



A double standard for “Hooking Up”: How far have we come toward gender equality?



Rachel Allison *, Barbara J. Risman

Department of Sociology, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1007 W. Harrison St., M/C 312, Chicago, IL 60607, United States

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 8 September 2012

Revised 15 April 2013

Accepted 22 April 2013

Available online 3 May 2013

Keywords:

Hooking up

Gender

Sexual double standard

Sexual attitudes

ABSTRACT

While sexual attitudes have liberalized in the past half century, research is mixed as to whether attitudes have become less gendered over time. Recent studies on college students' sexual and romantic relationships suggest that a sexual double standard continues to organize sexuality on many campuses. Data from the Online College Social Life Survey shed light on students' evaluation of casual sex, or “hooking up.” In addition to exploring gendered attitudinal patterns, we use gender structure theory to explore how individual characteristics and normative expectations of campus group affiliations shape attitudes. While three quarters of students do not hold different standards for men and women's hooking up, attitudes are more conservative than liberal, with almost half of students losing respect for men and women who hook up “a lot.” However, men are more likely to hold a traditional double standard, while women are more likely to espouse egalitarian conservative attitudes. Individual characteristics, including age, religion, race, social class and sexual orientation are frequently related to sexual attitudes, as are number of hook ups, fraternity/sorority affiliation and varsity athletic participation.

Published by Elsevier Inc.

1. Introduction

Has the gender revolution stalled when it comes to sexuality? While little stigma remains around heterosexual premarital sex within the bounds of intimate relationships, there is far less evidence about whether women face harsher standards than men for casual sexual activity. Whereas early studies into the sexual double standard in the 1960s asked about premarital sexual intercourse, “the behaviors pertaining to the sexual double standard have expanded beyond premarital sexual involvement to include activities such as engaging in casual sex and having multiple sexual partners” (Sakaluk and Milhausen, 2012, p. 464). As premarital sexual intercourse became decreasingly stigmatized, research shifted to examine attitudes toward sexual behavior outside of committed relationships. Recent studies suggest an increasing, though not total, acceptance of casual sex outside of relationships in some contexts (Ahrold and Meston, 2008; Bogle, 2008).

Despite increasingly permissive attitudes toward sexual activity, there is mixed evidence for whether or not sexual attitudes have also become decreasingly gendered. While some recent studies suggest that men and women may be evaluated similarly across a range of sexual behaviors (Crawford and Popp, 2003; Marks and Fraley, 2005), other research shows that the evaluation of sexual behaviors remains substantially different for men and women (Armstrong et al., 2012; Bogle, 2008; Reid et al., 2011; Sakaluk and Milhausen, 2012). Evidence for gender distinctions is particularly strong for attitudes toward casual sex outside of relationships. For instance, in a series of review articles, Petersen and Hyde (2010, 2011) find that gender differences in attitudes are greater on questions of casual sex than relationship-bound sex acts. In addition, Conley et al.

* Corresponding author. Permanent address: 7724 200th St., Wacott, IA 52773, United States.

E-mail addresses: rallis2@uic.edu (R. Allison), brisman@uic.edu (B.J. Risman).

(2012) find significant gaps between men and women's acceptance of casual sex offers, and fear of social stigma partially mediated these gaps.

Recent scholarship on sex outside of relationships among college students has found the salience of a sexual double standard to students' sexual and relationship experiences (Armstrong et al., 2010; Bogle, 2008; Bradshaw et al., 2010; England and Thomas, 2006; Hamilton and Armstrong, 2009; Reid et al., 2011). For instance, Bogle (2008) finds that college women risk gaining a negative reputation by engaging in "too much" non-relationship sex, while their male counterparts are often rewarded for the same behaviors. Armstrong et al. (2012) find college women orgasm more in relationships than in casual hook ups, and implicate the sexual double standard in this finding, as "doubts about women's entitlement to pleasure in casual liaisons keep women from asking to have their desires satisfied and keep men from seeing women as deserving of their attentiveness in hookups" (2012, p. 458).

If persistent sexual double standards within hookup culture exist, it is unclear if these are imposed by men or normatively adopted by both men and women. The degree to which male sexual autonomy and privilege are reinforced by sexual double standards suggests that men are more likely to endorse such standards. On the other hand, not all men are equally privileged by cultural norms which prescribe high levels of casual heterosexual sexual activity. While women may be less likely than men to endorse sexual double standards, there is evidence that some college women respond to inequalitarian social contexts in ways which do not reject, but reinforce and incorporate elements of inequality (Jackson and Cram, 2003). If women endorse a double standard, this attitude may reflect a strategy of differentiating the self from others used to elevate reputation and status among peers (Hamilton, 2007; Schwalbe et al., 2000).

As attitudes toward (hetero)sexual behaviors have liberalized in past decades, the site of study has continually shifted. Once the majority of respondents consistently reported acceptance of premarital intercourse, scholarship has moved beyond a focus on premarital sexual intercourse to studying views on sex outside of relationships. Recent studies have shifted further from only focusing on intercourse outside of relationships to attitudes toward a variety of sexual behaviors (including oral and anal sex) or casual sexual activity more generally. Given this trend, *frequent* casual sex is something of a new frontier, methodologically speaking. It is a barometer of the degree to which attitudes toward sexuality have continued to liberalize (or not) in recent decades. In this analysis, we examine college students' evaluations of "a lot" of hooking up for male and female targets using quantitative data from a multi-institutional survey on college social life.

We draw upon several distinct research literatures: survey research on sexual attitudes, studies on hooking up, and research on gender politics within the university environment. First, we investigate whether the sexual double standard in attitudes toward hooking up behaviors exists in this sample, and if so, whether it is gender-specific. Second, we investigate the predictors of sexual attitudes for both male and female students. We frame our analysis with gender structure theory, conceptualizing gender as a multi-level social structure with implications at the level of personality or selves (e.g. masculinity and femininity), interactional expectations in daily life (e.g. the "doing of gender"), and also the institutional level of the opportunities and constraints embedded in the organizational and legal structures of contemporary American society (Risman, 1998, 2004). We use this multi-level framework to integrate the research literatures we review and then to build models that include both individual characteristics and interactional peer culture as influences on college students' sexual attitudes.

Our research focuses on predicting attitudes towards casual sex (e.g. hooking up) by individual background characteristics and peer group norms fostered within campus environments. Our major contribution is to test the relative strength of individual-level characteristics (e.g. age, race/ethnicity, religion, mother's education) and campus peer norms and group affiliations (fraternity/sorority and varsity athletic participation) on attitudes toward casual sexual behaviors. Do students primarily bring their attitudes toward casual sex with them to college? Or is there a relationship between campus group affiliations and attitudes as well?

2. Review of the literature

2.1. The sexual double standard

A sexual double standard exists when "men are evaluated more positively or less negatively than women who have similar sexual histories" (Jonason and Marks, 2009, p. 357). Studies conducted in the 1960s showed that premarital sexual intercourse was judged by all to be more acceptable for men than women, even for those in committed relationships (Reiss, 1960, 1967; Smigel and Seiden, 1968). Research on double standards in the years after the sexual revolution has produced mixed evidence. Some studies have found no differences in evaluations of women and men's sexuality, evidence for the increasing egalitarianism of sexual standards (Marks and Fraley, 2005; O'Sullivan, 1995; Sprecher et al., 1988; Sprecher, 1989). For instance, Reid et al. (2011) used fictional narratives in their study of sexual double standards and found similar explanations for why women and men hook up at parties, sexual desire, without reference to double standards. Similarly, Gentry (1998), Marks and Fraley (2006) and O'Sullivan (1995) find evidence for a convergence of attitudes toward men and women's behavior, with high numbers of premarital partners negatively evaluated for all. Other studies have found that the sexual double standard remains alive and well (Conley et al., 2012; Fugère et al., 2008; Jonason and Fisher, 2009; Jonason and Marks, 2009; Kreager and Staff, 2009; Lyons et al., 2011; Milhausen and Herold, 1999). In some studies, men alone espouse sexual double standards (Fugère et al., 2008; Sprecher and Hatfield, 1996). Other research shows that both men and women endorse double standards in evaluating sexuality (Feldman et al., 1999; Sheeran et al., 1996; Spreadbury, 1982). Milhausen and Herold

(1999) found that almost half (46%) of female participants believed that other women were the harshest judges of women's sexual behaviors. Recent evidence indicates the presence of a "reverse double standard" according to which men's sexual activity is judged more negatively by women (Milhausen and Herold, 1999; Sakaluk and Milhausen, 2012). Sprecher et al. (1991) found that male targets were evaluated as desirable dating partners when their background included moderate levels of sexual activity, while female targets were attractive to men as dating partners when they had high levels of sexual activity.

