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Laurie A. Rudman¹, Janell C. Fetterolf¹, and Diana T. Sanchez¹

Abstract

The present research uniquely compared male control theory (MCT) versus female control theory (FCT) to illuminate motives for the sexual double standard (SDS), whereby men gain status from engaging in casual sex or having many sexual partners, but women are stigmatized for it. Consistent with MCT, men were more likely than women to endorse the SDS and to give sexual advice in ways that reinforce it—gender differences that were mediated by hostile sexism (HS) and endorsing the SDS, respectively. The data did not support FCT's argument that women are motivated by sexual economics to restrict female sexuality (Baumeister & Twenge, 2002). Both genders discouraged women from having casual sex to protect women from social stigma and rape myths that justify violence against sexual women. In concert, the findings support MCT more than FCT and suggest that sexism, stigma, and rape myths are primary obstacles to sexual equality.

Keywords

sexism, gender differences, sexual double standard, human sexuality, close relationships, sexual economics theory, gender equality

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The sexual double standard (SDS) “implies that male and female sexual behaviors should be judged by different standards, such as the belief that casual sex is acceptable for men but not for women” (Peterson & Hyde, 2010, p. 26). As a moral code that restricts women's sexual freedom, the SDS both reflects and reinforces the subordination of women. A consequence of the SDS is that having many sexual partners raises men's status in society but stigmatizes women (Conley, Ziegler, & Moors, 2011; Jonason, 2007; Jonason & Fisher, 2009). Research investigating the SDS has generally focused on (a) evaluations of men and women described as engaging in casual sex (Crawford & Popp, 2003) or (b) gender differences in accepting offers of casual sex (Clark & Hatfield, 1989; Conley, 2011). In the present research, we provide the first systematic investigation of the motives underlying the SDS to examine who primarily enforces it and why. To do so, we expanded on Baumeister and Twenge's (2002) analysis of male control theory (MCT, which posits that men suppress female sexuality) and female control theory (FCT, which posits that women suppress female sexuality). Because the SDS persists as a form of gender inequality that impedes women's sexual expression, including accepting offers of desired sex (Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991) and initiating sexual

communication and activity (Greene & Faulkner, 2005), it is important to illuminate the factors that preserve it.

Who Controls the SDS?

Baumeister and Twenge (2002) constructed theoretical arguments based on a selective literature review to determine which gender was most responsible for suppressing female sexuality and thus for perpetuating the SDS. Relying on both evolutionary and feminist perspectives, and framing their analysis as a comparison of male versus female control theories, they concluded that women were mainly responsible for the SDS. Their support for FCT was based largely on sexual economics, an untested theory that posits that women seek to protect the market value of their sexual favors by refusing offers of casual sex and deterring other women from accepting them (Baumeister & Vohs, 2004). Because sexual economics (described later in greater detail) proposes that

¹Rutgers University—New Brunswick, Piscataway, NJ, USA

Corresponding Author:

Laurie A. Rudman, Department of Psychology, Tillett Hall, Rutgers University—New Brunswick, 53 Avenue E, Piscataway, NJ 08854-8040, USA
Email: rudman@rci.rutgers.edu

women exchange sexual favors for men's commitment and financial resources, Baumeister and Twenge concluded,

Social exchange theory offers a good reason for women to suppress female sexuality, because restricting the supply of sex will raise the price (in terms of commitment, attention, and other resources) that women can get for their sexual favors. In our view, the evidence we have presented provides fairly good and consistent support for the view that women are indeed the main proximal influences that restrain female sexuality. (p. 198)

However, the evidence Baumeister and Twenge (2002) offered to support FCT was deficient for at least three reasons. First, they relied on Oliver and Hyde's (1993) meta-analytic finding that women endorsed the SDS more so than men ($d = -.29$). However, the meta-analysis included outdated research (1977 was the most recent data year) and excluded research that measured acceptance of premarital sex separately for male and female targets (which showed a reverse gender difference; Reiss, 1960, 1964). In Peterson and Hyde's (2010) meta-analysis, which included research from 1993 to 2007 and focused on double standards for casual sex, men endorsed the SDS more so than women ($d = .10$). Although the effect size is small, it is reversed from Oliver and Hyde's finding.

Second, Baumeister and Twenge (2002) emphasized evidence that women discourage their female friends from having casual sex, whereas men encourage their male friends to have it (Du Bois-Reymond & Ravesloot, 1996). Although the pattern suggests that women enforce the SDS, it may also reflect the sexual advice *received* by women and men. Because traditional heterosexual scripts cast men as the initiators and women as gatekeepers (Martin, 1996; Sanchez, Fetterolf, & Rudman, 2012), men receive encouraging, and women restrictive, advice with regard to casual sex (Morgan, Thorne, & Zurbriggen, 2010). In an experiment, Fisher (2009) found that men exposed to restrictive sexual messages subsequently reported first having intercourse at a later age and fewer sexual partners compared with controls who were not exposed to restrictive messages (see also Fisher, 2007). By contrast, women were not influenced by restrictive messages, plausibly because they routinely receive them (Morgan et al., 2010). Moreover, Baumeister and Twenge never considered that men might encourage men to have casual sex *more so than they encourage women*—the real test of enforcing the SDS and, thus, a better indicator of MCT. Instead, they further argued for FCT based on the fact that mothers generally counsel their daughters about sex. Mothers do tend to be discouraging about sex, but fathers are even more discouraging and controlling; as a result, daughters are much more comfortable discussing sex with their mothers (Morgan et al., 2010), which is plausibly why mothers play the dominant counseling role.

Finally, Baumeister and Twenge (2002) attributed social stigma to women, writing that “[suppressing female sexuality] appears to have been carried out with informal sanctions such as gossip, reputation, and maternal socialization” (p. 200) and,

Mothers may recall that the female peer group would ostracize or punish girls who went too far sexually, and so the mothers may seek to instill sexual restraint in the daughter so as to improve the daughter's social standing within the female peer group. (p. 180)

The gender gap in social stigma is critical to consider; it mediates gender differences in accepting offers of casual sex (Conley, Ziegler, et al., 2011). But rather than reflecting FCT, it is just as likely that women are counseled restrictively by both genders to protect their reputation among the *male* peer group. To enhance their status, men tend to exaggerate their number of sexual partners (Fisher, 2009; Jonason & Fisher, 2009), and to earn bragging rights, they may spread rumors about their female partners (Bird, 1996; Boswell & Spade, 1996). In fact, men list bragging about sexual conquests as a *reason* for having casual sex (Meston & Buss, 2007). Even men who reject such tactics are no doubt aware of other men's behavior (e.g., of “locker room” and “frat boy” boasts; Curry, 1991; Gilmore, 1996). As a result, both genders likely attempt to protect women from social stigma by counseling them against having casual sex.

