

Gender Double Standard and Gender Pattern in Endorsement of Marital Infidelity in China:  
Evidence from the Post-90s Generation

Shuangshuang Yang

Shanghai University

Yingchun Ji

Shanghai University

## Abstract

Chinese society seems to witness a retreat of gender equality recently, as signs of the dominant Confucian patriarchal tradition before socialist revolution recur in media and people's daily life. Hence, given concerns about gender equality in contemporary China and a lack of studies focusing on gender double standard, this article examines whether gender double standard of marital infidelity is widely held among Chinese post-90s generation and to what extent it exists in society. Besides, another objective of this research is to ascertain the gender pattern in the attitude toward marital infidelity and try to explain it.

Due to a lack of relevant data in China, I conducted a survey about people's attitude toward male and female's cheating behaviors among Chinese post-90s group, to test if this new generation hold a gender double standard on marital infidelity. Data are collected from my 783 Wechat (the most popular cell phone social media in China) friends via online questionnaires. Though respondents in my sample do not widely hold a gender double standard toward marital infidelity, they can actually perceive a traditional gender double standard toward marital infidelity in society. This may reflect an attitudinal change in this young generation compared to their predecessors. Besides, similar to previous findings, men are also more likely to hold a gender double standard of marital infidelity. Further, I conduct logistic regression to investigate what may result in an obvious gender pattern in the attitude toward marital infidelity. Findings suggests that men and women's attitude toward marital infidelity are influenced by different factors. For example, women are immune from family background's influences while men's attitude cannot be independent from family background. When having any cheating family or friend significantly influence women's attitude, it is acceptance of one night stand that works on men.

This research based on my own social network is in no way representative. However, I argue that as an authentic snapshot of the post-90 youth's daily world in the rapidly changing

Chinese society, it can to some extent shed light on gender issues and gender inequality in contemporary as well as future China.

*Key words:* gender double standard; gender pattern; infidelity; China

## Introduction

China has experienced huge social transformations since the reform and opening-up policy in the 1980s (Guthrie, 2012). As China transitioned from planning economy to market-oriented economy, the society also witnessed rapid urbanization and globalization, which did not just change the social structure but people's life styles and values (Yan, 2009). It is believed that economic development and globalization may reshape and "modernize" Chinese people's certain values and attitude, but much research suggest that gender and sexual attitude in China to some extent remain traditional and conservative (Hu and Scott, 2014; Yan, 2009).

Despite the seemingly irreversible trend to modernization, people's gender and sexual values in both ancient and contemporary China are deeply and profoundly influenced by patriarchal Confucianism. Confucianism basically implies a conservative sexual attitude and emphasizes that men are superior to women, which jointly resulted in a gender double standard of marital infidelity in ancient China: men were allowed to have several concubines legally while cheating wives might face death penalty, and even widowed women should never marry again to prove loyalty to her husband and marriage. Similarly, a Neo-Confucianism revisits contemporary China (Fincher, 2016). While Xi's government enforces universal two-child policy to push up fertility rate and emphasizes traditional family values especially "women's irreplaceable role to family so as mother to children", public discussions about gender inequality are suppressed and strictly censored.

As gender issues become increasingly serious and complicated in contemporary China, it attracts more scholars' heed and much research concerning gender inequality in Chinese society were conducted in the past decade (Bauer et al., 1992; Chen et al., 2013). However, previous research mainly focuses on the external and structural expressions of gender inequality such as gender segregation in job market, the different outcome of education for men and women (Hu and Scott, 2014), and there is a dearth of studies about gender attitude

and values.

Moreover, a considerable number of research with regard to gender double standard in different societies can be found and gender double standard proves to be a quite unique lens to investigate gender inequality (Kettrey, 2016), yet it has never been studied and discussed in the context of China.

It is generally believed that gender double standard, basically meaning norms may differ for men and women concerning same sexual behaviors, more or less exists across cultures (Crawford & Popp, 2003; Marks & Fraley, 2005). Nevertheless, if gender double standard exists in contemporary China remains unexamined. To bridge the gap between China and western studies in this specific area and shed new light on studies about gender issues especially gender values and attitude in China, one aim of this article is to investigate gender double standard of marital infidelity in China. Specifically, the following key questions are addressed in this article: (a) Does gender double standard toward marital infidelity exist in contemporary China? Is gender double standard toward marital infidelity widely held among post-90s generation in China? (b) Is there any gender pattern in the endorsement of gender double standard toward marital infidelity? (c) What are the predictors of male and female's attitude toward both gender's marital infidelity?

#### Gender double standard

Reiss (1960, 1967) first found in his research that a double standard in which women would be judged more harshly than men for engaging in premarital sex, and since then a considerable number of studies have been conducted to further conceptualize and investigate gender double standard (Milhausen & Herold, 2002; Allison & Risman, 2013). Gender double standard basically means there might exist a different gender norm for men and women's behaviors, especially sexual behaviors (Reiss, 1960; Crawford & Popp, 2003), and women are often judged more negatively and strictly than men for conducting similar sexual behaviors

(Armstrong et al., 2010).

