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Dismantling Attitudes toward Casual Sex among U. S. University Students

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Dismantling Attitudes toward Casual Sex among U. S. University Students:

Capturing the Effect of "Doing Gender"

by

Ya Su

A Thesis

Presented to the Graduate and Research Committee

of Lehigh University

in Candidacy for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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Thesis is accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts in Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Dismantling Attitudes toward Casual Sex among U. S. University Students: Capturing the Effect of "Doing Gender"

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ABSTRACT

The sexual double standard organizes sexuality on American campuses. This study is devoted to frame analyses of sexual double standards in attitudes toward the frequent casual sex with "doing gender" theory. Using the Online College Social Life Survey dataset, the current study explores the interplay between students' attitudes toward people who are hooking up "a lot" and their "doing gender" perceptions and practices in daily life. This research is a new attempt to integrate a social constructionist approach with a nationwide social survey to offer a new perspective of understanding the gender inequality of sexuality among young adults.

Dismantling Attitudes toward Casual Sex among U. S. University Students: Capturing the Effect of "Doing Gender"

INTRODUCTION

In the United States, average age at first intercourse is 17, first marriages are in the late-20s, and premarital sex is pervasive (Guttmacher Institute 2014). In American cohorts born before World War II, participation in premarital sexual activity was likely to be between partners engaged to be married, but later cohorts were less likely to have sex in relationships that oriented toward marriage (England and Bearak 2014). As premarital sex becomes decreasingly stigmatized, more recent studies find that premarital sexual activity is not limited to the context of a boyfriend/girlfriend relationship (Allison and Risman 2013; Bogle 2008). Specifically, journalists and social scientists nowadays are turning their attention to the rise of casual sex among young adults on college campuses. While dating has declined on college campuses, "hookups-casual sexual encounters often initiated at alcohol-fueled, dance-oriented social events-have become a primary form of intimate heterosexual interaction" (Hamilton and Armstrong 2009).

There is no consensus among scholars on whether the casual sex entailed by hookups is good or bad for young women. Some scholars suggest that many college women participate enthusiastically in the hookup culture, and that it is better for women's autonomy, education, and career development because it prevents them from being devoured by committed relationships (Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Armstrong and Hamilton 2013). However, another thread of arguments opposing hooking up culture contends that hooking up benefits men at the expense of women (Armstrong et al. 2012; Bogle 2008; Glenn and Marquardt 2001). Many social scientists show concern that

hookups are bad for women since girls and women are always harshly judged if they are seen as "too" sexual while boys and men more often receive accolades for their frequent sexual activities (Bogle, 2008). The salience of a sexual double standard reveals gender inequality in college sexuality.

However, to date, studies tend to see the sexual double standard with regard to hooking up as an individual attitude and behavior rather than treat it as a key location for gender practice at interactional and institutional levels. Far more than confirming dichotomized gendered attitudes toward casual sex, it is more important for social scientists to explore under what arrangement this sexual double standard occurs and what symbolic meaning is given to such an arrangement. This study uses "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987) as the theoretical frame to analyze the gendered double standards toward hooking up on college campuses. By using the Online College Social Life Survey, a nationwide data on U. S. college students from 21 four-year colleges and universities in the U. S., this study investigates the interplay between people's attitudes toward hooking up and the extent to which these attitudes are associated with their "doing gender" perceptions and practices in daily life. The current research is a new attempt to integrate a social constructionist approach with a nationwide social survey to offer a new perspective of understanding gender inequality of sexuality among young adults.

HOOKING UP IN COLLEGE

Hooking up is common among young adults in the United States, particularly on college campuses. The concept of hooking up is ambiguous, but most young people agree that hooking up is anything ranging from kissing to having sex, and often times, it takes place outside of a committed and exclusive relationship (Armstrong et al. 2012a; Glenn

and Marquardt 2001; Paul, McManus, and Hayes 2000). Hooking up has replaced traditional dating and has become a primary form of intimate heterosexual interaction (Bogle 2008; England, Shafer, and Fogarty 2007). Usually, hooking up involves moderate to heavy alcohol consumption (a median of four drinks for women and six for men) and carries no expectation of moving forward a future relationship (England et al. 2007). Most hookups occur among acquaintances rather than complete strangers.

England (2007) offered a larger picture of hooking up on American colleges by examining the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS). She finds that over seventy percent of both men and women participating in the OCSLS reported at least one hookup by their senior year in college. Hamilton and Armstrong (2009) also found a similar result by conducting a longitudinal ethnographic study and interviewing women who started college in 2004 at a university in the Midwest. Thirty-three out of forty-four women (seventy-five percent) interviewees reported at least one hookup by their senior year.

