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**MAKE LOVE NOT WAR? SEX, SEXUAL MEANINGS, AND VIOLENCE IN A  
SAMPLE OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS\***

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**ABSTRACT**

Some previous studies show that sexual arousal heightens aggression, some show no relationship, and others that sex inhibits aggression. It is suggested that the contradictions can be explained by the failure of these studies to consider the subjective meaning of sexual acts. To empirically test this notion, questionnaires were given to 190 students in three New England colleges. It was found that a high level of sexual activity is associated with a low level of violence, but only if the meaning of that activity is one of a warm, affectionate act. For men who follow the traditional male stereotype of sex as a dominant and exploitative act, higher levels of sexual activity are associated with the aggression and violence typically associated with attempts to dominate ("make love and war"). For women, these relationships were weak or non-existent. Reasons for the sex differences are discussed.

**KEY WORDS:** Violence; sexuality; affection; bonding; dominance.

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**ACQUISITIONS**

The central question addressed by this paper is whether the relationship between sex and violence is one of "the more sex the more violence," or "the more sex the less violence." The latter view is expressed in phrases such as "make love not war" and "the peace and love generation" (Starr, 1974). The former view is represented by psychoanalytic and other theories which assume an evolutionally derived link between aggression and sexual activity.

**THE MORE SEX THE MORE VIOLENCE?**

The most basic link between sex and aggression is found in the evolutionary perspective on male sexuality. In a passage discussing aggression in relation to sex, Freud theorized:

The sexuality of most men shows an admixture of aggression, of a desire to subdue, the biological significance of which lies in the necessity for overcoming the resistance of the sexual object by actions other than mere courting. Sadism would then correspond to an aggressive component of the sexual instinct which has become independent and exaggerated and has been brought to the foreground by displacement (Brill, 1938, p. 569).

One need not look far to find contemporary versions of the idea that aggressiveness is an inherent component of male sexuality (Ardrey, 1967; Morris, 1973; Stoller, 1975; Tiger, 1969). Storr (1972) cites Kinsey as a basis for the argument that similar physiological conditions are present during both sexual arousal and anger. Storr concludes:

...it is not difficult to understand that men and women respond to the portrayal of violence with an excitement which is closely linked experimentally with sexuality (Storr, 1972, p. 75).

A number of anthropological studies have pointed to a link between sex and violence (Ford and Beach, 1951). Mead (1963) for example documents the mixture of sex and aggression in the sexual act among the Mundugumor, where love affairs are aggressive rather than romantic or tender.

The competition and frustration almost inherent in seeking sexual relations has often been identified as a source of aggression and violence in sexual relations. Davis, for example, notes that:

Competition for the same sexual object inflames passions and engenders conflicts; failure

injures one's self esteem (Davis, 1966, pp. 324-325).

These ideas, and also Francouer and Francouer's (1974) concept of "hot sex," ("screwing" in "the most depersonalized sex-object way," p. 14) also figure in a series of studies by Kanin (Kanin, 1957, 1967, 1969; Kanin and Purcell, 1977; Kirkpatrick and Kanin, 1957). The college women in these studies reported many aggressive sexual acts on the parts of their boyfriends. Kanin (1967) found that sexually aggressive males were frustrated because peer group pressures for sexual conquests were greater than their actual sexual accomplishments.

This empirical finding raises the question of the relevance of frustration-aggression theory for understanding the link between sex and violence. It seems from this example that sex and violence go together, but as an instrumental act to secure sexual access, or as an angry and hostile reaction to a rejected overture. On the other hand, if sexual access had been secured by the men in Kanin's studies, there would have been no violence. It might therefore seem as though those findings from Kanin's study support those who argue "the more sex the less violence." In reality, neither Kanin's research nor frustration-aggression theory bear directly on the issues of this paper. Frustration of any powerful drive, need, motive, or desire can lead to violence, and there is nothing special about sex in this respect. Moreover, there is no necessary link between frustration and aggression, much less physical aggression. The empirical linkage which we observe reflects the ways in which members of our society have learned to respond to frustration (Gelles and Straus, 1978).

