It "Just Happened" One Night:
Gender Norms and Consent to Unwanted Sexual Activity on College Hookups

By

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CHAPTER 1

GENDER NORMS AND NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES ON COLLEGE HOOKUPS

Introduction

Popular media accounts of hooking up often claim that hookups, or casual sexual activity between partners with no explicit commitment to one another, are harmful to young women. In such accounts, journalists opine that heterosexual hookups serve the sexual interests of young men, who are presumed to prefer casual sex to relationships, and, thus, lead to sexual exploitation and emotional turmoil for young women, who are presumed to prefer committed relationships to casual sexual activity (for examples see Shalit 1999; Stepp 2007). Concerns about potential dangers of hooking up are easily compounded by journalistic claims that hookups have become so commonplace that they have made romantic relationships obsolete on college campuses (for examples see Freitas 2013; Rosin 2012; Taylor 2013).

However, research indicates that hookups are not necessarily detrimental to young women, as both men and women tend to report positive experiences with hooking up (Fielder and Carey 2010; Lewis et al. 2012; Owen et al. 2010; Owen and Fincham 2011). Furthermore, hookups have not replaced romantic relationships on college campuses, as both are common among college students (Fielder, Carey, and Carey 2013; Monto and Carey 2014; Shukusky and Wade 2012). In fact, a growing body of research indicates that hooking up may be a new pathway, rather than a roadblock, to romantic relationships among college students (Bogle 2008; England and Thomas 2006; Garcia and Reiber 2008; Kalish and Kimmel 2011). Thus, rather than replacing relationships, hookups have simply surpassed dates as the main pathway to romantic relationships among college students (Bogle 2008).

Despite young women's hookup experiences being largely positive, the fact that hooking up has superseded dating can be potentially problematic for some young women because hookup culture is generally characterized by inequitable gender dynamics that privilege young men (Armstrong, Hamilton, and England 2010; Bogle 2008; Kalish and Kimmel 2011; Kimmel 2008). That is, although dating often places males in a privileged position over females (Bailey 1988; Coontz 1992), male privilege tends to be more pronounced on hookups than on dates (Bogle 2008; Kimmel 2008). These inequitable gender dynamics are evident by women's relative tendency, compared to men, to report negative experiences with hooking up.

Specifically, in comparison to young men, young women are more likely to engage in unwanted sexual activity on hookups (Flack et al. 2007; Wright, Norton, and Matusek 2010) and are less likely to feel sexually satisfied following a hookup (Bradshaw, Kahn, and Saville 2010; Paul and Hayes 2002; Shukusky and Wade 2012). Additionally, although young women and men both generally report positive feelings after a hookup (e.g., feeling happy, attractive, desirable), women are more likely than men to report negative feelings, such as regret, dissatisfaction, or depression (Fielder and Carey 2010; Lewis et al. 2012; Owen et al. 2010; Owen and Fincham 2011). Such negative outcomes are not necessarily inherent to hookup culture itself but, rather, are arguably rooted in dominant gender norms such as those promulgated through discourses of sexuality that prioritize male sexual desire/pleasure over female desire/pleasure (Fine 1988; Fine and McClelland 2006) and a sexual double standard that is used to judge young women more harshly than young men for engaging in similar sexual behaviors (see Reiss 1960 for foundational work on the sexual double standard).

An Overview of Hooking Up

Hooking up did not begin to generate public and academic attention until the turn of the twenty-first century; however, its roots were planted in the 1960s when sexual mores relaxed, colleges became increasingly co-educational, and young people began to socialize in groups rather than date in pairs (Bogle 2007; 2008). Although hooking up has occurred on college campuses for decades (albeit at times by other names), it was not until the turn of the century that this practice became common enough to warrant the declaration of a "hookup culture" (Heldman and Wade 2010). In fact, the majority of college students have assimilated into this culture, as results from one study using a random mixed-sex sample revealed that 78% of respondents report some experience with hooking up (Paul, McManus, and Hayes 2000). In fact, hooking up has been conceptualized as a contemporary, normative pathway for college students to form relationships, just as courtship and dating provided pathways to relationships in past eras (Bogle 2008; England and Thomas 2006; Glenn and Marquardt 2001; Kimmel 2008).

Although hooking up is common on college campuses, it is important to note that it is not popular among all college students. Hookups are most common among privileged college students: those who are white and/or possess higher socio-economic status (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Bogle 2008; Brimeyer and Smith 2012; Glenn and Marquardt 2001; Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Kimmel 2008, Owen et al 2010). Hamilton and Armstrong (2009) theorize that hooking up provides a sexual outlet for privileged students (women, in their study) without encumbering them with a relationship that may threaten their self-development and career goals.

Compared to dating, which is a fairly straightforward term used to describe prearranged outings between two partners who share an interest in getting to know one another, the term hooking up is widely used, but has no precise meaning (Bogle 2008). What is clear is that young

adults understand hookups to be casual sexual encounters that involve no romantic obligation between partners (Bogle 2008; Glenn and Marquardt 2001; Paul et al. 2000). Contributing to definitional ambiguity is the fact that hookups can encompass a wide range of sexual activities including "kissing, sexual intercourse, or any form of sexual interaction generally seen as falling in between those two extremes" (Bogle 2008:27). However, studies indicate that less intimate behaviors (i.e., kissing and fondling) are more likely to occur on hookups than more intimate behaviors (i.e., oral sex, anal sex, or coitus) (Fielder and Carey 2010; Lewis et al. 2012).

Although hookups do not come with a guarantee of commitment, this should not imply that they are devoid of intimacy between partners. Hookups rarely occur between strangers; rather, they typically involve acquaintances (Fielder and Carey 2010; Grello, Welsh, and Harper 2006; Lewis et al. 2012; Manning, Giordano, and Longmore 2006). Furthermore, lack of explicit romantic obligation does not preclude tacit hope for commitment from one's hookup partner. Both young women and men indicate a preference for hookups that lead to friendships, future hookups, or romantic relationships with their partners (Garcia and Reiber 2008; Paul and Hayes 2002; Shukusky and Wade 2012). Thus, it should not be surprising that, although few college hookups result in relationships, most contemporary college relationships result from hookups (England and Thomas 2006; Kalish and Kimmel 2011).

Hooking up is a normative practice for both young men and women, as some studies indicate the two sexes are equally likely to report engaging in this activity (Brimeyer and Smith 2012; Owen et al. 2010; Paul and Hayes 2002).[1] This gender parity in the prevalence of hooking up, however, should not imply that hookups are characterized by gender equity. In fact, research

[1] However, there is some evidence that males hook up more often than females and are more likely than females to engage in coitus on a hookup (see Owen and Fincham 2011; Paul et al. 2000).

indicates that hookups are marked by male privilege. That is, sexual activity on college hookups is frequently driven by male desire such that couples often engage in sexual activity that is wanted/desired by the male partner, but not necessarily by the female partner (Armstrong, England, and Fogarty 2010; 2012; Backstrom, Armstrong, and Puentes 2012; Flack et al. 2007; Wade and Heldman 2012). Additionally, and perhaps relatedly, on hookups, young women tend to expect and experience less pleasure than what their male partners expect or experience (Bradshaw et al. 2010; Paul and Hayes 2002; Shukusky and Wade 2012). Women also are more likely than young men to report negative feelings following a hookup (Fielder and Carey 2010; Lewis et al. 2012; Owen and Fincham 2011; Owen et al. 2010). Rather than being a direct product of contemporary hookup culture, these gender-divergent outcomes are arguably related to dominant gender norms, such as those conveyed through dominant discourses of adolescent sexuality and the traditional sexual double standard.

Dominant Discourses of Adolescent Sexuality and Negative Hookup Experiences

By the time they enter college many young adults are fluent in a set of dominant discourses of adolescent sexuality that, among other things, prioritize males' sexual desire and pleasure over females' sexual desire and pleasure (Fine 1988). That is, female sexual desire is discursively constructed and circulated within the confines of a heteronormative masculine/feminine binary that portrays young women as sexual objects that should be pleasurable to males, who are assumed to be sexual subjects with desires of their own (Holland et al. 1998). These gendered constructions of sexual desire are widely promulgated to adolescents and young adults by education systems (Fields 2008; Fine and McClelland 2006; Holland et al. 1998), parents (Holland et al. 1998; Schalet 2010; 2011), and popular media (Carpenter 1998; Durham 1996; 1998; Garner, Sterk, and Adams 1998; Hust, Brown, and

L'Engle 2008; Kim et al. 2007; Kim and Ward 2004; Krassas, Blauwkamp, and Wesselink 2001). However, they do not depict female desire in a uniform fashion for all young women.

Young women who are white and/or economically privileged are often portrayed as possessing low levels of sexual desire – or as needing to be safeguarded from their sexual desire (Egan 2013; Fine 1988; Fine and McClelland 2006; Renold and Ringrose 2011). On the other hand, women of color (except Asian women), women of lower SES status, and LGBTQ women are often denigrated for possessing supposedly high levels of sexual desire (Collins 2005; Davis 1981; D'Emilio and Freedman 1997; Elliot 2012; hooks 1981; Striepe and Tolman 2003; Tolman 2006). In either case, however, desire is not acceptable for young women – or at minimum, it is less acceptable than it is for young men.

This general disapproval of female sexual desire can create turmoil for young women. As Lamb (2001) explains, "girls want to be desiring individuals, they have desires, but to own these desires, to make them their own, makes them feel slutty or unnatural or unfeminine. It makes them bad girls" (p. 66). That is, when sexual mores permit males to be sexual subjects/agents and proscribe females to be passive sexual objects, young women may either begin to feel guilty for feeling sexual desires or may learn to suppress such desires altogether (Lamb 2001; Tolman 2002).

The suppression of one's own desires could result in negative sexual outcomes for young women. In particular, those who do not view their own sexual desire as adequate reason to engage in sexual activity may also fail to interpret their lack of desire in a given scenario as reason to refuse sexual activity. As Tolman (2002) explains:

> *Not* feeling sexual desire may put girls in danger and "at risk." When a girl does not know what her own feelings are, when she disconnects the apprehending psychic part of

> herself from what is happening in her own body, she then becomes especially vulnerable to the power of others' feelings as well as to what others say she does and does not want or feel. (P. 21 [emphasis in original])

In this case, denying one's own desires may shift young women's justification for sexual activity away from exploring their own desires and toward fulfilling those of a male partner. In other words, young women who do not acknowledge their own sexual desires may be at an increased risk – and those who acknowledge their sexual desires may be at a decreased risk – of engaging in unwanted sexual activity on hookups.

Sexual Double Standards and Negative Hookup Experiences

Since the 1960s scholars have noted the existence of a traditional double standard that allots more sexual freedom to men than women and, accordingly, is used to evaluate women more negatively than men for engaging in similar sexual behaviors (Reiss 1960). However, recent research on the contemporary status of the traditional double standard has produced seemingly equivocal findings. Whereas some studies note the continued significance of the traditional double standard (Crawford and Popp 2003; Jonason and Marks 2009; Kreager and Staff 2009; Marks 2008; Marks and Fraley 2006; 2007; Sakaluk and Milhausen 2012), others indicate that it has been usurped by a single, egalitarian standard employed to judge both men's and women's sexual behavior (Allison and Risman 2013; Marks and Fraley 2005; Milhausen and Herold 2002).

Milhausen and Herold (2002) offer some clarification of these seemingly discordant findings by distinguishing between young adults' perception that a double standard exists in society (e.g., believing that others judge women and men differently for their sexual behaviors) and their personal endorsement of the double standard (e.g., employing different standards in

their personal judgments of women and men for engaging in certain sexual behaviors). They specifically find that, despite perceiving that others subscribe to the traditional double standard, most college students report personally endorsing a single standard for judging the sexual behavior of both women and men.

The idea that the traditional double standard exists in the minds of others, but not in one's own mind, is particularly evident in contemporary hookup culture. Although most college students reportedly endorse a single standard for judging men's and women's hookup behaviors (Allison and Risman 2013), they also seem to believe that women experience more negative judgment than men for hooking up. For example, analyzing college students' narrative responses to vignettes describing a heterosexual hookup, the authors of one recent study find that both women and men expect that young women must engage in impression management after hooking up to avoid being perceived as a "slut" or "whore" (Reid, Elliott, and Webber 2011). This should not be particularly surprising considering that several studies indicate hooking up can be stigmatizing for young women, who feel that the traditional double standard gives them an ambiguous directive to avoid hooking up "too much" or "going too far" sexually on a hookup (Bogle 2008; Currier 2013; Glenn and Marquardt 2001; Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Kimmel 2008).

In reality, both women and men engage in impression management after hooking up, but in ways that indicate women generally expect to be judged harshly for hooking up and men generally expect to be rewarded for hooking up (Currier 2013; Kalish and Kimmel 2011). Through qualitative interviews, Currier (2013) finds that young women and men both take advantage of the equivocal definition of hooking up in manners that conform to the traditional double standard. Specifically, in describing their sexual activities, young men employ the vague

term “hook up,” without identifying specific sexual acts in order to give the impression that they engage in a wide range of sexual behaviors on their hookups. Young women, on the other hand, use this vague term to minimize the level of sexual activity that transpires on their hookups. These findings are consistent with past studies that indicate men tend to exaggerate, and women tend to minimize, their self-reported sexual experiences (Alexander and Fisher 2003; Fisher 2013).

Applied to women’s experiences with hooking up, it is possible that the traditional sexual double standard promotes male privilege and contributes to the deleterious outcomes that popular accounts cast as inherent to hookup culture (i.e., women’s sexual exploitation and emotional turmoil). Specifically, those young women who subscribe to the sexual double standard may elevate their male hookup partners’ desires over their own and, as such, be at risk for engaging in unwanted sexual activity during hookups. Furthermore, as a result of judging their own sexual behavior more harshly than that of their male partners, these young women may experience negative emotional reactions, such as shame or regret, after hooking up.