In summary, Baumeister and Twenge's (2002) conclusion that women are mainly responsible for the SDS is premature because it stems from an incomplete literature review and analysis, not direct evidence. By contrast, we hypothesized that men would endorse the SDS more so than women and give advice in ways that perpetuate it more so than women, and that both genders would discourage women against having casual sex to protect their reputations. We next outline Baumeister and Twenge's conception of male and female control theories and how we expanded their analysis.

What Motivates the SDS?

In their evolutionary analysis of MCT, Baumeister and Twenge (2002) reasoned that men might wish to control women's sexuality to better ensure paternity certainty and to prevent competition from other potential partners who might turn out to be better lovers than they are. If a female partner is sexually liberal, men might not propagate their own genes, but in addition, a sexually experienced woman would be able to comparatively judge her partner's performance. In the present research, we examined paternity certainty and intrasexual competition as *male mate poaching*—an evolutionary basis for MCT.

In their feminist analysis of MCT, Baumeister and Twenge (2002) wrote, “Society is called *patriarchy* because it is made by and for males, and women are its victims. One of

men's top priorities is to keep women down and use them for the men's purposes" (p. 168). Patriarchal systems preclude women from being independent people who seek sexual fulfillment because such activities could undermine male privilege and control (Travis & White, 2000). To test whether the SDS is a form of male privilege that men desire to keep for themselves, we examined *male entitlement* as a reason why men might wish to preserve the SDS.

Broadening MCT

Ultimately rejecting a feminist analysis, Baumeister and Twenge (2002) dismissed even a distal or indirect role for MCT, arguing that it would be against men's self-interest to suppress female sexuality given their apparent eagerness for sex. However, we sought to remedy their cursory analysis of the patriarchal roots of MCT in two main ways.

First, we considered the fact that, around the world, men are more sexist than women (Glick et al., 2000; Swim, Becker, Pruitt, & Lee, 2010). Because the SDS signifies gender inequality, sexism likely plays a role, but in what way? Hostile sexism (HS) is targeted at nontraditional women (e.g., career women and feminists), as well as women's sexual power over men (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001). Thus, it reflects a desire to maintain male dominance by resisting female power—whether economic, political, or sexual. If men's HS scores correlate with SDS endorsement, it would support MCT by suggesting that men use the SDS to uphold patriarchy by suppressing women. By contrast, benevolent sexism (BS) reflects putting women on a pedestal and viewing them as wonderful but weak (i.e., as more moral and pure than men but also as in need of protection). It is reserved for traditional women (e.g., those who sacrifice their own ambitions for their families; Glick et al., 1997). If men's BS scores correlate with SDS endorsement, it would suggest that men paternalistically use the SDS to maintain feminine ideals of purity and sexual modesty (a more subtle sign of patriarchy; Jackman, 1994). Expecting men to endorse the SDS more so than women (Peterson & Hyde, 2010), we investigated whether either hostile or BS might account for this gender difference. Results would support MCT if either HS or BS acts as a mediator, but HS is a more obvious and pernicious reflection of patriarchy.

Second, Baumeister and Twenge (2002) ignored how patriarchies traditionally control women through the threat of rape, doing so by perpetuating rape myths that target women who exhibit sexual agency, including women who engage in casual sex (e.g., Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Ward, 1988). The belief that sexual women will be, and deserve to be, raped serves to both threaten women and to blame them for sexual assault. In extreme patriarchies, women who have premarital sex are subject to honor killings, often carried out by male family members (Rudman & Glick, 2008; Swim et al., 2010). But even in Western

societies, rape myths reflect both a justification for rape and a patriarchal tool of control for suppressing female sexuality. Indeed, Western men endorse rape myths far more so than women, and men who do so are more likely to be hostile sexists who harm women (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010; see also Bohner, Jarvis, Eyssel, & Siebler, 2005; Chapleau, Oswald, & Russell, 2007; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Rudman & Mescher, 2012). Because rape myths that target sexually liberated women are a patriarchal form of control over women, they reflect MCT. As evidence that patriarchal beliefs suppress female sexuality, we expected both genders to indicate that rape myths are a primary reason why women advise other women against having casual sex.

Men's Rational Motives

Baumeister and Twenge (2002) overlooked the benefits, for men, of having casual sex. To remedy this, we included two rational reasons why men might be encouraged to have casual sex. First, in view of Conley (2011), we included *differential pleasure theory*—the idea that men are more likely than women to reach orgasm with a casual sex partner, so men are rewarded by most sexual experiences with physical pleasure (for a review, see Conley, Moors, Ziegler, Matsick, & Valentine, 2011). Second, we included *status enhancement* because men are socialized to enhance their reputation among their peers by seducing many women (e.g., Kimmel, 1995; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993). Indeed, the gender gap in peer prestige fully mediates the gender gap in reported sexual partners (Jonason, 2007; Jonason & Fisher, 2009), and status enhancement motivates men to engage in casual sex (Meston & Buss, 2007) and to exaggerate their number of sexual partners (Fisher, 2009). Relatedly, men may use sexual conquests as a means of affirming their heterosexuality—a focal aspect of masculinity status (e.g., Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino, & Taylor, 2005; Bosson, Taylor, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2006; Kimmel, 1997). We predicted that at least men would report that differential pleasure and status enhancement motivate them to encourage other men to have casual sex.

FCT

Why might women advise other women against having casual sex? From an evolutionary perspective, Baumeister and Twenge (2002) reasoned that, as a corollary to male mate poaching, women might wish to prevent their mates from being stolen (*female mate poaching*). That is, promiscuous women might be viewed as temptresses who, if not policed, would lure women's own sexual partners away. Therefore, we examined female mate poaching as a FCT motive.

As noted, sexual economics was the main basis for Baumeister and Twenge's (2002) argument that women are responsible for the SDS. According to this view, men's sexual favors are worthless, whereas women's sexual favors are valued to the point where they can be traded in exchange for

male resources, including financial provision and relationship commitment (Baumeister & Vohs, 2004). Economic laws of supply and demand dictate that it behooves women to refrain from having casual sex to prevent “cheapening” the value of their sexual favors. Baumeister and Vohs (2004) argued that sexual economics is consistent with feminist theory because, historically, double standards originated from women’s value to men as property. Less educated and employable than men, women provided monogamous sex in exchange for men’s financial provision, per social exchange theory (Blau, 1964). Despite the fact that various women’s movements have successfully altered this dynamic in Western cultures (so that women no longer need men to be the primary breadwinners in the family), cultural norms have continued to value women’s sexuality more so than men’s. As a result, Baumeister and Vohs proposed that women still use sex as a resource that they can exchange in the marketplace of human mating, even in modern societies. Some research has used sexual economics to explain why men express love faster than women (Ackerman & Griskevicius, 2011), and display their status via conspicuous consumption (Sundie et al., 2011), but to our knowledge, the present research is the first to test whether sexual economics motivates women to give restrictive sexual advice to other women. If women indicate that sexual economics is a reason why women counsel their female peers against having casual sex, FCT will be supported.