There are some experimental studies which indicate a positive relationship between sexual arousal or sexual fantasy and aggression. Barclay (1969, 1970, 1971) and Barclay and Haber (1965) exposed subjects to harsh treatment and found more sexual and aggressive imagery in TAT stories than in a control group which was not angered. Increasing hostility evoked sexual fantasies. Gelles (1975) studied the fantasies of college men and women, and found that sex and violence were positively related for men ( $r=.36$ ), but the relationship was negligible for women ( $r=.06$ ). Similarly, Clark (1952) reported that viewing sexually stimulating pictures increased male aggressive fantasies in response to a projective test. Thus, at least on a fantasy level, sex and violence were more associated for men than for women. Consistent with the Barclay and Gelles studies, Maslow (1942) and Hariton and Singer (1974) reported that common sexual fantasies for women included being overpowered by "congenial assailants," being forced to surrender, and being dominated by the male partner.

Behavioral measures have also been used to explore the sex and aggression link. Zillmann (1971) and Zillmann, Hoyt and Day (1974) found that erotic, non-aggressive stimuli increase the frequency of aggression (electric shocks), and even produced more aggressive acts than exposure to aggressive, violent or neutral stimuli. Meyer (1972) combined sexual arousal with angering subjects, and found that heightened sexual arousal facilitates subsequent aggression, but erotic stimuli did not have as much of an aggressive effect as did more aggressive stimuli. Similarly, Jaffe, Malamuth, Feingold and Feshbach (1974) found that unprovoked sexually aroused subjects aggressed in increments of their sexual arousal, that males aggressed more than females, and that both sexes did so more with the opposite than with the same sex.

Several experimental studies support a curvilinear relationship between sex and violence (Baron, 1974, 1978; Baron and Bell, 1973, 1977; Donnerstein and Barrett, 1978; Donnerstein, Donnerstein and Evans, 1975; Jaffe, Malamuth, Feingold and Feshbach, 1974; Zillman and Sapolsky, 1977). Exposure to mild erotica inhibited aggression, while exposure to more arousing stimuli either did not facilitate aggression or increased levels to that of a neutral group. Baron (1978) found that more sexually experienced subjects were more sexually aroused and also did not show aggressive responses. Finally, Feshbach, Malamuth and Drapkin (1974) reported that more aggressive sexual passages were most arousing, suggesting that the reduction of inhibitory tendencies is a mediating link between sexual arousal and aggression.

#### THE MORE SEX THE LESS VIOLENCE?

James Prescott, a neuropsychologist, has been a primary spokesman for the general theory that there is an inverse relationship between sex and violence. Prescott (1975, 1977) draws on animal studies, research on the brain, anthropological data, and psychiatric and sociological studies to support his theory. Prescott's neurological research suggests that physical pleasure is an inhibitor of violent acts. At least some experimental studies show that activity in the part of the brain concerned with physical pleasure is incompatible with aggression. He therefore argues that the failure to develop sensory-affectionate and sexual bonds (including sexual pleasure and sexual activity) is a prime causal antecedent to violence.

Prescott begins by noting the failure of some parents to provide adequate emotional and sensory-touching stimulation for children. This failure is then related to the later problem experienced by children and adolescents to develop secondary affectionate relationships, including pleasurable sexual expression in teenage and adult

relationships. He develops a two-stage "somato-sensory deprivation" theory of violence which argues that even if a child is deprived of emotional-sensual-sexual stimulation, this deprivation can be made up for in adulthood through a reorientation to sexually warm-affectionate relationships. This is supported by his cross tabulation of data on 49 societies (from Textor, 1967). Prescott's tabulation (1975) revealed that adult physical violence could be predicted from the infant physical affection in 73% of the 49 cultures. In the 13 societies where child care did not predict violence, almost all the reversals could be accounted for by whether sexual experience was prohibited or permitted during adolescence.