Purpose of Dissertation

In this dissertation I present findings from three empirical investigations of relationships between gender norms and outcomes of hookups among college students. Using data from the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS) I explore the possibility that women’s negative experiences with hooking up (i.e., unwanted sexual activity, negative emotional reactions to hookups) are not necessarily inherent to hookup culture itself but, rather, are related to gender norms that place young men in a privileged position over young women. Importantly, although this dissertation addresses popular claims about the supposed harmful effects of hookup culture on young women, I include both young women and young men in my sample (running separate

analyses on each group). I do this because, despite the fact that several scholars have noted that dominant gender norms privilege young men by taking their sexual desire and pleasure for granted, the extant research tends to duplicate this assumption by focusing on females and, thus, failing to examine male sexual desire/pleasure.

Although the three studies that compose this dissertation serve a singular overarching purpose, they each constitute an independent investigation intended to make a unique contribution to the extant scholarship on gender and sexuality in young adulthood. As such, major concepts and variables are not wholly consistent across studies (e.g., components of gender norms may be operationalized differently between chapters). At the same time, the independent nature of the three studies may give the impression of slight repetition in discussions of literature and data between the chapters.

Outline of Dissertation

In Chapter 2 I explore the relationship between measures of sexual subjectivity (conceptualized as self-entitlement to pleasure and the pursuit of sexual activity) and unwanted sexual activity on college hookups and, as a comparison, on dates. In Chapter 3 I examine the relationship between women's and men's endorsement of sexual double standards and their negative experiences on hookups (i.e., unwanted sex and negative emotional reactions to hookups). Together, findings from Chapters 2 and 3 broaden scholarly understandings of hookup culture by identifying conditions under which hooking up may (and may not) be harmful to young women and young men alike.

In Chapter 4 I investigate the relationship between unwanted sexual activity, sexual pleasure, and college students' post-hookup interest in their hookup partners. Findings from Chapter 4 highlight circumstances under which hooking up may (and may not) lead to romantic

relationships between college students. This is particularly relevant, considering that hooking up has replaced dating as the primary means through which college students form romantic relationships.

Finally, in Chapter 5 I summarize results from Chapters 2 through 4 and highlight implications of the collective findings from these three empirical studies. Specifically, by identifying relationships between gender norms and negative hookup outcomes, findings from this dissertation can inform debates about the benefits of transforming sex education, which focuses on physical aspects of sexual health, into sexuality education that supplements sexual health information with information on social aspects of sexuality, such as desire, power, and inequality (Allen 2008; Fields 2008; Peterson 2010; Spencer, Maxwell, and Aggleton 2008).

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CHAPTER 2

"BAD GIRLS" SAY NO AND "GOOD GIRLS" SAY YES: SEXUAL SUBJECTIVITY AND ACQUIESCENCE TO UNWANTED SEXUAL ACTIVITY ON COLLEGE HOOKUPS AND DATES

Introduction

Young women's sexual desire, once conceptualized as "missing" from dominant discourses of adolescent sexuality (Fine 1988), has been made more audible by a recent media-fueled moral panic about the premature "sexualization" of girls (Egan 2013; Fine and McClelland 2006; Renold and Ringrose 2011). Unlike the "missing discourse of desire," this emerging discourse of sexualization does not ignore female sexual desire; rather, it proscribes female desire as inappropriate by dichotomizing young women into "good girls" who are sexually innocent, with little (or no) sexual desire, and "bad girls" who are sexually knowing, with voracious sexual desire (Renold and Ringrose 2011).

Regardless of whether missing or explicitly proscribed, female sexual desire is discursively constructed within the confines of a heteronormative masculine/feminine binary that minimizes female sexual desire while taking male sexual desire for granted (Holland et al. 1998). Ultimately, such heteronormative discourse portrays young women as sexual objects that are pleasurable to males, who are assumed to be sexual subjects entitled to the pursuit of their own desires. Accordingly, young women who acknowledge and act upon their personal sexual desires are constructed as bad girls who "flirt with danger" by inciting males' purported uncontrollable desires and, thus, invite unwanted sexual attention (e.g., victimization through forced sexual activity) (Phillips 2000; Tolman 2002). Notwithstanding what may be conveyed through discursive constructions of female desire, those young women who acknowledge themselves as

sexual subjects are not necessarily in danger of unwanted sexual attention; in fact there is reason to hypothesize that they may actually be safeguarded from one particular form of unwanted sexual activity: sexual acquiescence, or consenting to sexual activity that one does not personally desire. Patterns in young women's sexual acquiescence warrant investigation, because consent to unwanted sexual activity is associated with a range of negative outcomes including lowered subjective well being, limited ability to negotiate condom usage, and increased risk of sexual victimization (e.g., forced sexual activity) (Blythe et al. 2006; Impett, Peplau, and Gable 2005; Krahe, Scheinberger-Olwig, and Kolpin 2000; Sionean et al. 2002).[2]

Young women who subscribe to dominant mores about female desire often become so conflicted about their own sexual desires that they begin to suppress them (e.g., ignore their desire or use alcohol to justify acting on desire) and, in some cases, cease to recognize that they possess them at all (Tolman 2002). This suppression of desire does not necessarily inhibit young women from engaging in sexual activity; rather, one consequence is that it may lead them to shift their motivation for sexual activity away from pursuing their own pleasure and toward pleasing a male partner (Holland et al. 1998; Tolman 2002). In other words, young women who believe that men, but not women, should possess sexual desire may be at risk of acquiescing to their male partners' requests for sexual activity.

This hypothesized relationship between female sexual desire and sexual acquiescence should be especially evident among college students, compared to adolescents, for two main reasons. First, college students should be familiar with discourse that minimizes female sexual

[2] Consenting to unwanted sexual activity is not inherently problematic, as it can be a healthy component of a committed relationship in which partners share an implicit contract to remain sexually available to one another (see Impett and Peplau 2003; O'Sullivan and Allgeier 1998; Vannier and O'Sullivan 2010, but for an exception see Katz and Tirone 2009). The problems discussed above are relevant to more casual partnerships, such as hooking up and dating, which are the focus of this study.

desire, as it has been promulgated to them since adolescence by education systems (Fields 2008; Fine and McClelland 2006; Holland et al. 1998), parents (Holland et al. 1998; Schalet 2010; 2011), and popular media (Carpenter 1998; Durham 1996; 1998; Garner, Sterk, and Adams 1998; Hust, Brown, and L'Engle 2008; Kim et al. 2007; Kim and Ward 2004; Krassas, Blauwkamp, and Wesselink 2001). Second, compared to adolescents, college students represent a unique group of "emerging adults" (Arnett 2000) who find themselves in a social setting that places them in close proximity to a large pool of prospective sexual partners while allotting them newly acquired freedom to explore their gender and sexuality – particularly in the context of the college hookup (see Allison and Risman 2014; Bogle 2008; Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Kimmel 2008; Wilkins 2008).

In this study, I use data from the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS) to explore the relationship between college students' sexual subjectivity (i.e., self-entitlement to pleasure and the pursuit of sexual activity) and sexual acquiescence on hookups (i.e., casual, and often spontaneous, sexual encounters with no expectation of commitment between partners) and dates (i.e., pre-arranged outings with the potential for sexual encounters between partners). I include both females and males in my sample because, despite the fact that several scholars have noted that dominant sexual norms take male sexual subjectivity for granted, the extant research on this topic tends to duplicate this oversight by failing to include males in its samples. I expect findings from this analysis to inform debates about the benefits of transforming sex education, which focuses on physical aspects of sexual health, into sexuality education that supplements sexual health information with that on social aspects of sexuality (i.e., pleasure, power, and inequality) (Allen 2008; Fields 2008; Peterson 2010; Spencer, Maxwell, and Aggleton 2008).

Gender and the Discourse of Desire

Foucault (1980) argues that language is a necessary vehicle through which power is exercised. He specifically claims "relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse" (Foucault 1980:93). In *The History of Sexuality* Foucault (1978) applies his notion of discourse, as a mechanism of power, to the control of sexual behavior. He argues that discourse can control sexuality by either explicitly proscribing sexual behavior or, for those expressions of sexuality that are virtually unspeakable, employing a "logic of censorship." According to this tenet, some forms of sexuality are so taboo that they are completely absent from the dominant discourse – even that language which might be utilized to prohibit it. As he explains:

> One must not talk about what is forbidden until it is annulled in reality; what is inexistent has no right to show itself, even in the order of speech where its inexistence [sic] is declared; and that which one must keep silent about is banished from reality as the thing that is tabooed above all else. (P. 84)

Groundbreaking research in the 1980s indicated that, at least at the time, female sexual desire was so taboo that logic of censorship could preclude its very mention. In her study of sex education in New York City public schools, Fine (1988) noted the circulation of three main discourses of sexuality: sexuality as violence, sexuality as victimization, and sexuality as individual morality. Respectively, these discourses portrayed sex as something that is dangerous to one's health, is especially detrimental to young women, and should be avoided by all morally upstanding women until marriage. Most importantly, in her observations, Fine identified a fourth discourse – a discourse of desire – that was present in discussions of young men's sexuality, but

noticeably absent in discussions of young women's sexuality. Taken as a whole, these discourses promulgated the idea that sexual desire, pleasure, and agency are appropriate for males, but not females and, thus, that sex is something that males try to obtain from females, who should reject such advances to prevent experiencing negative consequences.

It is important to note that discursive constructions of female desire vary by sexual orientation, race, and class. First, dominant mores about desire juxtapose males and females against one another (i.e., males are assumed to have strong sexual desires that they try to fulfill through their less desiring female partners). Thus, scholars have criticized this discourse as being inherently heteronormative (for example, see Striepe and Tolman 2003; Tolman 2006). Additionally, the discourse of desire is most commonly missing in proscriptions of sexual behavior of relatively advantaged white women, whereas young women of color or of limited economic means are often denigrated as hypersexualized (Elliot 2012). That is, with the exception of Asian women, who are viewed as being extremely sexually submissive (if highly sexually attractive) (Espiritu 2007), stereotypes about black and Hispanic women tend to portray them as "hyper-sexual" with uncontrollable sexual desire or as "welfare queens" who have children for the purpose of seeking public assistance (Collins 2005; Davis 1981; D'Emilio and Freedman 1997; Espin 1984; hooks 1981).

These stereotypes reflect the way that the dominant culture views various women's sexuality, not the actual sexual beliefs or practices of women. Just as white women are not necessarily sexually passive (Allen 2003; Phillips 2000; Tolman 2002), women of color are not necessarily sexually agentic (Carpenter 2005; Garcia 2009). Importantly, regardless of whether the discourse of desire is pronounced or absent for specific groups of women, desire is not acceptable for young women (or at minimum, it is less acceptable than it is for young men). That

is, particular groups of women are either thought to possess no desire or they are denigrated for presumably possessing high levels of it.

Since Fine's initial investigation, research has revealed the promulgation of these dominant discourses through education systems (Fields 2008; Fine and McClelland 2006; Holland et al. 1998) as well as by parents (Holland et al. 1998; Schalet 2010; 2011) and through popular media (Carpenter 1998; Durham 1996; 1998; Garner, Sterk, and Adams 1998; Hust, Brown, and L'Engle 2008; Kim et al. 2007; Kim and Ward 2004; Krassas, Blauwkamp, and Wesselink 2001). However, claims about the missing nature of the discourse of female sexual desire have recently been complicated by an emerging popular discourse of the "sexualization of girls" (at least for white, privileged females).

Transmitted through a wide range of sources (e.g., news stories, opinion editorials, popular texts, parenting manuals, policy papers, and think tanks) the logic conveyed through this discourse admonishes that, for girls, consuming sexualized materials (e.g., sexualized media and fashion) produces sexualized actions (e.g., promiscuity, sexual victimization, and/or pathology) (Egan 2013). This discourse critically highlights the "commodification" of female desire, but also draws moral boundaries around what is "acceptable and unacceptable desire and practice" (Renold and Ringrose 2011: 390). For example, in *The Lolita Effect*, Durham (2008) warns readers of a new American cultural norm where "girls are becoming involved in a sphere of fashion, images, and activities that encourage them to flirt with a decidedly grown-up eroticism and sexuality" (p. 21) and laments that the "flip side" of progressive ideas about young women's sexual desire and agency is that "female sexuality in our world is often exploitative, abusive, and harmful" (p. 22).

The proliferation of the sexualization discourse has inspired intense scholarly debates about specific conceptualizations of sexualization as well as its implications for the sexual empowerment of young women (see American Psychological Association 2007; Egan and Hawkes 2008; Gavey 2012; Lamb and Peterson 2012; Lerum and Dworkin 2009; Tolman 2012). However, regardless of the specific details or outcomes of such academic dialogue, the mere existence of a popular discourse on the sexualization of girls suggests that the discourse of desire is "no longer missing"; rather, "a caricature of desire itself is now displayed loudly, as it remains simultaneously silent" (Fine and McClelland 2006: 300). In other words, and invoking Foucault (1978), female sexual desire is no longer "unspeakable" or suppressed by a 'logic of censorship"; however, it is discursively proscribed as inappropriate.

This intolerance for female sexual desire can create turmoil for young women. As Lamb (2001) explains, "girls want to be desiring individuals, they have desires, but to own these desires, to make them their own, makes them feel slutty or unnatural or unfeminine. It makes them bad girls" (Lamb 2001:66). That is, when sexual mores permit males to be sexual subjects/agents while proscribing females to be passive sexual objects, young women may either begin to feel guilty for feeling sexual desires or may learn to suppress these desires altogether (Lamb 2001; Tolman 2002). In fact, findings from one focus group study suggest that a concern about one's reputation (for engaging in "too much" sexual activity) can inhibit women's sexual arousal (Graham et al. 2004).

The suppression of one's own desires could result in negative sexual outcomes for young women. In particular, those who do not view their own sexual desire as adequate reason to engage in sexual activity may also fail to interpret their lack of desire in a given scenario as reason to refuse sexual activity. As Tolman (2002) explains:

> *Not* feeling sexual desire may put girls in danger and "at risk." When a girl does not know what her own feelings are, when she disconnects the apprehending psychic part of herself from what is happening in her own body, she then becomes especially vulnerable to the power of others' feelings as well as to what others say she does and does not want or feel. (P. 21 [emphasis in original])

In this case, denying one's own desires may shift young women's justification for sexual activity away from exploring their own desires and toward fulfilling those of a male partner – or they may be more vulnerable to being told "what they want." As a result, it may be reasonably hypothesized that young women who acknowledge their personal sexual desire and feel entitled to sexual pleasure will be at decreased risk of engaging in sexual acquiescence, or consenting to sex that they do not want or desire, with their male partners.