Hooking up is "gendered" in many different ways, and thus the celebration of hedonism on college campuses must be examined carefully through a gender lens. Both quantitative and qualitative research provides evidence of a consistent salience of sexual double standards toward hooking up. In Bogle's (2008) interview with fifty-one undergraduates and twenty-five college alumni, she finds that college-age men enjoy much more sexual freedom than their female counterparts. She reports that female interviewees believed that too much casual sex activities would place them at risk for gaining a negative reputation and losing the potential to be considered "girlfriend" materials. Similarly, in Hamilton and Armstrong (2009) interview with fifty-three college women who lived on an all-female floor in a mixed-gender dormitory, they also found the existence of such double

standard; women show a strong concern of being judged when they hook up regularly. Moreover, when sociologists turn to examine the quality of sex in hooking up, they find that men have orgasms more frequently than women in hooking up. Men's sexual pleasure seems to be prioritized whereas women seem less focused on their own sexual pleasure and more worried about being seen as "hot" by men. However, it remains unclear how gender perceptions and practices affect the gendered sexual double standard toward hooking up. Current scholars offer a detailed description of the double standard, yet they fail to consider under what arrangement this double standard occurs and what symbolic meaning might be attached to that arrangement.

DOING GENDER IN SOCIAL INTERACTION

Contemporary feminist theories offer us new perspectives to think about gender inequality in college sexuality. As one of the most cited articles in the contemporary study of gender, "Doing Gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987) has contributed to a remarkable theoretical shift in understanding gender. West and Zimmerman suggest, "gender is not a set of traits, nor variable, nor a role, but the product of social doing " (p. 129). Instead of treating gender as a property of individuals, West and Zimmerman conceive of it as a "routine, methodical, and recurring accomplishment", and draw attention to the ways in which gender differences are accomplished in routine social interactions. In this sense, gender is not something we are, but something we do, something we create and recreate through social interaction. This paper focuses on the interactional level, exploring the power of "doing gender" in organizing college sexual relations and in bifurcating gendered attitude toward hooking up.

Drawing on Goffman's (1977) work on gender analyses, West and Zimmerman further contend that the resources of doing gender come from "social occasions", which refers to "a physical arena anywhere within an entering person finds himself exposed to the immediate presence of one or more others"(Goffman 1977). From domestic housework allocations to dating etiquettes, individuals "see" themselves in interaction and hold others accountable to this perception. Through interactions in everyday practices, people will be evaluated based on how their actions compare to accountability standards of the sex category that they belong to and act with the awareness that they will be judged according to what is appropriate feminine or masculine behavior. The hooking up scene on college campuses offers a stage for evocations of the "essential female and male natures". For example, understandings of who should plan or execute action, and who should direct or be directed carry the burden of social categories of "female" and "male", which is highly tied to people's gendered attitude toward casual sex.

What is more, this accountability is bidirectional. Students of gender must study the work of doing gender by examining how men are doing masculinity and how women are doing femininity at the same time. For example, if we want to examine how the man "does" being masculine by helping women lifting heavy stuff, at the same time, we should not ignore to how the woman "does" being feminine by consenting to be helped. This research focuses on the bidirectional accountability, exploring men's and women's perceptions of women hooking up a lot, and of men hooking up a lot separately.

Previous empirical findings exemplify how people are "doing gender" in different "social occasions". In home settings, scholars contend that people "get gender done" by women's engaging in domestic chores and men's not engaging in them to exhibit the

"essential nature" of each (West and Zimmerman 1987). Ruddick argues that everyday aspects of child care and housework help shape ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that become associated with what it means to be a woman and a mother (Ruddick 1982). In courtship scenarios, men are expected to make the first move in initiating potential sexual activities (Goffman 1977; Reid, Elliott, and Webber 2011). In institutional settings, researchers found that in all-male groups, men appear emotionally detached, competitive, and willing to objectify women as a way to show their masculinity through interaction (Schrock and Schwalbe 2009). For example, (Schrock and Schwalbe 2009) argued that in college fraternities, young men mutually affirm their manhood by collectively defining women as "servers" and as sexual "prey", which often entails the sexual objectification and harassment of women. Evidence also shows that male athletes participating in masculine homogeneous sports are more likely to hold inequitarian sexual and gender attitudes compared with their non-athletic peers (Humphrey 2000).

From theoretical constructions and empirical evidence, social constructionists capture that gender is not a built-in feature of male or female body, gender is produced and accomplished in varying social contexts. However, little research discusses to what extent to which people's "doing gender" in different social contexts impacts on their gendered attitude toward causal sex, and how this influence is mediated by sociodemographic factors, such as gender, race, socioeconomic status, childhood religion, and party affiliations, and also peer groups norms and college culture, such as fraternity/sorority affiliations, athletic team membership, student residence and school characteristics (party school or not).

