

Ethical Orientations and Practices

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The Worlds of Journalism Study 3 (WJS3) included two series of questions related to professional ethics. The first series examined journalists' principal ethical positions, aiming to establish how media professionals situate themselves along moral frameworks discussed in recognized ethical theory. The second series focused on specific ethical situations that may arise in journalistic practice, particularly in newsgathering and news production, to assess the likelihood of journalists engaging in controversial methods.

Both sets of questions were also included in the previous Worlds of Journalism Study 2 (WJS2). All items in each series were mandatory, with approximately 99% valid responses for each item. However, in WJS3, some ethically challenging scenarios were phrased slightly differently, and a few new practices were added—for example, a question regarding the publication of promotional content disguised as news.

ETHICAL ORIENTATIONS

The Worlds of Journalism Study examines four principal ethical positions: absolutist, exceptionist, situationist, and subjectivist. These archetypes are derived from the Ethics Position Questionnaire developed by the American social psychologist Donelson Forsyth (1980), which identifies people's ethical preferences along two dimensions: idealism (concern for consequences) and relativism (concern

for principles). In WJS3, the survey measured the four archetypes through four statements, with responses ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Globally, journalists expressed the strongest support for the absolutist position, associated with high idealism and low relativism, with a mean country score of 4.02 (see Table 15). This position was captured by the statement "What is ethical for journalists should always be determined by professional standards regardless of situation and personal judgment." The results indicate that, across the globe, journalists generally anchor their ethical judgments in externally agreed professional standards rather than individual ethical considerations. These findings reflect journalists' perceptions and opinions, rather than an assessment of their actual practices.

The mean scores for the other positions were substantially lower, in the following order: exceptionist (3.31), which holds that ethics should follow professional standards except in "extraordinary circumstances"; situationist (2.78), advocating ethical behavior based on "each specific situation"; and subjectivist (2.36), which emphasizes "personal judgment" in ethical decision-making. These results are slightly different from WJS2. In particular, we see one interesting trend emerge over time: In the majority of the 53 countries included in both WJS2 and WJS3, journalists were less likely to support an absolutist stance, and more likely to support an exceptionist stance. This suggests that journalists may be becoming less idealistic in their ethical

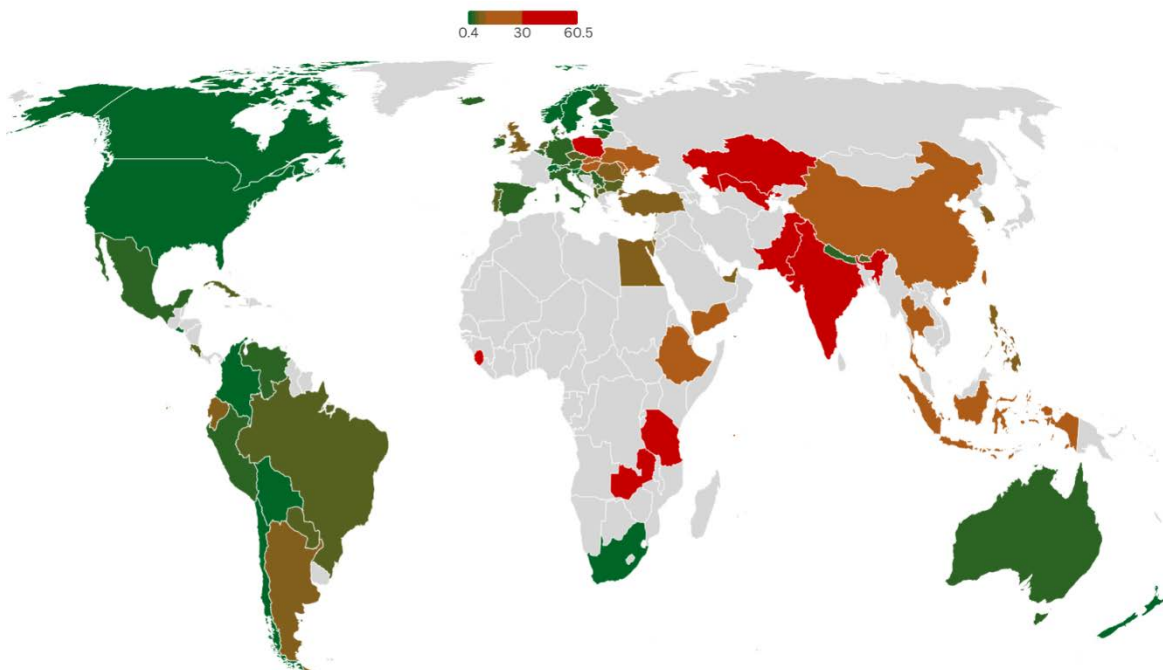


FIGURE 8: ACCEPTANCE OF BROWN ENVELOPES

Percentages of journalists who justified the acceptance of money from sources

stances.