Gender, Desire, and Sexual Acquiescence

As some scholars have noted, the problem with heteronormative constructions of sexual desire is that they leave no room for ambivalence about sexual intentions. They assume that "girls are supposed to be unambivalent about their [lack of] desire and boys are assumed to always unambivalently want and desire sex" (Lamb and Peterson 2012:709). This rhetoric proscribes females, who are ostensibly absent of sexual desire, to reject the sexual advances of males, who are ostensibly driven by desire. It ignores the possibility that both young women and men may consent to sex that they do not want or desire and, in effect, it assumes that all consensual sex is wanted sex. In reality, consensual sex and wanted sex are not necessarily synonymous, as "to *want* something is to desire it, to wish for it, to feel inclined toward it, or to regard it or aspects of it as positively valenced; in contrast, to *consent* is to be willing or to agree to do something" (Peterson and Muehlenhard 2007:73 [emphasis in original]).

Demonstrating the distinction between consensual sex and wanted sex, research indicates that both young women and men consent, or acquiesce, to sexual activity that they do not desire. Prevalence rates for such sexual acquiescence range from 10% to 50% with one's current partner and are approximately 90% across one's lifetime (Kaestle 2009; Katz and Tirone 2009; Muehlenhard 2011; Muehlenhard and Cook 1988; Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh 1988; Muehlenhard and Rodgers 1998; O'Sullivan and Allgeier 1994; 1998; Shotland and Hunter 1995; Sprecher et al. 1994; Vannier and O'Sullivan 2010).[3] Importantly, those studies that employ mixed-sex samples (instead of studying females exclusively) indicate that sexual acquiescence is more common among young women than young men (Kaestle 2009; O'Sullivan and Allgeier 1998; Sprecher at al. 1994; for a counterexample see Muehlenhard and Cook 1988).[4]

In a culture that deems female sexual desire less acceptable than male sexual desire, young women and men have distinct reasons to engage (or not engage) in sexual acquiescence. Specifically, young women who adhere to dominant mores that minimize female desire may elevate their male partners' sexual desires over their own wishes. For example, from their interviews with college women, Bay-Cheng and Eliseo-Arras (2008) find that gender norms lay the foundation for young women's sexual acquiescence to male partners (e.g., young women assume acquiescence is what a good girlfriend does for her boyfriend) as well as influence negotiations about sexual activity "in the moment" (e.g., young men verbally convince young

[3] Most of these studies report rates of willing engagement in sexual activity, nebulously defined. As a result, these prevalence rates are inclusive of a wide range of sexual activities, including hugging, kissing, petting/fondling, manual genital stimulation, oral sex, anal sex, or coitus.
[4] Muehlenhard and Cook (1988) find that, when including kissing in the analysis, women consent to unwanted sexual activity more often than men. However, when limiting the analysis to sexual intercourse, men consent to unwanted sexual activity more often than women.

women to engage in unwanted activity – and both partners ignore young women's absence of desire or presence of adverse physical feelings surrounding unwanted sexual activity). In light of this, these authors conclude that gender norms leave young women feeling "obligated to satisfy their male partners' sexual wishes and being convinced to consent to sex regardless of their own embodied interests" (p. 394).

In fact, when young women engage in sexual acquiescence they typically do so under the presumption (correct or incorrect) that their partners desire the (unwanted) sexual activity (Impett and Peplau 2002; Impett and Peplau 2003). That is, they often elevate their male partners' desires over their own desire (or lack thereof). As O'Sullivan and Allgeier (1998) explain:

> Consensual participation in unwanted sexual activity refers to situations in which a person freely consents to sexual activity with a partner without experiencing a concomitant desire for the initiated sexual activity. . . . Participation by both partners in the sexual activity is consensual, but unwanted or undesired for at least one partner." (p. 234)

Thus, for young women, the proclivity to engage in sexual acquiescence may very well be rooted in discourse that prioritizes male desire and pleasure over female desire and pleasure. As Holland et al. (1998) argue, "unless women actively resist the norms of femininity, they are caught in conventions of female acquiescence in a male activity: the point of sexual encounters is meeting men's needs and desires" (p. 7).

For young men, however, prioritization of one's own desire and pleasure (in relation to a female partner's desire and pleasure) should not be associated with one's proclivity to engage in sexual acquiescence. This is because dominant sexual norms that minimize female desire while

taking male desire for granted both provide young men license to pursue sexual activity that they want and give them reason to consent to unwanted sexual activity. Concerning the former, males who elevate their sexual desire over that of their female partners can rely on these mores to allow them to openly pursue their personal desires. Concerning the latter, young men who do not prioritize their sexual desire and pleasure over that of their female partners may engage in unwanted sexual activity as a means to adhere to a discourse that portrays them as sexual agents.

Research indicates that young men often conflate their masculinity with heterosexual prowess and feel pressure to behave in sexually aggressive ways to prove their masculinity to other males (Holland et al. 1998; 2000; Hust et al. 2014; Kimmel 2005; Pascoe 2007; Tolman et al. 2003). In fact, young men initiate more sexual activity than young women initiate, despite the fact that they do not always prefer to do so (O'Sullivan and Byers 1992; Vannier and O'Sullivan 2011; Vannier and O'Sullivan 2010). To illustrate, from their interviews with a sample of college men, Dworkin and O'Sullivan (2005) find that, although a sizeable number of young men desire egalitarian patterns of sexual initiation (in which they share initiation with their female partners), most engage in male-dominated patterns of initiation. Furthermore, those who engage in male-initiated sex, but desire more egalitarian initiation patterns, often rely on claims of essential gender differences, such as "I'm the man" or "She's a girl," to explain their initiation pattern. This gendered script that casts males as sexual initiators is so powerful that findings from one study suggest that young men initiate sexual activity on occasions when they do not desire the very activity they are initiating (Vannier and O'Sullivan 2010).

Thus, it may be hypothesized that sexual subjectivity (i.e., entitlement to and pursuit of sexual pleasure) is unrelated to sexual acquiescence (i.e., consenting to unwanted sexual activity) among men, but is associated with decreased likelihood of sexual acquiescence among women.

These proposed patterns, however, should vary by context. That is, if privileging male sexual subjectivity over female sexual subjectivity is associated with females' increased likelihood of engaging in sexual acquiescence, this association should be more pronounced in contexts that are characterized by greater levels of male privilege. One way to explore this proposition is to examine patterns of sexual acquiescence in two contexts with differing levels of male privilege: hookups and dates.

Two Contexts: College Hookups and Dates

Although General Social Survey data indicate that hookups have existed on college campuses for decades (Monto and Carey 2014), it was not until the turn of the new millennium that hooking up (i.e., casual, and often spontaneous, sexual encounters with no expectation of commitment between partners) surpassed dating (i.e., pre-arranged outings with the potential for sexual encounters between partners) as the primary means for college students to form romantic relationships (England and Thomas 2006; Kalish and Kimmel 2011). In fact, results from one study utilizing a random mixed-sex sample reveal that 78% of college students report some experience with hooking up (Paul, McManus, and Hayes 2000). As a result, hooking up can be conceptualized as a contemporary, normative pathway for college students to form relationships, just as courtship and dating provided pathways to relationships in past eras (Bogle 2008; England and Thomas 2006; Glenn and Marquardt 2001; Kimmel 2008).[5]

[5] However, while hooking up is common on college campuses, it is most popular among privileged college students: those who are white and/or possess higher socio-economic status (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Bogle 2008; Brimeyer and Smith 2012; Glenn and Marquardt 2001; Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Kimmel 2008, Owen et al 2010). Hamilton and Armstrong (2009) theorize that hooking up provides a sexual outlet for privileged students (women, in their study) without encumbering them with a relationship that may threaten their self-development and career goals.

Hooking up is a normative practice for both young men and women, as some studies indicate the two sexes are equally likely to report engaging in this activity (Brimeyer and Smith 2012; Owen et al. 2010; Paul and Hayes 2002). This gender parity in the prevalence of hooking up, however, should not imply that hookups are characterized by gender equity. In fact, research indicates that hookups are often characterized by male privilege. That is, sexual activity on college hookups is frequently driven by male desire such that couples often engage in sexual activity that is wanted/desired by the male partner, but not necessarily by the female partner (Armstrong, England, and Fogarty 2012; Backstrom, Armstrong, and Puentes 2012; Flack et al. 2007; Wade and Heldman 2012). Additionally, although young men and young women both tend to report positive experiences with hooking up, women are more likely than men to report negative feelings (i.e., regret, dissatisfaction, depression) following a hookup (Fielder and Carey 2010; Lewis et al. 2012; Owen et al. 2010; Owen and Fincham 2011).

Thus, it is not necessarily surprising that young women are more likely than young men to report that they prefer dating to hooking up and that some women ultimately "opt out" of the hookup scene after their first couple years of college (Bradshaw et al. 2010; Gilmartin 2006; Wade and Heldman 2012). Specifically, although dating often places males in a privileged position over females (Bailey 1988; Coontz 1992), male privilege tends to be more pronounced on hookups than on dates (Bogle 2008; Kimmel 2008). As a result, it is reasonable to hypothesize that any negative relationship between young women's sexual subjectivity and their acquiescence to male partners should be more pronounced on college hookups than dates. That is, sexual subjectivity should offer women a greater level of protection in contexts that are characterized by greater levels of male privilege.

Purpose of Study and Statement of Hypotheses

In this investigation, I explore the relationship between sexual subjectivity and sexual acquiescence among college students on hookups and dates. For the purposes of this analysis, I conceptualize sexual subjectivity as one's "experience of [himself or] herself as a sexual being, who feels entitled to sexual pleasure and sexual safety, who makes active sexual choices, and who has an identity as a sexual being" (Tolman 2002:5-6). Additionally, I conceptualize sexual acquiescence as consensual participation in sexual activity that one does not want/desire. I specifically test the following hypotheses:

H1: Females, in comparison to males, will exhibit greater odds of exhibiting sexual acquiescence.

H2: The positive effect of being female on the odds of sexual acquiescence will be stronger in the context of hookups than dates.

H3: Females, compared to males, will exhibit lower odds of exhibiting sexual subjectivity.

H4: For females, exhibiting sexual subjectivity will be associated with decreased odds of sexual acquiescence.

H5: For females, the negative relationship between sexual subjectivity and sexual acquiescence will be stronger on hookups than dates.

H6: For males, exhibiting sexual subjectivity will not be significantly associated with odds of sexual acquiescence.

Method

To test these hypotheses I employ data from the OCSLS, which were collected between 2005 and 2011 at 22 colleges and universities across the United States. Recruitment for the

OCSLS took place in college courses, many of which were sociology classes. However, only about 8% of respondents were sociology majors. As part of the recruitment process, students were given the option of completing the survey or an alternate assignment for course credit; however, the majority of students elected to complete the survey, resulting in a 99-100% response rate in most classes (Armstrong, England, and Fogarty 2012). Administration of the OCSLS did not involve random sampling, which limits generalization of results. However, as other scholars have noted, the fact that this dataset was administered on a wide range of campuses and has a nearly 100% response rate ensures that it captured a large, diverse cross-section of the US college student population (Allison and Risman 2013; Armstrong et al. 2012).

The OCSLS dataset is well suited for exploring the hypotheses outlined in this study because the sample includes both college women and men and survey items include measures of college students' sexual attitudes as well as their personal experiences with both hooking up and dating. Of further importance, as a self-administered online survey, the OCSLS is likely to produce higher response rates to items requesting sensitive information than face-to-face surveys (Shroder, Carey, and Vanable 2003).

This analysis focuses strictly on those respondents who reported experience with both hooking up and dating during their college years. Restricting the analysis to individuals with both hookup and dating experience allows the comparison of outcomes (i.e., sexual acquiescence) across these two contexts while holding the sample constant – eliminating the possibility that any differences between predictor/outcome patterns on hookups and dates may be attributed to different hookup and dating samples. Thus, to be included in the sample respondents had to indicate that they had participated in at least one hookup and at least one date since starting college. When indicating whether they had experience with hooking up, the OCSLS

instructed respondents to "use whatever definition of a hook up you and your friends generally use. It doesn't have to include sex to count if you and your friends would call it a hookup."

OCSLS items pertinent to dating and hooking up focus on respondents' "most recent" hookup and date, respectively. Thus, the scope of this study is limited to respondents' most recent hookup and date. To be included in this analysis, respondents had to indicate that their most recent date involved some sexual activity, defined as "at least kissing." This is because the OCSLS did not present measures of sexual acquiescence (as well as other variables pertinent to dating) to respondents who indicated that their most recent date did not involve sexual activity. Limiting the sample to those respondents who reported some sexual activity on their most recent date makes hookup and dating contexts more comparable in this analysis, as sexual activity is a definitive feature of typical hookups for college students (Paul and Hayes 2002).

In order to capture a sample of traditional college students I limited the sample to those respondents who reported that they were undergraduates, under the age of 25, not married, and graduated high school in the United States. Additionally, to ensure that findings reflect dynamics on heterosexual hookups and dates I included respondents only if they identified as male or female (excluding the few respondents who either failed to provide this information or identified as transgender), identified as heterosexual, and reported that their most recent hookup and date were both with a partner of the other sex. Collectively, the aforementioned inclusion criteria yielded a working sample of 5,939.

Main Variables: Sexual Subjectivity and Sexual Acquiescence

In this analysis, sexual subjectivity is represented by two separate variables. The first sexual subjectivity variable measures the extent to which respondents prioritize their own sexual pleasure relative to their partners' pleasure. I constructed this variable from the following two

survey items: “I try to make sure that my partner has an orgasm when we have sex” and “I try to make sure that I have an orgasm when I have sex.” Responses to these items were recorded on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (“Strongly Agree”) to 4 (“Strongly Disagree). From these two items I created a “Personal Pleasure Prioritization” dummy variable to indicate the extent to which participants prioritize their own pleasure relative to their partners’ pleasure during sexual encounters. Specifically, I computed the difference between responses to the two aforementioned items and coded cases with a difference of one to three points in favor of partners’ pleasure as “0” and coded cases with either a difference of either zero points or a difference of one to three points in favor of respondents’ pleasure as “1.” Thus, analyses using this variable compare respondents who give equal or greater prioritization to their personal pleasure (relative to their partners’ pleasure) with those who prioritize their partners’ pleasure over their own.