The central research question of this study concerns the association between attitudinal patterns toward hooking up and people's perceptions on gender practices in everyday life. I use West and Zimmerman's "doing gender" as the theoretical framework for this study. West and Zimmerman situate gender beyond an individual-level attribute. Gender is not merely femininity or masculinity. Instead, gender is operating on interactional and institutional arenas in multi-levels. In this study, I situate "doing gender" in domestic housework allocation and the courtesy system as possible influences on the means by which students learn the expectations appropriate for women's and men's sexual behavior on campuses. I have six hypotheses, which are as follows:

Hypothesis 1A: I hypothesize that college students with more inegalitarian attitudes toward housework allocation are more likely to lose respect for students who hook up "a lot".

Hypothesis 1B: I hypothesize that the association between attitudes toward housework allocation and evaluations of frequent casual sexual behaviors differs by gender.

Hypothesis 2A: I hypothesize that college students reporting more disagreement on women may asking men out are more likely to lose respect people who hook up "a lot".

Hypothesis 2B: I hypothesize that the association between attitudes toward women asking men out and attitudes toward students hooking up "a lot" differs by gender.

Hypothesis 3A: I hypothesize that college students claiming that men should initiate sexual behaviors first are more likely to lose respect for people who hook up "a lot".

Hypothesis 3B: I hypothesize that the association between reports of men initiating previous sexual activities and attitudes toward students hooking up "a lot" differs by gender.

Of these, I examine men hooking up "a lot" and women hooking up "a lot" separately, and further by female and male separately, in order to explore how each group assesses males versus females who hookup "a lot".

METHOD

Data

I use data from the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS), a twenty minutes online survey administered between 2005 and 2011 to students from 21 four-year colleges and universities in the U.S. (N=24,298). The online survey was developed by sociologists at Stanford University in 2005 and has been taken by undergraduate students nationwide since that date. At each institution, students were recruited primarily through undergraduate courses in sociology. In class, instructors gave students some extra credits for taking the survey. In order to make the survey voluntary, students had the option to choose a similar assignment designed to take relatively the same amount of time. The sample is only 11 percent sociology majors, even though recruiting were mainly through sociology courses. While not a probability sample, the data represent a near census (99% to 100%) in classes where students were recruited (Armstrong, England, and Fogarty 2012). This data remains one of the best to study sexuality of the US student population due to its large sample size (N=24,298) and nearly 100 % response rate within-classroom. Despite their limitation, these data work the best to answer the questions posed in this research.

(For questionnaire, data, online codebook, see <https://files.nyu.edu/jmb736/public/ocsls/>.)

Variables and Models

Dependent Variables. I used two ordinal indicators of evaluation of women and men who engage in "a lot" of hooking up. The first variable recorded respondents' attitude to the statement, *"If women hook up or have sex with lots of people, I respect them less"*. Respondents chose *"I strongly disagree"*, *"I disagree"*, *"I agree"* or *"I strongly agree"*. The second variable documented respondents' attitude to the statement, *"If men hook up or have sex with lots of people, I respect them less"*. Respondents chose *"I strongly disagree"*, *"I disagree"*, *"I agree"* or *"I strongly agree"*. Both variables are coded as scale of 1 to 4, with 1 indicates strongly disagree and 4 as strongly agree

Key Independent Variables. I incorporated three key independent variables in my models. I included an indicator which measures respondent's perception concerning doing gender on housework allocation at home settings. The variable documented answers to the question *"In a marriage, it is best if one person has the main career and the other is in charge of children and household"* using a 4-unit scale from *"strongly disagree"* to *"strongly agree"*. I named this variable as "unequal housework", which ranges from 1 as very equal attitude toward housework division of labor to 4 as very unequal attitude toward housework division of labor.

People's perception concerning doing gender in dating scenarios is also reported in a 4-unit scale. All respondents were asked *"It is okay for women to ask men out on dates"*. Respondents chose *"I strongly disagree"*, *"I disagree"*, *"I agree"* or *"I strongly agree"*. I named this variable as "women ask men out" indicating the degree of respondents endorsing the traditional "men should make the first move" dogma from 1 as highly endorse to 4 as lowly endorse.

The third variable reflects people's opinions on performative features of gender in the courtship system. Measuring respondent's doing gender in sexual activities, this variable answers the question "*Overall, who initiated more of the sexual activities in dating*". Response categories were "*women*", "*men*" or "*I don't know*". I dichotomized responses, splitting them into a dummy variable as "men initiated" versus the "not men initiated" because it addressed my concern about how men are doing masculinity by exerting control in sexual relationships.