Despite contradictory evidence, research suggests gender remains central to evaluations of sexual behaviors in at least some contemporary social settings (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Crawford and Popp, 2003; Fugère et al., 2008; Kreager and Staff, 2009). In research by Reid et al. (2011), double standards did emerge when college students were asked to explain why a student might follow a hook up with a sexless date. Here, women were seen as restoring their reputation and men as taking pity on a woman they had no further interest in dating. This research tradition suggests that gender continues to matter at both the individual level of analysis and for interactional expectations. Women and men often have different attitudes they bring to the table about sex, but they also bring expectations that differ for male and female sexuality, expectations that shape social and sexual interactions. From this research, we expect that both individual and interactional contexts affect students' attitudes toward casual sex.

2.2. Attitudes toward hooking up

Bogle (2008) and England and Thomas (2006) explicitly tie the shift from dating to hooking up to the impact of feminism and the sexual revolution in liberalizing attitudes toward sexuality and increasing support for women's right to sexual pleasure and autonomy. Casual forms of sexual activity such as "hooking up" have become common among college-aged young adults (Heldman and Wade, 2010). Hooking up is defined as "sexual encounter[s] (that may or may not involve sexual intercourse) between two people who are brief acquaintances or strangers, usually lasting only one night without the expectation of developing a relationship" (Paul and Hayes, 2002, p. 640). The term "hooking up" encompasses a wide range of sexual behaviors, from kissing to genital contact to sexual intercourse (Bogle, 2008; Owen et al., 2010; Paul and Hayes, 2002). The majority of college students have experienced at least one hookup by the time they graduate. Paul and Hayes (2002) found that 70% of their respondents had experienced a hookup at least once. Similarly, Armstrong et al. (2010), using an earlier version of the data we analyze here, find that 74% of students report at least one hookup by their senior year. In an ethnographic study, Hamilton and Armstrong (2009) similarly found that 75% of their female participants had experienced at least one hookup during college. It is important to remember that students' reported "hook ups" may include anything from groping on a dance floor to coitus.

Despite mixed evidence for the existence of an attitudinal sexual double standard in survey research, qualitative interviews with students and ethnographic descriptions of the college hook up scene have consistently stressed the salience of a sexual double standard. In Bogle's (2008) interview study with 51 undergraduates and 25 college alumni, she found that college men experienced much more sexual freedom than their female colleagues. While normative constraints for college men's sexuality existed in the expectation that they engage in frequent casual (hetero)sexual activity, women navigated different terrain. She reports that college women believe that their sexual activity is deemed acceptable primarily in romantic relationships, and too much casual non-relationship sex placed women at risk for gaining a negative reputation. Hamilton and Armstrong (2009) conducted a longitudinal ethnographic and interview study of 53 college women who lived on an all-female floor in a mixed-gender dormitory and also reported the existence of a campus double standard. While the women took a variety of public or private stances toward the double standard, they believed that they might be judged negatively by their sexual behavior, and their choices reflect this assumption. Similarly, England and Thomas (2006) report from in-depth interviews and focus groups with male and female undergraduates that while men gained status for engaging in casual hooking up, women's reputation was at risk when they hooked up regularly. Of course, for men who opt out of casual sex or do not succeed at it, expectations may also create self-doubt and insecurity.

One criticism of existing research into sexual double standards is the "...notable gap in research... in the area of attention to race and ethnicity" (Crawford and Popp, 2003, p. 19). To date, few studies have explored the demographic correlates of sexual attitudes, including race and ethnicity, with most studies relying on majority white samples. What little research exists suggests that minority students acknowledge and negotiate ethnically specific evaluations of sexuality, although the meanings associated with casual sexual behaviors vary by race, as well as by gender. There is some suggestion that Asian students have more conservative views about sexuality than their white peers, while black or African-American students have more liberal views (Ahrold and Meston, 2008; Jackson et al., 2011; Kennedy and Gorzalka, 2002; Leiblum et al., 2003; Stanton et al., 1993).

Research findings challenge the assumption that men alone adopt sexual double standards that disadvantage women. Within a male-dominated campus cultural space, some women endorse double standards as a way of distinguishing themselves from other, "promiscuous" women, to build and protect their personal reputations (Hamilton, 2007; Tanenbaum, 1999; Jackson and Cram, 2003). In her ethnographic research on college women, Hamilton, for instance, argues that, "Some women may distance themselves from others who do not perform the erotic selves that they perceive as valued by men" (2007, p. 146). It is unclear if existing sexual double standards are imposed by men or normatively adopted by both sexes. When women also endorse a double standard, this may reflect a strategy of differentiating the self from others used to elevate reputation and status among peers (Hamilton, 2007; Schwalbe et al., 2000). Students evaluate the sexual behaviors of

others differently than their own behaviors, and such evaluations are frequently gendered as women and men navigate different normative sets of expectations.

Here, we explore the gendered nature of one dimension of student attitudes on hooking up – their evaluations of “a lot” of hooking up among a sex-specified, but otherwise unknown target group of peers. Overall, the hooking up literature provides strong evidence for the power of expectations at the interactional level of analysis of the gender structure. Whatever desires or beliefs that students bring with them to college, they find themselves embedded in a hook up culture with norms that encourage male casual sex, while expectations for women are far more complicated. Such research leads us to hypotheses about the power of the interactional level of analysis on attitudes towards casual sex.

2.3. Peer group norms and attitudes toward sexuality

Previous research has identified participation in American sorority and fraternity university groups on campus as a direct influence on sexual attitudes. Although difficult to pin down, an estimated 1–9 million undergraduates may participate in sorority or fraternity organizations nationwide in the US, making this category of campus group highly salient to many students' experiences (Reiffman, 2011). The fraternity and sorority system in the United States is usually referred to as “Greek” life in reference to the Greek letters that are chosen as organizational names (e.g. Kappa Alpha Theta). Prior research suggests that social life within the “Greek” system is more male-dominated than the rest of university culture and more often the site of date rape than other university settings (Boswell and Spade, 1996; Moynihan and Banyard, 2008; Murnen and Kohlman, 2007; Sanday, 2007). Research has consistently shown that fraternity men are more supportive of rape myths than other college men. Perhaps men more supportive of rape myths may self-select into fraternities (Bleeker and Murnen, 2005; Boeringer, 1999; Murnen and Kohlman, 2007). It may also be that many fraternities are physically and culturally structured in ways which foster male dominance and rape culture (Boswell and Spade, 1996; Sanday, 2007).

Varsity athletes are often portrayed as campus elites with access to many sexual partners, participants in a masculine homogenous sports environment who hold negative attitudes toward women (Forbes et al., 2006; Murnen and Kohlman, 2007). Research has shown that male varsity athletes espouse egalitarian sexual and gender attitudes at higher rates than their non-athlete peers (Boeringer, 1999; Gage, 2008; McMahon, 2007). Male varsity athletes are also overrepresented in reports of campus sexual assault (Crosset et al., 1995; Humphrey, 2000). What little research exists on female varsity athletes suggest they may have comparatively more egalitarian attitudes than male varsity athletes (Krane et al., 2010; Roper and Halloran, 2007). Participation in college athletics is associated with increased positive body image and self-concept for women (Miller and Levy, 1996). Female varsity athletes also report lower levels of sexual activity than non-athlete women, and fewer risky sexual behaviors (Dodge and Jaccard, 2002; Miller et al., 1998).

The research on campus culture provides evidence for the importance of the power of organizational culture. Often, socialization into “Greek” and varsity athletic life creates an expectation of male privilege in heterosexual dating and casual sex, at least for men, but perhaps also for women. To the extent that becoming a female varsity athlete embeds women in a culture of physicality, competition and empowerment, it may also lead them to hold more egalitarian attitudes. We use this past research to hypothesize about the power of peer culture on student attitudes.

3. Research questions

Our study builds on previous research on sexual double standards, hooking up and studies of campus culture that focus on the fraternity and sorority system and varsity athletics. Given that sexual activity within committed relationships is rarely stigmatized on college campuses, our research focuses on how students evaluate women and men who engage in “a lot” of casual sexual behavior outside the bounds of dating relationships. Our central research question concerns the extent to which attitudinal patterns are similar or different across target and respondent sex. We use Risman's (1998) Risman (2004) gender structure theory as a sensitizing theoretical tool. Risman's gender structure framework theorizes gender beyond an individual-level attribute. Gender is not merely femininity or masculinity. Instead, gender is a multi-level social structure that operates at the individual, interactional, and institutional levels of analysis. Gender structure theory has proven to be useful to empirical analyses of gender construction across a variety of social contexts (Armstrong et al., 2006; Legerski and Cornwall, 2010; Robinson and Spivey, 2007). We use this multi-level framework to build models that include both individual characteristics and interactional peer culture as influences on college students' sexual attitudes.