Some cultural and regional patterns emerge in general. The exceptionist position, characterized by low idealism and low relativism, was more prevalent in high-income countries of the Global North. Eleven out of twelve countries where the exceptionist score exceeded the absolutist score were high-income economies in Europe, North America, Oceania, or Asia. Conversely, nearly all countries in the Global South, including China, showed stronger adherence to absolutist ethics. The highest scores for situationist and subjectivist positions also emerged in low- and middle-income Global South countries, although overall support for these positions remained comparatively low.

At the country level, ethical preferences sometimes produced seemingly paradoxical results. Certain countries, such as Bhutan, Thailand, and North Macedonia, ranked among the top 10 in all four positions, despite the partial contradictions among them. This can be explained by the survey design, which allowed respondents to rate each position independently, and by acquiescence bias—the tendency for respondents, particularly from collectivist cultures, to agree with statements more strongly than those from individualist cultures (Franzen & Vogl, 2011).

ETHICAL PRACTICES

The survey asked respondents to react to 10 professional dilemmas drawn from global journalism practice. Journalists could indicate whether such actions would be “always” justified, justified “on occasion,” or not approved of “under any circumstances”.

Overall, journalists were most likely to approve the use of hidden recording devices (69%), while accepting money from sources received the lowest approval (10%) (see Table 16). Publishing or broadcasting news based on unverified information was also widely disapproved of, with only 21% seeing it as acceptable, suggesting a general awareness of disinformation. Country-level differences were substantial: journalists in Latin America were highly skeptical of publishing unverified information, whereas around half of Nordic journalists considered it justifiable on occasion.

Practices associated with “watchdog” journalism, aimed at holding the powerful accountable, tended to receive more support. A good example is the use of personal documents without permission, which was split into two questions to distinguish between documents of powerful individuals and those of “ordinary” people. Journalists were far more accepting of using the personal documents of powerful people (56%) than of ordinary people (31%), indicating broad global support for holding the powerful accountable. A closer look at the data reveals that journalists from Nordic and other European countries often justified controversial methods when necessary to expose misbehavior or retrieve information. One of the practices generally accepted at least occasionally by European journalists was the use of materials of powerful people without permission and the adoption of a concealed identity to uncover information. Local laws and practices, however, play an important role: US journalists are among the most cautious globally regarding assuming another identity and are less approving of hidden recording devices than many other Western journalists, reflecting the explicit legal restrictions on secret recordings in the United States.

Journalists in the East and South, in contrast, were more inclined to accept practices associated with personal gain or corruption. A notable example is the acceptance of money from sources, known as “brown envelope journalism” in Africa, which was completely rejected by almost all journalists in Western countries (as well as South Africa and Bolivia) but accepted on occasion by many journalists in Asia and Latin America (see Figure 8). It is noteworthy that some acceptance of this practice was observed in Poland and Hungary.

A new topic introduced in WJS3 concerns promotional material disguised as news. The exploitation of news formats by advertisers and the blurring of lines between marketing and journalism have grown rapidly worldwide in recent years. This trend reflects the increasing tension within media organizations as they strive to sustain or develop viable business models in an environment where most advertising revenue is channeled toward global digital platforms. Our analysis shows that more than three-quarters of journalists (77%) completely rejected promotional journalism. At the same time, some journalists admitted to being tempted by the practice and could justify it under certain circumstances. The findings reveal a clear variation along cultural and economic lines: journalists in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia were relatively permissive, whereas those in Europe and North America strongly rejected it. This pattern may be explained by the historically strong separation between journalism and public relations in Europe and North America. Journalists in Latin America and several emerging economies fell somewhere in between.