Data on a sample of 96 college students also support this theory. Prescott (1975) found that subjects with high scores on sexual pleasure are less likely to be violent. Prescott also draws on animal studies by Harlow and others to show that infant primates need to experience physical touch and affection to later be able to mate properly. Harlow (1965) stresses maternal and peer love as a deterrent to aggression and violence. He indicates that peer love is the major determinant of subsequent social and sexual development. This may be true of humans as well as monkeys.

Although Prescott has assembled an impressive body of evidence suggesting an inhibiting relationship between "somato-sensory" pleasure (either in infant-parent relations, adult sexual relations, cross-culturally in sexually permissive norms, or in animal experimental studies), the research of McConahay and McConahay (1977) seriously questions Prescott's cross-cultural findings. They correlated the degree of sexual permissiveness in a random sample of 17 societies with the level of violence in those societies and found essentially no relationship.

#### WHY THE DISCREPANCIES?

When the empirical studies are taken as a whole, it appears that there is a good deal of support for both theories (the more sex the more violence, and the more sex the less violence). We suggest that there are two reasons which seem to account for the conflicting research findings and theories concerning the relationship between sex and violence. The first reason involves methodological problems, while the second reason is largely conceptual.

#### Response Alternatives

The first problem with the empirical studies reviewed in this paper is a design flaw in the experimental studies relating sexual arousal to aggression. The conflicting findings from the experimental studies could be due to

different sequences of exposure to sexual stimuli, angering subjects, various confederate roles, and other artifacts and demand characteristics. Experimental studies which operationalize sex as sexual arousal and which limit the response to electric shock or other aggressive acts can produce misleading findings. These designs do not provide response opportunities which are isomorphic with "real" options in everyday life, i.e., some kind of sexual activity. Because of this, the experimental studies may really be testing a frustration-aggression hypothesis. The stated goal of relating sex to aggression may have been confounded with sexual frustration (whether angering is used or not) due to the lack of response options which more closely simulate "real" opportunities in everyday interaction.

Jaffe's (1975) Experiment II comes the closest to providing a more realistic set of response alternatives. In addition to electric shock he offered a "positive response" option (informing a person of the correct response) as an alternative to punishing another person. Even though no option for sexual release was included, which would be the most "realistic" positive response, it is noteworthy that Jaffe's results were different when he offered the "positive" response option. In contrast to most sex and aggression experiments, including Jaffe's Experiment I, Jaffe's Experiment II found that aggression was lower among the sexually aroused than the non-aroused subjects in his second experiment. This is consistent with our suggestion that design artifacts are one of the explanations for the contradictory findings on sex and aggression.

#### The "Meaning" of Sex

A second problem with the studies reviewed is their failure to account for the subjective meaning of social activity. The symbolic meaning of sex (Gagnon, 1973; Gecas and Libby, 1976), must be considered to predict whether sexual activity will result in more or less aggression or violence. But research to date has not included measures of the symbolic meanings of sex in relation to violence.

For purposes of this paper we will consider the following two meanings of sexual activity: (1) dominant sex, where one (traditionally men) competes against other would-be sexual partners for the sexual favors of a given person, and (2) affectionate sex, which is loving, caring sex, usually associated with women.

Although there has been no previous test of the relationship between the meaning of sexual activity and aggression or violence, Mosher (1970) reported a correlation of .18 between "sex-calloused attitudes" of college men and reported sexual experience. This rather low correlation

indicates that sexual activity and sexual meanings can be treated as separate variables. Mosher found that sex-calloused men viewed dating as a contest where winning meant having intercourse (scoring): a 36% of the men in his sample said "You have to fuck some women before they know who is boss" (1970, p. 321).

The resolution we propose for the problem of the conflicting research on the relation between sex and violence hinges on the difference between people who fall into Mosher's "sex-calloused" group, or who are high on our measure of "Dominant Sex," as compared to those for whom sex means a warm, affectionate, bonding act.

