%	CHE	25.5%	ROU	12.6%	IND	40.7%	HKG	23.4%
HUN	49.2%	RUS	37.6%	<b>USA</b>	<b>25.2%</b>	CAN	12.5%	ZAF	40.0%	GRC	23.4%
DEU	47.9%	NZL	34.5%	MLT	22.2%	BEL	12.3%	HKG	36.2%	KOR	22.1%
CHN	45.8%	BRA	34.0%	IND	22.0%	IND	11.2%	LTU	35.1%	NLD	19.2%
NLD	41.3%	CHN	33.7%	ISR	20.9%	ISR	10.6%	SWE	34.4%	CHE	18.0%
BEL	40.9%	IRN	32.0%	NZL	20.8%	SGP	10.2%	HUN	33.9%	BEL	17.5%
SWE	40.5%	SGP	27.7%	GRC	18.9%	<b>USA</b>	<b>9.7%</b>	IRN	33.3%	SGP	17.0%
CHE	40.2%	SWE	25.6%	SGP	16.9%	BRA	8.1%	CHE	32.4%	NZL	16.4%
SGP	33.7%	HKG	25.2%	LTU	16.2%	IRN	8.0%	NLD	29.6%	SWE	15.0%
JPN	33.3%	BEL	22.0%	BRA	14.1%	GRC	6.5%	SGP	28.9%	JPN	<b>13.0%</b>
TWN	30.1%	JPN	<b>20.4%</b>	MEX	12.6%	LTU	6.4%	KOR	25.8%	ROU	12.6%
HKG	27.6%	NLD	16.2%	IRN	8.3%	RUS	4.7%	JPN	20.2%	HUN	12.5%

Shaded boxes indicate statistically significant gender differences in the USA (p<0.001).

Table 5. Percent Agreement with Violence Approval Measures by Gender, and Correlations between Mean Male and Female Responses Across Nations

Scale and Items	Men	Women		Correlation
<b>Overall Violence Approval Scale (Average Percent Agreement with 10 Items)</b>	49.6%	38.4%	***	0.93 ***
<b>Family Violence Scale</b>	42.2%	34.5%	***	0.87
"I can think of a situation when I would approve of a wife slapping a husband's face"	51.4%	52.8%		0.82 ***
"I can think of a situation when I would approve of a husband slapping a wife's face"	26.7%	21.3%	***	0.73 ***
"It is sometimes necessary to discipline a child with a good, hard spanking"	47.4%	33.7%	***	0.89 ***
"It is sometimes necessary for parents to slap a teen who talks back or is getting into trouble"	43.5%	30.0%	***	0.90 ***
<b>Male Violence Scale</b>	39.4%	25.0%	***	0.88 ***
"When a boy is growing up, it's important for him to have a few fist fights"	35.0%	21.6%	***	0.90 ***
"A man should not walk away from a physical fight with another man"	27.1%	16.8%	***	0.80 ***
"A boy who is hit by another boy should hit back"	56.2%	36.7%	***	0.77 ***
<b>Sexual Violence Scale</b>	20.7%	15.5%	***	0.91 ***
"A woman who has been raped probably asked for it"	12.6%	8.2%	***	0.81 ***
"If a wife refuses to have sex, there are times when it may be okay to make her do it"	12.9%	5.9%	***	0.89 ***
"Once sex gets past a certain point, a man can't stop himself until he is satisfied"	36.5%	32.6%	***	0.85 ***
Sample Size	5,207	12,197		32

\*\*\* p<0.0001

Table 6. Average Number of Items Agreed with in Violence Approval Scales by Nation and Gender