CONCLUSION

Journalists worldwide showed strong support for the absolutist ethical position, which holds that journalistic rules and professional behavior should remain consistent regardless of changing contexts. Simultaneously, a notable number of journalists in Western countries rated the exceptionist position even higher, acknowledging that there are circumstances in which universal codes may be justifiably bypassed for a higher purpose. When faced with specific ethical dilemmas, media professionals in Western countries generally justified controversial reporting methods aimed at exposing wrongdoing. In contrast, journalists in the Global South were more likely to accept behaviors motivated by monetary or material gain, though most still rejected such practices outright.

Overall, the findings on journalists’ interactions with information sources highlight a strong commitment to normative professional principles in daily practice. Respondents consistently endorsed the avoidance of conflicts of interest, resistance to corrupt practices, and a general rejection of publishing unverified information. At the same time, the data suggest that occasional deviations from strict ethical absolutism are considered acceptable, particularly when journalists prioritize the public’s right to access essential information. The results also reveal internal heterogeneity within the profession, showing that certain regions and countries are more open to controversial practices that may compromise established journalistic standards. Importantly, there remain country- and regional-level differences, even among states with ostensibly similar media systems.

TABLE 15: ETHICAL ORIENTATIONS (“WHAT IS ETHICAL FOR JOURNALISTS SHOULD...”)

