Table 3-3. Mapping the domain of human-on-human violence: Illustrative list of forms of violence showing differences in scale, legality, and social approval

	Scale (number of perpetrators)				
Legality and Degree of Social Approval in the Practicing Society	Individual (one-on-one)	Small Group (2-99)	Large Group (100-9,999)	Large Fraction of Society (10,000-10 million)	Society as a Whole, or State on behalf of Society as a Whole
	(including ethnic, religious, political, criminal, and other subcultures)				
Required by law, generally but not always approved by most				Civil war (acts of, or on behalf of, original government)	International war Public execution for infidelity (Saudi Arabia)
Not required, but legal and generally approved or tolerated	Spanking (pre-1960 USA) Abortion (Europe) Defense of self or other against Attempted murder, assault, rape				Police use and threats of use of deadly force against unarmed suspects Female circumcision (Sudan)
Legal, approved by some, opposed by others	Spanking (post-1980 USA) Boxing (USA) Abortion (USA)				Death penalty (USA)
Illegal but tolerated (little public outcry or legal opposition), and/or condoned by a subculture which serves as a reference group for the perpetrator(s)	Teenage and young adult fights Child asexual and physical abuse Spousal sexual and physical abuse	Organized crime Political violence; e.g., terrorism Political violence; e.g., coups d'état Violent ethnic customs (blood feuds, ritual mutilation, etc.)			Police brutality Prison guard brutality
Illegal, socially condemned, and actively opposed by law enforcement institutions and popular culture	Assault Rape Murder Boxing (Europe) Armed robbery Spanking (post-1980 Sweden)	Mob violence Lynching		Civil war (acts of those against government)	Death penalty (Europe)

Source: Author's estimates