Overall				Family Violence				Male Violence				Sexual Aggression			
Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
IND	72.5%	TZA	69.0%	RUS	66.7%	RUS	61.0%	CHN	60.5%	CHN	62.9%	TZA	51.8%	TZA	55.6%
RUS	70.3%	IND	64.5%	PRT	60.6%	IND	59.3%	RUS	58.7%	RUS	45.3%	IRN	50.0%	IRN	39.6%
TZA	66.3%	RUS	59.0%	IND	60.6%	TZA	55.8%	IRN	54.2%	TWN	44.1%	IND	48.0%	IND	36.8%
CHN	63.2%	IRN	58.4%	TZA	54.5%	SGP	54.5%	IND	49.7%	IND	42.3%	CHN	41.3%	CHN	34.6%
IRN	62.5%	CHN	56.6%	SGP	52.7%	KOR	51.1%	TWN	48.4%	IRN	42.2%	GRC	40.5%	LTU	26.3%
KOR	58.3%	KOR	53.3%	KOR	51.3%	PRT	46.8%	MEX	48.2%	JPN	38.3%	ZAF	31.1%	TWN	25.2%
GRC	57.6%	SGP	50.6%	LTU	48.9%	ZAF	44.3%	GTM	47.0%	KOR	35.0%	LTU	30.3%	KOR	25.0%
LTU	57.3%	TWN	47.4%	HUN	45.8%	LTU	42.6%	JPN	46.5%	HKG	32.6%	RUS	29.9%	SGP	24.7%
ZAF	54.0%	LTU	46.3%	GBR	44.7%	CHE	37.5%	KOR	44.4%	LTU	29.3%	SGP	25.7%	HKG	24.6%
TWN	53.6%	ZAF	46.2%	JPN	44.4%	<b>USA</b>	<b>37.3%</b>	LTU	41.6%	ZAF	24.9%	TWN	25.1%	ZAF	23.2%
SGP	53.0%	JPN	44.4%	CHE	43.6%	IRN	37.0%	<b>USA</b>	<b>39.9%</b>	MEX	24.7%	HKG	24.8%	RUS	20.8%
JPN	52.3%	HKG	43.7%	ROU	43.5%	GBR	36.1%	HKG	39.8%	GTM	24.6%	MEX	24.4%	MLT	20.3%
MEX	51.6%	MLT	39.4%	GRC	43.2%	HUN	35.6%	GRC	37.4%	TZA	24.4%	KOR	23.7%	MEX	18.8%
HKG	50.2%	MEX	39.2%	BEL	43.0%	JPN	35.4%	GBR	37.1%	VEN	22.6%	MLT	22.2%	GRC	18.1%
GTM	49.6%	<b>USA</b>	<b>36.3%</b>	<b>USA</b>	<b>42.2%</b>	MEX	34.3%	HUN	36.7%	<b>USA</b>	<b>22.5%</b>	ROU	22.2%	VEN	15.5%
PRT	48.9%	GTM	36.0%	BRA	42.1%	MLT	33.0%	ZAF	33.3%	GBR	22.3%	GTM	21.6%	JPN	15.4%
MLT	46.7%	VEN	35.8%	NZL	41.7%	NZL	33.0%	VEN	33.3%	MLT	21.7%	VEN	18.6%	ROU	15.3%
HUN	46.4%	GRC	35.5%	AUS	40.2%	GRC	32.8%	CAN	31.6%	ISR	19.7%	ISR	17.9%	DEU	13.6%
<b>USA</b>	<b>46.4%</b>	PRT	35.3%	ZAF	40.0%	ROU	32.7%	SWE	31.3%	HUN	19.4%	BRA	17.8%	GTM	13.6%
ROU	45.6%	GBR	35.1%	MEX	39.4%	GTM	32.6%	MLT	30.9%	DEU	19.3%	JPN	16.5%	CHE	12.2%
BRA	45.0%	HUN	34.9%	GTM	39.2%	VEN	32.0%	DEU	30.3%	SGP	19.0%	CHE	15.4%	ISR	11.7%
GBR	44.7%	CHE	33.4%	CAN	37.8%	BEL	32.0%	ISR	29.9%	ROU	15.0%	DEU	15.1%	NZL	11.2%
VEN	42.5%	ROU	33.3%	HKG	37.4%	TWN	30.5%	ROU	29.6%	CHE	13.9%	PRT	14.6%	HUN	10.6%
CAN	40.9%	ISR	32.0%	MLT	37.0%	AUS	30.4%	TZA	26.9%	SWE	13.5%	<b>USA</b>	<b>12.6%</b>	PRT	10.4%
BEL	40.5%	NZL	31.7%	DEU	37.0%	CHN	30.4%	BEL	26.2%	CAN	13.3%	AUS	12.3%	<b>USA</b>	<b>9.9%</b>
AUS	40.0%	DEU	31.5%	CHN	37.0%	HKG	30.1%	BRA	25.4%	BEL	13.1%	GBR	11.7%	GBR	9.7%
DEU	39.9%	BEL	30.0%	TWN	36.6%	BRA	29.8%	NZL	25.3%	GRC	12.3%	BEL	10.8%	CAN	8.4%
CHE	39.5%	CAN	29.4%	VEN	35.4%	ISR	29.0%	NLD	24.9%	AUS	11.7%	HUN	10.2%	AUS	7.5%
NZL	39.4%	BRA	29.2%	IRN	31.3%	CAN	28.9%	AUS	24.6%	NLD	11.6%	CAN	10.1%	SWE	7.5%
ISR	35.8%	AUS	28.7%	NLD	29.8%	DEU	27.8%	PRT	24.5%	NZL	11.2%	NZL	9.1%	BEL	7.2%
SWE	33.0%	SWE	23.7%	SWE	25.9%	NLD	18.5%	SGP	24.1%	BRA	9.6%	SWE	8.2%	BRA	7.1%
NLD	32.2%	NLD	22.8%	ISR	23.5%	SWE	18.0%	CHE	17.3%	PRT	7.6%	NLD	6.4%	NLD	5.6%