Country	...always be determined by professional standards regardless of situation and personal judgment		...be determined by professional standards unless extraordinary circumstances require disregarding them		...depend on each specific situation		...be a matter of personal judgment	
	WJS2	WJS3	WJS2	WJS3	WJS2	WJS3	WJS2	WJS3
Albania	4.43	4.64	3.01	3.39	3.47	2.33	2.89	1.75
Argentina	4.38	3.93	2.27	2.67	2.76	2.10	2.54	2.25
Australia	4.67	3.53	2.49	3.53	2.98	3.09	2.23	2.34
Austria	4.64	4.11	1.95	2.91	3.03	2.61	2.31	1.88
Belgium	4.39	3.35	2.73	3.34	3.29	2.77	2.32	1.90
Bhutan	4.72	4.52	3.43	3.97	4.14	3.63	3.35	2.90
Bolivia		4.44		2.92		2.18		2.47
Brazil	4.40	4.10	2.31	3.13	2.76	2.48	2.21	1.76
Bulgaria		4.19		3.24		2.72		2.39
Canada	4.51	3.36	2.70	3.53	3.15	2.82	2.16	1.96
Chile	4.49	4.58	2.41	2.59	2.73	2.25	2.34	2.18
China	4.51	4.47	2.55	2.26	2.82	2.48	2.31	2.20
Colombia	4.52	4.32	2.02	2.40	2.60	2.09	2.75	2.47
Costa Rica		4.32		2.64		2.38		2.23
Croatia	4.69	4.37	2.09	2.15	2.57	2.30	2.60	2.35
Cuba		3.99		3.04		2.54		1.94
Czech Republic	4.33	3.71	3.52	3.43	3.37	2.75	2.61	2.45
Denmark	3.98	3.48	3.12	3.80	3.02	2.84	2.47	2.22
Ecuador	4.79	4.21	2.60	2.87	2.93	2.48	3.05	2.76
Egypt	4.56	4.35	2.63	3.49	2.85	3.20	3.30	2.63
El Salvador	4.71	4.38	2.53	2.75	3.19	2.41	2.80	2.26
Estonia	4.49	4.30	2.33	3.32	3.23	2.76	2.27	2.83
Ethiopia	3.11	4.02	3.53	3.63	3.27	3.23	2.59	2.37
Finland	4.65	3.97	1.97	2.99	2.60	2.22	2.40	1.79
Germany	4.60	4.34	2.03	2.51	3.15	2.40	2.08	1.74
Hong Kong	4.32	4.23	2.87	3.33	3.30	3.31	3.01	2.95
Hungary	4.30	3.88	2.91	3.28	3.29	2.58	2.48	2.08
Iceland	4.35	4.36	2.49	3.60	2.42	2.45	2.42	2.46
India	4.10	4.04	3.08	3.69	3.64	3.44	2.99	3.13
Indonesia	4.77	4.69	2.47	3.29	2.67		2.24	2.14
Ireland	4.37	3.42	2.78	3.48	3.28	2.88	2.64	2.35
Israel	4.29	3.64	2.75	3.49	3.09	2.62	2.31	2.07
Italy	4.62	3.98	2.31	3.01	2.57	2.32	1.86	1.70
Kazakhstan		3.70		3.62		3.42		3.14
Kosovo	4.76	4.14	2.66	3.14	3.22	2.48	2.53	1.95
Latvia	4.66	4.17	2.75	3.36	2.98	2.84	2.90	2.38
Lithuania		4.20		3.57		2.52		1.71
Mexico	4.73	4.49	2.93	3.29	3.36	2.46	3.00	2.45
Moldova	4.48	4.24	2.54	3.57	3.35	2.88	2.39	2.28
Nepal		4.29		3.82		2.55		2.53
Netherlands	4.30	3.09	3.14	3.72	3.61	3.12	2.99	2.47
New Zealand	4.64	3.25	2.63	3.65	3.24	3.17	2.63	2.46
North Cyprus		4.36		2.85		2.64		2.45
North Macedonia		4.85		3.83		3.36		2.84
Norway	4.68	4.19	2.55	3.56	3.17	2.80	2.86	2.48
Pakistan		3.76		3.41		3.27		2.76
Paraguay		4.25		3.07		2.64		2.91
Peru		3.69		2.70		2.17		2.63
Philippines	4.60	4.07	2.78	3.77	3.34	3.25	3.00	2.64
Poland		3.31		3.30		3.45		3.06
Portugal	4.60	4.09	2.40	4.60	2.58	2.16	1.98	1.54
Romania	4.50	4.20	2.39	3.13	3.11	2.45	2.27	1.97
Serbia	4.67	4.16	1.93	3.19	2.62	2.59	2.41	2.27
Seychelles		3.76		3.24		2.87		2.38
Sierra Leone	4.80	4.38	3.72	3.65	3.53	3.29	2.99	2.82
Singapore	3.06	3.55	3.03	3.70	3.14	3.05	2.71	2.22
Slovakia		4.29		3.16		2.30		1.90
Slovenia		4.44		3.16		2.03		1.57
South Africa	4.54	4.12	2.49	3.56	2.77	2.66	2.36	1.94
South Korea	4.36	3.69	2.16	3.76	2.38	3.12	2.33	2.43
Spain	4.39	3.87	2.17	3.19	2.58	2.71	2.14	2.09
Sweden	4.58	4.50	3.53	4.23	3.30	2.69	2.93	2.43
Switzerland	4.50	3.79	2.36	3.17	3.24	2.72	2.17	1.81
Taiwan		3.01		3.37		3.95		2.21
Tanzania	4.19	3.61	3.19	3.39	3.18	3.41	3.19	2.47
Thailand	4.76	4.67	3.87	3.85	3.95	3.50	3.90	3.35
Turkey	4.40	4.14	2.12	3.14	2.90	3.18	2.38	2.40
UAE	4.75	4.02	2.67	3.79	3.72	3.46	3.08	2.96
UK	4.56	3.59	2.79	3.71	3.49	3.01	2.74	2.37
Ukraine		3.83		3.43		2.56		2.37
USA	4.66	3.23	2.11	3.66	2.67	2.94	1.93	2.23
Uzbekistan		2.82		2.94		2.87		2.84
Venezuela		4.15		2.70		2.24		2.28
Yemen		3.98		3.04		3.01		4.01
Zambia		4.31		3.84		2.99		2.42
Average¹	4.47	4.02	2.66	3.31	3.09	2.78	2.59	2.36

¹Average across the countries listed in the table (the original WJS2 sample included 67 countries)

Mean scores. Question: “The following statements describe different responses journalists may have to ethical problems. For each of them, please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree.” (Scale: 5 = Strongly agree; 4 = Agree; 3 = Neither agree nor disagree; 2 = Disagree; 1 = Strongly disagree.)