If sex is subjectively defined as an act of dominance and exploitation, then sexual acts or sexual arousal should also arouse the aggression and violence which are associated with attempts to dominate and exploit. But if the subjective meaning of sex is one of interpersonal warmth and supportiveness, then sexual acts or sexual arousal should inhibit tendencies to hurt others. Although there is no way to reanalyze previous research to take the subjective meaning of sex into account, the plausibility of this interpretation of the conflicting findings from previous studies will be examined by analysis of the data to be presented below.

#### SAMPLE AND MEASUREMENT

We examined the contention that the relationship between sex and aggression depends on the subjective meaning of sexual acts using data from a questionnaire completed by 190 students in sociology classes at three New England universities in 1975 (59 males and 131 females; married students were excluded). The questionnaire contained items designed to measure the level of sexual activity, the subjective meaning of such activity, the degree to which the respondent engaged in violent acts, and the degree of approval of violence to obtain socially desirable ends (from Blumenthal *et al.*, 1972). The sex items were factor analyzed (using the SPSS subprogram PA1, Nie *et al.*, 1975), and factor weighted scores were computed for each of the three main factors. This process was also used to compute the measures of violence. Each of the factor scores is described in the Appendix.

#### Sexual Activity and its Meaning

Those who argue that sexual activity inhibits violence are explicitly or implicitly assuming that each sexual act is also an act of human bonding and warmth. Unfortunately, this is not necessarily the case, as can be seen in the extreme with rape. Rape has now come to be recognized as

Table I. Sexual Activity and Meaning, by Social Class and Sex a/

Index or Item	Factor Score Coeff.	Males		Females		F
		BC	WC	BC	WC	
SEXUAL ACTIVITY INDEX (Alpha = .82)						
Coitus in past month (%)	.39519	49.4	42.8	39.0	40.7	0.60
Coital frequency in past yr.	.42340	0.48	0.50	0.51	0.53	0.07
Sex partners in last year	.34637	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.8	0.24
		2.5	1.5	0.8	1.2	5.38**
AFFECTIONATE SEX INDEX (Alpha = .86)						
Affection with sex important	.37209	37.8	39.3	52.8	57.0	13.90**
Sex gives warmth and affection	.40030	2.6	2.9	3.5	3.7	13.17**
Import. to have partner hug	.35646	2.6	2.7	3.3	3.6	10.19**
		2.9	3.0	3.4	3.6	4.72*
DOMINANT SEX INDEX (Alpha = .35)						
Must be dominant to enjoy sex	.25648	62.41	55.42	46.04	46.66	5.78**
Fights can be good for sex	.25430	1.7	1.4	0.66	0.72	13.92**
Likes violent type		1.8	1.6	2.0	1.6	1.09
Admires those with						
many sex partners	.11863	19.0	15.0	12.0	14.0	4.46**
	.39393	1.2	1.2	0.83	0.95	1.69
WARM SEXUAL ACTIVITY		31.7	41.4	54.4	57.0	13.30**

a. Except for the coital frequency item, and where a % sign is shown, the statistics in this table for the individual items are the means based on the following response categories: Never=0, Rarely or occasionally=1, Often=2, Very often=3, Always or almost always=4. For coital frequency, the response categories used were None=0, Once=1, 2 or 3 times=3, 4 or more times=4. The index scores were standardized to a range of 0 to 100 using the PZ score system \*(Straus, 1979, Chapter IV).

\* =  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* =  $p \leq .01$

primarily an act of power, degradation and hostility, and only secondarily an act of sexual gratification (Brownmiller, 1976). But one does not have to go to the extreme of rape to find people for whom the meaning of sex is essentially exploitative and aggressive. "Fuck you" as an insult is a long standing part of our cultural tradition. Even among this and other samples of university students, which might be expected to be a more "liberated" sector of the population, a substantial proportion whose sexual meaning can be described as dominant (McCormick, 1977). "Scoring" has far from disappeared from the college campus.