Shaded boxes indicate statistically significant gender differences in the USA (p<0.001).

Table 7. Percent Agreement with Family Violence Approval Items by Nation and Gender

Wife Slap Husband				Husband Slap Wife				Spanking Child				Slap Teen Trouble			
Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
RUS	80.3%	RUS	83.9%	RUS	63.9%	TZA	56.5%	KOR	86.0%	KOR	84.1%	PRT	74.8%	IND	63.4%
LTU	68.8%	LTU	66.6%	GRC	54.1%	RUS	49.6%	SGP	80.7%	SGP	67.2%	IND	71.2%	PRT	58.4%
GBR	66.2%	SGP	65.0%	IND	52.5%	GRC	45.3%	PRT	66.2%	IND	64.2%	JPN	67.7%	LTU	55.9%
IND	64.4%	IND	64.9%	TZA	45.3%	IND	44.8%	JPN	63.6%	ZAF	61.5%	RUS	63.9%	RUS	54.4%
CHE	63.7%	CHE	64.4%	PRT	41.7%	SGP	44.6%	TZA	60.4%	JPN	57.4%	LTU	62.3%	KOR	51.5%
NZL	63.6%	GBR	63.6%	LTU	35.1%	IRN	32.0%	RUS	58.5%	RUS	55.8%	KOR	60.2%	TZA	50.9%
GTM	60.5%	GRC	63.6%	ROU	33.3%	PRT	31.1%	USA	57.1%	MEX	55.3%	ROU	59.3%	IRN	49.3%
PRT	59.6%	TZA	63.0%	ZAF	33.3%	HUN	29.2%	MEX	55.6%	TZA	52.8%	TZA	58.3%	JPN	46.3%
HUN	59.3%	GTM	62.7%	CHE	33.3%	CHE	28.5%	IND	54.2%	USA	46.0%	SGP	55.4%	ZAF	41.5%
GRC	58.1%	HUN	60.8%	CHN	31.6%	GBR	27.0%	HKG	53.2%	PRT	44.1%	IRN	54.2%	SGP	41.2%
BEL	57.0%	DEU	60.5%	BEL	30.1%	MLT	26.8%	HUN	52.5%	HKG	38.4%	VEN	50.5%	VEN	40.8%
CAN	56.8%	NZL	58.6%	MLT	29.6%	AUS	24.5%	BRA	51.1%	TWN	37.3%	BRA	50.0%	MEX	39.6%
DEU	56.4%	BEL	55.9%	DEU	28.2%	ZAF	23.7%	TWN	48.0%	BRA	36.6%	MEX	48.9%	GTM	37.3%
AUS	54.4%	MLT	54.6%	NZL	27.3%	LTU	23.4%	ZAF	46.7%	NZL	32.8%	GTM	47.8%	USA	34.0%
SWE	54.0%	PRT	53.5%	HUN	27.1%	NZL	23.3%	AUS	45.7%	ROU	27.9%	GBR	46.5%	ROU	32.0%