TABLE 16: ETHICAL PRACTICES

Country	Claiming to be somebody else		Using hidden recording devices		Using confidential business or government documents without authorization		Using personal documents without permission	Using personal materials of powerful people without permission		Using personal materials of ordinary people without permission
	WJS2	WJS3	WJS2	WJS3	WJS2	WJS3	WJS2	WJS3	WJS3	WJS3
Albania	46.8%	27.9%	81.4%	72.8%	68.6%	62.5%	46.0%	64.9%	31.2%	
Argentina	42.2%	24.2%	61.7%	56.6%	72.5%	66.2%	27.4%	53.2%	23.4%	
Australia	13.4%	17.6%	42.4%	54.4%	76.2%	80.3%	48.3%	74.3%	55.0%	
Austria	48.6%	41.6%	66.4%	59.4%	80.0%	74.6%	21.7%	59.4%	12.4%	
Belgium	56.0%	68.6%	83.4%	92.0%	79.4%	87.4%	36.0%	72.4%	32.6%	
Bhutan	49.4%	46.6%	70.1%	62.1%	69.3%	46.6%	51.1%	47.7%	33.7%	
Bolivia		16.1%		48.4%		33.3%		35.4%	20.1%	
Brazil	56.7%	50.0%	88.0%	87.7%	77.9%	79.1%	36.9%	74.8%	41.9%	
Bulgaria	56.7%	44.1%	86.2%	71.5%	75.2%	59.4%	24.4%	38.1%	14.2%	
Canada	38.7%	49.7%	85.1%	86.9%	89.9%	89.9%	57.5%	86.8%	61.8%	
Chile	48.6%	24.4%	64.7%	52.4%	71.1%	59.5%	36.5%	56.4%	29.9%	
China	86.3%	90.0%	81.3%	85.0%	38.1%	14.4%	27.5%	25.0%	20.2%	
Colombia	20.2%	22.2%	34.4%	52.0%	22.7%	45.4%	10.4%	43.8%	20.8%	
Costa Rica		34.1%		70.7%		66.8%		57.6%	25.3%	
Croatia	46.9%	42.5%	59.2%	66.5%	74.5%	73.5%	27.2%	66.5%	18.8%	
Cuba		31.2%		60.5%		49.3%		39.1%	17.0%	
Czech Republic	66.5%	61.5%	89.6%	84.8%	80.5%	65.8%	44.0%	70.3%	36.5%	
Denmark	70.4%	81.6%	95.1%	99.2%	90.9%	94.9%	54.3%	89.2%	55.1%	
Ecuador	31.2%	17.4%	47.2%	53.2%	36.7%	40.5%	24.2%	39.8%	25.1%	
Egypt	38.4%	39.9%	47.7%	52.5%	50.5%	32.3%	38.4%	22.5%	15.1%	
El Salvador	31.7%	38.9%	42.9%	55.8%	48.0%	63.5%	21.1%	60.1%	16.3%	
Estonia	62.7%	64.6%	63.8%	64.9%	68.3%	69.1%	25.5%	56.5%	28.1%	
Ethiopia	40.4%	59.2%	39.3%	66.9%	22.5%	48.9%	20.7%	40.1%	34.4%	
Finland	64.6%	59.7%	70.2%	77.5%	84.1%	74.3%	30.7%	62.1%	14.9%	
Germany	49.9%	39.1%	54.9%	45.2%	77.6%	65.9%	16.7%	65.1%	12.5%	
Hong Kong	71.8%	82.7%	78.8%	96.5%	74.5%	92.7%	62.4%	92.0%	64.1%	
Hungary	56.7%	52.6%	71.9%	65.3%	56.9%	53.4%	47.3%	47.9%	16.8%	
Iceland	36.4%	59.9%	77.9%	80.2%	84.1%	86.0%	39.3%	79.5%	48.0%	
India	49.5%	59.0%	75.0%	74.3%	49.9%	54.7%	31.6%	52.3%	43.5%	
Indonesia	30.7%	29.4%	83.8%	69.6%	52.2%	41.7%	23.5%	23.1%	32.8%	
Ireland	44.5%	46.1%	88.0%	76.9%	91.7%	85.9%	55.5%	79.1%	43.8%	
Israel	58.3%	60.7%	84.7%	91.4%	65.1%	69.9%	42.3%	68.5%	38.4%	
Italy	60.2%	47.4%	76.6%	74.3%	76.5%	69.5%	41.7%	58.7%	26.3%	