It is important to note that orgasm only represents one aspect of sexual pleasure, as research indicates that women in particular report several sources of pleasure in their sexual encounters (see Nicolson and Burr 2003; Potts 2000). Thus, employing survey items that focus on orgasm poses a limit to the study’s conceptualization of pleasure itself. At the same time, comparing responses pertinent to oneself and one’s partner provides an important measure of relative pleasure prioritization (and orgasm is the only source of partner pleasure that the OCSLS included, making it the only form of pleasure for which a relative measure could be obtained).

The second measure of sexual subjectivity is a dummy variable indicating (1) whether respondents reported that they were the one who initiated most of the sexual activity on their most recent hookup/date (relative to the amount of sexual activity that their partners’ initiated). Responses were coded as “1” if the respondent was the one to initiate and “0” otherwise.

Measures of sexual acquiescence include two variables indicating whether respondents engaged in unwanted sexual activity in the context of their most recent hookup or date, respectively. For each of these contexts, I classified respondents as having engaged in sexual acquiescence if they reported that they performed oral or manual stimulation for their partner because they "did not want to have intercourse, but felt [they] should give them an orgasm."[6] These variables are coded in dummy form (0 = No; 1 = Yes).

Control Variables

In this analysis I control for several variables that are likely to influence relationships between the main variables outlined above. These include basic demographic variables, such as a dummy variable for sex (0 = male; 1 = female), measures of race, and a proxy for social class. Controlling for race and class are important because, as previously discussed, there are notable race and class patterns in discursive constructions of female sexual desire.

The OCSLS allowed respondents to select one or more of 14 categories to describe their race (i.e., respondents could report multi-racial identities). In the interest of parsimony, I collapsed these categories into White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Other Race. Since these categories are not mutually exclusive, I include them all in the analysis as separate dummy variables (0 = No; 1 = Yes) with no reference group. As a proxy for class I include a measure of mother's education, classified into the following ordinal categories: less than high school, high school graduate, some college, bachelor's degree, and graduate degree. Mother's education is a

[6] The OCSLS also includes a measure of acquiescence to partners' verbal coercion for sexual intercourse. However, the proportion of respondents in this sample who reported experiencing sexual coercion on their most recent hookup or date was small, creating problems with the statistical analyses (i.e., zero cell counts and, thus, large standard errors for several predictor variables). Analyses using this measure as an outcome variable are presented in Chapter 3, which utilizes a larger sample and, thus, does not present problems with zero cell counts.

widely accepted proxy for class status of young people, who may not be aware of their family's specific financial circumstances (see Entwisle and Astone 1994).

In addition to these demographic variables, I control for variables that may influence respondents' sexual attitudes and behaviors. Religiosity, or the importance of religion to an individual, is known to influence sexual attitudes and behaviors among young adults (Lefkowitz et al. 2004; Meier 2003; Rostosky, Regnerus, and Wright 2003).[7] Thus, I include an ordinal measure of one's religious service attendance (never, few times a year, one to three times a month, once a week, more than once a week). I also include a measure of respondents' year in school (1st year, 2nd year, 3rd year, 4th year, 5th year or beyond undergraduate) because studies indicate that, after the first year or two of college, young women tend place more emphasis on their own sexual desire and pleasure, as well as develop a more sophisticated understanding of hookup culture (Bogle 2008; Gilmartin 2006; Wade and Heldman 2012).[8] Finally, I control for respondents' total number of intercourse partners (none, one, two to three, four or more) and educational aspirations (less than bachelor's degree, bachelor's degree, graduate degree). I included the former to account for respondents' experience negotiating sexual activity with partners.[9] Accounting for the latter is important because privileged women with higher educational/career aspirations tend to assume a more recreational attitude toward sex and hooking up than their less privileged counterparts (Hamilton and Armstrong 2009).

[7] Measures of religiosity (e.g., frequency of religious service attendance, frequency of prayer, and religious group participation) are better predictors of young people's sexual behavior than religious affiliation (e.g., Christian, Jewish, Muslim, etc.). Of the aforementioned measures of religiosity, the OCSLS includes an item asking about frequency of religious service attendance.
[8] Preliminary analyses also controlled for respondent age. However, including this variable introduced an issue of multicollinearity (i.e., variance inflation factors for this variable and year in school were inflated). Thus, age was dropped from the final analyses reported in this study.
[9] A measure of previous encounters with the specific partner in question was available for hookups, but not dates. Thus, I use a more general measure of sexual experience.

Since sexual attitudes and behaviors can vary by geographical location (Laumann et al. 1994), I account for the geographical context in which respondents were socialized. Thus, I include a control for the geographical region in which respondents graduated high school. This is reported in format consistent with US Census divisions, as follows: South (AL, AR, DC, DE, GA, FL, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV), West (AK, AZ, CA, CO, HI, ID, MT, NM, NV, OR, UT, WA, WY), Midwest (IA, IL, IN, KS, MI, MN, MO, ND, NE, OH, SD, WI), and Northeast (CT, MA, ME, NH, NJ, NY, PA, VT, RI).[10]

To account for characteristics of campus life that may influence college students' sexual attitudes and activities, I include measures of whether respondents belong to a fraternity or sorority (0 = No; 1 = Yes), whether they are members of a varsity athletic team (0 = No; 1 = Yes) and whether they reside on campus (0 = No; 1 = Yes). Research indicates that membership in a fraternity/sorority and/or varsity athletic team is positively associated with sexual attitudes/activities that privilege male sexual desire over female sexual desire (Allison and Risman 2013; Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney 2006; Boswell and Spade 1996; Copenhaver and Grauerholz 1991). Additionally, residing on campus allots college students the requisite independence from family and spatial proximity to peers to participate in their campus hookup scene (Allison and Risman 2014).

Finally, I control for characteristics specific to respondents' most recent hookup and date. Since cultural representations of sexuality cast racial groups differently from one another (Collins 2005; Espiritu 2007), respondents' interactions with their partners may vary by their partners' race. Thus, I account for the race of one's most recent hookup partner and date

[10] Preliminary analyses also controlled for the college that respondents attend. However, including this variable introduced an issue of multicollinearity (i.e., variance inflation factors for this variable and state of high school graduation were inflated). Thus, college was dropped from the final analyses reported in this study.

(conceptualized in the same manner as respondent race, discussed above).[11] To account for respondents' ability to consent to sexual activity, I include measures of alcohol and drug use prior to or during the hookup or date in question. I represent drug use and alcohol use as separate dummy variables (0 = No; 1 = Yes). In addition to accounting for respondents' ability to consent, these controls are especially important in an analysis that compares sexual behavior on hookups and on dates because alcohol use is more common in the former context than the latter (Paul, McManus, and Hayes 2000; Bogle 2008; Fielder and Carey 2010; Lewis et al 2012).

Sample and Statistical Models

Respondents who were missing data on any of the aforementioned variables were excluded from analyses. This exclusion reduced the final sample size from 5,939 to 5,455.[12] In order to compare patterns of sexual acquiescence across contexts, I ran separate models for hookups and dates while keeping the sample (individuals who reported experience with both hookups and dates) and predictor variables consistent. Depending on the specific hypothesis being tested, some models use the entire sample and others use only females or males.

Results and Discussion

The final sample contained 66.31% females (n = 3,617) and 33.69% males (n = 1,838) (see Table 2.1 for descriptive statistics). Sexual acquiescence was more common on dates than on hookups, as 6.07% of respondents (n = 331) reported the former and 4.75% of respondents

[11] It is important to note that previous research indicates having an older partner (relative to one's own age) can be disempowering for young people, as it is associated with increased risk of unwanted sexual activity (Gowen et al. 2004; Marin et al. 2000). However, controlling for difference in age between partners was not feasible in this analysis, as the OCSLS does not include a measure of partner's age and, although it does include a measure of partner's year in school, nearly half of all respondents failed to provide this information for their hookup partners (as was the case for most variables measuring hookup partners' background).

[12] Thus, 8.15% of cases were omitted due to respondents missing data on one or more variables. Missing data for individual variables was relatively infrequent, with a maximum value of 3.17% of cases (Pleasure Priority).

Table 2.1. Descriptive Statistics for Individuals with College Hookup and Dating Experience, OCSLS, N = 5,455

	Percentages for Total Sample (N = 5,455)	Percentages for Females (n = 3,617)	Percentages for Males (n = 1,838)
Main Variables			
Personal Pleasure Prioritization (1=Yes; 0=No)	71.68	66.60	81.66
Initiate Sexual Activity on Hookup (1=Respondent; 0=Other)	20.11	10.56	38.90
Initiate Sexual Activity on Date (1=Respondent; 0=Other)	24.03	12.14	47.44
Sexual Acquiescence – Hookups (1=Yes; 0=No)	4.75	5.70	2.88
Sexual Acquiescence – Dates (1=Yes; 0=No)	6.07	6.94	4.35
General Control Variables			
Sex (1=Female; 0=Male)	66.31	1.00	0.00
Race (Not Mutually Exclusive)			
White	78.33	78.52	77.97
Black	5.44	5.06	6.20
Hispanic	12.37	12.86	11.43
Asian	11.62	11.20	12.46
Other Race	7.13	7.49	6.42
High School Geography			
Midwest	18.72	19.66	16.87
Northeast	27.77	26.68	29.92
South	7.52	7.30	7.94
West	45.99	46.36	45.27
Mother's Education			
Less than High School	5.04	5.20	4.73
High School Graduate	16.33	17.00	15.02
Some College	25.19	25.49	24.59
Bachelor's Degree	31.38	31.43	31.28
Graduate Degree	22.05	20.87	24.37
Year in School			
1st Year	27.06	27.01	27.15
2nd Year	24.69	24.14	25.79
3rd Year	23.15	23.64	22.20
4th Year	20.40	21.43	18.39

5th Year or Beyond Undergraduate	4.69	3.79	6.47
Educational Aspirations			
Less than Bachelor's Degree	2.40	2.18	2.83
Bachelor's Degree	29.15	27.59	32.21
Graduate Degree	68.45	70.22	64.96
On-Campus Residence (1=Yes; 0=No)	47.06	47.50	46.19
Fraternity/Sorority (1=Yes; 0=No)	18.72	17.39	21.33
Varsity Athlete (1=Yes; 0=No)	9.17	6.69	14.04
Religious Service Attendance			
Never	34.70	34.78	34.55
Few Times a Year	46.86	46.03	48.48
One to Three Times a Month	11.81	12.25	10.94
Once a Week	5.55	5.64	5.39
More than Once a Week	1.08	1.30	.65
Number of Intercourse Partners			
None	10.71	11.86	8.43
One	12.08	13.02	10.23
Two to Three	24.29	24.27	24.32
Four or More	52.92	50.84	57.02
Hookup Control Variables			
Drinks Prior to or During Hookup (1=Yes; 0=No)	65.22	65.63	64.47
Drugs Prior to Hookup (1=Yes; 0=No)	19.32	15.84	26.17
Hookup Partner's Race (Not mutually exclusive)			
White	77.12	75.89	79.54
Black	7.46	9.21	4.03
Hispanic	11.84	12.39	10.77
Asian	8.34	6.52	11.92
Other Race	3.21	3.54	2.56
Date Control Variables			
Drinks Prior to or During Date (1=Yes; 0=No)	50.47	49.60	52.18
Drugs Prior to Date (1=Yes; 0=No)	17.75	14.79	23.56
Date Partner's Race (Not mutually exclusive)			
White	77.60	76.47	79.82
Black	7.72	9.46	4.30

Hispanic	12.61	13.16	11.53
Asian	8.80	6.91	12.51
Other Race	4.62	5.25	3.37

reported the latter (n = 259). A Chi-squared goodness of fit test indicated that this difference is statistically significant, X^2 (1, N = 5,455) = 44.284, p < .001. As summarized in Table 2.2, binary logistic regression analyses indicated that females exhibited significantly higher odds than males of reporting that they engaged in sexual acquiescence on their most recent hookup as well as on their most recent date. Converting the pertinent logit coefficients into odds ratios indicates that, net of all controls, the odds of females engaging in sexual acquiescence were 1.714 [exp(.539)] times greater than the odds of males engaging in sexual acquiescence on hookups and 1.500 [exp(.406)] times greater than the odds of males engaging in sexual acquiescence on dates. Thus, Hypothesis 1, which states that females will exhibit greater odds than males of engaging in sexual acquiescence, was supported.

Including the same independent variables in models predicting hookup and date outcomes permits comparison of the magnitude of coefficients across outcomes. As reported above, the odds ratio for females (compared to males) engaging in sexual acquiescence were higher for hookups than dates. This indicates that the greater tendency for females, compared to males, to engage in sexual acquiescence was more pronounced in the context of hookups than dates. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was supported.