Women’s Rational Motives

Finally, we considered two costs of women having casual sex. The first is *social stigma*, whereby having multiple sex partners can spoil a woman’s reputation. Baumeister and Twenge (2002) considered the risk of stigma a “rational motive” for suppressing female sexuality; however, to buttress FCT, they characterized it as a tactic women use in the service of sexual economics. In our view, men are just as responsible for social stigma because they exaggerate and brag about their female conquests (Bird, 1996; Curry, 1991; Fisher, 2009; Meston & Buss, 2007) and they endorse rape myths that “loose” women are sexual prey (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Rudman & Mescher, 2012; Ward, 1988). The second rational motive for women is *differential pleasure theory*, which involves the perception that women are less likely than men to enjoy a casual sex encounter (Conley, 2011; Conley, Moors, et al., 2011). Together with social stigma, differential pleasure fully mediates the gender gap in acceptance of casual sex offers (Conley, Moors, et al., 2011). Therefore, both rational motives should inform people’s sexual advice to women.

Overview of the Research

Our overarching aim was to illuminate the motives underlying the SDS by examining why women receive advice that

restricts their sexual experiences more so than men. To do so, participants reported the advice they give to male and female friends and relatives regarding having casual sex. They also reported why men generally urge other men to have casual sex, whereas women generally counsel their peers against it. There were two reasons why we asked about perceived, rather than, personal motives. First, to directly compare male versus female control theories as underpinnings of the SDS, we framed the questions so that they would reflect the SDS (e.g., “Why do women generally discourage women against having casual sex?”). Because not everyone is motivated to perpetuate the SDS, we asked about perceived motives to be inclusive. Given that college-aged adults receive sexual advice that reflects the SDS (Morgan et al., 2010), we reasoned they would have opinions about why that is. Second, we asked about perceived motives to reduce social desirability bias. Considerable evidence suggests that people believe that others are more prejudiced than they are, whether the bias is based on politics (Cohen, 2003), religion (Ehrlinger, Gilovich, & Ross, 2005), or generic ingroup preference (Vivian & Berkowitz, 1992; for a review, see Pronin, Gilovich, & Ross, 2004). Thus, we reasoned that participants would be more willing to report on what motivates other people to engage in the SDS, compared with the self.

Our investigation of MCT tested patriarchy by including (a) HS and BS as mediators of the gender gap in SDS endorsement, (b) rape myths as a reason why people discourage women from having casual sex, and (c) male entitlement as a motive for men to preserve the SDS. As evolutionary-based reasons why men might discourage women from having casual sex, we included paternity uncertainty and intrasexual competition (male mate poaching). Finally, we examined differential pleasure and status enhancement as rational motives for why men might encourage men to have casual sex.

Our investigation of FCT examined sexual economics and female mate poaching as reasons why women might discourage other women from having casual sex. As rational motives, we examined differential pleasure and social stigma. Nonetheless, social stigma would support FCT if only women (not men) endorse it and use it as a reason to discourage women from having casual sex (Baumeister & Twenge, 2002).

The introduction previews our predictions, which are numerous because the investigation is extensive. To enhance readability, we present the specific hypotheses before the relevant data analyses in the “Results and Discussion” section.

Method

Participants

Volunteers ($N = 503$, 350 women; M age = 19; range = 18–22) participated in exchange for partial fulfillment of an introductory psychology course requirement. Of these, 238 (47%) were White, 165 (33%) were Asian, 36 (7%) were

Hispanic, 28 (6%) were Black, 14 (3%) were biracial, and 22 (4%) identified with another ethnicity. The majority (95%) identified as heterosexual. Analyses excluding those who identified as bisexual ($n = 17$) or homosexual ($n = 11$) resulted in identical conclusions. Therefore, we saw no reason not to be inclusive. The overrepresentation of women reflects the gender balance of the population under study.

Measures

SDS Beliefs. Participants rated their agreement with four items using a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*). Sample items were, "The sexual double standard, whereby men have more freedom than women to engage in casual sex with many partners, is still true today"; "It is still the case that having a lot of sexual partners raises men's status in society, but lowers women's status"; and "Women who are sexually experienced with multiple partners are usually not respected as much as men who are sexually experienced." High scores reflect belief in the SDS ($\alpha = .80$).

SDS Attitudes. Participants responded to two items using the same scale, "In my opinion, the sexual double standard is good and should be maintained" and "In my opinion, the sexual double standard is bad and should be eliminated" (reverse scored). High scores reflect endorsing the SDS, $r(501) = .73, p < .001$.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). The ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) consists of two 11-item subscales that assess HS and BS. Sample HS items are "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men" and "Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men" (reverse scored). Sample BS items are "Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility" and "Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess." The scale ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). High scores reflect more HS ($\alpha = .83$) or BS ($\alpha = .70$).

Sexual Advice. We defined casual sex as,

sex for the sake of physical rather than emotional satisfaction. In other words, engaging in sexual activity with someone who is not your romantic partner (i.e., your boyfriend or girlfriend) purely out of sexual desire or attraction rather than love or commitment (i.e., "hooking up").

Participants then indicated whether they encouraged others to accept or reject offers of casual sex on four items, using a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly reject*) to 10 (*strongly accept*). A sample item was, "In general, do you tend to advise your same sex friends to accept or reject offers of casual sex?" The three other items replaced same sex friends with same sex relatives, opposite sex friends, and opposite sex relatives.

Although young adults receive sexual advice (Morgan et al., 2010), some may not give it. Therefore, each item added, "Even if you never talk about sex with your friends [relatives], what would you advise them if you did?"

Male Control Motives. All remaining measures used a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*) and were averaged to reflect the italicized construct. To assess *male mate poaching*, we used the prompt, "Men might wish to preserve the double standard" and two items: "To ensure that women are faithful to him so that he can be sure that any offspring are his" and "Because it prevents their partners from having sexual experiences with other men, some of whom might turn out to be better lovers than they are," $r(501) = .42, p < .01$.¹

Using the same prompt, four items were averaged ($\alpha = .72$) to assess *male entitlement*. Sample items included, "Because men have higher status which entitles them to have more sexual partners than women, and men wish to keep this entitlement," and "Because men view possessing and controlling women's sexuality as an important source of male pride and status."

Using the prompt, "Women generally advise other women against having casual sex," four items were averaged to measure *rape myths*. These items were as follows: "Because it will put them at risk for sexual assault," "Because a 'loose' woman is more likely to be raped," "Because a woman with a damaged reputation is more likely to be preyed upon by men who will take advantage of them," and "Because promiscuous women make all women seem 'cheap,' and this can unleash sexual aggression in men" ($\alpha = .86$).