The advantage of using a gender as a social structure perspective lies in the possibility of identifying mechanisms which either reproduce or challenge gender hierarchies at multiple levels of analysis. Within our models, we include individual characteristics, but also conceptualize peer groups as possible influences on the means by which students learn the expectations appropriate for women and men's sexual behavior. In this analysis, we include both individual background characteristics and interactional peer culture as influences on college students' sexual attitudes. We have nearly standardized effects of the macro-institutional forces on our respondents by including only American college students at one moment in history. Our only macro-level variable is the region of the country in which the college is located. We control for region in our analyses, as previous research provides evidence that region impacts sexual attitudes among college students (Davidson et al., 2008). We focus, therefore, on exploring the influences of individual attributes

and beliefs that students presumably bring with them to college and peer group influences identifiable within the collegiate experience itself. We begin by presenting univariate and bivariate descriptive results that portray overall attitudes towards women and men who engage in “a lot” of hooking up. These attitudes reflect (dis)respect for other students who engage in frequent casual sex. We do not test individual variables versus interactional peer culture against one another, nor hypothesize that only one level of analysis matters. Rather, we seek to clarify in what instances, and how, each cluster of variables is significant.

The individual-level factors we expect to influence sexual attitudes are age, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, and mother's education. Based on previous research, we expect that younger students will be more likely to negatively evaluate hook up behaviors (Bogle, 2008). We also expect that women and men from traditional religious denominations will hold more conservative attitudes than others, for both male and female targets (Ahrold and Meston, 2008; Burdette et al., 2009). Given substantial evidence of racial/ethnic variation in college student attitudes, racial/ethnic identity is included as an independent variable, although we do not hypothesize specific relationships given the lack of consistent research findings (Ahrold and Meston, 2008; Davidson et al., 2008; Espinoza-Hernández and Lefkowitz, 2009; Kennedy and Gorzalka, 2002; Lau et al., 2009; Leiblum et al., 2003). Although there is no research identifying sexual orientation differences in attitudes toward casual sex, we expect students who do not identify as heterosexual are less likely to lose respect for male or female targets, given that gay, lesbian and bisexual students have more liberal attitudes on other questions of sexuality. We control for the respondent's own report of how often they have hooked up themselves, as more sexually experienced students report somewhat more liberal patterns of sexual attitudes (Kelly and Bazzini, 2001; Lerner et al., 2012), although one recent study by Sakaluk and Milhausen (2012) found no relationship between students' sexual behavior and sexual attitudes.

We completed analyses with and without this control and find similar patterns in the data (analyses available from authors).

3.1. Individual level hypotheses

Hypothesis 1A. Younger, those who identify with conservative religions and heterosexual students will be more likely to lose respect for others (male or female) who hook up “a lot.”

The contextual factors experienced by select peer groups that we expect to influence sexual attitudes include “Greek” and athletic affiliations, as well as residence. We expect that those in the “Greek” system will hold more traditional sexual values than others, as research shows fraternity and sorority members have more gendered attitudes than other students. We also expect that participation in varsity athletics will lead to more traditional attitudes toward women, and more negative evaluations of women's hooking up for men. We predict that female athletes' active competition on the field may be associated with more egalitarian attitudes.

3.2. Interactional level hypotheses

Hypothesis 2A. Fraternity/sorority affiliation will be associated with a traditional double standard.

Hypothesis 2B. Participation in varsity athletics will have opposite effects for women and men. Women will be more likely to hold egalitarian attitudes, while men will be more likely to hold a traditional double standard.

4. Data

We rely on 2011 survey data from the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS), which assesses attitudes on and experiences with dating, hooking up, and relationships. The online survey was developed by sociologists at Stanford University in 2005 and has been taken by undergraduate students nationwide since that date. The dataset here includes responses from 24,131 students at 22 different colleges and universities in the US. For a list of participating institutions and sample sizes at each school, see [Appendix A](#).

The OCSLS is particularly appropriate for our research questions, as it asks students to evaluate both men and women's frequent hook up behaviors. The OCSLS represents a unique convenience sample of student respondents across 22 institutions of higher education. At each institution, students were recruited primarily through undergraduate courses in sociology, though participants were drawn from other disciplines as well.¹

Extra credit was offered for student participation in this project, a fact that guaranteed close to 100% participation at the classroom level and thus decreased bias stemming from within-classroom self-selection. The benefit here of not relying on representative sampling lies in the OCSLS's large sample size and nearly 100% response rate within-classroom. Although our findings do not generalize to any group of students beyond those who took the survey, in our view the large sample size

¹ Recruiting primarily through courses in sociology resulted in the strong representation of sociology majors in this dataset. Of the cases we use in this analysis, 10.8% of these respondents report majoring in sociology.

($N = 24,131$) and the variety of institutions from which they are recruited provides assurance that we are able to capture the opinions of a sizable and diverse cross-section of the US student population.

5. Measures

In order to assess the presence or absence of sexual double standards, students were asked their opinion on the following statement about both male and female targets: “If (wo)men hook up or have sex with lots of people, I respect them less.” Response options included Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. 15 Questions separated these two statements within the survey in order to decrease the possibility of bias stemming from respondents’ awareness that they were being asked to compare the respectability of men and women’s sexual behaviors (Marks and Fraley, 2006). In addition, the survey presented each question alone on a separate page. Both separation of questions and the solo presentation of questions contribute to limiting bias. Responses were combined into ‘Agree’ and ‘Disagree’ categories. Then, for the purpose of multinomial logistic regression models, these variables were organized into four categories according to target sex: lose respect for both men and women (egalitarian conservative), lose respect for neither men nor women (egalitarian liberal), lose respect for women, but not men (traditional double standard), and lose respect for men, but not women (reverse double standard).

To account for the impact of individual and interactional variables on students’ sexual attitudes, multiple independent variables were added to multinomial logistic regression models predicting evaluations of men and women’s hooking up in order to isolate and explore the effect of sex (male = 1). Our comparison omitted group in these analyses was the group we label egalitarian liberals: they do not lose respect for women or men who hook up “a lot”.

Individual-level variables include age, year in school, religious affiliation, racial/ethnic identity, sexual orientation, and family social class background. Interactional (peer group) variables include whether students were fraternity or sorority members, residence, and participation in varsity sports. We also include controls for students’ number of hook up partners and school region (West, Midwest, or East). See Appendix B for measurement details.

As sex is our central variable of interest, we deleted from the dataset those respondents who did not answer this question, in addition to transgender participants ($N = 36$). We also excluded the few graduate students in the dataset. We excluded data from the single community college in the dataset as well ($N = 2631$). Finally, we excluded cases representing respondents who did not answer one or both of the questions we use to construct our dependent variables. Given these deletions, the total number of cases included for analysis is 19,308.

6. Results

6.1. Participants

Table 1 presents a brief demographic description of survey participants. Women comprise over 2/3 of our OCSLS sub-sample (69.7%). Our sample is 65.4% white and mostly heterosexual (92.2%). Younger students are heavily represented among survey participants, with almost one-half of the sample made up of 18 and 19 year-olds.

6.2. Evaluations of “A Lot” of hooking up

Fig. 1 shows the percentage of students who agreed with the statement(s) “If (wo)men hook up or have sex with lots of people, I respect them less.” The modal response, by approximately half of our respondents, was to lose respect for both women and men who hook up “a lot”. These students are gender egalitarian sexual conservatives. The next most common response, by nearly one of four students, was not to lose respect for women or men who hook up “a lot”. These students are gender egalitarian sexual liberals, and our omitted group in regression analyses. Almost equal numbers of students hold a traditional double standard (11.59% judging women but not men) and a reverse double standard (13.36% judging men but not women).

Table 1
Demographic description of sample.

	Percentage		Percentage
<i>Sex</i>		<i>Race/ethnicity</i>	
Male	30.3	White	65.4
Female	69.7	Black	6.7
<i>Age</i>		South Asian	3.2
18	20.9	East Asian	8.9
19	26.9	Latina/o	11
20	19.6	Other	4.8
21	16.4	<i>Sexual orientation</i>	
22	8.9	Heterosexual	92.2
23	2.7	Homosexual	2.9
24	1.3	Bisexual	3.2
25+	3.3	Unsure	1.7

Note: $N = 19,308$

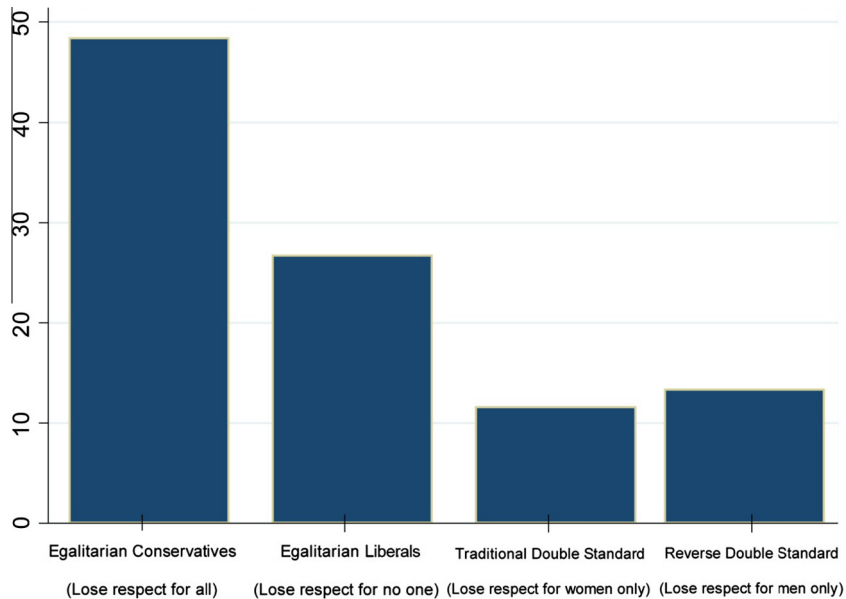


Fig. 1. Percentages of students by attitudes towards “A Lot” of hooking up.