Control Variables. The demographic controls in this study include the respondent's race, the education attainment of the respondent's mother, the religion in which the respondent was raised, and the respondent's party affiliation. Previous research indicates that hook up culture is largely a "wealthy and white phenomenon" (Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Wade, 2013), I recoded race as a dummy variable where 1 indicates that the respondent is White and 0 is Nonwhite. I used mother's education as an indicator of the socioeconomic status of the family the student grew up in since the data did not ask father's education, or parental income or occupations. Mother's education is measured by 4 categories: high school education or less, some college education, Bachelor's degree or Graduate degree. Substantial evidence shows that religious and political involvement is associated with their socialization agents and life course, and thus wield influence over people's attitudes toward romantic and sexual life (Burdette et al. 2009). I include childhood religious denomination (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Other, None) and party affiliation (Republican, Non-republican) in this study as control variables.

Moreover, previous research has found that peer groups norms and campus culture have direct influences on people's sexual attitudes (Allison and Risman 2013), I included

dummies for Greek membership and party school, athletic participation (team, individual, no) and residence (Dorm, Greek, Other) in this study in order to take into consideration the power of institutional and organizational culture.

I also controlled for the respondent's own report of number of prior hookups, as more sexually experienced students report somewhat more liberal patterns of sexual attitudes (Allison and Risman 2013; Kelly and Bazzini 2001). However, prior hookups may be misreported by gender, since past studies indicate that women may be under-reporting and/or men are over-reporting their sexual behaviors because the sexual behaviors are more socially desirable for men and more stigmatized for women (England and Bearak 2014).

Ordinal Logistic Regression

When a dependent variable is a categorical variable, ordinary least squares estimation is very problematic. First, OLS presumes a linear relationship between dependent and independent variables. However, for choice model, the coefficient is not always constant. Second, OLS regression is not able to capture the value range of the dependent variable. Therefore, it is possible that the estimates retrieved from OLS model will exceed the value range, which is meaningless for choice model. Therefore, statisticians use the probability distribution function and logistic function to estimate such model.

Ordinal logistic regression is built upon the binary logistic regression and assumes each value in the dependent variable is ordered. Therefore, ordinal logistic regression is ideal for estimating models in which dependent variable records scaled attitude. However, due to “attitude” is “sentiment”, which is unobservable in social research, ordinal regression model, therefore, not only the estimates coefficient for the independent variable,

but also the latent “thresholds” separating each ordered category in the dependent variable (Hill, Griffiths, and Lim 2008). I used STATA 13.0 to estimate the ordinal logistic regression.

Sample

In STATA 13.0, the ordinal logistic regression model is estimated using observations with no missing values across all variables included in a model. However, given the procedure of building models, the number of observations is not consistent across all models because a given number of observations will be dropped when new variable is added to the baseline model in the regression estimation if observations record missing value in this new variable. Thus, estimates of each model are less persuasive to serve for a comparative purpose. In order to make the analysis consistent, I dropped all cases that are missing in any of the variables. After eliminating cases with missing values, I have 6,392 cases in my analytical sample. I first present descriptive statistics and then the multivariate analysis results.

RESULT

Figure 1 and Figure 2 present the basic descriptive statistics of dependent variables and compare their differences between gender groups. When respondents are asked "If women hook up or have sex with lots of people, I respect them less", 52.96 % of women agree or strongly agree. Comparing these responses to the analogous question about men, 67.54 % women show a negative attitude toward men hooking up a lot. However, while 64.16 % of men said they respect women less if she hooks up or has sex with lots of people, only 34.44 % of them feel the same way about men who do the exactly the same thing.

These results suggest an obvious sexual double standard. Male college students show a much harsher judgment towards female students.