Sex and Sexual Subjectivity

In this study two separate measures represented sexual subjectivity: personal pleasure prioritization and initiation of sexual activity on one's most recent date/hookup. On the measure of pleasure prioritization, most respondents (71.68%, n = 3,910) indicated that they typically prioritize their personal pleasure to an equal or greater extent than their partners' pleasure during sexual activity. Alternatively, 28.32% (n = 1,545) of respondents indicated that they prioritize

Table 2.2. Estimates from Binary Logistic Regression Models Predicting Sexual Acquiescence on Hookups and Dates, OCSLS, *N* = 5,455

	Sexual Acquiescence on Hookups		Sexual Acquiescence on Dates	
	Logit	*SE*	Logit	*SE*
Female (1=Yes; 0=No)	.539**	.171	.406**	.149
Personal Pleasure Prioritization (1=Yes; 0=No)	-.426**	.138	-.270*	.126
Initiate Sexual Activity on Hookup or Date (1=Respondent; 0=Other)	-.222	.198	-.057	.157
Hookup/Date Variables				
Drinks Prior to or During Hookup or Date (1=Yes; 0=No)	.291*	.147	.600***	.123
Drugs Prior to or During Hookup or Date (1=Yes; 0 = No)	.161	.169	.222	.148
Partner's Race (No excluded group; Not mutually exclusive)				
White	.014	.238	.138	.209
Black	-.202	.336	.042	.270
Hispanic	.441+	.235	.220	.204
Asian	-.013	.284	-.053	.253
Other	.093	.367	-.068	.288
General Control Variables				
Race (No excluded group; Not mutually exclusive)				
White	.271	.235	-.451*	.207
Black	-.235	.409	.167	.293
Hispanic	.137	.237	-.112	.212
Asian	.606**	.231	-.006	.227
Other	-.183	.279	.146	.213
High School Geography (Midwest is excluded group)				
Northeast	-.365+	.211	.023	.186
South	.072	.268	.454+	.233
West	-.054	.180	.076	.168
Mother's Education (Less than high school is excluded group)				
High School Graduate	-.423	.358	-.215	.282
Some College	.048	.328	-.129	.267
Bachelor's Degree	.030	.326	-.451+	.272

Graduate Degree	.178	.338	-.215	.282
Year in School (First year is excluded group)				
2nd Year	-.479*	.197	-.491**	.169
3rd Year	-.099	.199	-.441*	.181
4th Year	-.062	.213	-.370+	.190
5th Year or Beyond Undergraduate	.083	.359	-.885*	.394
Educational Aspirations (Less than bachelor's is excluded group)				
Bachelor's Degree	-.153	.447	-.526	.330
Graduate Degree	.023	.434	-.525+	.319
On-Campus Residence (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.188	.168	.018	.150
Fraternity/Sorority (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.100	.168	.215	.149
Varsity Athlete (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	-.127	.257	-.542*	.260
Religious Service Attendance (Never is excluded group)				
Few Times a Year	-.299*	.150	.088	.138
One to Three Times a Month	-.123	.213	.136	.195
Once a Week	.017	.276	.550*	.229
More than Once a Week	1.005*	.417	.510	.456
Number of Intercourse Partners (None is excluded group)				
One	-.245	.224	-.063	.204
Two to Three	-.567**	.206	-.479*	.188
Four or More	-.879***	.197	-.731***	.178
Intercept	-2.788***	.670	-1.670**	.540
-2 Log Likelihood	1965.762		2366.997	
X^2	118.338***		129.503***	

Note: $+p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$ (two-tailed tests). Hookup/Date variables pertain to either hookups or dates, depending on the outcome in each model.

their partners' pleasure over their own pleasure. Multivariate analysis revealed a gendered pattern in respondents' reports of pleasure prioritization.

Logistic regression analysis revealed that being female was a negative, statistically significant, predictor of pleasure prioritization (see Table 2.3). Converting the logit coefficient for female into an odds ratio indicated that, net of all controls, the odds of females reporting that they prioritize their pleasure to an equal or greater extent than that of their partners were .437 [exp(-.828)] times the odds of males reporting that they prioritize their pleasure to an equal or greater extent than that of their partners.

Relatively small proportions of respondents indicated that they were the one who initiated most of the sexual activity on their most recent hookup (20.11%, n = 1,097) or their most recent date (24.03%, n = 1,311). Females, compared to males, exhibited significantly lower odds of reporting that they initiated most of the sexual activity on their most recent hookup or date (see Table 2.3). Net of all controls, the odds of females reporting that they initiated most of the sexual activity on their most recent hookup were .187 [exp(-.1.675)] times the odds of males reporting that they initiated most of the sexual activity on their most recent hookup. Additionally, the odds of females reporting that they initiated most of the sexual activity on their most recent date were .152 [exp(-1.886)] times the odds of males reporting that they initiated most of the sexual activity on their most recent date. Importantly, controlling for specific sexual activities (i.e., intercourse, performing oral sex, receiving oral sex) that occurred on the hookup or date in question did not substantively change these findings (thus, for parsimony, I report only the models that do not include these controls).

Results from these analyses indicate that, compared to males, females exhibit lower odds of prioritizing their personal sexual pleasure (relative to their partner's pleasure) and initiating

Table 2.3. Estimates from Binary Logistic Regression Models Predicting Pleasure Prioritization and Initiation of Sexual Activity on Hookups and Dates, OCSLS, *N* = 5,455

	Personal Pleasure Prioritization		Initiate Sexual Activity on Hookup		Initiate Sexual Activity on Date	
	Logit	*SE*	Logit	*SE*	Logit	*SE*
Female (1=Yes; 0=No)	-.828***	.072	-1.675***	.076	-1.886***	.072
Hookup/Date Variables						
Drinks Prior to or During Hookup or Date (1=Yes; 0=No)			-.179*	.078	.046	.072
Drugs Prior to or During Hookup or Date (1=Yes; 0=No)			.205*	.088	.033	.089
Partner's Race (No excluded group; Not mutually exclusive)						
White			.016	.135	-.176	.130
Black			-.151	.190	-.246	.179
Hispanic			-.041	.144	.031	.131
Asian			.179	.153	-.053	.147
Other			.201	.209	-.259	.188
General Control Variables						
Race (No excluded group; Not mutually exclusive)						
White	-.164	.111	-.318*	.136	.047	.131
Black	.274+	.164	-.392*	.200	-.124	.189
Hispanic	-.163	.113	.306*	.134	.194	.131
Asian	-.384**	.118	-.241	.152	.121	.144
Other	-.133	.120	-.337*	.155	-.187	.146
High School Geography (Midwest is excluded group)						
Northeast	.074	.097	-.060	.116	-.213+	.109
South	.051	.137	.280+	.154	-.178	.153
West	-.142	.088	.097	.105	-.028	.099
Mother's Education (Less than high school is excluded group)						
High School Graduate	-.134	.166	.207	.195	.059	.189
Some College	-.018	.161	.230	.189	.101	.183
Bachelor's Degree	.011	.161	.168	.189	.164	.183
Graduate Degree	-.192	.166	.173	.195	.072	.189
Year in School (First year is excluded group)						

2nd Year	.005	.092	.079	.109	.035	.104
3rd Year	-.074	.099	.179	.117	.221*	.112
4th Year	-.024	.105	.229+	.124	.305**	.118
5th Year or Beyond Undergraduate	.055	.171	.329+	.182	.508**	.175
Educational Aspirations (Less than bachelor's is excluded group)						
Bachelor's Degree	-.072	.214	-.169	.231	-.262	.220
Graduate Degree	-.096	.209	-.167	.226	-.279	.215
On-Campus Residence (1=Yes; 0=No)	-.067	.079	.090	.092	.154+	.089
Fraternity/Sorority (1=Yes; 0=No)	.041	.084	.028	.097	-.076	.093
Varsity Athlete (1=Yes; 0=No)	.136	.115	-.192	.125	-.001	.116
Religious Service Attendance (Never is excluded group)						
Few Times a Year	.159*	.069	-.112	.081	-.074	.078
One to Three Times a Month	.184+	.107	-.109	.127	.056	.119
Once a Week	.214	.149	-.312+	.179	-.291+	.171
More than Once a Week	.739*	.360	-.173	.399	.154	.361
Number of Intercourse Partners (None is excluded group)						
One	-1.049***	.147	-.098	.169	.321*	.157
Two to Three	-.995***	.135	.222	.144	.343*	.139
Four or More	-.995***	.129	.287*	.136	.361**	.132
Intercept	2.733***	.313	-.474	.363	-.252	.345
-2 Log Likelihood	6225.376		4817.078		5164.632	
X^2	276.724***		658.922***		851.768***	

Note: $+p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$ (two-tailed tests). Hookup/Date variables pertain to either hookups or dates, depending on the outcome in each model.

sexual behavior on hookups and dates. Thus, Hypothesis 3, which states that females will have lower odds than males of exhibiting sexual subjectivity, was fully supported.

Sexual Subjectivity and Sexual Acquiescence

As previously discussed, I hypothesized that the relationships between measures of sexual subjectivity and measures of sexual acquiescence would be different for females and males. Thus, to test these hypotheses, I ran separate analyses on female (n = 3,617) and male (n = 1,838) subsamples. Results of binary logistic regression analyses are reported in Table 2.4.

Female Subsample. For the female subsample, personal pleasure prioritization was a significant predictor of sexual acquiescence on both hookups and dates whereas initiation of sexual activity was not a significant predictor of sexual acquiescence in either context. Specific to hookups, net of controls, the odds of females who prioritize their pleasure to an equal or greater extent than their partners' pleasure engaging in sexual acquiescence were .631 [exp(-.460)] times the odds for females who prioritize their partner's sexual pleasure over their own. In the context of dates, net of controls, the odds of females who prioritize their pleasure to an equal or greater extent than their partners' pleasure engaging in sexual acquiescence were .719 [exp(-.330] times the odds for females who prioritize their partner's sexual pleasure over their own.

As a whole, the findings from the female subsample indicate that emphasizing personal pleasure in sexual encounters is associated with decreased odds of sexual acquiescence on both hookups and dates. However, initiating most of the sexual activity on hookups and dates is not significantly related to the odds of sexual acquiescence. Thus, Hypothesis 4, which states that measures of sexual subjectivity will be associated with decreased odds of sexual acquiescence for females was only partially supported.

Table 2.4. Estimates from Binary Logistic Regression Models Predicting Sexual Acquiescence for Females and Males, OCSLS, *N* = 5,455

	Sexual Acquiescence on Hookups				Sexual Acquiescence on Dates			
	Females (*n* =3,617)		Males (*n* = 1,838)		Females (*n* = 3,617)		Males (*n* = 1,183)	
	Logit	*SE*	Logit	*SE*	Logit	*SE*	Logit	*SE*
Personal Pleasure Prioritization (1=Yes; 0=No)	-.460**	.152	-.053	.367	-.330*	.141	.070	.308
Initiate Sexual Activity on Hookup or Date (1=Respondent; 0=Other)	-.458	.288	-.073	.305	-.070	.214	-.153	.243
Hookup/Date Variables								
Drinks Prior to or During Hookup or Date (1=Yes; 0=No)	.399*	.170	-.097	.318	.673***	.142	.395	.253
Drugs Prior to or During Hookup or Date (1=Yes; 0=No)	.089	.202	.414	.327	.166	.181	.472+	.268
Partner's Race (No excluded group; Not mutually exclusive)								
White	-.330	.287	.546	.466	-.008	.244	.572	.438
Black	-.581	.403	1.114	.677	-.041	.305	.531	.649
Hispanic	.214	.285	.566	.473	.264	.233	-.002	.445
Asian	-.165	.355	-.119	.508	.005	.305	-.309	.489
Other	-.326	.452	1.305+	.704	.091	.307	-1.229	1.063
General Control Variables								
Race (No excluded group; Not mutually exclusive)								
White	.474+	.278	-.316	.489	-.299	.246	-.853*	.404
Black	-.577	.552	-.158	.713	.262	.341	-.111	.614
Hispanic	.154	.271	.365	.523	-.384	.264	.654+	.386
Asian	.482+	.273	1.018*	.493	-.038	.267	.163	.464
Other	-.052	.303	-.781	.815	.087	.247	.452	.447
High School Geography (Midwest is excluded group)								
Northeast	-.182	.235	-1.053*	.521	.093	.205	-.061	.465
South	.136	.305	-.186	.588	.132	.285	1.403**	.468
West	.001	.205	-.211	.398	-.019	.189	.570	.396
Mother's Education (Less than high school is excluded group)								
High School Graduate	-.634	.401	.516	.882	-.238	.344	-.296	.511
Some College	-.147	.364	.978	.846	-.098	.326	-.405	.489
Bachelor's Degree	.007	.359	.196	.865	-.391	.331	-.833	.510
Graduate Degree	.053	.375	1.025	.863	-.063	.340	-.663	.531
Year in School (First year is excluded group)								
2nd Year	-.447*	.225	-.523	.424	-.441*	.193	-.571	.352

3rd Year	-.034	.226	-.227	.436	-.433*	.211	-.341	.363
4th Year	.029	.240	-.388	.509	-.401+	.222	-.254	.383
5th Year or Beyond Undergraduate	.019	.445	.272	.644	-.921+	.495	-.693	.671
Educational Aspirations (Less than bachelor's is excluded group)								
Bachelor's Degree	-.203	.547	.129	.811	-.391	.331	-1.200*	.527
Graduate Degree	.124	.531	-.027	.805	-.063	.340	-.988*	.502
On-Campus Residence (1=Yes; 0=No)	.199	.192	.310	.363	.076	.176	-.131	.300
Fraternity/Sorority (1=Yes; 0=No)	.057	.193	.319	.356	.188	.176	.280	.294
Varsity Athlete (1=Yes; 0=No)	-.766+	.398	.796*	.382	-.854*	.372	-.116	.390
Religious Service Attendance (Never is excluded group)								
Few Times a Year	-.335*	.169	-.124	.343	.154	.160	-.073	.280
One to Three Times a Month	-.228	.245	.216	.460	.189	.224	.112	.408
Once a Week	.106	.306	-.207	.679	.591*	.267	.432	.466
More than Once a Week	.850+	.480	1.781+	.913	.548	.503	.649	1.142
Number of Intercourse Partners (None is excluded group)								
One	-.258	.256	-.190	.480	-.142	.233	.232	.446
Two to Three	-.558*	.236	-.783+	.446	-.563**	.217	-.152	.405
Four or More	-.784***	.223	-1.431**	.444	-.691***	.201	-.943*	.399
Intercept	-2.122**	.777	-3.672**	1.337	-1.612*	.664	-1.557	.951
-2 Log Likelihood	1495.965		421.471		1739.450		581.813	
X^2	84.635***		58.879***		84.050***		76.157***	

Note: +$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests). Hookup/Date variables pertain to either hookups or dates, depending on the outcome in each model.

Importantly, these findings indicate that the association between measures of sexual subjectivity and sexual acquiescence varies by context (i.e., hookups or dates). The magnitude of the negative logit coefficient for personal pleasure prioritization was greater in the model predicting sexual acquiescence on hookups than in the model predicting sexual acquiescence on dates. This offers partial support for Hypothesis 5, which states that the negative relationship between females' measures of sexual subjectivity and sexual acquiescence will be more pronounced in the context of hookups than dates. This hypothesis is partially, rather than fully, supported based on the nonsignificant relationship between initiating sexual activity and odds of sexual acquiescence on hookups and dates.