TZA	54.0%	USA	53.4%	TWN	26.0%	KOR	22.7%	NZL	45.5%	CHE	27.7%	BEL	44.1%	BRA	31.0%
SGP	53.0%	CAN	51.7%	KOR	25.8%	CHN	22.4%	GBR	45.1%	HUN	26.7%	HUN	44.1%	GBR	30.4%
USA	52.2%	AUS	51.4%	CAN	24.3%	BEL	21.9%	IRN	41.7%	IRN	26.7%	USA	41.6%	MLT	29.9%
BRA	51.1%	TWN	50.8%	HKG	24.0%	DEU	21.2%	CHN	41.4%	CHN	26.6%	MLT	40.7%	CHE	29.2%
NLD	50.8%	ROU	50.6%	SWE	23.3%	ROU	20.2%	BEL	40.9%	ISR	25.5%	ZAF	40.0%	ISR	29.1%
MLT	48.2%	ZAF	50.4%	JPN	23.2%	HKG	20.0%	CHE	40.2%	LTU	24.8%	GRC	39.2%	BEL	27.7%
ROU	48.2%	VEN	50.0%	GTM	23.1%	TWN	17.8%	CAN	36.3%	CAN	24.6%	AUS	39.1%	HUN	25.8%
VEN	46.0%	CHN	49.7%	AUS	21.7%	CAN	17.7%	DEU	35.0%	AUS	23.6%	CHN	37.3%	CHN	22.9%
MEX	40.0%	ISR	47.9%	SGP	21.7%	SWE	17.2%	ROU	33.3%	GBR	23.4%	CHE	37.3%	AUS	22.1%
ZAF	40.0%	KOR	46.0%	GBR	21.1%	GTM	17.0%	NLD	30.2%	BEL	22.9%	HKG	35.0%	CAN	21.3%
TWN	38.4%	SWE	42.8%	BRA	20.7%	VEN	16.7%	MLT	29.6%	VEN	20.7%	TWN	34.3%	HKG	19.8%
CHN	37.5%	NLD	42.3%	USA	17.8%	USA	15.7%	LTU	29.2%	MLT	20.6%	CAN	33.9%	GRC	17.8%
HKG	37.4%	HKG	42.1%	VEN	17.1%	BRA	15.2%	VEN	27.9%	DEU	15.3%	NZL	30.3%	NZL	17.2%
KOR	33.3%	IRN	40.0%	NLD	14.3%	ISR	13.5%	ISR	26.9%	GTM	13.6%	DEU	28.2%	TWN	16.2%
ISR	31.3%	BRA	36.6%	MEX	13.3%	JPN	13.0%	GTM	25.4%	NLD	10.7%	ISR	23.9%	DEU	14.2%
JPN	23.2%	MEX	31.5%	ISR	11.9%	MEX	10.7%	GRC	21.6%	GRC	4.7%	NLD	23.8%	NLD	11.0%
IRN	20.8%	JPN	25.0%	IRN	8.3%	NLD	10.0%	SWE	6.8%	SWE	2.5%	SWE	19.6%	SWE	9.4%

Table 8. Percent Agreement with Male Violence Approval Measures by Nation and Gender