In view of the above, a fair test of the "make love not war" theory requires that the measure of sex used to test the theory take into account both the level of sexual activity and the meaning attached to that activity. The idea of the more sex the less violence applies only if the sexual script is one in which sexual acts are also acts of human bonding and warmth. To explore this we constructed a measure which will be called "Warm Sexual Activity Index." This measure is an interactive composite of the three measures described below.

(Table I about here)

**Sexual Activity.** The Sexual Activity Index consists of the factor weighted sum of the three items shown in the first section of Table I. The Alpha coefficient of internal consistency reliability of this index is .82.

At least in this sample, the index score shows no significant difference in the overall level of sexual activity between men and women, or between students whose fathers are blue-collar as compared to white collar workers. However, there is a significant difference in the number of sex partners. Men reported more partners than women. Men with blue-collar fathers had the largest number of partners, but among the women, those whose fathers were in white-collar occupations had the larger number of sex partners.

**Affectionate Sex.** As can be seen in Table I, women are significantly higher on Affectionate Sex than are men. Women are more likely than men to say that they want affection with sex, that sex gives them a warm, affectionate feeling, and that it is important to have their sexual partner hug them. These differences are all statistically significant. There is also a slight tendency for white-collar-father groups to be somewhat higher on warm sex than the children of blue-collar fathers.

**Dominant Sex.** Blue-collar men have the highest Dominant Sex scores, followed by white-collar men. As expected, women (whether white or blue-collar) have the lowest scores. The difference between the groups is