Male Subsample. For the male subsample, no measures of sexual subjectivity were significant predictors of sexual acquiescence in the context of hookups or dates. Thus, Hypothesis 6, which states that measures of sexual subjectivity will not be associated with odds of sexual acquiescence for males, was supported.

Conclusion

Dominant sexual mores conveyed through the discourses of adolescent sexuality dictate that "good girls," who do not acknowledge themselves as sexual subjects, say "no" to sex. Results from this study indicate that these young women are more likely to say "yes" to unwanted sexual activity than the so-called bad girls who display sexual subjectivity. However, this was only the case for one measure of sexual subjectivity: personal pleasure prioritization. Reporting that one initiated most of the sexual activity on one's most recent hookup or date was not significantly associated with sexual acquiescence on the hookup or date in question.

As hypothesized, young women who prioritize their personal pleasure to an equal or greater extent than their partners' pleasure were less likely than those who prioritize their

partners' pleasure over their own to engage in sexual acquiescence on both hookups and dates. Additionally, this negative relationship between personal pleasure prioritization and sexual acquiescence was more pronounced on hookups than on dates. Thus, prioritizing personal sexual pleasure during sexual encounters appears to be a healthy aspect of young women's sexuality – limiting the risk of consenting to unwanted sexual activity. Importantly, this relationship seems to be more pronounced in contexts that are generally characterized by greater levels of male privilege (i.e., contexts, such as hookups, that privilege male desires over female desires).

The lack of a relationship between young women's initiation of sexual activity on hookups/dates and their likelihood of consenting to unwanted sexual activity was surprising. However, it is possible that initiation of sexual activity is not a consistent proxy for sexual subjectivity. That is, initiating sexual activity may, at times, be a form of pleasure-seeking behavior, but there are countless other reasons that young women might initiate sexual activity – including to please one's partner. Future research should distinguish between reasons that young women might initiate sexual activity with their male hookup and/or dating partners.

As expected, for males, measures of sexual subjectivity were not significant predictors of sexual acquiescence in the context of hookups or dates. As previously discussed, this is consistent with the dominant discourse of adolescent sexuality, which takes male sexual desire and pleasure for granted while minimizing female desire and pleasure. These discourses provide young men license to pursue sexual activity that is wanted as well as reason to consent to sexual activity that is unwanted. In the latter case, young men may engage in unwanted sexual activity in order to adhere to discourses that portray them as sexual agents and conflate males' sexual agency with masculinity.

It is important to note that generalization of findings from this study is limited in two main respects. First, the statistical analyses reported in this study do not imply causal relationships between predictors and outcomes. Thus, relationships between sexual subjectivity and sexual acquiescence are correlational. Second, generalization of findings is limited by sampling. Specifically, OCSLS data come from a nonrandom sample and, as a result, findings cannot be generalized to the larger population with certainty.

Of further importance, the sample was limited to college students who reported experience with both college hookups and dates. Although this was methodologically necessary to compare sexual acquiescence across contexts, it means that findings from the study only describe those individuals in the sample who have both hooked up and dated in college. Such individuals may not be representative of their counterparts who have experience with one, but not both, of these activities. Future research should determine whether this group is unique from college students who report experience exclusively with either hooking up or dating.

Despite these limitations, findings from this study identify an agentic group of young women who can successfully navigate through a hookup culture that is sometimes disempowering to females. These young women, who initiate sexual activity and prioritize their personal pleasure to an equal or greater extent than they prioritize their partner's pleasure, exhibit a decreased risk of engaging in unwanted sexual activity. Interestingly, dominant sexual norms often dismiss such young women as "bad girls" who invite sexual exploitation from their male partners. This analysis, however, indicates that these young women, who exhibit signs of sexual subjectivity, may be less likely to be exploited than the "good girls" who do not exhibit signs of sexual subjectivity. Thus, as a whole, findings from this analysis point to the importance of integrating discussions of sexual desire and pleasure into sex education programs (in ways that

do not deem them inappropriate for females). Following the recommendation of Fields (2008), it may be useful to transform "sex education" into "sexuality education" whereby the current focus on sexual health is supplemented with information on social aspects of sexuality and self-actualization. As she specifically suggests:

> Sex education's aim need not be limited to reducing rates of adolescent pregnancies, disease, and sexual activity. Rather, the aim would be to create classroom environments in which students and teachers listen to one another out of commitment to recognizing and contending with sexual desires, power, and inequality. (p. 36)

In other words, supplementing the extant discourses of adolescent sexuality (i.e. sexuality as violence, sexuality as victimization, and sexuality as individual morality) with multiple discourses of desire may provide young women with the necessary language to articulate and actualize their own, rather than their partner's, wants and desires.

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CHAPTER 3

WHAT'S GENDER GOT TO DO WITH IT?

SEXUAL DOUBLE STANDARDS AND POWER ON COLLEGE HOOKUPS

Introduction

Popular media accounts of hooking up (i.e., college students' casual sexual encounters) suggest that heterosexual hookups primarily serve the sexual interests of young men, who are presumed to prefer casual sex to relationships, and, as a result, often lead to deleterious outcomes, such as unwanted sex and emotional turmoil, for young women (see, for examples, Shalit 1999; Stepp 2007). Calling such claims into question, the scholarly research on hooking up indicates that hookups are not necessarily detrimental to young women; rather, women's experiences with hooking up are varied (see Armstrong, Hamilton, and England 2010 for a review). Furthermore, as Armstrong et al. suggest, a key source of women's negative experiences with hooking up may not be hookup culture itself, but rather a sexual double standard employed to allot less sexual freedom to women than men and, relatedly, to judge women more harshly than men for engaging in similar sexual behaviors (see Reiss 1960 for foundational work on the sexual double standard).

Along this line of reasoning, it is possible that the sexual double standard fosters a power imbalance between hookup partners that may contribute to the negative outcomes that popular accounts cast as inherent to hookup culture. Specifically, those young women who subscribe to the sexual double standard may elevate their male partners' desires over their own and, as such, be at risk for unwanted sexual activity on hookups. Furthermore, as a result of judging their own sexual behavior more harshly than that of their male partners, these young women may experience negative emotional reactions, such as shame or regret, after hooking up.

The relationship between the sexual double standard and women's power on hookups, however, is complicated because a number of studies question whether the traditional double standard is still pertinent among contemporary college students. Specifically, under the sway of "post-feminist," gender-neutral rhetoric, college students are more likely to report employing a single, egalitarian standard in their evaluations of men's and women's sexual behavior than they are to employ a traditional double standard (Allison and Risman 2013; Barreto and Ellemers 2005; Marks and Fraley 2005; Milhausen and Herold 2002; Swim et al. 1995). Further complicating the matter, some studies suggest that a minority of college students endorse a reverse double standard by evaluating men's sexual behavior more negatively than women's sexual behavior (Allison and Risman 2013; Milhausen and Herold 1999; 2002; Sakaluk and Milhausen 2012).

This latter finding is noteworthy because it suggests that, under certain circumstances, power imbalances on hookups may actually place young men at a disadvantage to their female hookup partners (a possibility that is often neglected by researchers' frequent focus on young women). This is particularly interesting considering Risman's (2004) argument that, in order to understand mechanisms of gender inequality, scholars must give "attention to the actions of members of the dominant group" and pay "close attention to what men do to preserve their power and privileges" (p. 438). Importantly, Risman's rationale applies to men's preservation of male privilege; however, young men's endorsement of a reverse double standard provides an opportunity to examine gendered power dynamics on hookups in cases in which young men's attitudes do not necessarily preserve their privilege over their female partners.

In this study, I use data from the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS) to examine the relationship between women's and men's endorsement of traditional and reverse double

standards and their negative experiences on hookups. I expect findings to broaden our understanding of the circumstances under which hooking up may (and may not) be harmful to young women and young men alike. Because contemporary college students may find individualistic accounts of couples' power disparities to be more appealing than gendered explanations (e.g., sexual double standards), I also examine the relationship between participants' personal feelings of being negatively judged for hooking up and their deleterious experiences on hookups. This is important because, although a structural conceptualization of gender would imply that individuals' endorsement of sexual double standards are related to their individualized feelings of being judged for hooking up (see Risman 2004), the gender-blind nature of post-feminist logic may forge a distinction between these two measures in the minds – and self-reports – of contemporary college students.

Gender and Power in Hookup Culture

The concept of hooking up is somewhat ambiguous in that the term is widely used, but has no precise meaning (Bogle 2008). What is clear is about hookups is that they are casual sexual encounters that involve no romantic obligation between partners (Bogle 2008; Glenn and Marquardt 2001; Paul, McManus, and Hayes 2000). Contributing to the ambiguity surrounding hooking up, partners can be anything from strangers to close acquaintances and hookups can involve a wide range of sexual activities ranging from kissing to oral sex or intercourse (Bogle 2008:27; Fielder and Carey 2010; Grello, Welsh, and Harper 2006; Lewis et al. 2012; Manning, Giordano, and Longmore 2006).

Hooking up has existed on college campuses for several decades; however, it appears only recently to have replaced dating as the primary path for college students to develop romantic relationships (Bogle 2007; 2008; England and Thomas 2006; Glenn and Marquardt

2001; Kimmel 2008), leading popular media to declare a "hookup culture" (Heldman and Wade 2010). The fact that hooking up is now the main route that college students take to find romantic partners may be problematic for those young women who desire romantic relationships, as hookups are often marked by a gendered imbalance of power that favors men (Armstrong et al. 2010; Bogle 2008; Kalish and Kimmel 2011; Kimmel 2008). Specifically, although dating often places males in a privileged position over females (Bailey 1988; Coontz 1992), male privilege tends to be more pronounced on hookups than on dates (Bogle 2008; Kimmel 2008).

Komter (1989) conceptualizes power in interpersonal relationships as "the ability to affect consciously or unconsciously the emotions, attitudes, cognitions, or behavior of someone else" (p. 192). This specific typology consists of three interrelated forms of power: manifest, latent, and invisible. Manifest and latent power both pertain to power dynamics between partners, whereas invisible power pertains to sociological and psychological beliefs that can influence manifest and latent power dynamics.

More specifically, manifest power can be directly observed through outcomes of couples' conflicts and explicit/deliberate attempts at change (e.g., disparities between partners' influence in decision-making, satisfaction with the status quo, etc.). Latent power, which is not directly observable, is often a factor in cases where problems/disagreements exist between partners, but no conflicts occur (e.g., when one partner avoids raising grievances with his/her partner out of a sense of futility or to avoid a negative reaction). Invisible power is often the result of psychological and social mechanisms that do not necessarily surface in behavior or latent grievances, but rather, "may be manifest in systematic gender differences in mutual and self-esteem, differences in perceptions of, and legitimations concerning, everyday reality" (Komter 1989:192). In the case of hooking up, invisible power (i.e., endorsement of the traditional double

standard) may be associated with manifest/latent power disparities that are revealed through negative experiences, such as unwanted sexual activity and negative emotional reactions to hookups.

There is certainly evidence to suggest that, in general, men have greater power on hookups than their female partners. Research indicates that women are more likely than men to report engaging in sexual activities that serve their hookup partners' sexual interests more than their own sexual interests. For example, an investigation of college students' risk factors for unwanted sex indicates that women are more likely than men to report that they have engaged in vaginal, anal, or oral sex when they "didn't want to" – and this unwanted sex more often occurs within the context of a hookup than a date or relationship (Flack et al. 2007). Furthermore, results from another exploration of women's and men's use of verbal coercion on college hookups indicate that, although "both men and women attempt to verbally pressure and influence a reluctant partner to engage in unwanted sexual activity. . . the likelihood of a woman being in this situation is significantly lower than for a man" (Wright, Norton, and Matusek 2010:655). That is, in situations where respondents desire more sexual activity than their partner desires, young women and men both report using verbal coercion in attempt to convince their partner to engage in more sexual activity. However, compared to young women, young men report a significantly greater number of occasions when they desire more sexual activity than their partners – giving them more opportunities to use verbal coercion.

Additionally, although young women and men both generally report positive feelings after a hook up (e.g., feeling happy, attractive, desirable), women are more likely than men to report negative feelings, such as regret, dissatisfaction, or depression (Fielder and Carey 2010; Lewis et al. 2012; Owen et al. 2010; Owen and Fincham 2011). Thus, it is not necessarily

surprising that young women are more likely than young men to report that they prefer dating to hooking up and that many women ultimately "opt out" of the hookup scene after their first one or two years of college, when they decide that hooking up is un-pleasurable and/or disempowering (Bradshaw, Kahn, and Saville 2010; Gilmartin 2006; Wade and Heldman 2012).

In their qualitative interviews with college women Hamilton and Armstrong (2009) find that some women explicitly attribute their negative experiences with hooking up to men's endorsement of the traditional double standard. In these interviews, even young women who reported enjoying hooking up noted that "the double standard gave men more control over the terms of hooking up, justified the disrespectful treatment of women, supported sexual stigma, and produced feelings of shame" (p. 606). Hamilton and Armstrong draw a clear link between young men's endorsement of the traditional double standard and young women's negative experiences with hooking up, providing an example of how men's attitudes/actions can maintain male power and privilege (see Risman 2004). However, there is also reason to suspect that young women who personally endorse the traditional double standard will be more susceptible to negative experiences with hooking up than those young women who do not endorse the traditional double standard.

Regardless of their personal experience with hooking up, young women who employ the traditional double standard in their evaluations of hookup behaviors are arguably exhibiting what Schwalbe et al. (2000) identify as "defensive othering." In this case, young women "seeking to deflect the stigma they experience as members of a subordinate group" (p. 425) may disparage "other" women for hooking up as a means of distancing themselves from the subordinate group (i.e., women) and protecting themselves from judgment regarding their own sexual behaviors.

Evidence of this can be found in young women's use of negative epithets such as "slut" to describe "other" women, but not themselves (Tanenbaum 2000; White 2002).