As it continues to be a topic of interests in recent decades, however, research done after sex revolution often yielded contradicted findings (Crawford & Popp, 2003; Milhausen & Herold, 2002). While some researchers supported the continuing existence of gender double standard (Bogle, 2008; Eder et al., 1995; Green & Sandos, 1983), others were convinced that gender double standard just disappeared, replaced by a single standard for both men and women or even a reverse gender double standard in which women gained more permissiveness than men for similar sexual behaviors (Marks & Fraley, 2005; O'Sullivan, 1995).

Moreover, nearly all previous research seeking evidence of gender double standard was conducted in Western, especially North American context (England and Bearak, 2014), making gender double standard an undiscussed (at least under-discussed) and to much extent unknown topic in Asian societies such as China. However, various researchers proved that gender double standard was contingent on social contexts and cultures (Haavio-Mannila & Kontula, 2003; Simon & Gagnon, 1986). For instance, Haavio-Mannila and Kontula (2003) examined the existence of gender double standard in different societies in their transnational comparative study, and they found that gender double standard was less prevalent in Finland than in St. Petersburg and Estonia due to societal differences such as the acceptance of sexual egalitarian culture and economic conditions. Since it is quite meaningful to further investigate this theme in different contexts, this research is the first to explore gender double standard in China and discuss it by relating to China's unique cultures and other societal characteristics.

Various researchers also ascribed the endorsement of gender double standard to individual characteristics (Crawford & Popp, 2003; England and Bearak, 2014). A considerable number of studies suggested that gender is a key indicator for the endorsement of gender double standard and men are more likely to hold a (traditional) gender double standard than women (Fromme & Emihovich, 1998; England and Bearak, 2014). Besides, as gender double standard

was essentially about different gender norms and scripts of sexuality, much research proved the association between sexual experiences/attitudes and the endorsement of gender double standard (Fugère et al. 2008). Moreover, since much research chose university students as the object of study (England and Bearak, 2014), the endorsement of gender double standard might also vary among different social groups. Following previous research, this study lays much attention to the gender difference in the endorsement of gender double standard toward marital infidelity among post-90 group.

Though gender double standard is a well-discussed topic in western world, one drawback of prior research is that very few of them distinguish and compare the difference between the personal endorsement of gender double standard and people's perception of gender double standard in society (Milhausen & Herold, 2001; Jackson & Cram, 2003). Another limitation is that research which deeply interpreted the cause of gender differences or patterns in the endorsement of gender double standard is very sparse. While other indicators may influence male and female's attitude very differently, few research distinguished the different paths of influence.

Hence, one contribution of this study is to investigate personal endorsement of gender double standard and perception of it respectively and seek the potential analysis. Moreover, beyond the external gendered pattern concerning gender double standard, this research aims to find theoretical implications for the phenomenon.

### Marriage and Infidelity

As marriage remains a key social institution of human societies, the decline and deinstitutionalization of marriage have been witnessed in various western countries in the past few decades (Cherlin, 2004). In the meantime, the study of infidelity has gained more interests in the scope of family and marriage, as sexual faithfulness is crucial to regulate the institution of marriage (Previti & Amato, 2004).

Much research suggested marital infidelity has become increasingly common in western post-industrial societies (Atkins & Furrow, 2008). For instance, Atkins and Furrow (2008) found a general increase in infidelity rates across cohorts in America, and no gender difference existed for respondents younger than 40. In contrast to the prevalence of extramarital sexual behaviors, some scholars indicated that most of their respondents sustained to report disapproval of infidelity (Smith, 1994; Treas & Giesen, 2000). For example, Smith (1994) indicated that more than 90% of the public in America generally believe it is wrong to cheat in marriage.

Prior research has mainly investigated the prevalence, behaviors, possible causes and consequences of infidelity (Treas & Giesen, 2000). The correlation between personal characteristics or experiences such as gender, education, cohabitation experiences and marriage quality, and engagement in infidelity were tested by some researchers (Treas & Giesen, 2000). Other researchers found that people's beliefs about infidelity and sexuality were associated with their actual behaviors (Blow & Hartnett, 2005; Havlicek et al., 2011). For example, some believed permissive sexual beliefs was related to a greater incidence of infidelity (Simpson & Gangestad, 1991). In addition, family background such parents' divorce, parents' infidelity was proved to be linked to offspring's infidel beliefs and behaviors (Reibstein & Richards, 1993; Weiser et al., 2017).

While the majority of past research concerning infidelity focused on the actual unfaithful behaviors or inclination outside marriage, few research systematically studied people's attitude toward infidelity. Moreover, as several studies found that men engage in more extramarital sex than women (Choi et al., 1994; Smith, 1991), and gender double standard proved to persist when judging men and women's sexual behaviors (England and Bearak, 2014), a dearth of research has investigated gender disparity in attitude toward infidelity and potential gender double standard in infidelity. Hence, to fill the gap of literature in this specific field, this



research examines if there exists any gender pattern in attitude toward marital infidelity and gender double standard of marital infidelity.