As we see in Fig. 2, analyses of our data do not really make sense until we separate responses by respondent sex. More than half of all women lose respect for anyone who hooks up a lot, but only about a third of men do so. Men are only slightly more likely than women to be liberal (31% versus 25%). Nearly everyone who holds a traditional double standard is male among our respondents, with more than a quarter of all men, but 4% of women losing respect for female, but not male targets. However, women are more likely to hold a reverse double standard as men, with 16% of women losing respect for men only, versus 6% of male respondents.

6.3. Predicting attitudes toward hooking up “A Lot”

Tables 2 and 3 present multinomial regression analyses for male and female respondents separately.² Our omitted category is those who respond they lose respect for neither male nor female targets who hook up a lot, or egalitarian liberals. Analyses combining all respondents are not presented here, but are available upon request. In Tables 2 and 3, we present the net effects of all individual- and interactional peer culture variables on losing respect for men and women (egalitarian conservatives, Model 1), losing respect for women, but not men (traditional double standard, Model 2), or losing respect for men, but not women (reverse double standard, Model 3), compared to the omitted category of egalitarian liberals. We present odds ratios and standard errors associated with each independent variable in each model (DeMaris, 1995).

6.4. Female attitudes toward hooking up “A Lot”

Table 2, which presents regression results for female respondents, shows individual-level characteristics to predict patterns of student attitudes more consistently than campus group affiliations. As female students age, they become more liberal and less likely to disrespect everyone for “a lot” of hooking up, versus no one. Advancing a year in school is associated with decreased odds of holding a traditional double standard, compared to losing respect for no one. Women who are Buddhist, Jewish, or have no or an “other” religious affiliation, compared to Catholic women, report more liberal sexual attitudes. Buddhist, Jewish, and un- or other-affiliated women have decreased odds of losing respect for everyone or for women, compared to espousing egalitarian liberal views. Protestant (but non-evangelical) women have decreased odds of holding a traditional double standard. Additionally, women reporting no religion affiliation have decreased odds of losing respect for men only. In contrast, women who identify as fundamental or evangelical Protestants have odds of losing respect for everyone who hooks up a lot, versus no one, that are 68% higher than Catholic women’s.

² Interaction terms added to models of all respondents (available upon request) show significant gender differences for all categories of variable, although differences do not uniformly exist among every response outcome for our dependent measure. The substantial gender-specificity of results lends weight to our decision to present models split for male and female respondents. Additionally, stepwise models adding individual-level and interactional peer culture variables separately (available upon request) show mostly similar patterns of results. We find slight mediation effects such that a significant impact of residence on attitudes disappears when individual-level characteristics are added.

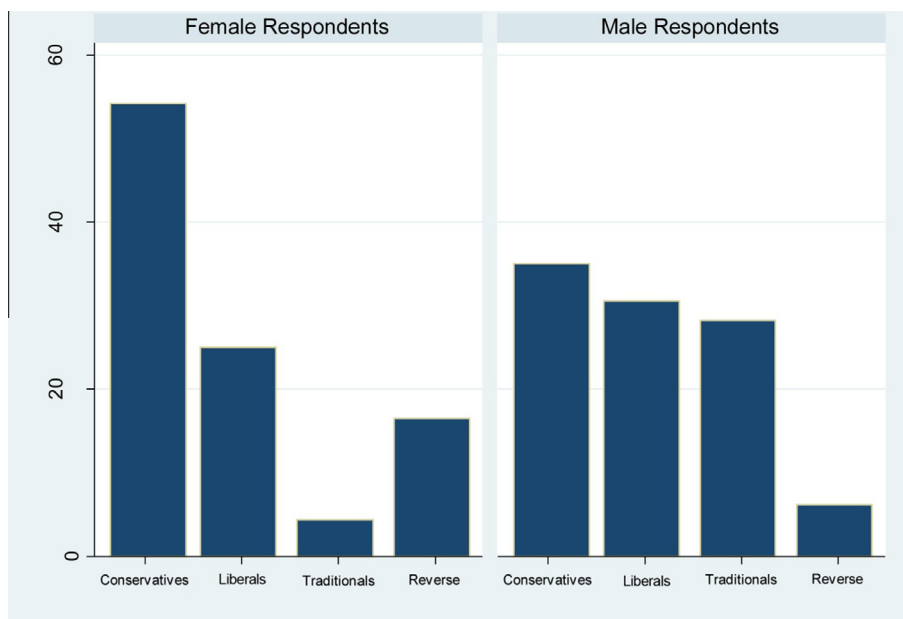


Fig. 2. Percentages of students by attitudes towards “A Lot” of hooking up and respondent sex.

Racial or ethnic identity and sexual orientation also significantly predict female student attitudes toward peers who hook up “a lot.” East Asian women are somewhat more conservative in their sexual attitudes than White women, being significantly more likely to report losing respect for both men and women who hook up “a lot,” versus neither. Additionally, East Asian women have significantly increased odds of holding a reverse double standard, rather than egalitarian liberal views. In contrast, Latina women have 27% lower odds of reporting egalitarian conservative, versus egalitarian liberal views, compared to White women. There is a strong and consistent effect of sexuality on attitudes, with homosexual and bisexual women, as well as those unsure of their sexual orientation, reporting more liberal sexual attitudes than heterosexual women. Non-heterosexual women are comparatively less likely to lose respect for everyone, lose respect for women only, or lose respect for men only, as opposed to losing respect for neither sex for hooking up a lot. Non-heterosexual women are less likely to lose respect for anyone, and are more likely to report losing respect for no one for casual sexual activity.

Women’s mother’s education only matters to their sexual attitudes only occasionally. Women whose mothers completed a high school education, versus a bachelor’s degree, have 13% lower odds of losing respect for everyone, and 18% lower odds of losing respect for men only, compared to no one. Women whose mothers are more highly educated (in this case, with a graduate degree) have lowered odds of losing respect for everyone, versus no one. Women with the most highly educated mothers in our sample report somewhat more liberal sexual attitudes.

Turning to variables that measure the normative expectations of peers on campus, only sorority affiliation predicts women’s sexual attitudes. Compared to their non-sorority affiliated peers, sorority women have 46% increased odds of losing respect for everyone and 53% increased odds of losing respect for men only, compared to no one. Sorority affiliation, then, is linked to somewhat more conservative sexual attitudes. Where college women live has no effect on sexual attitudes among this sample.

Results present a clear regional difference in student attitudes. West coast students report the most liberal views and Midwestern students the most conservative, with East coast students in between. For instance, students at West coast schools have lowered odds of losing respect for everyone or for women only (traditional double standard), versus no one. In comparison, Midwestern students’ odds of losing respect for everyone, versus no one, are 9% higher than those of students from East coast schools. Midwestern students have odds of holding a traditional double standard 17% higher than those of their East coast peers. Women’s own hook up experience also matters to sexual attitudes net all other independent variables. A greater number of hook ups is uniformly associated with more liberal sexual attitudes.

6.5. Male attitudes toward hooking up “A Lot”

In Table 3, we turn to an analysis of male respondents’ attitudes and find some similar patterns, but also several important points of departure. As with women, older men have more liberal sexual attitudes. However, an additional year in school is associated with an 18% increase in male students’ odds of losing respect for everyone who hooks up a lot and a 17% increase in losing respect for men only, versus no one. An “other” or no religious affiliation results in more liberal sexual attitudes, with each associated with decreased odds of losing respect for anyone or for women only, versus neither group. Also, a Protestant (non-evangelical) affiliation results in increased odds of espousing egalitarian conservative, versus egalitarian liberal, views.

Table 2
Multinomial logistic regression results of sexual attitudes, female respondents.