Boy Fist Fights				Man Not Walk Away				Boy Hit Back			
Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
JPN	63.6%	JPN	59.3%	CHN	56.6%	CHN	56.2%	IRN	75.0%	IRN	70.7%
RUS	60.1%	TWN	50.3%	MEX	53.3%	IND	39.6%	RUS	74.3%	CHN	68.5%
KOR	54.8%	KOR	46.6%	IRN	50.0%	RUS	32.5%	GTM	72.4%	RUS	57.3%
CHN	53.6%	RUS	46.0%	IND	47.5%	JPN	30.6%	CHN	71.5%	IND	53.7%
TWN	48.0%	HKG	43.4%	ROU	44.4%	TWN	29.7%	GBR	70.4%	TWN	52.4%
LTU	46.1%	IRN	38.7%	RUS	41.5%	TZA	27.8%	MEX	64.4%	GBR	45.2%
HKG	40.9%	IND	33.6%	GRC	40.5%	MEX	26.9%	<b>USA</b>	<b>63.3%</b>	<b>USA</b>	<b>41.9%</b>
IND	39.0%	LTU	31.4%	KOR	38.7%	ROU	25.9%	IND	62.7%	MLT	41.2%
<b>USA</b>	<b>37.8%</b>	HUN	25.0%	GTM	38.1%	KOR	23.3%	TWN	61.6%	MEX	41.1%
IRN	37.5%	SGP	24.3%	TWN	35.6%	LTU	22.4%	SWE	58.9%	ZAF	40.0%
HUN	32.2%	TZA	22.2%	ZAF	33.3%	VEN	22.4%	LTU	55.2%	GTM	39.0%
GTM	30.6%	ZAF	20.7%	ISR	29.9%	GTM	17.8%	HUN	54.2%	HKG	37.3%
AUS	30.4%	GTM	17.0%	JPN	29.3%	IRN	17.3%	CAN	53.3%	ISR	36.9%
BRA	29.4%	<b>USA</b>	<b>16.8%</b>	TZA	28.1%	HKG	17.1%	HKG	52.0%	VEN	36.2%
GBR	26.8%	GBR	15.3%	VEN	27.0%	ISR	17.0%	VEN	51.4%	KOR	35.0%
MEX	26.7%	DEU	12.5%	DEU	27.0%	DEU	16.7%	GRC	50.0%	LTU	34.1%
ZAF	26.7%	MLT	12.4%	HKG	26.4%	GRC	15.0%	MLT	48.2%	SWE	33.6%
TZA	26.6%	NLD	11.9%	HUN	23.7%	SGP	14.1%	NLD	47.6%	DEU	28.7%
NZL	24.2%	NZL	11.2%	LTU	23.4%	ZAF	14.1%	JPN	46.5%	JPN	25.0%
SGP	24.1%	CAN	9.9%	MLT	22.2%	HUN	13.3%	DEU	46.0%	BEL	23.7%
CAN	23.8%	VEN	9.2%	BEL	21.5%	MLT	11.3%	NZL	45.5%	CAN	23.5%
MLT	22.2%	AUS	9.1%	SGP	20.5%	CHE	10.9%	BEL	40.9%	TZA	23.2%
PRT	21.9%	CHE	8.2%	SWE	19.0%	BEL	10.4%	ISR	40.3%	CHE	22.5%
GRC	21.6%	GRC	7.5%	<b>USA</b>	<b>18.7%</b>	<b>USA</b>	<b>8.8%</b>	ZAF	40.0%	AUS	20.2%
VEN	21.6%	CHN	6.4%	CAN	17.8%	GBR	6.5%	KOR	39.8%	HUN	20.0%
ISR	19.4%	MEX	6.1%	PRT	16.6%	CAN	6.4%	BRA	39.1%	BRA	19.3%
DEU	17.8%	PRT	5.6%	GBR	14.1%	AUS	5.8%	AUS	37.0%	SGP	18.6%
NLD	17.5%	BEL	5.4%	CHE	11.8%	BRA	5.6%	PRT	35.1%	NZL	18.1%
BEL	16.1%	ISR	5.3%	NLD	9.5%	PRT	5.2%	CHE	33.3%	NLD	17.7%
SWE	16.0%	ROU	4.9%	BRA	7.6%	NLD	5.2%	ROU	29.6%	GRC	14.5%
ROU	14.8%	BRA	4.1%	AUS	6.5%	SWE	4.7%	SGP	27.7%	ROU	14.2%
CHE	6.9%	SWE	2.2%	NZL	6.1%	NZL	4.3%	TZA	25.9%	PRT	11.9%

Shaded boxes indicate statistically significant gender differences in the USA ( $p < 0.001$ ).