Importantly, "defensive othering does not define into existence a group of exploitable Others; rather, it is a *reaction* to an oppressive identity code already imposed by a dominant group" (Schwalbe et al. 2000:425 [emphasis in original]). Thus, as Schwalbe et al. (2000) argue, defensive othering involves identifying with the dominant group and accepting their devaluation of the subordinate group as legitimate. In effect, it reproduces inequality. As a result, it is plausible that young women who identify with the dominant group (i.e., men) by endorsing the traditional double standard will experience power inequalities on their hookups with male partners. In fact, results of one study indicate that young women's subscription to the traditional double standard is associated with a decreased ability to communicate their personal desires and to set limits with their male partners (Greene and Faulkner 2005). However, the relationship between the sexual double standard and a gendered power imbalance in hookups may be more complicated than these results may suggest, not least because there is a great deal of controversy over whether the traditional double standard is still pertinent in contemporary American culture.

Double Standards and Hookup Culture

With the publication of his influential book, *Premarital Sexual Standards in America*, Reiss (1960) inspired a cadre of scholars to explore the dynamics of a traditional sexual double standard that allots more sexual freedom to men than women and, accordingly, evaluates women more negatively than men for engaging in similar sexual behaviors. Recent research on the contemporary status of the traditional double standard has produced seemingly equivocal findings. Whereas some studies note the continued significance of the traditional double standard (Crawford and Popp 2003; Jonason and Marks 2009; Kreager and Staff 2009; Marks 2008;

Marks and Fraley 2006; 2007; Sakaluk and Milhausen 2012), others indicate that it has been usurped by a single, egalitarian standard employed to judge both men's and women's sexual behavior (Allison and Risman 2013; Marks and Fraley 2005; Milhausen and Herold 2002).

Milhausen and Herold (2002) offer some clarification of these seemingly discordant findings by distinguishing between young adults' perception that a double standard exists in society (e.g., believing that others judge women and men differently for their sexual behaviors) and their personal endorsement of the double standard (e.g., employing different standards in their personal judgments of women and men for engaging in certain sexual behaviors). They specifically find that, despite perceiving that others subscribe to the traditional double standard, most college students report personally endorsing a single standard for judging the sexual behavior of both women and men.

This specific instance of "pluralistic ignorance," or the belief that one's attitudes or behaviors are different from others' (see Allport 1933), makes sense in a contemporary climate of post-feminist, gender-neutral rhetoric. Under such rhetoric, old-fashioned sexism that blatantly discriminates against women has been replaced by a modern sexism that attributes women's inequality to individual deficiencies and non-gendered dynamics (Barreto and Ellemers 2005; Swim et al. 1995). Thus, as modern sexism dictates, young adults are likely to reject gendered explanations of power imbalances between partners (i.e., the traditional double standard) and, instead, rely on individualistic accounts that emphasize individual/personal characteristics and circumstances.

The idea that the traditional double standard exists in the minds of others, but not in one's own mind, is particularly evident in contemporary hookup culture. Although most college students reportedly endorse a single standard for judging men's and women's hookup behaviors

(Allison and Risman 2013), they also seem to believe that women experience more negative judgment than men for hooking up. For example, analyzing college students' narrative responses to vignettes describing a heterosexual hookup, the authors of one recent study find that both women and men believe that young women's desire to hook up is valid, but also expect that young women must engage in impression management after hooking up to avoid being perceived as a "slut" or "whore" (Reid, Elliott, and Webber 2011). This is not surprising considering that several studies indicate hooking up can be stigmatizing for young women, who feel that the traditional double standard gives them an ambiguous directive to avoid hooking up "too much" or "going too far" sexually on a hookup (Bogle 2008; Currier 2013; Glenn and Marquardt 2001; Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Kimmel 2008).

In reality, both women and men engage in impression management after hooking up, but in ways that indicate women generally expect to be judged harshly for hooking up whereas men generally expect to be rewarded for hooking up (Currier 2013; Kalish and Kimmel 2011). Through qualitative interviews, Currier (2013) finds that young women and men both take advantage of the equivocal definition of hooking up in manners that conform to the traditional double standard. Specifically, in describing their sexual activities, young men employ the vague term "hook up," without identifying specific sexual acts, in order to give the impression that they engage in more intimate types of sexual behaviors on their hookups. Young women, on the other hand, use this vague term to minimize the level of sexual activity that transpires on their hookups. These findings are consistent with past studies that indicate men tend to exaggerate, and women tend to minimize, the extent of their sexual experiences (Alexander and Fisher 2003; Fisher 2013).

Despite the fact that women, but not men, expect to be judged harshly for hooking up, some studies note the emergence of a reverse double standard among a minority of young adults who evaluate men's sexual behavior more negatively than women's sexual behavior (Allison and Risman 2013; Milhausen and Herold 1999; 2002; Sakaluk and Milhausen 2012). Such a reverse double standard likely developed in reaction to the sexual disempowerment of women and as a result of contemporary publicity around topics such as sexual harassment, sexual violence, and STIs that has reframed men's sexual permissiveness as exploitive (Milhausen and Herold 2002).

Importantly, the reverse double standard creates the possibility that young men, as well as women, may engage in defensive othering by endorsing a double standard that denigrates their own gender. However, in the case of young men, endorsing a reverse double standard does not entail distancing themselves from the subordinate group, as is the case for young women who endorse the traditional double standard. Instead, such young men distance themselves from a newly acquired stigma associated with belonging to the dominant group. Thus, examining the relationship between women's and men's endorsement of a double standard (i.e., traditional and reverse, respectively) and their experiences on hookups permits inspection of power inequalities on hookups for individuals who distance themselves from the subordinate and dominant gender group, respectively. Importantly, young men's endorsement of a reverse double standard provides an opportunity to examine gendered power dynamics between hookup partners for cases in which the male partner's attitudes are *not* consistent with those that preserve male privilege (see Risman 2004).

Purpose of Study and Statement of Hypotheses

In this investigation, I explore the relationship between invisible power and manifest/latent power in the context of heterosexual hookups. I specifically examine the

association between personal endorsement of a sexual double standard that denigrates one's own gender for hooking up (i.e., traditional double standard for women and reverse double standard for men) and one's odds of succumbing to verbal pressure on one's most recent hookup and/or reporting feelings of regret following one's most recent hookup. Since past studies suggest there is a distinction between one's endorsement of an explicitly gendered double standard and one's perception of having been personally denigrated for hooking up, I include measures of both as main predictors. I specifically test the following hypotheses:

H1: Among heterosexual college students reporting hookup experience, women will exhibit greater odds than men of perceiving that they have ever been personally denigrated for hooking up.

H2: Among heterosexual women reporting hookup experience, endorsing the traditional double standard (in comparison to endorsing an egalitarian standard) will be associated with less power in their interactions with their most recent hookup partner, as evidenced by higher odds of succumbing to verbal pressure for sex and higher odds of feeling regret following their most recent hookup.

H3: Among heterosexual women reporting hookup experience, perceiving that they have ever been personally denigrated for hooking up (in comparison to not reporting feeling denigrated) will be associated with less power in their interactions with their most recent hookup partner, as evidenced by higher odds of succumbing to verbal pressure for sex and higher odds of feeling regret following their most recent hookup.

H4: Among heterosexual men reporting hookup experience, endorsing the reverse double standard (in comparison to endorsing an egalitarian standard) will be associated with less power in their interactions with their most recent hookup partner, as evidenced by higher

odds of succumbing to verbal pressure for sex and higher odds of feeling regret following their most recent hookup.

H5: Among heterosexual men reporting hookup experience, perceiving that they have ever been personally denigrated for hooking up (in comparison to not reporting feeling denigrated) will be associated with less power in their interactions with their most recent hookup partner, as evidenced by higher odds of succumbing to verbal pressure for sex and higher odds of feeling regret following their most recent hookup.

Method

To test these hypotheses I employ data from the OCSLS, which were collected between 2005 and 2011 at 22 colleges and universities across the United States. Recruitment for the OCSLS took place in college courses, many of which were sociology classes. However, only about 8% of respondents were sociology majors. As part of the recruitment process, students were given the option of completing the survey or an alternate assignment for course credit; however, the majority of students elected to complete the survey, resulting in a 99-100% response rate in most classes (Armstrong et al. 2012). Administration of the OCSLS did not involve random sampling, which limits generalization of results. However, as other scholars have noted, the fact that this survey was administered on a wide range of campuses and has a nearly 100% response rate ensures that it captured a large, diverse cross-section of the US college student population (Allison and Risman 2013; Armstrong et al. 2012).

The OCSLS dataset is well suited for exploring the hypotheses outlined in this study because the sample includes both women and men and survey items include measures of college students' sexual attitudes as well as their personal experiences with hooking up. Additionally, as

a self-administered online survey, the OCSLS is likely to produce higher response rates to items requesting sensitive information than face-to-face surveys (Shroder, Carey, and Vanable 2003).

In this analysis I focus strictly on those respondents who reported experience with hooking up during their college years. I classified respondents as having hookup experience if they reported participating in at least one hookup since beginning college. When asking respondents about their hookup experience, the OCSLS instructs them to "use whatever definition of a hook up you and your friends generally use. It doesn't have to include sex to count if you and your friends would call it a hook up."

To capture a sample of traditional college students I limited the sample to those respondents who reported that they were undergraduates, under the age of 25, not married, and graduated high school in the United States. Additionally, to ensure that findings reflect the relationship between subscription to a double standard and power dynamics in heterosexual hookups, I included respondents only if they identified as male or female (excluding the few respondents who either failed to provide this information or identified as transgender), identified as heterosexual, and reported that their most recent hookup was with a partner of the other sex. Collectively, the aforementioned inclusion criteria yielded a working sample of 11,415 college students.

Main Variables

In this analysis, main predictor variables include a measure of respondents' subscription to a double standard and a measure of respondents' belief that they have ever been negatively evaluated for hooking up. To measure subscription to a double standard I constructed a dummy variable representing the extent to which respondents negatively evaluate women and men, in relation to one another, for hooking up and engaging in sexual activity. I constructed this variable

from the following two items: “If women hook up or have sex with lots of people, I respect them less” and “If men hook up or have sex with lots of people, I respect them less.” Responses to these items were recorded on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (“Strongly Agree”) to 4 (“Strongly Disagree).

From these two items I constructed a “Double Standard” dummy variable with three nominal categories (i.e., Egalitarian, Traditional Double Standard, and Reverse Double Standard). Specifically, I computed the difference between responses to the two aforementioned items and classified respondents who reported a difference of zero as “Egalitarian.” I classified those who reported a difference of one to three points in the direction of negatively evaluating women as “Traditional Double Standard” and those who reported a difference of one to three points in the direction of negatively evaluating men as “Reverse Double Standard.”

Respondents’ perception that they have ever been negatively evaluated for hooking up is represented by binary (yes/no) responses to the following item: “Have you ever hooked up with someone and afterward had the feeling that the person respected you less because you hooked up with him/her?” Responses indicating “no” were coded as “0” and responses indicating “yes” were coded as “1.” Although this variable specifically measures perceptions of partners’ evaluations (and not perceptions of peer group evaluations), it offers a vitally important measure of individualistic explanations of power imbalances that respondents attribute to others.

To represent unwanted sexual activity on respondents’ most recent hookup, I included an item measuring whether respondents succumbed to their partner’s verbal pressure for intercourse. I classified respondents as engaging in unwanted intercourse as a result of their hookup partner’s verbal pressure if they responded “yes” to the following item regarding their most recent hookup: “Did you have sexual intercourse that you did not want because someone

verbally pressured you?" To capture negative emotional reactions, I included an item measuring whether respondents experienced feelings of regret following the hookup. I classified respondents as regretting their most recent hookup if, in response to the item, "Looking back on this hook up, how do you feel about it? " they selected the response "I regret I did it."[13] I coded both of these variables in dummy form (0 = No; 1 = Yes).

Control Variables

In this analysis I control for several variables that are likely to influence relationships among the main variables outlined above. These include basic demographic variables, such as a dummy variable for sex (0 = Male; 1 = Female) as well as a measure of race. Controlling for race is important because attitudes toward hooking up vary by race and, in general, hooking up is more popular among white college students than it is among students of other races (Allison and Risman 2013; Bogle 2008; Owen et. al 2010). The OCSLS allows respondents to select one or more of 14 categories to describe their race (i.e., respondents can report multi-racial identities). In the interest of parsimony, I collapsed these categories into White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Other Race. Since these categories are not mutually exclusive, I include them all in the analysis as separate dummy variables (0 = No; 1 = Yes) with no reference group.

In addition to these demographic variables, I control for variables that may influence respondents' attitudes and behaviors regarding hooking up. Religiosity is known to influence sexual attitudes and behaviors among young adults (Lefkowitz et al. 2004; Meier 2003; Penhollow, Young, and Bailey 2007; Rostosky, Regnerus, and Wright 2003). Thus, I include an ordinal measure of one's religious service attendance (never, few times a year, one to three times a month, once a week, more than once a week). I include ordinal measures of respondents' year

[13] Other potential responses to this item are "I'm glad I did it" and "I'm neither glad nor regret it."

in school (1st year, 2nd year, 3rd year, 4th year, 5th year or beyond undergraduate), social class background (mother's education: less than high school, high school graduate, some college, bachelor's degree, graduate degree)[14], and educational aspirations (less than bachelor's degree, bachelor's degree, graduate degree). Accounting for year in school is important because studies indicate that, after the first year or two of college, young women tend to become more egalitarian in their sexual mores, more critical of hooking up, and sometimes disengage from the hookup scene altogether (Allison and Risman 2013; Bogle 2008; Gilmartin 2006; Wade and Heldman 2012).[15] I account for class background and educational aspirations because economically privileged women with higher educational/career aspirations tend to assume a more recreational attitude toward sex and hooking up than their less privileged counterparts (Hamilton and Armstrong 2009).