### Gender, marriage and sexuality in Contemporary China

As China has undergone huge social transformations such as reform and opening up in the past few decades, gender relations and ideology concerning family, marriage and sexuality were expected to be reshaped (Zimmer & Kwong, 2003). However, instead of moving directly to a path of modernization and globalization, gender and marriage dynamics in China seems quite complex and mixed (Ji, 2017).

Socialist China once embraced the highest female labor participation rate in the world (Stockman 1994), nevertheless, as China transitioned from planning economy to market-oriented economy, gender segregation and discrimination in employment market deteriorated (Zhang et al., 2008). Within private spheres, traditional gender roles which supposed men should focus on career and women devoted to family still persisted (Ji, 2017). Given the worsening gender inequality in China, many scholars doubted if gender values actually changed toward a more modern and liberal way (Hu and Scott, 2014).

Unlike most western societies and other Asian developed countries such as Japan and Korea, marriage in contemporary China is still early and quite universal (Ji, 2015). Though some scholars believed the increasing trend to individualization and globalization may reshape dynamics of marriage and family in China (Yan, 2010), any marital deviant behaviors such as extramarital sex would still be disrespected and condemned seriously by society. Moreover, in a context of early and universal marriage, women would especially face more social pressure for deviant behaviors related to family and marriage, and women who refused to or could not get married before their late 20s would be stigmatized as “leftover women” (Ji, 2015).

While marriage remained an infrangible social norm, the prevalence of premarital sex and cohabitation, though increased, was surprisingly low in China (Yu & Xie, 2015; Li Yinhe,).

Besides, gender difference was quite large concerning cohabitation and other sexual practice, for men were much more likely to cohabit and conduct sex behaviors such as premarital sex than women (Pan, 2004 ). For instance, Pan (2004) suggested that among Chinese university students, 72.2% of males reported having premarital sex whereas only 46.2% of women did.

As sexual conducts changed to some extent in contemporary China, whether gender and sexual values changed or persisted in contemporary China has also attracted scholars' interests. Traditionally, conservative and abstinent ideas about sexuality and traditional gender role values, which implied the unequal positions both inside and outside home of men and women, were widely held in China (Hu & Scott, 2014). However, most of prior studies focused on university students, for their ideas and attitudes were deemed to reflect the newest ideational change and trend in the society (Chen et. al, 2016). However, research on this topic is still sparse and often arrived at conflicting and equivocal findings. Some scholars believed that drastic social transformations in Chinese society has outdated many traditional and conservative ideas and values about gender and sexuality (Shek, 2006; Xu, 2003; Zimmer & Kwong, 2003), whereas others indicated traditional values on these issues persisted widely (Hu & Scott, 2014). Following previous research, this study about gender double standard of marital infidelity shed light on new dynamics of gender and sexual values in contemporary China.

#### Data and Method

I decided to collect data through sending online questionnaires in April, 2018, given the lack of relevant data in large-scale national surveys. The questionnaires were disseminated based on Wechat, one of the largest and trendiest social media in China, hence many respondents are from my social network and may possess certain unique features. In only one week, 1074 respondents participated in this survey, but the sample size was limited to 783 (222 males, 651 females) because of my focus on the post-90s group. All of the 783 respondents are unmarried post-90s people and more than 98% of them attained at least a bachelor's degree.

Hence, the samples in this research may represent the group of the youngest, well-educated citizens in China.

The dependent variables are attitude toward women and men's marital infidelity. Participants' attitudes were assessed by two questions: "To what extent do you agree that 'If one of my female friends cheated in marriage, I would not lose respect for her'?" and "To what extent do you agree that 'If one of my male friends cheated in marriage, I would not lose respect for him'?" Various other questions were placed between these two in questionnaires to limit bias. The answers for the two questions were designed to a 4-point scale, ranging from "Strongly disagree" to "Strongly agree", and the higher score on both scales means a more liberal attitude. They were usually reorganized into a 4-category variable ("lose respect for both females and males", "lose respect for only females", "lose respect for only males", "lose respect for neither females nor males") in previous research (Allison & Risman, 2013; Milhausen & Herold, 2001), but my sample was too small for a multi-nomial logistic model. Hence, I instead recoded them into two separate binary variables simply suggesting "being more permissive or strict on female/male's marital infidelity".

I conducted logistic regressions to predict respondents' attitude toward female/male's infidelity with separate models for males and females. Unlike previous research (Allison & Risman, 2013), the variable "the inclination to cheat in marriage" was controlled in this study, for studies about attitudes were usually biased (Crawford & Popp, 2003) and attitude toward other's marital infidelity might be substantially related to his/her inclination to cheat in marriage if there was a chance. Therefore, all respondents in my study were asked "To what extent do you agree that 'I would not refuse to develop an extramarital relationship with a person I really like'?" and it helped reduce bias in estimates. Besides, these models controlled for age, hukou (urban or rural), subject class (if regard self as upper-middle class), if had overseas experiences and if had any other-sex sibling.