Men's Rational Motives. Using the prompt, "Men generally advise other men to have casual sex," two items formed men's *differential pleasure* index, $r(501) = .64, p < .001$. The items were as follows: "Because men know they are likely to have a great time in bed (i.e., reach orgasm), even with a casual sex partner" and "Because women are usually good enough lovers to bring physical pleasure to men during a casual sexual encounter." Using the same prompt, four other items were averaged ($\alpha = .80$) to assess *status enhancement* (e.g., "Because it will enhance their reputation among their peers," "Because men gain status by seducing many women," and "Because men who do not pursue casual sex will be suspected of being gay").

Female Control Motives. All remaining measures used the prompt, "Women generally advise other women against having casual sex." Four items measured support for *sexual economics* theory ($\alpha = .81$). These items were as follows: "Because it will cheapen sex for all women, and make it harder for women to persuade men to give them resources (e.g., financial support and commitment to the relationship) in exchange for sex"; "Because withholding sex is an important way for women to have control in their relationships with men"; "Because if men knew how much women wanted and desired sex, women would lose the control they have over men in

relationships”; and “Because men will not want to marry women if they can get sex without marriage.”

Three items assessed *female mate poaching* ($\alpha = .81$). The items were as follows: “Because women who have casual sex are temptresses for other women’s sexual partners”; “Because if all women were promiscuous, it would be harder for women to hold on to their own mates”; and “Because women need to police each other to prevent mate poaching (i.e., losing a lover or husband to a female competitor).”

Women’s Rational Motives. Four items were averaged ($\alpha = .72$) for the *social stigma* index (e.g., “Because it will stigmatize them as immoral and ruin their reputation” and “Because women cannot trust men to treat them with respect if they have sex for reasons other than deepening bonds”). Finally, two items assessed pleasure theory from the female perspective: “Because it is unlikely that women will enjoy themselves in bed with a casual sex partner” and “Because men are not usually good enough lovers to bring pleasure to a woman during a casual sexual encounter.” High scores on women’s *differential pleasure* index reflect a low probability of physical pleasure, $r(501) = .58, p < .001$.

Procedure

The ASI was administered weeks in advance. Participants, recruited for a “Social Issues” project, were escorted to a private cubicle by an experimenter who started a computer program that administered the measures in the following order: SDS beliefs and attitudes, sexual advice to same [other] sex friends and relatives (counterbalanced), and male and female motives (counterbalanced). The program randomly presented items within each measure. Participants then indicated their age, race, gender, sexual orientation, and their number of sexual partners. Subsequently, they were debriefed and compensated. Because the number of sexual partners did not differ by gender (both $M_s = 1.91$; range = 0-7 for both genders), and controlling for this variable did not alter our results, it is not further discussed.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for each measure, separately by gender. We analyzed SDS beliefs as a preliminary check on whether participants perceived that sexual inequality was still a force. As can be seen in Table 1, both genders scored well above the midpoint (five); however, women were more likely to believe the SDS still exists than men ($M_s = 8.41$ vs. 7.85), $t(501) = 3.86, p < .001, d = .37$.²

SDS Endorsement Reflects Patriarchy (MCT)

Three hypotheses concerned our first expansion of Baumeister and Twenge’s (2002) analysis of patriarchy and MCT:

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics by Participant Gender

	Men		Women		Ranges	
	M	SD	M	SD	Men	Women
SDS beliefs	7.85	1.64	8.41	1.44	3-10	2-10
SDS attitudes	4.00	2.38	2.93	2.03	1-10	1-10
HS	4.57	1.01	4.00	1.00	1-6.9	1-6.5
BS	4.67	1.12	4.67	1.07	1.5-6.9	1-7
Advice to male friends	6.33	2.90	4.06	2.87	1-10	1-10
Advice to female friends	4.52	2.72	3.13	2.33	1-10	1-10
Advice to male relatives	4.66	2.81	2.52	2.12	1 to 10	1-10
Advice to female relatives	3.00	2.23	2.28	1.88	1-10	1-10
Male mate poaching ^a	6.83	1.98	6.61	2.02	2-10	1-10
Male entitlement ^a	5.18	1.69	5.20	1.54	1-9.5	1-9.8
Rape myths ^a	6.18	1.84	5.89	1.87	1-10	1-10
Men’s differential pleasure ^b	7.18	1.90	6.10	2.33	1-10	1-10
Status enhancement ^b	6.63	6.63	6.93	6.93	1-10	1-10
Sexual economics ^c	5.01	2.28	4.90	2.25	1-10	1-10
Female mate poaching ^c	5.40	2.16	5.11	2.14	1-10	1-10
Social stigma ^d	5.79	2.09	6.46	1.89	1-10	2-10
Women’s differential pleasure ^d	3.30	1.95	3.35	1.12	1-9.5	1-10

Note: SDS= sexual double standard; HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism; $N_s = 153$ men and 350 women.

^aMale control motives.

^bMen’s rational motives.

^cFemale control motives.

^dWomen’s rational motives. Possible ranges are 1 to 10 except for HS and BS (1-7).

Hypothesis 1a: Consistent with MCT, men will endorse the SDS more so than women (Peterson & Hyde, 2010). They will also score higher on HS than women (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Hypothesis 1b: HS should account for the gender difference in endorsing the SDS, suggesting that men endorse the SDS as a means of maintaining male dominance.

Hypothesis 1c: If men’s endorsement of the SDS reflects paternalism, then BS should account for the gender gap in endorsing the SDS.

Supporting Hypothesis 1a, men showed more favorable attitudes toward the SDS than women ($M_s = 4.00$ vs. 2.93), $t(501) = 5.10, p < .001, d = .48$. As is typically the case, men outscored women on HS ($M_s = 4.57$ vs. 4.00), $t(501) = 5.95, p < .001, d = .55$, whereas no gender differences emerged for BS (both $M_s = 4.67$).

Hypothesis 1b presumes a positive correlation between men’s HS scores and SDS attitudes. The findings presented in Table 2 reveal this relationship for both genders, but it was stronger for men than for women, resulting in a significant gender difference, $z = 2.56, p = .01$. To examine whether HS mediates the gender difference in SDS attitudes, we standardized all variables, coded men as 0 and women as 1, and used a bootstrapping procedure that does not rely on assumptions of normality (Preacher & Hayes, 2004). The results of

Table 2. Correlates of SDS Attitudes by Gender

	SDS attitudes	SDS beliefs	HS	BS
SDS attitudes	—	.16*	.40***	.05
SDS beliefs	-.17**	—	.19*	.20*
HS	.17**	.04	—	.26**
BS	.10	.13	.32***	—

Note: SDS = sexual double standard; HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism. Men's correlations appear above the diagonal ($N = 153$). Women's correlations appear below the diagonal ($N = 350$).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

5,000 samples showed that HS was a significant mediator of the gender gap in SDS endorsement because the 95% confidence interval (CI) for the indirect effect did not include zero (range = $-.10$ -. $.04$, $b = -.06$, $SE = .01$; Sobel's $Z = 4.11$, $p < .001$). The effect of gender on SDS attitudes was reduced from $b = -.22$ to $b = -.16$ after accounting for HS, both $ps < .001$. This suggests that men endorsed the SDS more so than women in part because men are more hostile toward female power, supporting Hypothesis 1b and MCT.