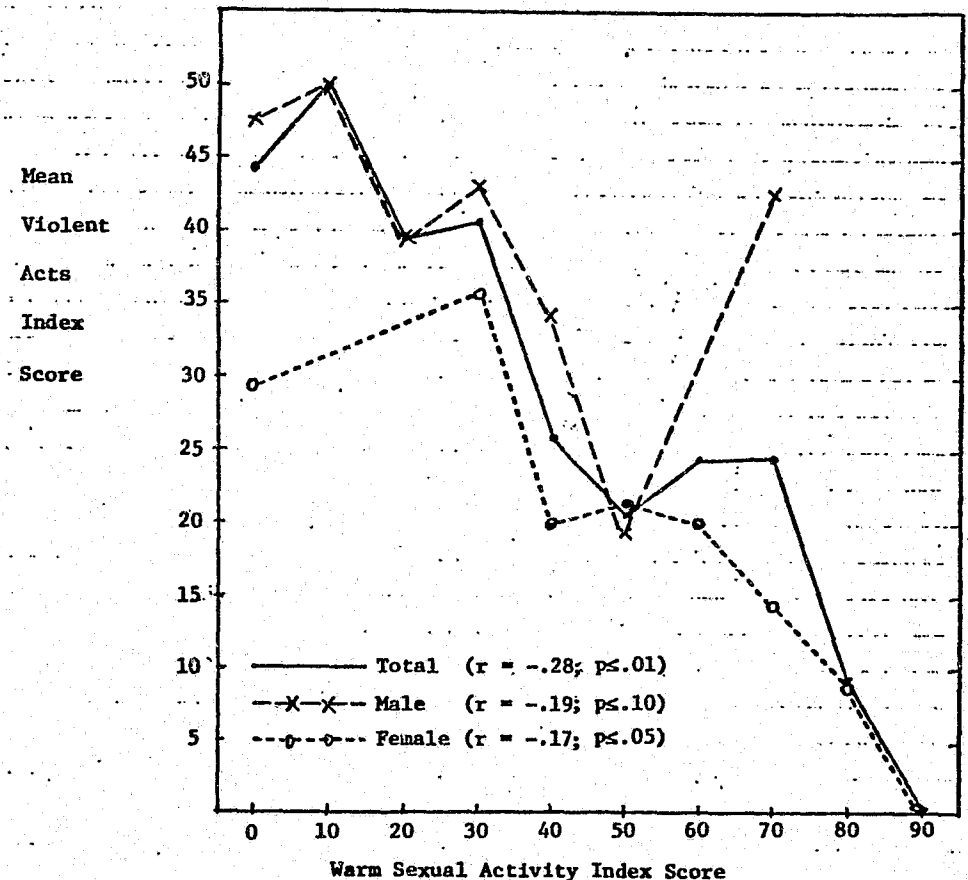


Fig. 1. Mean score on Violent Acts Index by Warm Sexual Activity Index.

significant for the overall index. But in respect to two of the items (enjoyment of sex when dominant, and preferring fights as a prelude to sex) the differences are not statistically significant.

#### The Warm Sexual Activity Index

This index was constructed by first transforming the Sexual Activity, Affectionate Sex, and Dominant Sex Indexes to Z scores in order to express each of these measures in the same units of measurement. Then, the Dominant Sex Index was subtracted from the Affectionate Sex Index, to get a measure of "net warmth." Finally, the Sexual Activity Index was multiplied by the net warmth score. The result is an index in which a high level of sexual activity produces a high score only if the meaning for that activity is high on the affectionate and low on the dominant elements.

Only those who are low on dominant sex and relatively high on affectionate sex would potentially have a high score on warm sex. They would also need a relatively high frequency of reported intercourse. The Warm Sexual Activity Index therefore combines the cognitive-meaning and the behavioral-activity components of sexuality.

#### SEX AND VIOLENT ACTS

Sexual Activity and Violence. The most important tests of the link between sex and violence with our data use as the dependent variable the number of reported acts of physical violence carried out by the respondent, as measured by the Violent Acts Index (see Appendix).

As a first step, we related the Sexual Activity Index with the Violent Acts Index and found a correlation of only .05, indicating that sexual activity, by itself, is almost unrelated to our measure of violence. As explained previously, we think this is because of the difference in meaning attached to these sexual acts. For some they are acts of human bonding. For others they are acts of domination. In the former case, those who are high in sexual frequency should be, if our theory is correct, low in violence. But any such effect is counterbalanced by the opposite effect for those for whom the subjective meaning of sex is that of domination and aggression.

Warm Sexual Activity. It was precisely to deal with this difficulty that the Warm Sexual Activity Index was devised. Using this measure, we expected to find support for the idea that the more interpersonally warm sex, the less violence, and this is exactly what Figure 1 shows.

(Figure 1 about here)

As one moves from left to right in Figure 1 (from low to high scores on the Warm Sexual Activity Index), the average score on the index of violent acts decreases sharply. The trend is nearly linear for the total sample (solid line). The departures from a linear trend when the data are plotted separately for men and women are probably chance fluctuations due to the very small number of women (three) with extremely low scores (0 to 20) on the Warm Sexual Activity Index, and the very small number of men (four) with high scores (60 through 100) on the Warm Sexual Activity Index.

Although Figure 1 shows a clear tendency for interpersonal violence to decrease as warm sexual activity increases, the two variables are not in a specific time order. Therefore, we can only say that warm sexual activity is associated with low interpersonal violence, not that there is a causal relation between the two. However, even though it is not possible to conclude that warm sexual activity causes a reduction in violence, the correlation is consistent with that theory and with the idea of "make love not war."

#### SEX AND VIOLENT ATTITUDES

##### War and Violence for Social Control

Despite the above warm sexual activity was not to be significantly related to Approval of Violence For Social Control, either for the total sample ( $r = -.10$ , n.s.), or for either sex ( $r = -.05$  for males and  $r = -.03$  for females). Similarly, warm sexual activity is not significantly related to approval of war ( $r = -.08$ , n.s.).\*

What could account for the absence of a negative correlation between the Warm Sex Index and our measures of attitude toward war and toward the use of force to maintain public order? The inconsistency of these two correlations with the negative correlations using actual acts of violence as the dependent variable (Figure 1), suggests that it is important to distinguish between person-to-person acts of aggression and violence and violence by government to protect the nation from internal or external threats. The latter do not seem to be related to sexual experiences as measured by the Warm Sex Index.