Key variables in my models can be classified into two types: family background, and personal experiences and attitude. Because one of my research purpose is to distinguish factors influencing men and women's attitude toward female and male's marital infidelity, this classification might help find certain mechanism. Family background comprises of mother's education, if mother has high education expectation on respondents and if parents divorced. For personal experiences and attitude, respondents were asked if they ever cohabited with others, if they had any cheating friend or family, if they approve of one night stand and the gender composition of their friends. The means and standard deviations of all independent variables are presented in Table 1 by females and males, respectively.

### Results

Figure 1 demonstrates respondents' attitude toward female's marital infidelity. The percentage of respondents who hold a permissive attitude is slightly lower in female than in male sample, yet the difference is not significant. More than 2/3 of females and males tends to endorse a strict attitude toward women's marital infidelity, while respondents in favor of the opposite are less than 1/3 in both samples. However, the gender disparity on attitude toward male's marital infidelity is quite significant. As presented in Figure 2, a much higher percentage of male respondents (35.59%) than female respondents (16.4%) are permissive about male's marital infidelity.

In general, both genders inclines to hold a strict rather than permissive attitude toward either female or male's infidelity and they seems to be more permissive toward their own gender group's behaviors. Yet, only male respondents are significantly more permissive toward their own gender's infidelity while this inclination cannot be proved for females. It might suggest women actually hold a equally harsh attitude toward both female and male's marital infidelity when men are more likely to hold a traditional gender double standard and take side in their own gender.

[Figure 1 near here]

[Figure 2 near here]

Following previous research (Allison and Risman, 2013; Milhausen and Herold, 2001), I then recode the two dependent variables into 4 categories: conservative egalitarian (strict toward both women and men), traditional double standard (strict toward women yet permissive toward men), reverse double standard (strict toward women yet permissive toward men), liberal egalitarian (permissive toward both women and men). This process renders it possible to see if (traditional or reverse) gender double standard is prevalent in my sample and how the attitudes toward marital infidelity vary by gender.

As Figure 3 displays, most of the respondents (74.33% females and 60.36% males) fall in the category of conservative egalitarian, which means they treat female and male's cheating behaviors in marriage in an equally harsh way. Similar to findings in previous studies (Herold & Mewhinney, 1995), women are more likely than men to be strict toward (both gender's) marital infidelity as well as less likely to endorse a permissive attitude compared to male respondents. It is clear that gender double standard is not widely adopted by my sample, however, I also asked questions to ascertain if there exist any societal gender double standard, and the story becomes quite different. Moreover, the results do corroborate hypothesis 1 that men are more likely to hold a traditional double standard than women while women are more likely to hold a reverse double standard than men.

Figure 4 presents the results of question "Do you agree that 'If I cheat in marriage, my friends and family will be permissive to my infidelity and I will not be respected less' ". Though most of male and female respondents think they will be disrespected for marital infidelity and it accords with their own strict attitude toward marital infidelity in Figure 3, there are 11.45% more women than men feeling this pressure. This just reflects in reality women are more likely to face criticism and intolerance than men if they cheat in marriage. In result, even if the

respondents do not seem to hold a gender double standard personally, the societal gender double standard actually remain, given the fact women are more likely to feel the pressure of being judged negatively if they cheat in marriage.

[Figure 3 near here]

[Figure 4 near here]

Though people who hold a gender double standard does not prevail in my sample, varied gender patterns concerning marital infidelity is quite evident. To further investigate the influencing factors of the gender patterns, I conducted regressions on attitude toward female's infidelity and male's infidelity separately, and also reported the results by male and female sample respectively.

[Table 2 near here]

Table 2 presents three sets of independent variables when predicting attitude toward female's marital infidelity by gender groups. Step-wise regressions are applied here, beginning with control variables and then proceeding to family background and personal experiences and attitudes. Unsurprisingly, respondents' own inclination to cheat in marriage is highly correlated with their attitude toward women's marital infidelity, and both males and females who reported a high inclination to cheat in own marriage are more permissive toward women's marital infidelity. But the effect of inclination to cheat is remarkably diminished after all key variables are added into model 3. Besides, the marginal significant effect of age in female sample disappears when variables concerning personal experiences and attitudes enter the model.

It is manifest that men and women's attitude toward female's cheating behaviors in marriage are affected by different factors. Only men are influenced by family background when judging women's infidelity. As suggested in model 2, the odds of being permissive decrease by 55% for men whose mother's education level is less than junior high school, compared to those whose mother went to senior high school. But this effect ceases to be significant in model

3 when variables about personal experiences and attitudes are added in. Moreover, mother's high education expectation is positively associated with men's attitude. If the mother has a high education expectation, the odds of son being permissive toward female's marital infidelity increase by 88%.

Though both men and women are influenced by personal experiences and attitudes, very disparate factors in this category actually impact on their attitude toward female's infidelity. While women's attitude is strongly affected by experiences of having any cheating friend or family and cohabitation, men's are associated with their attitude toward one night stand and the gender composition of friends. The odds of being permissive toward female's infidelity increase by 130% for women who ever cohabited compared to those never had. Having any cheating friend or family also raises the odds of women being permissive, by 118%. Nevertheless, those experiences have no impact on men's attitude and vice versa. The odds of men holding a permissive attitude toward female's infidelity goes up by 105% if they can accept one night stand. In addition, compared to men who have more same-sex friends, the odds of being permissive increase by 113% for those whose friends gender composition is well balanced.