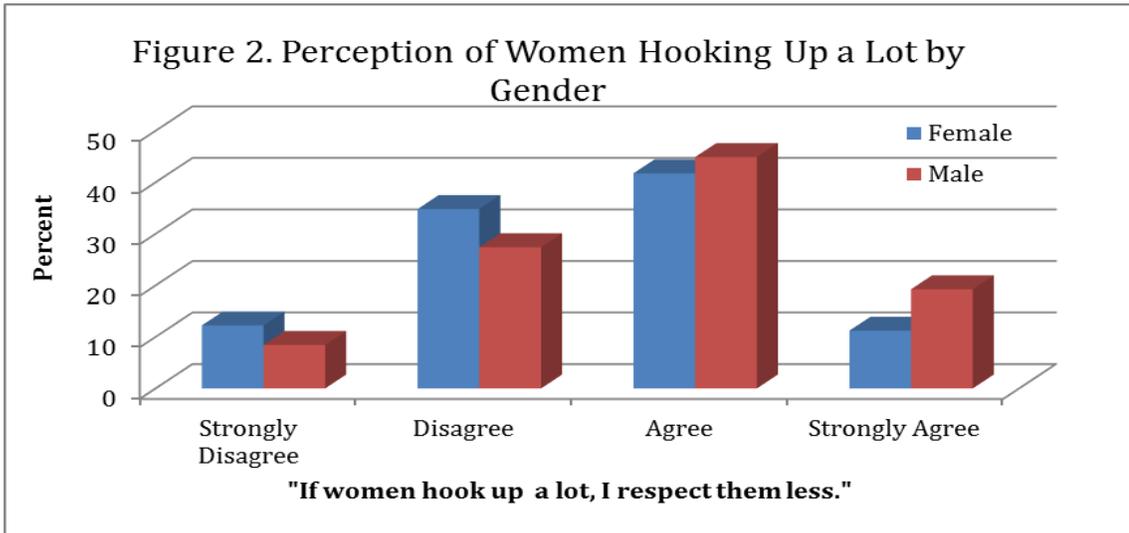
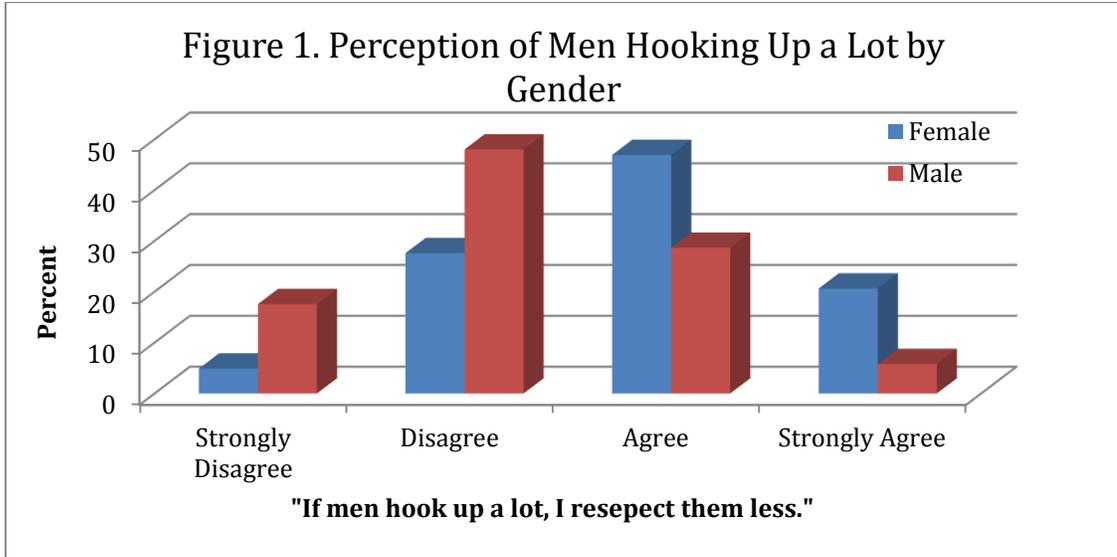


Table 1 below shows the descriptive statistics of my key independent variables: students' "doing gender" perceptions and practices, both for the full sample, and by male and female subsamples. Across the 3 key independent variables, perceptions of domestic housework division of labor, attitudes toward women asking men out, and who initiated

sex demonstrate significant differences between male and female. While about 32% of women strongly disagree with the statement on unequal housework, only about 16% of men express the same responds.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Key Independent Variables

	All (N=6,392)	Men (N=2,073)	Women (N=4,319)
<i>Key Independent Variables</i>			
Unequal Housework***			
strongly disagree	26.61	15.97	31.72
disagree	52.02	53.16	51.47
agree	17.68	25.23	14.05
strongly agree	3.69	5.64	2.76
Women Ask Men Out***			
strongly disagree	1.05	0.58	1.27
disagree	5.37	2.99	6.51
agree	37.81	28.9	42.09
strongly agree	55.77	67.53	50.13
Men Initiated Sex***			
men initiated	55.82	48.24	59.46
not men initiated	44.18	51.76	40.54

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Significant chi-square of difference by gender.

Table 2 and Table 3 present bivariate analyses of students' "doing gender" perceptions and practices and their attitudes toward men (Table 2) and women (Table 3) who hook up a lot. Perceptions of the domestic housework division of labor, attitudes toward women asking men out, and who initiated sex show significant differences in students' attitudes toward men and women who hook up a lot.