	All		Women		Men	
<i>Individual</i>						
<i>Age</i>						
Age	.87**	(.02)	.99	(.05)	.98	(.03)
Year	.98	(.03)	.86*	(.06)	1.01	(.04)
<i>Religion</i>						
Buddhist	.60**	(.11)	.23*	(.14)	.93	(.22)
Hindu	1.06	(.33)	.67	(.41)	1.23	(.49)
Muslim	1.56	(.40)	1.36	(.63)	1.51	(.50)
Jewish	.58**	(.06)	.52**	(.12)	.92	(.12)
<i>Fundamental./Evangel.</i>						
Protestant	1.68**	(.30)	1.06	(.36)	1.14	(.27)
Other Protestant	.94	(.09)	.69*	(.13)	.85	(.10)
LDS	1.15	(.66)	2.70	(2.10)	2.04	(1.33)
No religion	.50**	(.03)	.53**	(.06)	.81**	(.06)
Other religion	.81**	(.06)	.63**	(.10)	.88	(.09)
<i>Race/ethnicity</i>						
Black	.82	(.08)	1.05	(.21)	1.22	(.15)
East Asian	1.53**	(.14)	1.19	(.23)	1.27*	(.15)
South Asian	1.44	(.27)	1.57	(.56)	1.01	(.25)
Latina	.73**	(.06)	1.07	(.17)	1.16	(.11)
Other	.84	(.09)	.61	(.16)	.97	(.13)
<i>Sexual orientation</i>						
Homosexual	.48**	(.08)	.13**	(.09)	.62*	(.12)
Bisexual	.34**	(.04)	.38**	(.11)	.73*	(.09)
Unsure	.46**	(.07)	.37*	(.17)	1.26	(.21)
<i>Mother's education</i>						
<High school	.90	(.09)	.77	(.17)	1.03	(.13)
High school	.87*	(.06)	.94	(.13)	.82*	(.07)
Some college	.95	(.06)	.96	(.12)	.96	(.08)
Graduate degree	.84**	(.05)	.87	(.12)	.93	(.08)
<i>Interactional peer culture</i>						
<i>Affiliations</i>						
Sorority	1.46**	(.12)	1.19	(.29)	1.53**	(.15)
Athletics	1.15	(.14)	1.28	(.30)	.83	(.14)
<i>Housing</i>						
Sorority	.95	(.15)	.88	(.25)	1.04	(.19)
On-campus (not in dorm)	1.06	(.13)	.71	(.20)	1.03	(.15)
Off-campus	.92	(.06)	.77	(.10)	.88	(.07)
Parents	.94	(.08)	.74	(.13)	.88	(.10)
<i>Controls</i>						
<i>Sexual behavior</i>						
Reported hook ups	.90**	(.01)	.96**	(.01)	.98**	(.01)
<i>Region</i>						
West	.93*	(.03)	.86*	(.05)	1.04	(.04)
Midwest	1.09**	(.03)	1.17*	(.07)	.95	(.04)
Constant	4.20**	(.42)	-.39	(.89)	.22	(.51)

Note: $N = 12,647$; $\chi^2(96) = 1293.56$, $p < .01$; pseudo- $R^2 = .0459$. Reference category is losing respect for neither men nor women who "hook up or have sex with lots of people." Omitted categories are 'living in on-campus dorm,' 'Catholic,' 'White,' 'Heterosexual,' 'Republican,' 'Mother's bachelor degree,' 'East'.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

One finding limited to male respondents is the effect of Muslim religious affiliation. Muslim men have a substantially higher likelihood of losing respect for everyone or for men only, compared to no one, compared to Catholic-affiliated peers.

Similar to women's attitudes, sexual orientation and racial/ethnic identity are significantly related to men's attitudes toward "a lot" of hooking up. Sexual orientation matters for male and female respondents similarly. Men who are homosexual, bisexual, or unsure or their sexual identity have decreased odds of losing respect for everyone or for women only, compared to no one, and compared to heterosexual men. Similar to female peers, East Asian male students are more conservative than Whites in their sexual attitudes, with increased odds of reporting any category in which respect is lost for others, versus losing respect for no one. Black men report somewhat more liberal sexual attitudes than White men, with Black men having 31% lower odds of losing respect for men and women, versus neither men nor women. Mother's education is not significantly related to men's sexual attitudes.

Table 3
Multinomial logistic regression results of sexual attitudes, male respondents.

	All		Women		Men	
<i>Individual</i>						
<i>Age</i>						
Age	.84**	(.03)	.79**	(.03)	.96	(.05)
Year	1.18**	(.06)	1.02	(.05)	1.17*	(.09)
<i>Religion</i>						
Buddhist	1.24	(.34)	.87	(.26)	.58	(.37)
Hindu	.69	(.28)	.84	(.36)	1.3	(.88)
Muslim	2.96**	(1.13)	.99	(.46)	3.64*	(2.03)
Jewish	.73	(.13)	.89	(.14)	1.4	(.40)
<i>Fundamental./Evangel.</i>						
Protestant	1.45	(.33)	.92	(.23)	.66	(.37)
Other protestant	1.60**	(.24)	.93	(.15)	1.1	(.32)
LDS	2.25	(1.31)	1.23	(.81)	2.7	(2.38)
No religion	.66**	(.06)	.51**	(.05)	1.13	(.19)
Other religion	.94	(.18)	.55**	(.07)	1.42	(.31)
<i>Race/ethnicity</i>						
Black	.69*	(.11)	1.2	(.18)	1.02	(.26)
East Asian	1.88**	(.24)	1.46**	(.19)	1.68*	(.36)
South Asian	1.2	(.27)	.89	(.23)	1.08	(.41)
Latina	.96	(.13)	.89	(.13)	1.14	(.26)
Other	1.11	(.19)	.94	(.18)	1.01	(.29)
<i>Sexual orientation</i>						
Homosexual	.35**	(.05)	.10**	(.03)	1.29	(.24)
Bisexual	.49**	(.12)	.19**	(.07)	1.13	(.37)
Unsure	.55*	(.16)	.33**	(.12)	1.49	(.55)
<i>Mother's education</i>						
<High school	.96	(.16)	1.04	(.19)	1.02	(.29)
High school	1.06	(.11)	1.07	(.12)	.88	(.17)
Some college	1.09	(.11)	1.17	(.12)	1.27	(.21)
Graduate degree	1.01	(.10)	.88	(.09)	1.27	(.21)
<i>Interactional peer culture</i>						
<i>Affiliations</i>						
Fraternity	.89	(.11)	1.31*	(.16)	.91	(.21)
Athletics	1.32	(.19)	1.46**	(.21)	1.07	(.30)
<i>Housing</i>						
Fraternity	1.00	(.21)	.97	(.19)	1.15	(.41)
On-campus (not in dorm)	.88	(.15)	.76	(.16)	1.09	(.28)
Off-campus	.95	(.09)	1.17	(.12)	.79	(.13)
Parents	1.20	(.16)	1.44*	(.21)	1.04	(.24)
<i>Controls</i>						
<i>Sexual behavior</i>						
Reported hook ups	.93**	(.01)	1.04**	(.01)	.93**	(.02)
<i>Region</i>						
West	.92	(.04)	.83**	(.04)	1.01	(.09)
Midwest	1.12*	(.05)	1.20**	(.06)	1.02	(.09)
Constant	3.55**	(.59)	4.73**	(.66)	-1.36	(.97)

Note: $N = 5527$; $\chi^2(96) = 866.83$, $p < .01$; pseudo- $R^2 = .0623$. Reference category is losing respect for neither men nor women who "hook up or have sex with lots of people." Omitted categories are 'living in on-campus dorm,' 'Catholic,' 'White,' 'Heterosexual,' 'Republican,' 'Mother's bachelor degree,' 'East'.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

In terms of interactional peer culture variables, fraternity affiliation results in 31% increased odds of holding a traditional double standard, compared to egalitarian liberal views. Varsity athletic participation by men is associated with a 46% increase in odds of holding a traditional double standard. Where college men live matters to sexual attitudes in only one case in this sample. Living with parents, as opposed to in dormitories, is associated with significantly increased odds of reporting a traditional double standard whereby women, but not men, are judged for "a lot" of casual sexual activity. Region matters in the same ways as for women. Midwestern men report the most conservative sexual attitudes, and West coast men the most liberal. More hook up experience for men is linked to decreased odds of losing respect for everyone and for men, versus no one. In contrast to the effect of hook ups on women's attitudes, however, an additional reported hook up is associated with 4% increased odds of men's holding a traditional double standard.

6.6. Results for hypotheses

Hypothesis 1A. We predicted that younger students, those who identify with conservative religions, and heterosexual students would hold be more likely to lose respect for anyone who hooks up “a lot.” Age is a significant predictor for both women and men, associated with decreased odds of losing respect for anyone, or for holding a traditional sexual double standard. We do find a series of significant effects for religious affiliation. Homosexual, bisexual, or unsure students (male and female) report consistently more permissive sexual attitudes. We do find support for our first hypotheses.

Hypothesis 2A. We predicted that “Greek” affiliation would be associated with holding a traditional sexual double standard. Our hypothesis was confirmed for men, but not for women, although sorority affiliation was significantly related to other patterns of attitudes. Our hypothesis was partially supported. Sorority/fraternity life does have significance for sexual attitudes.