Kazakhstan		54.2%		67.4%		45.4%		49.1%	42.5%	
Kosovo	35.9%	39.6%	63.4%	66.7%	58.9%	48.4%	29.9%	51.1%	29.0%	
Latvia	78.3%	77.0%	91.2%	93.3%	75.6%	81.1%	36.8%	71.6%	38.6%	
Lithuania		47.7%		57.6%		60.5%		40.7%	14.2%	
Mexico	41.4%	41.0%	59.6%	65.7%	58.5%	56.9%	22.1%	57.5%	19.2%	
Moldova	83.2%	58.0%	85.8%	88.2%	67.0%	59.0%	39.5%	59.0%	29.5%	
Nepal		39.3%		49.7%		26.7%		32.5%	17.7%	
Netherlands	54.0%	67.2%	84.3%	88.1%	84.4%	92.1%	46.3%	72.9%	44.3%	
New Zealand	25.9%	35.4%	74.9%	75.6%	83.4%	86.6%	49.6%	79.5%	54.1%	
North Cyprus		62.0%		51.6%		54.6%		42.1%	15.8%	
North Macedonia		34.2%		51.7%		53.3%		46.5%	19.7%	
Norway	67.5%	75.0%	93.7%	95.9%	90.1%	91.4%	51.4%	84.5%	49.9%	
Pakistan		57.2%		67.2%		55.4%		50.1%	42.1%	
Paraguay		22.8%		62.8%		42.6%		45.9%	21.1%	
Peru		10.4%		46.2%		34.3%		31.0%	22.6%	
Philippines	24.7%	18.2%	64.0%	58.7%	67.8%	51.3%	29.9%	50.4%	22.9%	
Poland		40.0%		56.3%		40.0%		36.1%	25.4%	
Portugal	58.6%	65.6%	80.6%	83.3%	78.3%	91.8%	53.3%	92.6%	35.5%	
Romania	87.2%	48.8%	86.7%	76.0%	60.5%	45.2%	29.2%	35.4%	16.3%	
Serbia	36.3%	33.6%	48.2%	49.8%	62.9%	62.9%	16.4%	52.1%	14.2%	
Seychelles		33.3%		52.4%		50.8%		36.5%	28.6%	
Sierra Leone	55.1%	44.4%	79.8%	82.3%	44.6%	51.2%	38.2%	50.2%	49.0%	
Singapore	33.0%	34.8%	55.4%	75.0%	46.7%	53.8%	33.3%	62.0%	45.7%	
Slovakia		49.1%		61.7%		52.3%		50.0%	21.3%	
Slovenia		60.9%		79.9%		83.1%		70.2%	20.7%	
South Africa	39.7%	33.1%	77.5%	71.2%	75.3%	76.8%	46.9%	72.4%	47.0%	
South Korea	85.9%	35.1%	68.6%	84.1%	85.9%	73.0%	43.3%	75.7%	29.7%	
Spain	46.8%	29.4%	54.9%	49.6%	81.8%	60.8%	35.0%	56.3%	21.5%	
Sweden	85.1%	81.1%	98.1%	95.2%	96.5%	90.2%		85.0%	36.2%	
Switzerland	49.8%	52.6%	66.6%	71.3%	82.9%	84.6%	28.9%	74.4%	18.6%	
Taiwan		19.4%		82.2%		54.0%		56.5%	36.9%	
Tanzania	1.5%	59.9%	9.7%	69.7%	4.4%	60.2%	9.7%	54.9%	53.6%	
Thailand	43.2%	21.9%	62.0%	49.5%	46.4%	19.5%	40.4%	20.1%	18.8%	
Turkey	77.7%	77.5%	60.0%	62.3%	79.6%	68.6%	33.7%	58.0%	42.3%	
UAE	28.4%	28.3%	23.6%	26.2%	22.7%	14.6%	17.4%	15.6%	10.0%	
UK	46.4%	55.0%	78.4%	79.6%	81.3%	84.7%	47.2%	79.8%	47.3%	
Ukraine		54.6%		78.4%		58.9%		65.9%	31.4%	
USA	11.6%	13.4%	63.8%	57.8%	75.8%	69.4%	41.1%	69.9%	37.8%	
Uzbekistan		50.9%		76.2%		62.8%		72.2%	53.0%	
Venezuela		31.9%		69.3%		62.8%		50.8%	23.6%	
Yemen		11.0%		61.8%		50.5%		29.0%	14.1%	
Zambia		31.5%		65.8%		33.6%		26.6%	20.3%	
Average¹	49.5%	44.9%	68.9%	68.8%	67.0%	61.2%	35.7%	56.2%	30.6%	