Table 2. Bivariate Analysis of Disrespecting Men by Key Independent Variables

	Total	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Unequal Housework***					
strongly disagree	26.61	12.93	29.57	38.8	18.69
disagree	52.02	6.92	37.2	41.83	14.05
agree	17.68	6.99	34.07	43.72	15.22
strongly agree	3.69	19.49	25.85	31.78	22.88
Women Ask Men Out***					
strongly disagree	1.05	11.94	17.91	31.34	38.81
disagree	5.37	5.83	23.91	47.23	23.03
agree	37.81	3.48	33.43	47.91	15.18
strongly agree	55.77	12.99	36.02	35.88	15.12
Men Initiated Sex***					
men initiated	55.82	8.35	32.93	41.4	17.32
not men initiated	44.18	9.81	35.8	40.47	13.92

Note: Significant chi-square test *p<0.05; p<0.01**; p<0,001***

N=6,392

Table 3. Bivariate Analysis of Disrespecting Women by Key Independent Variables

	Total	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Unequal Housework***					
strongly disagree	26.61	18.46	33.98	35.8	11.76
disagree	52.02	9.08	34.26	44.42	12.24
agree	17.68	5.75	26.9	50.09	17.26
strongly agree	3.69	9.32	21.61	34.75	34.32
Women Ask Men Out***					
strongly disagree	1.05	25.37	17.91	26.87	29.85
disagree	5.37	4.66	25.95	49.56	19.83
agree	37.81	6.79	32.15	48.16	12.91
strongly agree	55.77	14.19	33.49	38.77	13.55
Men Initiated Sex***					
men initiated	55.82	10.12	30.72	44.76	14.41
not men initiated	44.18	12.11	34.56	40.26	13.07

Note: Significant chi-square test *p<0.05; p<0.01**; p<0,001***

N=6,392

Table 4 and Table 5 show ordered logistic analyses of disrespecting men and women who are hooking up a lot, using the same model specification. Table 4 presents the odds ratio of ordered logistic regression with attitude towards men who hook up a lot as the dependent variable. Model 1 uses the full sample, with model 2 on the female subsample, and model 3 on the male subsample. Model 1 shows that men's chance of having negative attitude toward men hooking up a lot is significant lower than women. Controlling for other factors considered in the model, the odds of men having negative attitude toward men hooking up a lot is only about 25% of women's.

Students' understanding of domestic housework division of labor also significantly associates with people's attitudinal patterns toward men hooking up a lot. Compared to those who strongly disagree (reference category) with unequal housework division labor, those who disagree and agree with unequal housework are more likely to disrespect men who hook up a lot (model 1). We see the similar pattern in model 2 and 3 when running on female and male subsamples. However, the association is not significant for students who are strongly agree the inegalitarian household labor. This might be a result of a small number of observations in that category.

Attitudes toward whether women may ask men out on dates show a negative association with the negative attitude towards men hooking up a lot. Comparing to those who strongly disagree that women may ask men out on dates, those who agree and strongly agree that women may ask men out on dates are less likely to harshly judge men who hook up a lot (model 1). However, when examining women and men separately, the association is negative for female respondents (model 2) yet is positive for male respondents (model 3).

Respondents' answer to the question of who initiated sex has no significant association with their attitude toward men hooking up a lot when examining the full sample (model 1). However, the results reveal a clear gender difference in such association when looking at female and male separately. For female respondents, there is a significant positive association (model 2), which means that women who reported that men initiated sex when dating are more likely to disrespect men hooking up a lot. For male respondents, the influence is negative, which indicates that men who reported that men initiated sex when dating are less likely to disrespect men hooking up a lot. Again, these results indicate the gender difference in the association between dating behavior and attitude towards men hooking up a lot.

Turning to control variables, students who are white are less likely to express negative judgment on men who hook up a lot, and we see the similar pattern for both male and female. Students who identify themselves as Republicans are more likely to disrespect men who are hooking up a lot. Among female students, those who are Greek members, and those who are heterosexual are more likely to disrespect men who are hooking up a lot. However, we do not see the same pattern among male students. It is not surprising that, for both male and female, those who report more hooking up experiences are less likely to disrespect men who are hooking up a lot.