The results shown in Table 2 do not support Hypothesis 1c because men high on BS were not more likely to endorse the SDS. Instead, men's BS scores were significantly correlated with SDS beliefs. Thus, men who believe that women are "wonderful but weak" were likely to view the SDS as still in force, but they did not endorse it (e.g., as a means of protecting feminine ideals). Thus, there was no suggestion that men's paternalism might account for the gender gap in SDS attitudes.

Finally, men showed a positive relationship between SDS beliefs and attitudes, whereas women showed a negative relationship (see Table 2), resulting in a significant gender difference, $z = 3.38$, $p < .001$. That is, men endorsed the SDS to the extent they believed it exists, whereas women showed the reverse. Although not predicted, this pattern undermines FCT by suggesting that women tend to resist the SDS whereas men tend to accept it.

In summary, Hypotheses 1a and 1b were supported: Men had more favorable attitudes toward the SDS than women (Peterson & Hyde, 2010) and HS mediated this gender difference. The pattern supports MCT's motive to uphold patriarchy by showing that men who respond negatively to female power also endorse the SDS. By contrast, Hypothesis 1c was not supported. This suggests that for men, the SDS functions more to preserve male dominance than to uphold feminine ideals of modesty and purity.

Sexual Advice Reflects MCT

Although men generally encourage their same sex friends to have casual sex more so than women (Du Bois-Reymond & Ravesloot, 1996), and fathers especially discourage their daughters (Morgan et al., 2010), unknown is which gender

generally enforces the SDS by encouraging *men more than women*. We had two hypotheses concerning sexual advice:

Hypothesis 2a: MCT will be supported if men advise their *male* friends and relatives to accept offers of casual sex more so than their *female* friends and relatives. FCT will be supported if women show the same target gender difference.

Hypothesis 2b: MCT will be supported if men enforce the SDS more so than women (by encouraging men more than women to have casual sex). If this participant gender difference is reversed, FCT will be supported.

Because our hypotheses required testing an unusually large number of planned contrasts, we used Bonferroni adjusted t tests (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1985). To test Hypothesis 2a, we used within-gender paired sample t tests. To test Hypothesis 2b, we used independent t tests to examine gender differences. We further used one-sample t tests examining differences from the neutral point (five). A similar strategy tested forthcoming Hypotheses 4 to 9, resulting in 41 analyses. Applying a Bonferroni correction, the alpha was set at .001, .0002, and .00002 for a test to be significant at the $p < .05$, .001, and .0001 level, respectively.

Hypothesis 2a. As can be seen in Figure 1, men advised other men to have casual sex more so than they advised women, whether their friends or their relatives, both $ts(152) > 8.55$, $ps < .001$, both $ds > .68$. This pattern supports MCT because men's behaviors reinforce the SDS by promoting casual sex for men more so than for women.

One-sample t tests revealed that men *encouraged* their male friends to engage in casual sex, $t(152) = 5.69$, $p < .001$, whereas they *discouraged* their female relatives from having casual sex, $t(152) = -11.11$, $p < .001$. Furthermore, men advised their male friends to have casual sex more so than any other group, all $ts(152) > 8.50$, $ps < .001$, whereas they discouraged female relatives more so than any other group, all $ts(152) > 8.45$, $ps < .001$ (just as fathers restrict their daughters; Morgan et al., 2010).

The pattern shown in Figure 1 shows weak support for FCT. On one hand, women advised their male friends to have casual sex more so than their female friends, $t(349) = 9.03$, $p < .001$, $d = .48$. On the other hand, women encouraged their *female* friends more so than their male (and female) relatives, both $ts(349) > 5.27$, $ps < .001$, both $ds > .28$. Women also encouraged their male friends more so than their male (or female) relatives, both $ts(349) > 11.79$, $ps < .001$, both $ds > .63$. This is weak evidence for FCT because women do not contribute to the SDS to the same extent that men do (by advising their male friends and relatives to have more casual sex than their female friends and relatives). In fact, one-sample t tests revealed that all means were below the neutral point for women, all $ts(349) < -6.14$, $ps < .001$. Therefore, women

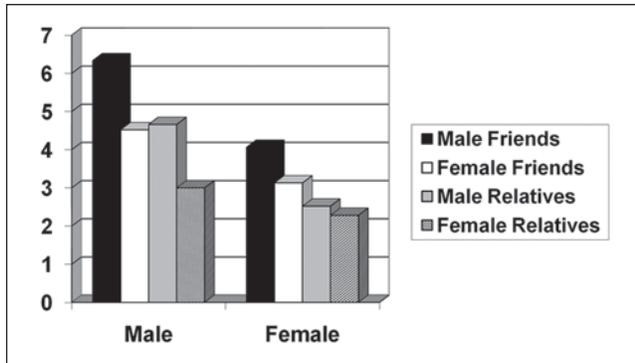


Figure 1. Advice to male and female friends and relatives regarding whether to accept offers of casual sex by participant gender

did not really encourage *anyone* to have casual sex, but rather, they uniformly advised others to reject offers of casual sex, regardless of their gender. As a result, men scored higher than women on every variable shown in Figure 1, all $t_s(501) > 3.71, p_s < .001$.

Hypothesis 2b. A critical test concerns which gender most enforces the SDS, by encouraging casual sex for men more than for women. To examine this, we combined the advice given to female friends and relatives, $r(501) = .65, p < .001$, and the advice given to male friends and relatives, $r(501) = .63, p < .001$. We then computed a relative advice index such that high scores reflect giving more encouraging advice to men than to women. Supporting Hypothesis 2b and MCT, men scored higher than women on this index ($M_s = 1.74$ vs. 0.58), $t(501) = 7.15, p < .001, d = .60$.

Our assessment of HS afforded another test of patriarchy as an underpinning of endorsing the SDS:

Hypothesis 3: People who score high on HS should be especially likely to encourage male friends and relatives to have casual sex more so than their female friends and relatives.