[Table 3 near here]

As demonstrated in Table 3, I also conducted step-wise regressions to predict respondents' attitude toward male's infidelity. Similar to results in Table 2, both male and female respondents' attitudes are positively associated their own cheating inclination, and this effect is reduced when all other independent variables enter the full model. Nevertheless, age is only significantly associated with men's attitude. As men age, they are more likely to be permissive toward male's marital infidelity.

Family background also merely influences male respondents on attitude toward male's marital infidelity: mother's high education expectation is associated with an 82% increase in

the odds of men being permissive toward male's infidelity, and a 62% decrease will be expected for male group whose mother's education level is less than junior high school, compared to those whose mother's education level is senior high school. Once again the effects of factors concerning personal experiences and attitudes vary a lot on male and female's attitude. The experience of having any cheating friend or family is related to a more permissive attitude toward male's infidelity in female samples, but has no significant effect in male samples. Correspondingly, the acceptance to one night stand is associated with a 262% increase in the odds of men being permissive toward male's marital infidelity, while it is not related to female's such attitude.

In a nutshell, though respondents in my sample do not widely hold a gender double standard toward marital infidelity, they can actually perceive a traditional gender double standard toward marital infidelity in society. The inconsistency between their personal attitude and societal values might reflect attitudinal change from older generations to my respondents, a group of young, well-educated Chinese post-90s. Among these young Chinese, just consistent with findings in other countries (Allison & Risman, 2013 ), men are still more likely to hold a gender double standard than women. Moreover, as I investigate what may influence male and female respondents' attitude toward both gender's marital infidelity, different mechanisms seems to exist behind their choice of being permissive or strict. For instance, women are immune from family background's influences while men's attitude cannot be independent from family background. When having any cheating family or friend significantly influence women's attitude, it is acceptance of one night stand that works on men. (Similar to findings in Milhausen & Herold, 2001)

### Conclusion and Discussion

My results do not suggest a strong endorsement of gender double standard toward marital infidelity among these post-90s Chinese, however, the societal existence of it can be proved.



This inconsistency of personal endorsement and perception of society may imply a attitudinal change in post-90s generation from their previous generations. As the first generation who grew up in a post-reform period and an era of widespread use of internet in China, post-90s Chinese were deeply involved in the China's path to globalization, modernization and individualization. This might explain why post-90s Chinese chose not to hold a gender double standard while this phenomenon still widely existed in society.

However, as contemporary China has also experienced the convergence of modernity and tradition, and gender issues has become increasingly complex and worrisome in the recent decade with the resurgence of Confucianism, a new gender dynamic in contemporary China also manifests in post-90s' attitude toward marital infidelity. Just similar to findings of millennials' studies in America, Chinese post-90s still adhere to certain traditional and conservative ideas of gender and sexuality. Most of them chose to be strict rather than permissive to both gender's marital infidelity, consistent to a conservative attitude toward sexuality and traditional idea of marriage. Moreover, similar to previous findings in western societies, men are more likely to hold a traditional gender double standard than women, and this just echoed the resurgence of Confucianism and a slide-back of gender equality.

Male and female's attitudes toward marital infidelity are influenced by very disparate factors, whereas these factors affect their attitudes toward both same-sex and other-sex targets in similar ways. Males' attitude toward infidelity is likely to be influenced by factors related to family background and his acceptance of one night stand. In contrast, female's attitude is affected experiences of cohabitation and knowing some cheating friends or family. A possible explanation for this difference may be that the institution of marriage and family work very differently on men and women. In a context of growing gender inequality and resurgence of Confucianism, traditional gender roles and sexual values can still be reproduced within Chinese families. Though better family background may imply parents can hold more liberal attitude

toward sexuality (Pan, 2004), it is much less likely for Chinese parents to talk about sex to daughters than to sons due to a stricter norm about sexuality for women in China. Hence, women are not influenced by family while men are on attitude toward marital infidelity may result from different exposures to education or talks about sexuality within family. Similarly, as the gender double standard toward infidelity might persist societally, experiences concerning sexuality like cohabitation for women still have the meaning of sexual enlightenment and liberation, while similar experiences seem more usual and commonplace to men.

Hence, the different mechanisms behind men and women's attitude toward marital infidelity in fact reflect gender inequality in China and also find new evidence of societal gender double standard. This research shed light on understanding the new dynamics of gender and sexual values in contemporary China. Nevertheless, a few limitations must be mentioned here. The sample in this research is not very representatives, yet it has its own unique characteristics and also can mirror the gender inequality in China. Besides, due to the length of questionnaire, a few potential indicators cannot be investigated in this research.