Table 4. Ordered Logistic Regression on Disrespecting Men

	All	Female	Male
Male	0.243*** (-25.235)		
Unequal Housework (Strongly disagree as reference)			
disagree	1.147**	1.098	1.348**

	(2.37)	(1.42)	(2.39)
agree	1.491***	1.479***	1.630***
	(5.29)	(4.16)	(3.50)
strongly agree	1.171	1.274	1.106
	(1.12)	(1.27)	(0.45)
Women Ask Men Out (Strongly disagree as reference)			
disagree	0.731	0.510**	3.635**
	(-1.172)	(-2.293)	(2.11)
agree	0.601**	0.399***	4.256**
	(-2.028)	(-3.323)	(2.53)
strongly agree	0.496***	0.341***	3.218**
	(-2.791)	(-3.891)	(2.05)
Men initiated Sex	0.998	1.168***	0.719***
	(-0.046)	(2.65)	(-3.949)
White	0.775***	0.753***	0.831*
	(-4.624)	(-4.234)	(-1.896)
Mother's Education (High school or less as reference)			
some college	1.058	1.078	0.979
	(0.82)	(0.90)	(-0.176)
Bachelor's degree	1.002	1.013	1.011
	(0.03)	(0.16)	(0.09)
Graduate degree	1.023	1.09	0.899
	(0.31)	(0.98)	(-0.841)
Christian	1.003	1.023	0.949
	(0.05)	(0.38)	(-0.595)
Republican	1.331***	1.321***	1.387***
	(4.37)	(3.31)	(3.08)
Party School	0.997	1.06	0.848*
	(-0.067)	(1.00)	(-1.875)
Greek	1.205***	1.423***	0.886
	(2.59)	(3.96)	(-0.979)
Athletics	1.139	1.13	1.12
	(1.48)	(0.99)	(0.89)
Residence (Dorm as reference)			
Greek	0.978	0.823	1.192
	(-0.181)	(-1.246)	(0.87)
Other	0.956	0.927	0.997
	(-0.912)	(-1.261)	(-0.029)
Prior Hookups	0.957***	0.961***	0.955***
	(-12.166)	(-8.578)	(-8.248)
Straight	1.485***	1.659***	0.742

	(3.60)	(4.23)	(-1.097)
Constant cut1	0.030***	0.026***	0.326*
	(-12.255)	(-11.514)	(-1.719)
Constant cut2	0.295***	0.256***	3.309*
	(-4.316)	(-4.365)	(1.83)
Constant cut3	2.560***	2.234***	29.945***
	(3.33)	(2.58)	(5.17)
Observations	6,392	4,319	2,073

Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Odds ratio reported

In Table 5, I turn to an analysis of the attitude towards women hooking up a lot as the dependent variable. Similarly, Model 1 uses the full sample, with model 2 on the female subsample, and model 3 on the male subsample. In the full sample, men's chance of having the negative attitude toward women hooking up a lot is significant higher than women. Controlling for other factors, men are still about 64 % more likely to respect women less if women hook up a lot.

Attitudes toward domestic housework division of labor also significantly associate with people's attitudinal patterns toward women hooking up a lot. Comparing to those who strongly disagree (reference category) with unequal housework division labor, those who disagree, agree, and strongly agree with unequal housework are more likely to disrespect women who hook up a lot in all models including the full sample, the male and the female subsample. This association is particularly strong for male respondents. Comparing to those who strongly embrace the egalitarian household labor, men who strongly agree the traditional inegalitarian domestic housework division of labor are over 3 times more likely to judge women who hook up a lot negatively.

The association between attitudes toward whether women may ask men out on dates and attitudes toward women hooking up a lot are not very significant. Compared to those who strongly disagree that women may ask men out on dates, those who disagree that women may ask men out on dates are slightly more likely to lose respect for women hooking up a lot. However, even the association is not significant, students reporting more disagreement on women may asking men out are more likely to lose respect to women hooking up a lot.

Respondents' answer to the question of who initiated sex has a significant positive association with their negative attitude toward women hooking up a lot when examining the full sample (model 1). Students who reported that men initiated sexual activities when dating are more likely to respect women less if women hook up a lot. However, when looking at female and male separately, the association is not significant for male respondents.

Turning to control variables, students who are white are less likely to disrespect women who hook up a lot, but such pattern is found mostly among male students. Students who are brought up as Christian, and those who identify themselves as Republicans, and those who consider themselves as heterosexual, are more likely to express negative judgment of women who hook up a lot, and we see same association for both male and female students. It is interesting to see that students whose living arrangement is other than dorm and Greek houses are less likely to disrespect women who hook up a lot. The negative association between reported previous hook-up experience and disrespect of women's hooking up exist only among female students.