¹Average across the countries listed in the table (the original WJS2 sample included 67 countries)

Percentage of respondents saying "always justified" or "justified on occasion." Question: "Which of the following, if any, do you think may be always justified, or justified on occasion, and which would you not approve of under any circumstances?"

TABLE 16: ETHICAL PRACTICES (CONTINUED)

Country	Paying people for confidential information		Accepting money from sources		Publishing or broadcasting stories with information that is not yet verified		Accepting a free product or service from sources	Producing content that mimics news stories but hides its promotional nature
	WJS2	WJS3	WJS2	WJS3	WJS2	WJS3	WJS3	WJS3
Albania	73.1%	50.9%	7.5%	4.6%	9.5%	13.9%	12.1%	32.9%
Argentina	30.1%	33.5%	4.5%	9.6%	5.3%	25.5%	74.5%	32.2%
Australia	28.4%	31.3%	1.3%	2.2%	35.7%	29.4%	31.6%	10.4%
Austria	44.6%	31.6%	1.5%	2.1%	44.1%	45.6%	19.6%	6.3%
Belgium	33.0%	25.7%	3.2%	2.4%	11.2%	22.8%	33.7%	6.3%
Bhutan	71.6%	35.2%	41.7%	5.7%	38.6%	26.1%	30.2%	40.2%
Bolivia		29.2%		0.7%		7.3%	19.6%	23.7%
Brazil	19.8%	24.3%	1.3%	5.6%	3.2%	9.0%	36.7%	20.3%
Bulgaria	51.7%	35.3%	1.9%	4.7%	3.8%	19.6%	21.6%	23.5%
Canada	34.2%	18.2%	0.9%	0.8%	16.1%	26.0%	26.8%	4.2%
Chile	35.9%	14.4%	10.1%	1.0%	12.9%	9.1%	25.7%	23.7%
China	81.9%	52.7%	18.8%	10.8%	17.7%	6.2%	27.7%	33.2%
Colombia	14.8%	19.3%	3.8%	1.8%	6.6%	6.6%	35.6%	16.1%
Costa Rica		21.4%		4.8%		5.2%	41.5%	19.7%
Croatia	42.4%	31.3%	5.5%	3.2%	12.1%	8.3%	24.3%	19.2%
Cuba		27.7%		4.7%		6.7%	30.9%	19.5%
Czech Republic	59.1%	41.8%	1.7%	4.2%	21.8%	23.3%	29.4%	23.9%
Denmark	21.1%	19.3%	3.0%	2.3%	41.0%	58.9%	23.7%	22.0%
Ecuador	31.9%	33.4%	11.9%	6.4%	13.3%	9.4%	33.1%	24.1%
Egypt	49.3%	48.3%	6.5%	9.0%	10.1%	11.1%	27.6%	45.8%
El Salvador	26.2%	13.0%	4.4%	0.5%	9.3%	1.0%	12.0%	8.2%
Estonia	55.8%	35.2%	12.1%	1.8%	13.2%	11.2%	41.7%	15.1%
Ethiopia	28.4%	43.3%	15.3%	14.2%	10.9%	19.6%	30.2%	36.1%
Finland	41.4%	22.0%	0.5%	2.0%	46.0%	49.9%	32.0%	5.4%
Germany	56.1%	36.9%	4.1%	2.0%	37.5%	40.5%	13.2%	8.0%
Hong Kong	49.7%	40.5%	10.5%	5.5%	34.8%	17.0%	29.4%	15.6%
Hungary	49.6%	48.4%	27.8%	20.5%	45.9%	13.7%	33.2%	27.4%
Iceland	35.1%	49.3%	1.1%	3.0%	37.4%	43.7%	19.0%	5.1%
India	53.4%	50.8%	12.7%	33.0%	17.4%	40.2%	42.9%	44.7%
Indonesia	64.3%	51.8%	16.0%	20.4%	6.9%	9.9%	26.8%	58.9%
Ireland	52.1%	31.4%	3.0%	2.2%	17.7%	17.7%	29.3%	7.7%
Israel	56.0%	59.8%	14.2%	7.4%	23.1%	11.6%	22.0%	17.0%
Italy	38.7%	28.9%	2.3%	2.5%	7.6%	15.3%	37.0%	19.6%