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Table 1. Demographic description of sample

Variable	Mean	Sd
<b>Family background</b>		
Mother's education		
Junior high school and below	0.35	0.48
Senior high school	0.43	0.50
University and above	0.22	0.42
Mother's high education expectation	0.39	0.49
Parents divorced	0.12	0.33
<b>Personal experiences</b>		
Ever cohabitated	0.13	0.34
Knew any cheating friend or family	0.44	0.50
Gender composition of friends		
More same-sex friends	0.59	0.49
More other-sex friends	0.11	0.31
Much the same	0.31	0.46
Approve of one night stand	0.38	0.49
<b>Control</b>		
Male	0.28	0.45
Age	21.87	1.78
Urban	0.79	0.41
Middle-upper social class	0.51	0.50
Had overseas experiences	0.31	0.46
Inclination to cheat in marriage	0.21	0.41
Had any other-sex sibling	0.19	0.39

N=783

Table 2. Attitudes toward Women's Marital Infidelity by Male and Female respondents, Respectively

	Male			Female		
	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3
<i>Age</i>	1.11	1.13	1.13	1.12+	1.12+	1.09
<i>Urban</i>	0.61	0.47	0.4305+	1.33	1.22	1.20
<i>Middle-upper social class</i>	1.17	1.03	1.21	0.81	0.80	0.82
<i>Had overseas experiences</i>	1.18	1.09	1.05	1.18	1.16	1.05
<i>Inclination to cheat in marriage</i>	7.94***	8.05***	7.10***	4.56***	4.34***	3.88***
<i>Had any other-sex sibling</i>	0.93	1.05	0.92	0.87	0.92	0.95
<i>Mother's education</i>						
Senior high school (reference)						
Junior high school and below		0.45+	0.46		0.78	0.71
University and above		0.72	0.65		0.88	0.89
<i>Mother's high education expectation</i>		1.78+	1.88+		1.28	1.19
<i>Parents divorced</i>		1.24	1.18		1.10	0.68
<i>Ever cohabited</i>			0.98			2.35**
<i>Had any cheating friend or family</i>			1.17			2.18***
<i>Approve of one night stand</i>			2.05+			1.28
<i>Gender composition of friends</i>						
More same-sex friends (reference)						
More other-sex friends			1.37			1.50
Much the same			2.12+			1.34
Observations	222	222	222	561	561	561

\*\*\* p<0.001, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05, + p<0.1, two-tailed tests



Table 3. Attitudes toward Men’s Marital Infidelity by Male and Female respondents, Respectively

	Male			Female		
	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3
<i>Age</i>	1.27**	1.30**	1.29**	1.10	1.10	1.08
<i>Urban</i>	1.01	0.76	0.61	1.04	0.99	0.94
<i>Middle-upper social class</i>	1.48	1.32	1.56	1.19	1.19	1.22
<i>Had overseas experiences</i>	1.11	1.04	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.95
<i>Inclination to cheat in marriage</i>	6.95***	7.06***	5.57***	5.80***	5.53***	4.91***
<i>Had any other-sex sibling</i>	0.80	0.90	0.79	0.83	0.86	0.86
<i>Mother's education</i> Senior high school (reference)						
Junior high school and below		0.41+	0.38*		0.82	0.78
University and above		0.63	0.54		0.79	0.80
<i>Mother's high education expectation</i>		1.84+	1.82+		1.24	1.17
<i>Parents divorced</i>		1.39	1.12		1.03	0.76
<i>Ever cohabited</i>			1.72			1.34
<i>Had any cheating friend or family</i>			1.00			1.71*
<i>Approve of one night stand</i>			3.62***			1.09
<i>Gender composition of friends</i> More same-sex friends (reference)						
More-other sex friends			1.07			1.61
Much the same			1.52			1.39
Observations	222	222	222	561	561	561

\*\*\* p<0.001, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05, + p<0.1, two-tailed tests