Hypothesis 2B. We predicted that participation in varsity athletics would have opposite effects for women and men’s sexual attitudes, with female athletes having decreased odds of losing respect for other women, and male athletes holding more traditional double standards than other men. We found absolutely no effect of participation in varsity athletics on women’s sexual attitudes. We did, however, find significant effects for male athletes. Male participation in varsity sports increased the odds of men holding traditional sexual standards. Our hypothesis was confirmed for men, but not for women.

7. Summary

While sexual attitudes in the United States have become increasingly liberal in recent decades, recent research suggests that casual sex retains a degree of social stigma. There is also considerably mixed evidence on the gendered nature of contemporary sexual attitudes, with some studies finding similar evaluations of men and women’s behavior and others finding difference. The current study employs survey data from college students at 21 colleges and universities across the US to assess both the overall level of permissiveness for casual sex, as well as the extent to which attitudinal patterns are gendered. We ask whether contemporary college students are more or less approving of frequent casual hooking up, as well as whether levels of (dis)approval are similar or different for male and female targets.

Our results confirm previous research findings that frequent casual sex is still stigmatized among many college students despite the cultural perception of “hooking up” as normative. With our measurement of attitudes toward *frequent* hooking up, the modal category (comprising nearly 50% of students) is to lose respect for both men and women who hook up “a lot.” While attitudes are conservative overall, patterns also reveal that gender egalitarianism in attitudes is prevalent. The majority of men and women hold both sexes to the same sexual standards when evaluating hooking up. Four out of five women hold egalitarian attitudes (whether liberal or conservative), and more than two thirds of men. Given previous qualitative studies documenting a pervasive sexual double standard in hook up culture, the degree of egalitarianism found here was unexpected.

If attitudes toward hooking up “a lot” are generally conservative, but egalitarian, we do find some sex differences in response patterns. A greater percentage of women than men hold conservative egalitarian attitudes, losing respect for anyone who hooks up “a lot” (a 24% gender gap). In contrast, a greater percentage of men than women report a traditional double standard, with men more likely to lose respect for only women who hook up frequently. And women report a reverse double standard, where they lose respect for men only, more often than men. Both women and men lose respect for hooking up among the opposite sex with greater frequency than they do for their own sex.

Our analysis continues by distinguishing whether attitudes toward casual sex develop through identities experienced prior to arriving on campus alone or in combination with campus peer culture and normative expectations. Using gender structure theory, we proposed that both the individual and interactional-peer culture levels of analysis should matter to attitudes, but in possibly gender-specific ways. As gender structure theory suggests, individual characteristics are important for predicting attitudes, but attitudes also develop on campus, as members of particular campus groups also shape expectations for behavior.

As previous research has found, age, religious affiliation, race/ethnicity and socioeconomic background are significantly related to students’ attitudes toward hooking up, and in mostly similar ways for male and female respondents. Our exploratory inclusion of sexual orientation shows significant patterns here, too, as non-heterosexual students report more permissive attitudes. Variables measuring exposure to normative peer expectations show that attitudes are developed on campus, as well as influenced by individual social location. Findings about athletics and the “Greek” system are somewhat unexpected in their gender specificity. While fraternity and varsity athlete men are more likely to hold a traditional sexual double standard than non-affiliated male peers, sorority women lose respect for everyone (versus no one) and for men only, but not women only, at higher rates than non-sorority women.

Any explanation for the overall pattern of results we find with OCSLS data must be couched within methodological cautions that call attention to the importance of methods and survey question wording to results (Crawford and Popp, 2003). For

instance, we cannot say what precisely “a lot” of hooking up is, or whether men and women taking the survey attribute the same meanings to (dis)respect for others. In addition, previous research is clear that patterns of evaluation vary according to the target of evaluation. We are measuring attitudes toward frequent hooking up among others not personally known to survey respondents. While we capture one aspect of student attitudes toward hooking up, future analyses that assess evaluations of hooking up for the self, as well as known targets, would contextualize the current findings and better take into account the multidimensionality of student attitudes. An exploration of gendered patterns of attitudes across self- and other-evaluation would provide a fascinating addition to the current study.

Our results show that not only individual-level, but institutional-level factors shape college student attitudes toward hooking up. Our conclusions on this point remain limited, however, as we incorporate only region of the university attended and “Greek” and athletic affiliations as measures of campus-level influences on student attitudes. Future research is needed to further explore how features of campus life beyond these measures shape student attitudes, as well as gendered attitudinal patterns. Despite the limitations of survey methodology, however, we still offer several possible and provocative explanations for the current results meant to provoke future scholarship.

8. Discussion

While gender gaps in sexual attitudes are small, they remain a persistent result in empirical research. Yet reviews of attitudes over time suggest that these gaps may be narrowing (Petersen and Hyde, 2010, 2011). The current study presents some evidence of possible progress toward the emergence of a single evaluative standard for the sexual behaviors of both college men and women. Four out of five women and more than two-thirds of the men surveyed held gender egalitarian standards. Perhaps this convergence of expectations is a moment of “undoing gender,” when feminist-inspired norms emerge so that expectations are similar for women and men (Deutsch, 2007; Risman, 2009).

Nearly a decade ago, Risman and Schwartz (2002) found that teen boys’ sexual behaviors changed during the 1990s to look more like teen girls’ behaviors. This shift, they argue, is primarily a result of young women’s increased influence over the conditions of sexual activity. These same teens, and their younger siblings, are today’s college generation. It is thus possible that college women’s greater authority over the conditions of (hetero)sexual activity drives the patterns of sexual attitudes found here. Perhaps when women do possess more equal power within sexual and romantic relationships, they use this leverage to overwhelmingly disapprove of college men who hook up with a lot of partners. Contestation over the behaviors deemed “respectable” for men, then, may reflect women’s increased ability to successfully reject and resist the status quo of the double standard. Perhaps the segment of college men who no longer endorse a double standard find sexist attitudes increasingly untenable in a context of growing equality in which most women lose respect for men who hook up casually with multiple partners. If this explanation holds true, we would expect to see college men’s attitudes and behaviors shift over time to more closely resemble those of college women. We are not suggesting that women have overcome all hurdles on the path to equality – the mere fact that a significant minority of college men still hold women to a sexual double standard shows otherwise. Yet, women’s negative attitudes towards men who have frequent casual sex may be changing cultural norms among men. If so, we would expect that campuses numerically dominated by women might have less a hook up culture than other schools.

If the results here indicate minimal presence of the double standard and a good degree of convergence in men and women’s sexual attitudes, it must be noted that the directional change in attitudes is toward less acceptance of frequent casual sexual pleasure outside the bonds of relationships. If men are held to the same standards that both women and men hold for women, then men too, may be criticized for a lot of sex outside the bounds of at least fleeting relationships. If men’s attitudes become more like women’s attitudes over time, this change will move society toward a more restrictive standard for all, rather than toward increasing freedom to sexual pleasure wherever one may find and desire it. This interpretation supports Schwartz’s (2010) argument that despite a sex-saturated media and popular culture, ambivalence toward recreational sex is still a characteristic element of American culture. As Schwartz (2010) notes, although we live in a highly sexualized culture, Americans still hold a deep-rooted ambivalence about teens and young adults desiring sexual pleasure as an end in itself, outside the bounds of intimate relationships.

Another possible interpretation of the directionality of change is the fear of sexually transmitted diseases that this generation holds; they have grown up in the shadow of AIDS and herpes and live with the reality that sexual encounters may transmit diseases without cures. We suggest that the degree of conservative egalitarianism in the current study has a variety of possible co-existing causes, including women’s increased power over sexuality and relationships, cultural ambiguity over the morality of purely recreational sex, and the fear of disease.

Still, our results must be contextualized within research on hooking up that suggests continued power differentials and ongoing male dominance over sexuality on college campuses. Even though a small percentage of men endorse a traditional double standard, we see evidence of its power in nearly every qualitative study of hooking up to date (Armstrong et al., 2010, 2006; Bogle, 2008). Our research, then, suggests an interesting paradox – the historical power of a sexual double standard remains even when only a minority of men subscribe to it, and women do not. Our findings provide suggestive evidence that college campuses most dominated by “Greek” culture and glorification of male varsity sports may be those campuses where the sexual double standard makes its last stand, as male participants in these groups are more likely to embrace the double standard. Ethnographic research suggests that hooking up is prevalent in the “Greek” world, and the

fraternity men in this research are more likely to disrespect the women with whom they hook up. Perhaps in response, the women with whom they hook up are more likely than other women to disrespect men who hook up, as is the case in our data. It appears the war of the sexes, full of distrust and disrespect, may be endemic to “Greek” culture on some college campuses.

If male dominance over the conditions of college sexuality remains entrenched, at least on campuses dominated by “Greek” culture and varsity sports, that conservative attitudes toward casual sex are adopted more often by women than men may reflect women’s greater risks in hook up culture, and risk aversion an acknowledgment of the real social consequences for women who have sex outside of relationships. Indeed, several recent studies have found women to report negative emotional consequences and feelings after hooking up at greater rates than men (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Owen and Fincham, 2011). Conley et al. (2012) finding that women’s decisions around sexual activity are shaped by expectations of systematic judgment of the part of peers is instructive on this point. In a context of ongoing gender inequality on many college campuses, women’s attitudes reflect how inequality is expected, perceived and experienced.