To test this hypothesis, we submitted the male and female advice indexes to a mixed ANOVA, with target gender as a within-subjects factor, and gender and HS (as a continuous variable) as between-subjects factors. Results showed the already described effects of participant gender, target gender, and their interaction, $F(1, 404) = 48.79, p < .001$ (whereby men especially promote casual sex for men more so than for women). In support of Hypothesis 3, the predicted Target gender \times HS interaction was also significant, $F(1, 404) = 1.63, p < .01$. Using the sexual advice difference score index and a median split on HS, we found that high HS participants gave advice that enforces the SDS more so than low HS participants ($M_s = 1.13$ vs. 0.70), $t(501) = 2.78, p < .05, d = .57$.

In summary, Hypotheses 2a and 2b supported MCT because men's advice showed more evidence of enforcing the SDS than women's advice did, given that men are especially likely to encourage men to have casual sex more so than women. Hypothesis 3 further supported patriarchy as an underpinning of MCT by revealing that people high on HS (and thus, resistant to female power) are especially likely to give SDS-enforcing sexual advice.

Exploratory Analyses

Does endorsing the SDS encourage enforcing it? As an exploratory test, we examined whether men's stronger SDS endorsement would mediate the gender gap in the relative advice index. Results were supportive because the 95% CI for the indirect effect did not include zero (range = $-.05$ -. 01 , $b = -.02, SE = .01$, Sobel's $Z = 2.03, p = .04$). The participant gender effect on relative sexual advice was reduced from $b = -.30$ to $b = -.18$ after accounting for SDS attitudes, both $p_s < .001$. This suggests that men's sexual advice enforced the SDS more so than women's in part because men endorsed it more. However, replacing SDS attitudes with HS as the mediator was unsuccessful: the 95% CI for the indirect effect included zero (range = $-.04$ -. 01 , Sobel's $Z = 1.69, p = .08$). Thus, HS did not account for gender differences in relative advice giving (as it did for SDS attitudes). Instead, the findings suggest that HS mediates the gender gap in SDS endorsement, which in turn, accounts for the gender gap in SDS-enforcing sexual advice.

Why Do Men Encourage Men to Have Casual Sex?

Because men in particular give advice that promotes the SDS, it is important to illuminate why they do so. Hypothesis 4 concerns the MCT motives derived from Baumeister and Twenge (2002). Hypothesis 5 addresses men's rational motives (Conley, 2011; Jonason & Fisher, 2009).

Hypothesis 4: To support MCT, participants should endorse male mate poaching and male entitlement as major reasons why men wish to preserve the SDS. Furthermore, men's advice to women should be negatively correlated with endorsing these motives.

Hypothesis 5: To support rational motives, at least men should endorse differential pleasure and status enhancement as primary reasons why they encourage other men to have casual sex, and both should be positively correlated with men's advice to male friends and relatives.

The means are shown in Figure 2, and the correlations are shown in Table 3. Support for Hypothesis 4 and MCT was mixed. On one hand, both genders endorsed male mate

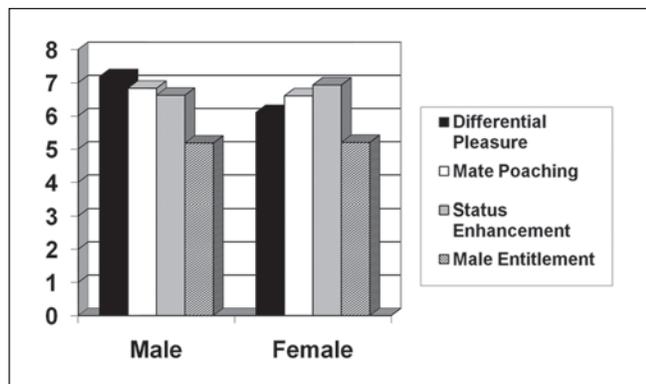


Figure 2. Perceived male motives for preserving the SDS (male mate poaching and male entitlement, the MCT motives) and for advising men to have casual sex (differential pleasure and status enhancement, the rational motives) by participant gender
 Note: SDS = sexual double standard; MCT = male control theory.

Table 3. Correlations by Gender

	Female participants		Male participants	
	Advice to		Advice to	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
MCT				
Male mate poaching ^a	.04	.09	-.06	.03
Male entitlement ^a	.05	.09	.10	.07
Rape myths ^b	-.20***	-.25***	-.25**	-.23**
FCT				
Sexual economics ^b	.05	.06	-.01	-.01
Female mate poaching ^b	-.11*	-.07	-.17*	-.07
Women's rational motives				
Social stigma ^b	-.39***	-.32***	-.42***	-.35***
Differential pleasure ^b	-.11*	.07	-.01	-.08
Men's rational motives				
Differential pleasure ^c	.19***	.19***	.13	.36***
Status enhancement ^c	.12*	.18**	.08	.20*

Note: MCT = male control theory; FCT = female control theory.
^aMotives for men to preserve the sexual double standards.
^bReasons why women discourage other women from having casual sex.
^cReasons why men encourage other men to have casual sex. Women's differential pleasure reflects the perception that women are less likely to enjoy a casual sexual encounter than men. Men's differential pleasure reflects the reverse.
 *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

poaching as a motive for men to preserve the SDS, behind differential pleasure (for men) and status enhancement (for women). These three motives were endorsed more so than male entitlement by both genders, all *t*s > 6.80, *p*s < .001, all *d*s > .36 (see Figure 2). On the other hand, male entitlement and mate poaching were negligibly related to men's advice to women (see Table 3). Thus, men did not restrict women from casual sex to the extent they believed that men wish to preserve the SDS due to mate poaching or entitlement motives.

In contrast, the findings fully support Hypothesis 5. First, both genders strongly agreed that men advise other men to have casual sex for differential pleasure and status enhancement reasons (see Figure 3). There was remarkable gender agreement; the only difference was that men scored higher than women on differential pleasure, *t*(501) = 5.06, *p* < .001, *d* = .48. Second, male pleasure and status enhancement positively covaried with men's advice to other men (see Table 3). Unexpectedly, women were also likely to encourage others (even women) to have casual sex to the extent they believed that men were likely to experience pleasure from the encounter, or that men enhanced their status by having casual sex. Although not predicted, the pattern is consistent with evidence that women often consent to having sex to satisfy men's needs (Impett & Peplau, 2003).

In summary, men's rational motives of gaining pleasure and status were supported as reasons why men encourage men to have casual sex. In contrast, male mate poaching and male entitlement, the MCT motives identified by Baumeister and Twenge (2002), were not well supported. Although mate poaching was endorsed as a reason why men wish to preserve the SDS, neither MCT motive correlated with advising women against having casual sex.

Why Do Women Discourage Women From Having Casual Sex?

We had four hypotheses involving motives for advising women against having casual sex. Hypothesis 6 addresses rape myths to correct an oversight in Baumeister and Twenge's (2002) analysis of the patriarchal roots of MCT. Hypothesis 7 is derived from their analysis of FCT. Hypotheses 8 to 9 concern women's rational motives (Conley, 2011; Conley, Ziegler, et al., 2011). Results are presented in Figure 3 and Table 3.