Kazakhstan		53.1%		49.8%		37.7%	48.4%	62.6%
Kosovo	43.1%	33.9%	8.9%	5.4%	10.5%	12.2%	9.0%	9.0%
Latvia	40.9%	34.5%	4.5%	0.4%	19.3%	30.8%	19.1%	9.8%
Lithuania		31.3%		3.3%		41.1%	17.3%	15.9%
Mexico	29.1%	25.5%	5.9%	3.8%	8.0%	7.5%	32.2%	30.2%
Moldova	55.0%	48.2%	5.9%	13.8%	11.4%	18.0%	30.2%	23.0%
Nepal		22.1%		3.5%		7.6%	5.8%	29.2%
Netherlands	42.8%	34.0%	4.7%	4.7%	17.4%	21.1%	37.2%	8.4%
New Zealand	35.7%	19.1%	1.9%	1.2%	23.4%	34.7%	38.1%	6.1%
North Cyprus		27.3%		4.2%		6.6%	14.2%	29.4%
North Macedonia		21.6%		4.4%		7.4%	10.6%	18.8%
Norway	26.8%	24.7%	0.3%	0.8%	27.5%	23.7%	16.4%	3.2%
Pakistan		63.1%		33.6%		37.2%	44.4%	54.3%
Paraguay		33.2%		4.3%		8.7%	28.9%	26.2%
Peru		17.0%		2.4%		2.7%	5.7%	4.8%
Philippines	29.7%	25.8%	4.7%	7.6%	10.8%	7.6%	43.1%	24.9%
Poland		46.3%		32.8%		28.2%	46.4%	32.6%
Portugal	48.6%	65.8%	34.9%	5.2%	47.2%	2.5%	42.1%	1.6%
Romania	58.8%	35.7%	10.4%	7.1%	12.1%	7.6%	17.2%	14.2%
Serbia	47.5%	30.6%	5.2%	2.6%	11.9%	22.4%	23.5%	23.9%
Seychelles		33.3%		11.1%		19.0%	23.8%	20.6%
Sierra Leone	52.2%	62.1%	16.1%	47.2%	14.9%	34.5%	59.1%	59.1%
Singapore	21.5%	39.1%	1.1%	6.5%	15.1%	21.2%	39.7%	21.7%
Slovakia		28.1%		17.5%		22.8%	23.4%	15.8%
Slovenia		25.1%		1.2%		34.9%	4.7%	12.7%
South Africa	21.3%	18.7%	1.1%	0.7%	10.9%	12.5%	25.9%	13.6%
South Korea	61.9%	67.8%	3.7%	9.5%	8.2%	17.0%	19.5%	41.6%
Spain	39.8%	30.2%	2.3%	3.6%	2.1%	12.3%	24.0%	22.5%
Sweden	49.0%	34.4%	0.9%	1.7%	42.9%	53.2%	8.1%	1.7%
Switzerland	28.5%	25.8%	1.1%	1.4%	32.9%	38.4%	26.6%	6.1%
Taiwan		42.5%		15.1%		18.1%	41.6%	53.2%
Tanzania	4.4%	57.0%	79.0%	45.2%	38.6%	41.5%	46.9%	62.0%
Thailand	46.4%	25.5%	34.8%	17.7%	41.4%	21.1%	45.1%	46.4%
Turkey	46.2%	29.8%	3.2%	6.5%	35.8%	11.9%	13.8%	17.3%
UAE	25.2%	22.2%	5.0%	8.1%	6.8%	7.4%	36.1%	40.0%
UK	52.9%	45.8%	4.0%	6.1%	25.2%	30.8%	44.0%	9.1%
Ukraine		51.9%		14.1%		23.2%	42.7%	17.8%
USA	12.7%	13.4%	3.4%	0.7%	10.5%	17.8%	25.4%	6.0%
Uzbekistan		68.5%		60.5%		64.1%	59.7%	62.2%
Venezuela		27.1%		3.8%		5.8%	34.4%	17.3%
Yemen		24.4%		15.5%		21.9%	24.0%	27.2%
Zambia		31.5%		38.8%		13.0%	50.3%	30.5%
Average¹	41.7%	35.1%	9.1%	9.7%	20.3%	20.9%	29.6%	23.3%

¹Average across the countries listed in the table (the original WJS2 sample included 67 countries)

Percentage of respondents saying "always justified" or "justified on occasion." Question: "Which of the following, if any, do you think may be always justified, or justified on occasion, and which would you not approve of under any circumstances?"