Table 5. Ordered Logistic Regression on Disrespecting Women

	All	Female	Male
Male	1.638*** -9.186		
Unequal Housework (Strongly disagree as reference)			
disagree	1.339*** (5.09)	1.335*** (4.41)	1.462*** (3.11)
agree	1.751*** (7.44)	1.933*** (7.00)	1.678*** (3.77)
strongly agree	2.695*** (7.05)	1.683*** (2.78)	4.354*** (6.68)
Women Ask Men Out (Strongly disagree as reference)			
disagree	1.610* (1.69)	1.737* (1.77)	1.047 (0.07)
agree	1.2 (0.69)	1.055 (0.18)	1.485 (0.66)
strongly agree	0.944 (-0.216)	0.849 (-0.550)	1.077 (0.12)
Men initiated Sex	1.213*** (4.06)	1.324*** (4.78)	1.012 (0.15)
White	0.802*** (-4.039)	0.902 (-1.544)	0.650*** (-4.433)
Mother's Education (High school or less as reference)			
some college	0.998 (-0.025)	1.022 (0.26)	0.974 (-0.221)
Bachelor's degree	0.99 (-0.153)	1.071 (0.85)	0.889 (-0.999)
graduate degree	0.903 (-1.419)	0.989 (-0.129)	0.808* (-1.684)
Christian	1.216*** (3.99)	1.207*** (3.16)	1.228** (2.37)
Republican	1.660*** (7.64)	1.474*** (4.57)	1.850*** (5.71)
Party School	0.949 (-1.096)	0.942 (-1.034)	0.991 (-0.110)
Greek	1.153** (1.99)	1.202** (2.07)	1.114 (0.88)
Athletics	1.173* (1.80)	1.172 (1.29)	1.079 (0.60)

Residence (Dorm as reference)			
Greek	0.882 (-1.016)	0.864 (-0.925)	0.889 (-0.574)
other	0.774*** (-5.191)	0.771*** (-4.341)	0.757*** (-3.132)
Straight	2.517*** (8.55)	2.506*** (7.68)	2.564*** (3.57)
Prior Hookups	0.967*** (-9.243)	0.944*** (-12.072)	0.998 (-0.272)
Constant cut1	0.343*** (-3.633)	0.292*** (-3.735)	0.282* (-1.865)
Constant cut2	2.412*** (2.99)	2.175** (2.36)	1.834 (0.89)
Constant cut3	22.594*** (10.52)	22.477*** (9.38)	15.514*** (4.02)
Observations	6,392	4,319	2,073

Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Odds ratio reported

Table 4 and Table 5 suggest the existence of sexual double standard toward casual sex on college campuses. A greater percentage of men than women embrace a double standard. Men are more likely to lose respect for those who are frequently involved in casual sexual activities, but only for women. What is more, Table 4 and Table 5 confirm that indicators of individual's perception of doing gender in social interactions in different social contexts matter for attitudinal patterns toward frequent casual sexual activities on college campuses.

I find several supports for my hypotheses. I hypothesized that college students with more traditional attitudes toward housework allocation are more likely to lose respect for students who hook up "a lot", and this association differs by gender. I do find support for my first hypothesis (Table 4 and Table 5). I proposed that college students reporting more

disagreement on women may ask men out are more likely to lose respect people who hook up "a lot", and such association differs by gender. The second hypothesis is partially supported. The association is only confirmed when analyzing attitudinal patterns toward men who hook up a lot (Table4). I expected that college students claiming that men initiated sexual behaviors when dating are more likely to lose respect for people who hook up "a lot", and such association differs by gender. The third hypothesis is also partially supported. The relation is confirmed when analyzing attitudinal patterns toward women who hook up a lot (Table 5).

DISCUSSION

This paper revisits evidence for gender differences in attitudes toward casual sex on college campuses, explores the association between students' perception of "doing gender" in different social contexts and the variations in their attitudes toward people who hook up a lot on campus. Overall, I find that attitude toward endorsing unequal housework division labor shows a significant association with disrespecting men and women who excessively engaged in hooking up. The effect of "doing gender" in courtship system is also very pronounced. People who endorse "men should make the first move" are more likely to disrespect men and women when they hooking up a lot in general even the result is mixed for men and women. Inclusion of control variables in this study reveals attitudinal patterns toward hooking up significant varies between racial groups, religious groups (for women), party affiliations, Greek membership, athletic membership, sexual history, and sexual orientation.

Limited by the cross-sectional dataset, the current study is unable to adjudicate between structural and individual debates over predictors to gendered sexual attitudes.

Cross-sectional dataset can poorly capture the ever-changing social structural factors with information from only one time point. A more solid estimation capturing these complexities arising from time variation is needed in further research.

Another limitation of this study is that people do not have the same understanding toward what does "a lot" mean. This variation could invite bias to the results. Future research should take this variation of evaluation of hooking up "a lot" into consideration.

This research supports the understanding of gender as an accomplishment embedded in social interactions in different social occasions, and the usefulness of this framework for understanding contemporary gendered attitudes toward casual sex. This study has implications for dismantling gender inequality in college sexuality. If gender is not something we are, but something we do, with the development of feminist-inspired norms, we could expect to see that the gendered sexual double standard might be shifted due to the efforts of "undoing gender" over time.

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