This research supports the conceptualization of gender as a social structure, and the usefulness of this framework for understanding contemporary attitudes. We find that the personal characteristics of our respondents, such as religion, sexual orientation and racial/ethnic background, influence attitudes toward casual sexuality. The individual socialized self predicts attitudes about gender and sexuality, at least in young adulthood. But that’s not all that matters. Cultural expectations and peer contexts also shape attitudes toward sexual activity, and gendered differences in those attitudes. Our analysis suggests that organizational memberships influence how men and women “do gender,” including whether or not they choose to engage in casual sexual activity, and the responses they expect toward those choices. We suggest that future research incorporate attention to gender structure at the level of individual selves, the interactional level of expectations, and the institutional contextual level as well in order to understand the wider context of gendered sexual attitudes and behaviors.

Future research is needed in order to unpack the meanings behind students’ reported attitudes toward hooking up and to fully explain the results reported in this analysis. Is egalitarianism in attitudes evidence for the emergence of feminist norms surrounding sexuality? Why does qualitative research continue to report deep gender power differentials, particularly prominent within particular campus peer groups? Are conservative attitudes linked to moral ambiguity around recreational sexuality, or a result of risk aversion to the potential social and physical consequences of casual sex? One constant in attitudinal research on sex is change. Will sexual attitudes continue to become more alike as men and women’s lives converge, with similar work/life balance trajectories (Gerson, 2010)? Or will sexual attitudes will remain diverse, with egalitarian sexual conservatives co-existing with egalitarian sexual liberals? If so, let us hope the students of the future find some effective way to attend the right parties.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank Tim Adkins, Elizabeth Armstrong, Georgiann Davis, Paula England, Ray Sin, Amanda Stewart and the reviewers for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article.

Appendix A

Institution	N in OCSLS sample (% of sample)	Institution	N in OCSLS sample (% of sample)
(1) The Evergreen State College	102 (0.4%)	(12) Framingham State College	1052 (4.4%)
(2) Radford University	110 (0.5%)	(13) Indiana University	1115 (4.6%)
(3) Carroll College	160 (0.7%)	(14) Whitman College	1182 (4.9%)
(4) University of California, Merced	173 (0.7%)	(15) University of California, Riverside	1183 (4.9%)
(5) Harvard University	182 (0.8%)	(16) Ohio State University	1345 (5.6%)
(6) Beloit College	205 (0.9%)	(17) Stanford University	1457 (6.0%)
(7) Middle Tennessee State University	434 (1.8%)	(18) University of Arizona	1515 (6.3%)
(8) University of Pennsylvania	487 (2.0%)	(19) University of Illinois at Chicago	2027 (8.4%)
(9) Ithaca College	545 (2.3%)	(20) Foothill College	2631 (10.9%) (Omitted)
(10) University of Washington	587 (2.4%)	(21) University of California, Santa Barbara	3084 (12.8%)
(11) Stony Brook University	948 (3.9%)	(22) University of Massachusetts	3607 (15.0%)

Appendix B

Variable	Survey question	Categories
Age	What is your age?	Continuous
Year	What is your current year in school?	1–4, 5 indicates 5 or more years
Religious affiliation	What is your current religious preference?	Catholicism, LDS, Fundamental or Evangelical Protestantism, Other Protestantism, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, none, other
SES	What level of education has your mother completed?	Less than high school, a high school degree only, some college, a bachelor's degree, a graduate degree
Racial/ethnic identity	If you had to pick one racial or ethnic group to describe yourself, which would it be?	White, Black, South Asian, East Asian, Latina/o, Other
Sexual orientation	What is your sexual orientation?	Heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, unsure
Are you in a fraternity or sorority?	Yes (1)	Fraternity/sorority affiliation
Varsity athletics	Are you a member of a varsity athletics team (not club sports or intramurals)?	Yes (1)
Residence	Where do you live?	Greek housing, on-campus dormitory housing, on-campus non-dormitory housing, off-campus housing, living with parents
Region	N/A	West Coast, Midwest, East Coast
Hook up behavior	How many people have you hooked up with in the case where you were not already in a romantic relationship with the person but you did know him or her?	1–14, 15 indicates 15 or more

References

- Ahrold, T.K., Meston, C.M., 2008. Ethnic differences in sexual attitudes of U.S. college students: Gender, acculturation, and religiosity factors. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 39 (1), 190–202.
- Armstrong, E.A., England, P., Fogarty, A.C.K., 2010. Orgasm in college hookups and relationships. In: Risman, B. (Ed.), *Families as they really are*. W.W. Norton & Company, Inc..
- Armstrong, E.A., Hamilton, L., Sweeney, B., 2006. Sexual assault on campus: A multilevel, integrative approach to party rape. *Social Problems* 53 (4), 483–499.
- Armstrong, E.A., England, P., Fogarty, A.C.K., 2012. Accounting for women's orgasm and sexual enjoyment in college hookups and relationships. *American Sociological Review* 77 (3), 435–462.
- Bleeker, E.T., Murnen, S.K., 2005. Fraternity membership, the display of degrading sexual images of women, and rape myth acceptance. *Sex Roles* 53 (7–8), 487–493.
- Boeringer, S.B., 1999. Associations of rape-supportive attitudes with fraternal and athletic participation. *Violence Against Women* 5 (1), 81–90.
- Bogle, K.A., 2008. *Hooking up: Sex, dating, and relationships on campus*. New York University Press, New York.
- Boswell, A.A., Spade, J.Z., 1996. Fraternities and collegiate rape culture: Why are some fraternities more dangerous places for women? *Gender & Society* 10 (2), 133–147.
- Bradshaw, C., Kahn, A.S., Saville, B.K., 2010. To hook up or date: Which gender benefits? *Sex Roles* 62 (9–10), 661–669.
- Burdette, A.M., Ellison, C.G., Hill, T.D., Glenn, N.D., 2009. "Hooking Up" at college: Does religion make a difference? *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 48 (3), 535–551.
- Conley, T.D., Ziegler, A., Moors, A.C., 2012. Backlash from the bedroom: Stigma mediates gender differences in acceptance of casual sex offers. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684312467169>.
- Crawford, M., Popp, D., 2003. Sexual double standards: A review and methodological critique of two decades of research. *The Journal of Sex Research* 40 (1), 12–26.
- Crosset, T.W., Benedict, J.R., McDonald, M.A., 1995. Male student-athletes reported for sexual assault: A survey of campus police departments and judicial affairs offices. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 19 (2), 126–140.
- Davidson, J.K., Moore, N.B., Earle, J.R., Davis, R., 2008. Sexual attitudes and behavior at four universities: Do Region, race and/or religion matter? *Adolescence* 43 (170), 189–220.
- DeMaris, A., 1995. A tutorial in logistic regression. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 57 (4), 956–968.
- Deutsch, F.M., 2007. Undoing gender. *Gender & Society* 21 (1), 106–127.
- Dodge, T., Jaccard, J., 2002. Participation in athletics and female sexual risk behavior: The Evaluation of four casual structures. *Journal of Adolescent Research* 17 (1), 42–67.
- England, P., Thomas, R.J., 2006. The decline of the date and the rise of the college hook up. In: Skolnick, A.S., Skolnick, J.D. (Eds.), *Families in transition*. Allyn and Bacon.
- Espinoza-Hernández, G., Lefkowitz, E.S., 2009. Sexual behaviors and attitudes and ethnic identity during college. *Journal of Sex Research* 46 (5), 471–482.