This finding is parallel to the results obtained by Owens and Straus (1975). They used the amount of interpersonal violence experienced as a child as the independent variable and found that the more violent the childhood experience the greater the approval of interpersonal violence as an adult. However, they found no correlation between childhood violence experience and approval or disapproval of war. Evidently, the impersonal

violence of warfare are too far removed from the kind of violence which children experience for the latter to provide a positive or negative learning experience. But both violence experienced as a child, and dominant calloused sexual experiences are correlated with acts of person-to-person violence.

### Violence for Social Change

We found a significant inverse relationship between warm sexual activity and an index measuring Approval Of Violence For Social Change for females ( $r = -.30$ ,  $p < .005$ ) but not for males ( $r = .12$ , n.s.). The difference between the two correlations is significant ( $z = 2.70$ ,  $p < .005$ ).

### Gun Control

Sex differences show up in other analyses with attitudes as dependent variables. Sexually warm males are more likely to favor gun control\*2 ( $r = .24$ ,  $p < .01$ ), but the relationship does not hold for females ( $r = -.03$ , n.s.). Guns are a key symbol of male power and macho sexuality (the penis is sometimes referred to as a "weapon," and intercourse as "banging"). It is therefore not surprising that men whose sexual experience fits this pattern (as indicated by low scores on the Warm Sexual Activity Index) do not want restrictions on possessing weapons, whereas men who experience sex as a loving, affectionate act favor gun control.

### Violence for Socialization

The final indicator of violent attitudes is Approval of Violence for Socialization. For men, the higher the Warm Sexual Activity Index, the less the approval of Violence For Socialization ( $r = -.22$ ,  $p < .025$ ). This indicates that men who approve of physical punishment by parents or teachers tend to have a low frequency of warm sexual interaction. However, for women warm sexual activity is not significantly related to disapproval of physical punishment ( $r = .09$ ). The difference between correlations for males and females is significant ( $z = 1.966$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

It is possible that this correlation has its origin in the early experience of boys with physical punishment. Boys are physically punished more than girls. Straus (1977) has suggested that physical punishment establishes a link between love and violence; Boys who were raised with a minimum of physical punishment may therefore be less likely to have learned a link between sex and violence and also less likely to favor physical punishment. Such speculations, of course, point to the need for research on

the process by which some men develop the style of sexuality represented by high scores on the Warm Sexual Activity Index. Research on this issue might suggest solutions to many of the problems of sexuality and violence in contemporary society.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A review and theoretical analysis of the previous research on the relationship between sexual activity and aggression revealed great inconsistency in the findings. Some studies and some theories find that sexual arousal is associated with aggression, and others find or argue that sexual activity is associated with lowered levels of aggression. We suggested that a major reason for these discrepancies is that none of the correlational, experimental, or theoretical analyses took into account the critically important variable of the subjective meaning of sexual acts. In this study, however, it was assumed that if sex connoted an act of male dominance, then sexual activity would be associated with the aggression and violence which typically accompany dominance. If, on the other hand, sex connoted an act of warmth and human bonding, then sexual activity would be associated with non-violence.

To test this theory an index of warm sexual activity was constructed and correlated with measures of actual violence and attitudes towards violence in a sample of 190 university students. The results show the anticipated tendency for those high in interpersonally warm sex to be low in aggression and violence. However, this applies only to acts of interpersonal aggression. We found no relationship between warm sexual activity and large scale impersonal acts of aggression and violence (as measured by believing in the inevitability of war, or using force to achieve needed social changes, or to suppress rioters and criminals). Furthermore, the findings apply, as might be expected, primarily to men because our theory is based on differences between those for whom the subjective meaning of sex corresponds to the traditional male view, as compared to those whose view is more like the traditional female view of sex.