Hypothesis 6: To support MCT, participants should endorse rape myths as a major reason why women caution other women against having casual sex, and they should advise women accordingly (i.e., rape myths should negatively correlate with sexual advice to women).

Hypothesis 7: To support FCT, participants should strongly endorse sexual economics and female mate poaching as reasons why women discourage other women from having casual sex. Furthermore, endorsing either of these motives should be negatively correlated with sexual advice to women.

Hypothesis 8: Participants should endorse social stigma as a primary reason why they discourage women from having casual sex, and stigma should be negatively correlated with both genders' advice to women. Support for FCT will be indicated only if women endorse social stigma and use it when they advise women more so than men (Baumeister & Twenge, 2002).

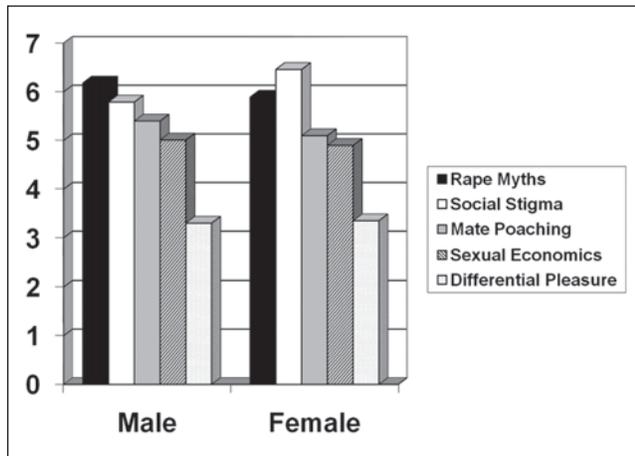


Figure 3. Perceived female motives for advising women not to have casual sex by participant gender
Rape myths are an MCT motive. Social stigma and differential pleasure are rational motives. Female mate poaching and sexual economics are the FCT motives.
Note: MCT = male control theory; FCT = female control theory.

Hypothesis 9: For differential pleasure, we tentatively made the same prediction (i.e., both genders will endorse it and use it to advise women against having casual sex). However, there may be a gender difference if women are more mindful than men of the gender gap in pleasure.

The results fully support Hypothesis 6 and MCT. First, both genders endorsed rape myths as one of the top two reasons why women advise other women against casual sex (behind social stigma, for women; see Figure 3). Men rated rape myths higher than social stigma, $t(152) = 2.91$, $p < .01$, $d = .23$, whereas women showed the reverse, $t(349) = 5.79$, $p < .001$, $d = .31$. Second, rape myths negatively covaried with participants' advice not only to women but also to *men* (see Table 3). This result suggests that participants may not trust men to refrain from sexual violence during casual sex encounters, given that, compared with women, men are more likely to endorse beliefs that "loose" women deserve to be raped (e.g., Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Rudman & Mescher, 2012; Ward, 1988). As a result, it further supports our argument that rape myths are an aspect of MCT overlooked by Baumeister and Twenge (2002).

The pattern in Figure 3 reveals scant support for Hypothesis 7 and FCT because both genders endorsed rape myths and social stigma more so than either sexual economics or female mate poaching, all $t(502) > 8.70$, $ps < .001$, all $ds > .38$. The negligible correlations found in Table 3 further undermine sexual economics. However, both genders advised women against casual sex to the extent they endorsed female mate poaching. Thus, Hypothesis 7 was partially supported.

With respect to women's rational motives, results fully supported Hypothesis 8. Both genders strongly endorsed social stigma (see Figure 3), and those who endorsed social stigma also discouraged others (even men) from having casual sex (see Table 3). However, results for Hypothesis 9 were mixed. On one hand, both genders agreed more with all other motives compared with differential pleasure, all $t(502) > 14.60$, $ps < .001$, all $ds > .63$ (see Figure 3). On the other hand, women who endorsed differential pleasure also discouraged women from having casual sex (Conley, 2011; see Table 3).

What Motivates the SDS?

To summarize, Table 4 presents the findings for male and female motives. With respect to MCT, only women endorsed male entitlement, whereas both genders endorsed male mate poaching (as reasons why men wish to preserve the SDS). However, neither motive was associated with participants' sexual advice. By contrast, rape myths were uniformly endorsed and used as a motive for restrictive sexual advice to both genders. Therefore, Baumeister and Twenge's (2002) analysis was correct in assuming that the MCT motives they identified would be weak underpinnings of the SDS, but incorrect in its omission of rape myths as a major reason why people discourage women from having casual sex. We also found strong support for men's rational motives: Both genders endorsed differential pleasure and status enhancement as reasons why men encourage other men to have casual sex, and both were used as an underpinning of sexual advice (for men, to men only; for women, to both genders). These findings extend research on men's sexual behaviors (Conley, 2011; Jonason & Fisher, 2009) to the domain of sexual advice. It is not surprising that men cheerlead hooking up among their peers when their benefits outweigh the costs; for women, the situation is much reversed.

With respect to FCT, there was no support for sexual economics; neither gender endorsed it or used it as a motive for giving sexual advice. By contrast, there was some support for female mate poaching as a motive; only men endorsed it, but both genders counseled women against hooking up to the extent they endorsed female mate poaching. Therefore, Baumeister and Twenge (2002) were wrong to conclude that women are responsible for the SDS due to sexual economics but were right to consider female mate poaching although it was not only women who used it in their advice to women. Turning to women's rational motives, protecting women from social stigma was uniformly endorsed and used as a reason to discourage both genders from hooking up. Thus, Baumeister and Twenge were correct to consider social stigma but were wrong to imagine that only women counsel women against having casual sex to protect their reputations from female gossips. At the very least, men are aware of women's greater risk of social stigma,

Table 4. Summarized Findings for Control Theories and Rational Motives by Participant Gender

	Men		Women	
	Endorsed?	Associated with Advice?	Endorsed?	Associated with Advice?
Male motives				
1. MCT				
Male entitlement	No	No	Yes	No
Male mate poaching	Yes	No	Yes	No
Rape myths	Yes	Yes (-)	Yes	Yes (-)
2. Rational motives				
Differential pleasure	Yes	To men (+)	Yes	Yes (+)
Status enhancement	Yes	To men (+)	Yes	Yes (+)
Female motives				
1. FCT				
Sexual economics	No	No	No	No
Female mate poaching	Yes	To women (-)	No	To women (-)
2. Rational motives				
Social stigma	Yes	Yes (-)	Yes	Yes (-)
Differential pleasure	No	No	No	To women (-)

Note: MCT = male control theory; FCT = female control theory. Endorsement was coded "yes" if agreement was significantly above the neutral point (five). Associations were based on significant correlations (positive or negative) in Table 3.

and they advise both genders accordingly. Finally, women's differential pleasure was not endorsed by either gender, but women used it as a reason to advise women against having casual sex. Because the findings were stronger for men's differential pleasure, physical gratification may be more important for men than women (cf. Conley, 2011).