- Feldman, S.S., Turner, R.A., Araujo, K., 1999. Interpersonal context as an influence on sexual timetables of youths: Gender and ethnic effects. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 9 (1), 25–52.
- Forbes, G.B., Adams-Curtis, L.E., Pakalka, A.H., White, K.B., 2006. Dating aggression, sexual coercion, and aggression-supporting attitudes among college men as a function of participation in aggressive high school sports. *Violence Against Women* 12 (5), 441–455.
- Fugère, M., Escoto, C., Cousins, A.J., Riggs, M.L., Haerich, P., 2008. Sexual attitudes and double standards: A literature review focusing on participant gender and ethnic background. *Sexuality & Culture* 12 (3), 169–182.
- Gage, E.A., 2008. Gender attitudes and sexual behaviors: Comparing center and marginal athletes and nonathletes in a collegiate setting. *Violence Against Women* 14 (9), 1014–1032.
- Gentry, M., 1998. The sexual double standard: The influence of number of relationships and level of sexual activity on judgments of women and men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 22 (3), 505–511.
- Gerson, K., 2010. *The unfinished revolution*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Hamilton, L., 2007. Trading on heterosexuality: College women's gender strategies and homophobia. *Gender & Society* 21 (2), 145–172.
- Hamilton, L., Armstrong, E.A., 2009. Gendered sexuality in young adulthood: Double binds and flawed options. *Gender & Society* 23 (5), 589–616.
- Heldman, C., Wade, L., 2010. Hook-up culture: Setting a new research agenda. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 7 (4), 323–333.
- Humphrey, S.E., 2000. Fraternities, athletic teams, and rape. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 15 (12), 1313–1323.
- Jackson, P.B., Kleiner, S., Geist, C., Cebulko, K., 2011. Conventions of courtship: Gender and race differences in the significance of dating. *Journal of Family Issues* 32 (5), 629–652.
- Jackson, S.M., Cram, F., 2003. Disrupting the sexual double standard: Young women's talk about heterosexuality. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 42 (1), 113–127.
- Jonason, P.K., Marks, M.J., 2009. Common vs. uncommon sexual acts: Evidence for the sexual double standard. *Sex Roles* 60 (5–6), 357–365.
- Jonason, P.K., Fisher, T.D., 2009. The power of prestige: Why young men report having more sex partners than young women. *Sex Roles* 60 (3–4), 151–159.
- Kelly, J., Bazzini, D.G., 2001. Gender, sexual experience, and the sexual double standard: Evaluations of female contraceptive behavior. *Sex Roles* 45 (11–12), 785–799.
- Kennedy, M.A., Gorzalka, B.B., 2002. Asian and non-Asian attitudes toward rape, sexual harassment, and sexuality. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research* 46 (7/8), 227–238.
- Krane, V., Ross, S.R., Miller, M., Rowse, J.L., Gano, K., Andrzejczyk, J.A., Lucas, C.B., 2010. Power and focus: Self-representation of female college athletes. *Qualitative Research in Sport and Exercise* 2 (2), 175–195.
- Kreager, D.A., Staff, J., 2009. The sexual double standard and adolescent peer acceptance. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 72 (2), 143–164.
- Lau, M., Markham, C., Lin, H., Flores, G., Chacko, M.R., 2009. Dating and sexual attitudes in Asian-American adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research* 24 (1), 91–113.
- Legerski, E.M., Cornwall, M., 2010. Working-class job loss, gender and the negotiation of household labor. *Gender & Society* 24 (4), 447–474.
- Leiblum, S., Wiegel, M., Brickle, F., 2003. Sexual attitudes of U.S. and Canadian medical students: The role of ethnicity, gender, religion, and acculturation. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy* 18 (4), 473–491.
- Lerner, J. L., Blodgett Salafia, E. H., Benson, K. E. (2012). The relationship between college women's sexual attitudes and sexual activity: The mediating role of body image. *International Journal of Sexual Health* 25 (2), 104–114.
- Lyons, H., Giordano, P.C., Manning, W.D., Longmore, M.A., 2011. Identity, peer relationships, and adolescent girls' sexual behavior: An exploration of the contemporary double standard. *Journal of Sex Research* 48 (5), 437–449.
- Marks, M.J., Fraley, R.C., 2005. The sexual double standard: Fact or fiction? *Sex Roles* 52 (3–4), 175–186.
- Marks, M.J., Fraley, R.C., 2006. Confirmation bias and the sexual double standard. *Sex Roles* 54 (1–2), 19–26.
- McMahon, S., 2007. Understanding community-specific rape myths: Exploring student athlete culture. *Affilia* 22 (4), 357–370.
- Milhausen, R.R., Herold, E.S., 1999. Does the sexual double standard still exist? Perceptions of university women. *The Journal of Sex Research* 36 (4), 361–368.
- Miller, J.L., Levy, G.D., 1996. Gender role conflict, gender-typed characteristics, self-concepts, and sport socialization in female athletes and nonathletes. *Sex Roles* 35 (1–2), 111–122.
- Miller, K.E., Sabo, D.F., Farrell, M.P., Barnes, G.M., Melnick, M.J., 1998. Athletic participation and sexual behavior in adolescents: The different worlds of boys and girls. *Journal and Health and Social Behavior* 39 (2), 108–123.
- Moynihan, M.M., Banyard, V.L., 2008. Community responsibility for preventing sexual violence: A pilot study with campus Greeks and intercollegiate athletes. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community* 36 (1–2), 23–38.
- Murnen, S.K., Kohlman, M.H., 2007. Athletic participation, fraternity membership, and sexual aggression among college men: A meta-analytic review. *Sex Roles* 57 (1–2), 145–157.
- O'Sullivan, L.F., 1995. Less is more: The effects of sexual experience on judgments of men's and women's personality characteristics and relationship desirability. *Sex Roles* 33 (3–4), 159–181.
- Owen, J.J., Fincham, F.D., 2011. Young adults' emotional reactions after hooking up encounters. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 40 (2), 321–330.
- Owen, J.J., Rhoades, G.K., Stanley, S.M., Fincham, F.D., 2010. "Hooking Up" among college students: Demographic and psychosocial correlates. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 39 (3), 653–663.
- Paul, E.L., Hayes, K.A., 2002. The casualties of 'casual' sex: A qualitative exploration of the phenomenology of college students' hookups. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 19 (5), 639–661.
- Petersen, J.L., Hyde, J.S., 2011. Gender differences in sexual attitudes and behaviors: A review of meta-analytic results and large datasets. *Journal of Sex Research* 48 (2–3), 149–165.
- Petersen, J.L., Hyde, J.S., 2010. A meta-analytic review of research on gender differences in sexuality, 1993–2007. *Psychological Bulletin* 136 (1), 21–38.
- Reid, J.A., Elliot, S., Webber, G.R., 2011. Casual hookups to formal dates: refining the boundaries of the sexual double standard. *Gender & Society* 25 (5), 545–568.
- Reiffman, A., 2011. How fraternities and sororities impact students (or do they?). *Psychology Today*, September 1. <<http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/the-campus/201109/how-fraternities-and-sororities-impact-students-or-do-they>> Retrieved 27.01.13..
- Reiss, I.L., 1960. *Premarital sexual standards in America*. Free Press.
- Reiss, I.L., 1967. *The social context of premarital sexual permissiveness*. Holt, Rinehart, and Wilson.
- Risman, B.J., 1998. *Gender vertigo: American families in transition*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Risman, B.J., 2009. From doing to undoing: Gender as we know it. *Gender and Society* 23 (1), 81–84.
- Risman, B.J., 2004. Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society* 18 (4), 429–450.
- Risman, B.J., Schwartz, P., 2002. After the sexual revolution: Gender politics in teen dating. *Contexts* 1 (1), 16–24.
- Robinson, C.M., Spivey, S.E., 2007. The politics of masculinity and the ex-gay movement. *Gender & Society* 21 (5), 650–675.
- Roper, E.A., Halloran, E., 2007. Attitudes toward gay men and lesbians among heterosexual male and female student-athletes. *Sex Roles* 57 (11–12), 919–928.
- Sakaluk, J.K., Milhausen, R.R., 2012. Factors influencing university students' explicit and implicit sexual double standards. *Journal of Sex Research* 49 (5), 464–476.
- Sanday, P.R., 2007. *Fraternity gang rape: Sex, brotherhood, and privilege on campus*, 2nd ed. New York University Press.
- Schwalbe, M., Godwin, S., Hoden, D., Schrock, D., Thompson, S., Wolkomir, M., 2000. Generic processes in the reproduction of inequality: An interactionist analysis. *Social Forces* 79 (2), 419–452.
- Schwartz, P., 2010. Why is everyone afraid of sex? In: Risman, B. (Ed.), *Families as they really are*. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

- Sheeran, P., Spears, R., Abraham, S.C.S., Abrams, D., 1996. Religiosity, gender, and the double standard. *The Journal of Psychology* 130 (1), 23–33.
- Smigel, E.O., Seiden, R., 1968. The decline and fall of the double standard. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 376 (1), 6–17.
- Spreadbury, C.L., 1982. The “Permissiveness with Affection” norm and the labeling of deviants. *Personnel and Guidance Journal* 60 (5), 280–282.
- Sprecher, S., 1989. Premarital sexual standards for different categories of individuals. *The Journal of Sex Research* 26 (2), 232–248.
- Sprecher, S., Hatfield, E., 1996. Premarital sexual standards among U.S. college students: Comparison with Russian and Japanese students. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 25 (3), 261–288.
- Sprecher, S., McKinney, K., Walsh, R., Anderson, C., 1988. A revision of the Reiss premarital sexual permissiveness scale. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 50 (3), 821–828.
- Sprecher, S., McKinney, K., Orbuch, T.L., 1991. The effects of current sexual behavior on friendship, dating, and marriage desirability. *The Journal of Sex Research* 28 (3), 387–408.
- Stanton, B.F., Black, M., Kaljee, L., Ricardo, I., 1993. Perceptions of sexual behavior among urban early adolescents: translating theory through focus groups. *The Journal of Early Adolescence* 13 (1), 44–66.
- Tanenbaum, L., 1999. *Slut! Growing up female with a bad reputation*. Seven Stories Press.