Table 9. Percent Agreement with Sexual Violence Approval Measures by Nation and Gender

Raped Woman Asked for It				Ok to Force Sex on Wife				Man Cannot Stop			
Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
IRN	54.2%	CHN	38.9%	TZA	70.5%	TZA	78.7%	IND	62.7%	TZA	66.7%
CHN	44.4%	HKG	29.4%	IND	54.2%	IRN	46.7%	TZA	61.2%	KOR	62.0%
LTU	39.6%	LTU	27.1%	ZAF	46.7%	IND	37.3%	RUS	59.0%	IND	61.9%
GRC	33.8%	TZA	21.3%	IRN	37.5%	SGP	21.5%	IRN	58.3%	GTM	60.5%
IND	27.1%	IRN	20.0%	GRC	31.1%	ZAF	20.0%	MEX	57.8%	GRC	53.0%
TZA	23.7%	IND	11.2%	CHN	26.2%	MLT	14.4%	GRC	56.8%	IRN	52.0%
HKG	22.8%	TWN	10.3%	SGP	21.7%	CHN	11.8%	CHN	53.2%	LTU	47.2%
TWN	15.1%	MEX	9.1%	MLT	18.5%	RUS	11.0%	KOR	52.7%	SGP	46.9%
ROU	14.8%	RUS	6.9%	RUS	16.4%	GRC	10.3%	TWN	50.7%	ZAF	45.9%
RUS	14.2%	KOR	6.8%	LTU	15.6%	NZL	9.5%	GTM	48.5%	MEX	44.7%
MEX	11.1%	VEN	5.8%	BRA	15.2%	JPN	8.3%	SGP	47.0%	RUS	44.5%
VEN	10.8%	SGP	5.7%	ROU	14.8%	KOR	6.1%	ZAF	46.7%	MLT	42.3%
SGP	8.4%	MLT	4.1%	KOR	11.8%	TWN	4.9%	ISR	43.3%	TWN	40.48%
GTM	7.5%	ROU	4.1%	HKG	11.8%	LTU	4.7%	MLT	40.7%	HUN	40.2%
ISR	7.5%	GRC	3.7%	JPN	10.1%	VEN	4.6%	DEU	39.9%	HKG	38.7%
MLT	7.4%	ZAF	3.7%	TWN	9.6%	GTM	4.2%	HKG	39.8%	ROU	38.5%
BRA	6.5%	ISR	2.5%	GTM	9.0%	CAN	4.2%	VEN	38.7%	JPN	38.0%
KOR	6.5%	BRA	2.0%	<b>USA</b>	<b>8.4%</b>	HKG	3.9%	JPN	37.4%	VEN	36.2%
CHE	5.9%	CAN	2.0%	HUN	6.8%	BRA	3.6%	PRT	37.1%	CHE	35.2%
HUN	5.1%	<b>USA</b>	<b>1.9%</b>	VEN	6.3%	ROU	3.2%	ROU	37.0%	CHN	34.75%
AUS	4.4%	GTM	1.7%	CAN	6.0%	<b>USA</b>	<b>3.2%</b>	CHE	36.3%	ISR	29.8%
GBR	4.2%	CHE	1.5%	MEX	4.4%	ISR	2.8%	LTU	35.7%	PRT	29.0%
CAN	4.1%	BEL	1.5%	GBR	4.2%	MEX	2.5%	BRA	31.5%	DEU	28.33%
<b>USA</b>	<b>3.4%</b>	PRT	1.4%	CHE	3.9%	HUN	2.5%	AUS	30.4%	GBR	26.2%
PRT	3.3%	DEU	1.4%	BEL	3.8%	AUS	1.9%	GBR	29.6%	<b>USA</b>	<b>24.5%</b>
DEU	3.1%	NZL	0.9%	PRT	3.3%	BEL	1.8%	BEL	26.9%	NZL	23.3%
NZL	3.0%	AUS	0.8%	NZL	3.0%	GBR	1.6%	<b>USA</b>	<b>25.9%</b>	SWE	21.5%
JPN	2.0%	SWE	0.8%	ISR	3.0%	PRT	0.7%	SWE	23.3%	AUS	20.2%
BEL	1.6%	NLD	0.8%	DEU	2.5%	DEU	0.6%	NZL	21.2%	CAN	19.03%
SWE	0.6%	HUN	0.5%	AUS	2.2%	NLD	0.5%	CAN	20.2%	BEL	18.5%
NLD	0.0%	GBR	0.0%	SWE	0.6%	SWE	0.2%	NLD	19.1%	BRA	15.74%
ZAF	0.0%	JPN	0.0%	NLD	0.0%	CHE	0.0%	HUN	18.6%	NLD	15.4%

Shaded boxes indicate statistically significant gender differences in the USA (p<0.01).