Figure 1. respondents' attitude toward female's marital infidelity

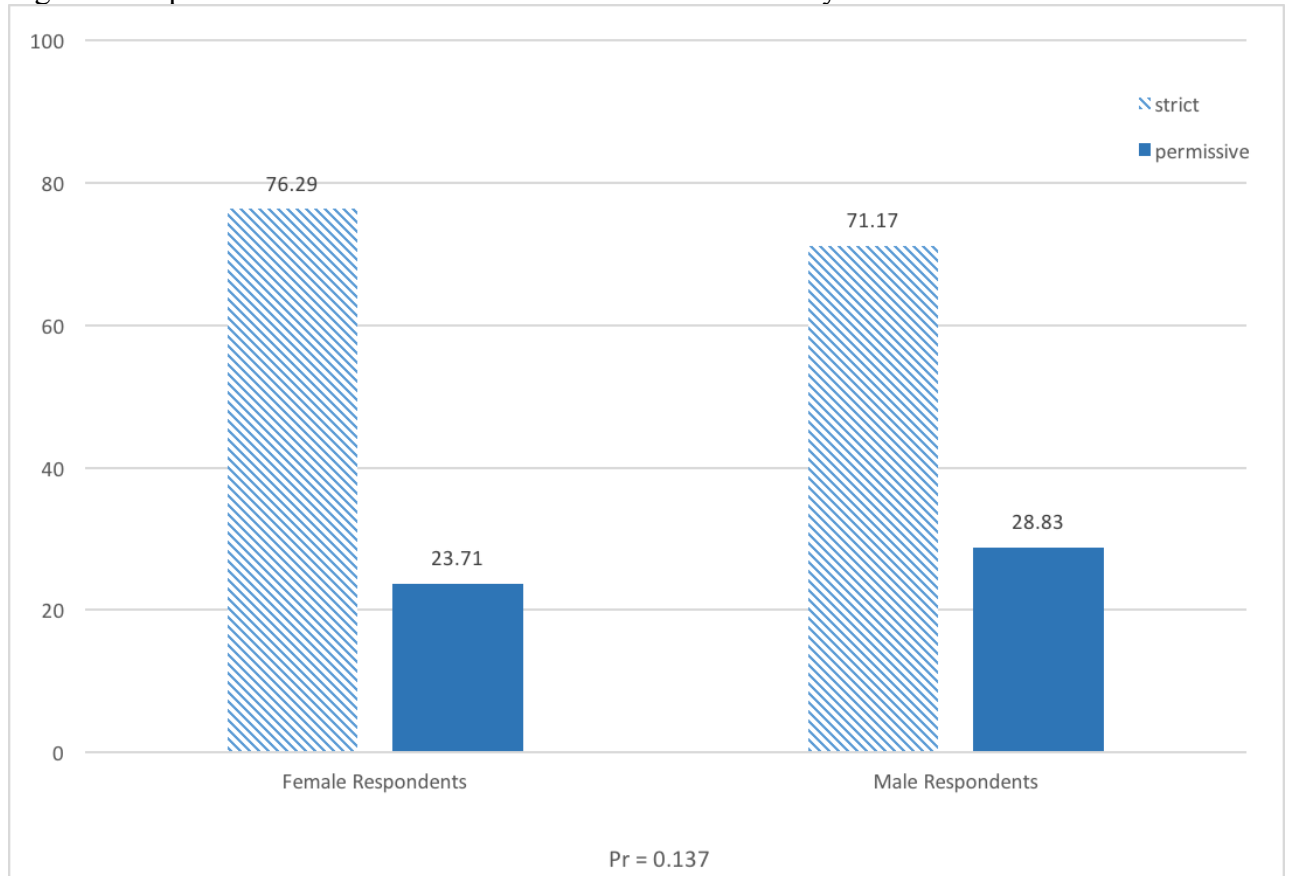


Figure 2. respondents' attitude toward female's marital infidelity