With respect to the "make love not war" formulation, our results indicate that the validity of this assertion depends on a number of contingencies. First, it depends on the type of war. If it is the "battle of sexes" or other person-to-person violence, the answer is yes. If it is a battle in Vietnam, the answer is no. Second, it depends on the sex of the person. The link between sex and violence is primarily a male phenomenon, so it follows that the relationships we found apply minimally or not at all to women. Finally, it depends on a view of sex as a cognitively and socially scripted behavior, rather than a

purely physiological determined act. If the meaning of sex is that of a dominant, exploitative act, then the reverse prevails: "make love and war." The principle of "make love not war" seems to apply only to those men who are able to break out of male stereotypes of sexuality, and for whom the meaning of sex is an act of warmth and human bonding.

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## FOOTNOTES

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1. The question used to measure gun control attitudes was: "Congress should pass a strict gun-control law." The four response categories ranged from 1. Disagree a great deal to 4. Agree a great deal.

2. Pro-war attitudes were measured by adding the extent of agreement with the question "Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict" to the extent of disagreement with the question "Our government is too ready to use military force in dealing with other countries." The responses categories are the same as for the gun control item.

## Appendix

## VIOLENCE MEASURES

Factor weights were used to construct indexes for five different aspects of violence. The violence factors, their component items and factor score coefficients (in parentheses) follow:

Violent Acts. This index is based on the Violence Scale of the Conflict Tactics Scales (Straus, 1979). The page on which these items appeared was headed: "Everyone gets into conflicts with other people and sometimes these lead to physical blows such as hitting really hard, kicking, punching, stabbing, throwing someone down, etc. The following questions ask about how often these things happened to you, and how often you saw them happen to others, during your last year in high school." The response categories were: Never = 0, Once that year = 1, Two or three times that year = 2, Often, but less than once a month = 3, About once a month = 4, More than once a month = 5. The violence index in this paper uses only the three items which refer to violent acts carried out by the respondent: These items and their factor score coefficients are: "I did to my father" (.20839), "I did to my mother" (.62951), and "I did to someone outside my family" (.15930).

Approval of Violence for Social Change. This index is taken from Blumenthal et al. (1972). Respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed or disagreed (scored Disagree a great deal = 1, Disagree somewhat = 2, Agree somewhat = 3, Agree a great deal = 4) with the following four items: "Protest in which some people are hurt is necessary for changes to come fast enough" (.27486), "Protest in which there is some property damage is necessary for changes to come fast enough" (.26062), "Protest in which there is much property damage is necessary for changes to come fast enough" (.40373), "Protest in which some people are killed is necessary before changes will take place fast enough" (.17888).

Approval of Violence for Social Control. This index is also from Blumenthal et al. (1972). The questions are introduced with the statement "There have been times when gangs of hoodlums have gone into a town, terrified people, and caused a lot of property damage. How do you think the police should handle this situation?" The following alternatives were presented (with response categories of Never = 1, Hardly ever = 2, Sometimes = 3, Almost always = 4: "The police should make arrests without using clubs or guns" (-.56397), "The police should use clubs but not guns" (.64065), "The police should shoot, but not to kill" (.78825), "The police should shoot to kill" (.58463).

Approval of Violence for Socialization. The items for this index deal with physical punishment in school, and in the family and have as the underlying element the use of physical pain as a means of socialization. The response categories are Disagree a great deal = 1, Disagree somewhat = 2, Agree somewhat = 3, Agree a great deal = 4. The items and their factor score coefficients are: "If a child does something wrong parents should use physical punishment" (.31706), "If a child does something seriously wrong parents should use physical punishment" (.47621), "A teacher in elementary school should use physical punishment when a child does something seriously wrong" (.17386), "Physical punishment and enduring pain help build a strong moral character" (.15857).

**END**