Conclusion

In contrast to Baumeister and Twenge's (2002) thesis that women are more responsible for the SDS than men, our data showed scant support for FCT. Sexual economics formed the linchpin of their argument, yet we found no support for it. By contrast, we found considerable support for MCT, due to our expanded analysis of patriarchy. Men endorsed the SDS more so than women, but HS mediated this gender difference, suggesting that resisting female power (economic, political, or sexual) plays a role in the SDS. Furthermore, men who believed the SDS is still in force were likely to accept it, whereas comparable women resisted it. Finally, men reported giving sexual advice in ways that reinforce the SDS more so than women did, and this difference was mediated by men's more favorable SDS attitudes (i.e., endorsement promotes enforcement). Taken together, our data indicate that the desire to uphold patriarchy motivates men to resist sexual equality—a motive that reflects feminist theory (e.g., Travis & White, 2000).

We also included rape myths to correct an oversight in Baumeister and Twenge's (2002) patriarchal analysis of MCT. Both genders strongly endorsed this motive (for

men, it was ranked first), and men and women alike discouraged both genders from accepting offers of casual sex to the extent they endorsed rape myths as a reason why women advise women against casual sex. The data suggest that people are aware of men's belief that sexually liberated women deserve to be raped (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Rudman & Mescher, 2012; Ward, 1988), and in response, they attempt to shield women from the threat of rape by counseling both genders against hooking up. As a rational motive, women may also be justifiably wary of rape when they advise their peers against hooking up. Conley (2011) provides indirect support for this view, finding no gender differences in accepting offers of casual sex when proposers were deemed safe. The present study showed that patriarchal rape myths deter sexual inequality, but it is also plausible that women's genuine risk of violence plays a role.

Notably, Baumeister and Vohs (2004) suggested that people might be unwilling to "admit" that sexual economics influences women because it is an unromantic view of heterosexual relationships that casts men and women as adversaries at a point in their relationship when they need to be more than friends. However, if that explains why sexual economics fared poorly, we might also expect rape myths to fare poorly. It is arguably the least romantic of all the motives on offer, yet our results strongly supported it. In tandem with our discovery of the role of HS in SDS endorsement and enforcement, as a mediator or moderator, respectively, we conclude that we found more support for MCT versus FCT.

In our tests of rational motives, social stigma was strongly endorsed by both genders as a reason why women counsel women to reject offers of casual sex (for women, it was ranked first), and both genders counseled women (and men) against hooking up to the extent they endorsed social stigma. Although Baumeister and Twenge (2002) noted that “it seems indisputable that there has been some degree of social influence toward restraining female sexual desire and activity” (p. 174), they confined this influence to women. Our data do not support this view. If anything, men’s tendency to view “loose” women as sexual prey (e.g., Ward, 1988) is a more harmful stigma than female gossip. Moreover, because status enhancement is a major reason why men advise other men to hook up, and because men exaggerate how many women they have “hooked” to increase their prestige (Fisher, 2009; Jonason & Fisher, 2009), they may spread damaging rumors about their female conquests (Bird, 1996; Curry, 1991). In any event, men’s proclivity to build their status on the backs of women no doubt harms gender relations, given that it makes women wary of being sexually used by men (Paul & Hayes, 2002).

Limitations and Future Directions

Because the future of gender equality rests in the hands of young adults, the age of our sample was appropriate for our research questions. Nonetheless, research using older samples is needed to examine the generality of our findings.

We asked people for their perceptions about gendered motives for giving advice in ways that reinforce the SDS, rather than their personal opinion. This allowed us to include the opinions of participants who eschewed the SDS, but future research should examine people’s personal motives. Nonetheless, perceived motives correlated in meaningful ways with participants’ sexual advice, suggesting that participants used their own motives when they inferred other people’s motives, or at least have opinions about why the sexual advice they have received reflects the SDS (Morgan et al., 2010). In addition, we framed the questions to reflect motives for the SDS because of our research focus. Unknown is the extent to which doing so skewed our findings; had we asked people to report why men discourage men (and women encourage women) to have casual sex, a different pattern could have emerged. Our data showed that both genders overwhelmingly believed that the SDS is still in force, so we were not asking them to consider something hypothetical.

Additional work is needed to illuminate the differences between sexual advice to friends and relatives. Our data showed that men encouraged their male friends to have casual sex more so than any other group, including their male relatives, and they were most likely to restrict the sexuality of their female relatives, compared with any other group. Perhaps men are concerned about potential costs of

casual sex (e.g., unwanted pregnancies or sexually transmitted diseases) when advising their relatives.

Future research should also examine whether people’s actual advice corresponds to their reported sexual advice. Our measures showed known groups validity (with men endorsing the SDS and thus giving advice in ways that enforce it, more so than women) and converged with HS, as well as with gendered motives. However, the trustworthiness of self-reports when investigating sexual issues is always a methodological concern.

Finally, as the first systematic comparison of male versus female control theories, the present research provides the first test of whether sexual economics is a tenable approach to understanding the SDS. Although we did not find support for sexual economics, more research is needed before strong conclusions can be made, including experimental data. For example, priming people with advertisements suggesting that men who hope to “get lucky” ought to seduce women with gifts (e.g., diamonds) might yield support for sexual economics theory, as might priming women with the threat of a downturn in the market value of their sexual favors. In addition, sexual economics may motivate women’s sexual behavior (e.g., declining offers of casual sex) more so than their advice to others. Our hope is that the present research will be generative with respect to this area of inquiry.

Coda

Even in modern society, women’s sexual behaviors are more circumscribed than men’s (Crawford & Popp, 2003; Morgan et al., 2010). Because the SDS is a social force that controls women and contributes to gender inequality, understanding its motivational underpinnings is an important research agenda. Because we found more evidence for MCT and no evidence for sexual economics, we view the present research as an important corrective to Baumeister and Twenge’s (2002) conclusion that women are more culpable than men for suppressing female sexuality. Nonetheless, both women and men are likely to be responsible for the SDS, given that both genders used rape myths and social stigma as reasons to discourage other women from having casual sex. Consequently, removing these obstacles is more critical for advancing sexual equality than assigning responsibility for the SDS to either gender.

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Notes

1. These two items were combined as male mate poaching because Baumeister and Twenge (2002) cited these male motives as having a basis in evolutionary theory, and because a factor analysis of all men's motives showed that they formed a single factor. However, because their relationship was somewhat low, we examined whether separating the items changed our results in any respect. It did not, so we retained the index.
2. Effect sizes are Cohen's *d*. By convention, small, moderate, and large effect sizes correspond to .20, .50, and .80, respectively (J. Cohen, 1988).

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