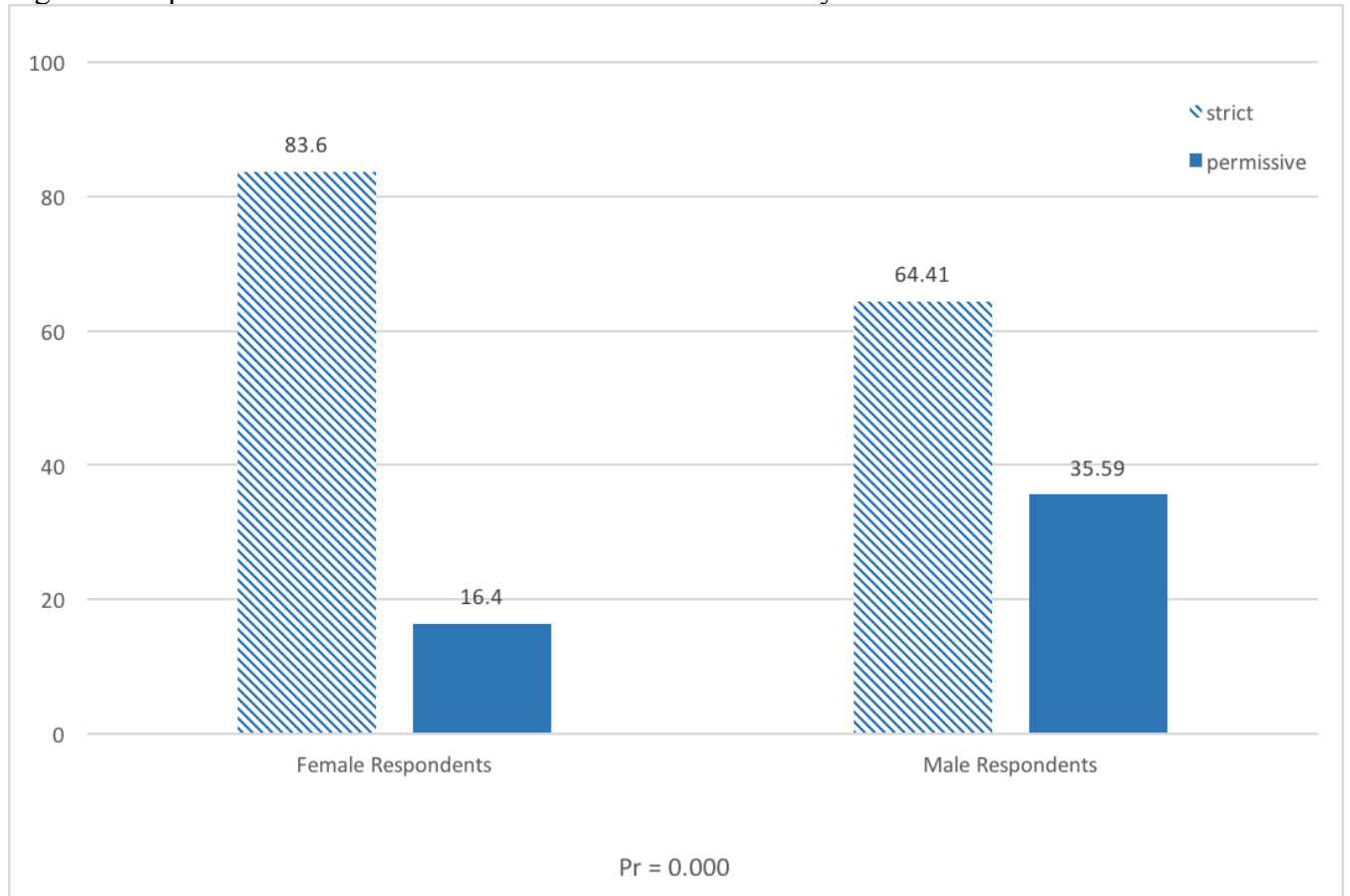


Figure 3 Respondents' perception of gender double standard

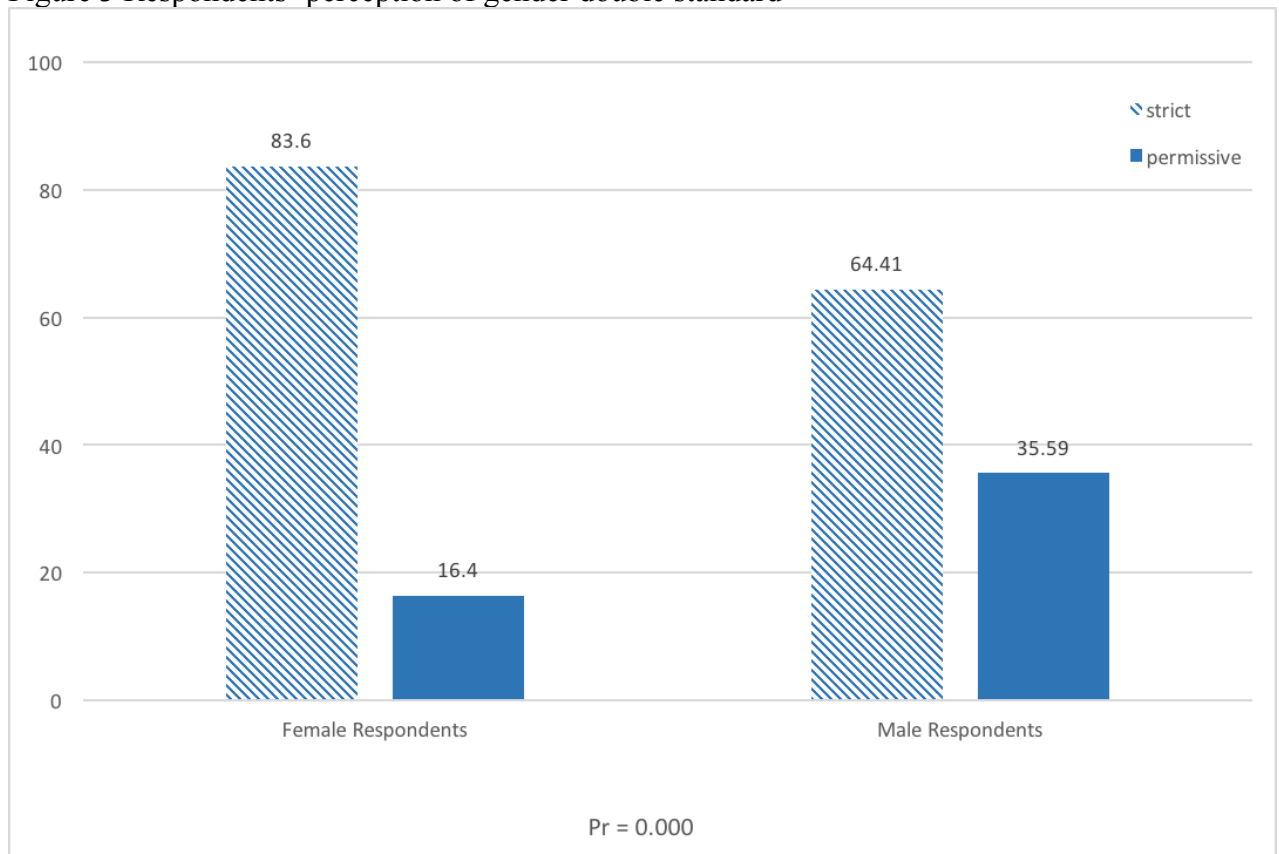


Figure 4. Respondents' perception of gender double standard