Since sexual attitudes and behaviors can vary by geographical location (Laumann et al. 1994), I account for the geographical context in which respondents were socialized by including a control for the geographical region in which respondents graduated high school. This is reported in format consistent with US Census divisions, as follows: South (AL AR, DC, DE, GA, FL, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV), West (AK AZ, CA, CO, HI, ID, MT, NM, NV, OR, UT, WA, WY), Midwest (IA, IL, IN, KS, MI, MN, MO, ND, NE, OH, SD, WI), and Northeast (CT, MA, ME, NH, NJ, NY, PA, VT, RI).[16]

[14] Mother's education is a widely accepted proxy for class status of young people, who may not be aware of their family's specific financial matters (see Entwisle and Astone 1994).
[15] Preliminary analyses also controlled for respondent age. However, including this variable introduced an issue of multicollinearity (i.e., variance inflation factors for this variable and year in school were inflated). Thus, age was dropped from the final analyses reported in this study.
[16] Preliminary analyses also controlled for the college that respondents attend. However, including this variable introduced an issue of multicollinearity (i.e., variance inflation factors for this variable and state of high school graduation were inflated). Thus, college was dropped from the final analyses reported in this study.

To account for characteristics of campus life that may influence college students' sexual attitudes and activities, I include measures of whether respondents belong to a fraternity or sorority (0 = No; 1 = Yes), and whether they are members of a varsity athletic team (0 = No; 1 = Yes). Research indicates that these variables are positively associated with sexual attitudes/activities that reflect male privilege (Allison and Risman 2013; Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney 2006; Boswell and Spade 1996; Copenhaver and Grauerholz 1991). Additionally, I include a measure of whether respondents reside on campus (0 = No; 1 = Yes) because those students who live on campus are most likely to participate in their campus hookup scene (Allison and Risman 2014).

Finally, I control for factors specific to respondents' most recent hookup. To account for respondents' experience negotiating sexual activity with their most recent hookup partner, I include an ordinal measure of the number of previous hookups with that specific partner (i.e., none, one to four, five to nine, ten or more). This control variable is especially important because, for young women, greater familiarity with one's hookup partner is associated with a decreased likelihood of reporting negative feelings, such as regret, following a hookup (Eshbaugh and Gute 2008; Lewis et al. 2012). Since cultural representations of sexuality cast racial groups differently from one another (Collins 2005; Espiritu 2007), respondents' interactions with their partners may vary by their partners' race. Thus, I account for the race of one's hookup partner (conceptualized in the same manner as respondent race, discussed above).[17]

To account for respondents' ability to consent to and negotiate sexual activity with their partners, I include measures indicating whether respondents reported using alcohol and/or drugs

[17] Preliminary analyses controlled for differences in racial privilege between partners. However, the proportion of white male respondents reporting partners of a different race was small, creating problems with the statistical model predicting verbal coercion for the male sample (i.e., zero cell counts and, thus, large standard errors for several predictor variables).

prior to and/or during the hookup in question. I represent drug use and alcohol use as separate dummy variables (0 = No; 1 = Yes). Finally, since the specific sexual activities that occur on a hookup can influence one's feelings about that hookup (Eshbaugh and Gute 2008; Lewis et al. 2012), in analyses that report regret as the main outcome, I include measures indicating whether respondents engaged in vaginal intercourse (0 = No; 1 = Yes), performed oral sex (0 = No; 1 = Yes), and received oral sex (0 = No; 1 = Yes).

Results and Discussion

I excluded from analysis all respondents who were missing data on any of the aforementioned variables. This exclusion reduced the final sample size from 11,415 to 10,935.[18] Depending on the specific hypothesis being tested, some models utilize the entire sample and others utilize subsamples of only males or females. Since all outcome variables are dichotomous, hypotheses are tested with binary logistic regression analyses.

The final sample was composed of 69.00% women (*n* = 7,545) and 31.00% men (*n* = 3,390) (see Table 3.1 for descriptive statistics). Consistent with past research that indicates hooking up is not typically deleterious to young women and men, only a minority of respondents reported experiencing negative outcomes on their most recent hookup. Specifically, 1.92% of women (*n* = 145) and .86% of men (*n* = 29) in the sample reported succumbing to verbal pressure for intercourse on their most recent hookup. Additionally, 14.65% of women (*n* = 1,105) and 11.50% of men (*n* = 390) reported feeling regret following their most recent hookup.

[18] Thus, 4.21% of cases were omitted due to respondents missing data on one or more variables. Data missing for individual variables was relatively infrequent, with a maximum value of 1.20% of cases (Double Standard).

Table 3.1. Descriptive Statistics for Individuals with College Hookup Experience, OCSLS, *N* = 10,935

	Proportions for Total Sample (*N* = 10,935)	Proportions for Women (*n* = 7,545)	Proportions for Men (*n* = 3,390)
Main Variables			
Double Standard			
Egalitarian	.548	.590	.455
Traditional Double Standard	.200	.085	.456
Reverse Double Standard	.252	.325	.089
Disrespected for Hooking Up	.445	.546	.187
General Control Variables			
Sex (1 = Female; 0=Male)	.690	1.000	.000
Race (Not Mutually Exclusive)			
White	.761	.761	.760
Black	.065	.061	.073
Hispanic	.131	.137	.118
Asian	.124	.123	.127
Other Race	.072	.074	.068
High School Geography			
Midwest	.181	.184	.176
Northeast	.287	.280	.303
South	.075	.074	.079
West	.456	.463	.442
Mother's Education			
Less than High School	.055	.058	.049
High School Graduate	.161	.164	.155
Some College	.250	.252	.246
Bachelor's Degree	.316	.319	.309
Graduate Degree	.218	.207	.241
Year in School			
1st Year	.306	.310	.297
2nd Year	.249	.243	.263
3rd Year	.213	.215	.208
4th Year	.191	.193	.180

5th Year or Beyond Undergraduate	.043	.039	.052
Educational Aspirations			
Less than Bachelor's Degree	.023	.020	.027
Bachelor's Degree	.282	.268	.314
Graduate Degree	.695	.712	.659
On-Campus Residence (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.522	.523	.519
Fraternity/Sorority (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.173	.163	.194
Varsity Athlete (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.093	.071	.143
Religious Service Attendance			
Never	.349	.343	.365
Few Times a Year	.453	.453	.452
One to Three Times a Month	.123	.126	.115
Once a Week	.061	.063	.056
More than Once a Week	.014	.015	.012
<u>Hookup Variables</u>			
Drinks Prior to or During Hookup (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.665	.667	.660
Drugs Prior to or During Hookup (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.110	.088	.158
Intercourse (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.399	.386	.426
Performed Oral Sex (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.252	.260	.237
Received Oral Sex (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.270	.217	.389
Verbal Pressure (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.016	.019	.009
Regret (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.137	.146	.115
Previous Hookups with Partner			
None	.471	.454	.508
One to Four	.270	.270	.270
Five to Nine	.071	.076	.058
Ten or More	.189	.199	.165
Hookup Partner's Race (Not mutually exclusive)			
White	.748	.449	.769
Black	.084	.099	.050
Hispanic	.123	.130	.109
Asian	.093	.075	.134
Other Race	.037	.039	.031

Among women, 8.50% (*n* = 641) were classified as holding a traditional double standard, 32.54% (*n* = 2,455) were classified as holding a reverse double standard, and 58.97% (*n* = 4,449) were classified as egalitarian. Among men, 45.63% (*n* = 1,547) were classified as holding a traditional double standard, 8.91% (*n* = 302) were classified as holding a reverse double standard, and 45.46% (*n* = 1,541) were classified as egalitarian. Additionally, 54.65% (*n* = 4,123) of women and 22.04% of men (*n* = 3,390) reported feeling that they had ever personally felt disrespected for hooking up.

As summarized in Table 3.2, binary logistic regression analyses indicate that, compared to men, women have significantly greater odds of feeling that they have ever been disrespected for hooking up – even when accounting for their subscription to a sexual double standard (traditional or reverse). Converting the pertinent logit coefficient into an odds ratio [exp(1.441)] indicates that, net of all controls, the odds of women feeling disrespected for hooking up are 4.225 times greater than the odds of men feeling disrespected for hooking up. This finding, which supports Hypothesis 1, is noteworthy considering that past research indicates college students tend to endorse an egalitarian standard in judgments of sexual behavior. That is, if college students apply a single standard to their evaluations of women's and men's sexual behavior, then one may expect that women and men would exhibit equal odds of feeling that they had ever been disrespected for hooking up. Instead, women have greater odds of feeling this way. Importantly, this gendered difference suggests that the traditional double standard remains relevant in contemporary hookup culture – even though college students may not acknowledge it in explicitly gendered terms.

Table 3.2. Estimates from Binary Logistic Regression Models Predicting the Perception that One has Been Disrespected for Hooking Up, OCSLS, *N* = 10,935

	Logit	*SE*	Logit	*SE*
Female (1 = Yes; 0=No)	1.438***	(.048)	1.441***	(.053)
Double Standard (Egalitarian is excluded group)				
Traditional			.157**	(.061)
Reverse			.248***	(.048)
Race (No excluded group; Not mutually exclusive)				
White	.178*	(.072)	.183*	(.072)
Black	-.103	(.095)	-.112	(.095)
Hispanic	.085	(.074)	.077	(.074)
Asian	.095	(.078)	.090	(.078)
Other	1.55*	(.079)	.150+	(.079)
High School Geography (Midwest is excluded group)				
Northeast	-.085	(.063)	-.086	(.063)
South	-.036	(.089)	-.034	(.089)
West	.029	(.058)	.031	(.058)
Mother's Education (Less than High School is excluded group)				
High School Graduate	-.087	(.106)	-.083	(.106)
Some College	-.020	(.102)	-.022	(.103)
Bachelor's Degree	-.021	(.103)	-.022	(.103)
Graduate Degree	-.078	(.107)	-.079	(.107)
Year in School (First year is excluded group)				
2nd Year	-.050	(.059)	-.052	(.058)
3rd Year	-.113+	(.065)	-.113+	(.065)
4th Year	-.056	(.068)	-.056	(.068)
5th Year or Beyond Undergraduate	.100	(.113)	.099	(.113)
Educational Aspirations (Less than bachelor's is excluded group)				
Bachelor's Degree	.040	(.143)	.048	(.144)
Graduate Degree	.108	(.140)	.113	(.140)
On-Campus Residence (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	-.141**	(.052)	-.137**	(.052)
Fraternity/Sorority (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.089	(.056)	.082	(.056)
Varsity Athlete (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	-.176*	(.073)	-.171*	(.074)
Religious Service Attendance (Never is excluded group)				

Few Times a Year	.139**	(.046)	.138**	(.046)
One to Three Times a Month	.178**	(.069)	.179**	(.069)
Once a Week	-.025	(.090)	-.024	(.090)
More than Once a Week	.214	(.174)	.215	(.174)
Intercept	-1.412***	(.190)	-1.523***	(.193)
-2 Log Likelihood	13903.830		13874.780	
X^2	1124.450***		1153.400***	

Note: Standard errors are reported in parentheses; +$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

Women's Power on Hookups

As summarized in Table 3.3, among women, the coefficients for Traditional Double Standard did not reach statistical significance for either of the two outcomes reported (Verbal Pressure or Regret). In other words, women's endorsement of the traditional double standard was not a significant predictor of power dynamics on their most recent hookup. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported.

However, the coefficients for Disrespected for Hooking Up did reach statistical significance for both outcomes. The odds ratio representing the relationship between this predictor and Verbal Pressure [exp(.694)] indicates that, net of control variables, the odds that a woman who reports feeling she has ever been disrespected for hooking up will also report succumbing to her most recent hookup partner's verbal pressure for unwanted intercourse are 2.002 times greater than the odds that a woman who does not report feeling disrespected for hooking up will succumb to her most recent hookup partner's verbal pressure for unwanted intercourse. Additionally, the odds ratio depicting the relationship between this predictor and Regret [exp(.431)] indicates that, net of controls, the odds that a woman who reports feeling she has ever been disrespected for hooking up will also report regretting her most recent hookup are 1.539 times greater than the odds that a woman who does not report feeling disrespected for hooking up will have regretted her most recent hookup. Importantly, feeling disrespected for hooking up was a significant predictor of regret even when controlling for the following statistically significant variables: past number of hookups with one's partner, whether the hookup involved intercourse, and whether one succumbed to verbal pressure on the hookup in question. Thus, Hypothesis 3 was supported.

Table 3.3. Estimates from Binary Logistic Regression Models Predicting Acquiescence to Verbal Pressure and Regret on Most Recent Hookup, OCSLS, *N* = 10,935

	Verbal Pressure				Regret			
	Women (*n*= 7,545)		Men (*n* = 3,390)		Women (*n* = 7,545)		Men (*n* = 3,390)	
	Logit	*SE*	Logit	*SE*	Logit	*SE*	Logit	*SE*
Double Standard (Egalitarian is excluded group)								
Traditional Double Standard	.039	(.306)	.087	(.459)	.132	(.123)	.028	(.120)
Reverse Double Standard	.082	(.184)	1.533**	(.527)	.027	(.075)	.579**	(.182)
Disrespected for Hooking Up (1=Yes; 0=No)	.694***	(.186)	.810*	(.409)	.431***	(.071)	.498***	(.124)
Hookup Variables								
Drinks Prior to or During Hookup (1=Yes; 0=No)	.016	(.194)	1.341*	(.529)	.127	(.080)	.249+	(.133)
Drugs Prior to or During Hookup (1=Yes; 0=No)	.259*	(.130)	-.086	(.310)	.014	(.061)	.114	(.077)
Previous Hookups with Partner (None is excluded group)								
One to Four	-.155	(.202)	.460	(.481)	-.696***	(.083)	-.503***	(.137)
Five to Nine	.087	(.300)	1.030	(.693)	-1.281***	(.167)	-.960**	(.304)
Ten or More	-.645*	(.272)	1.177*	(.577)	-1.724***	(.133)	-.813***	(.199)
Partner's Race (No excluded group; Not mutually exclusive)								
White	.179	(.300)	-.363	(.621)	-.299*	(.135)	-.144	(.219)
Black	.812*	(.327)	1.310+	(.703)	.203	(.156)	-.229	(.322)
Hispanic	.190	(.313)	-.331	(.665)	-.260+	(.144)	-.305	(.246)
Asian	.328	(.381)	-.526	(.747)	-.027	(.165)	-.085	(.232)
Other	.033	(.477)	-.282	(1.110)	-.198	(.191)	-.129	(.370)
Verbal Pressure (1=Yes; 0=No)					2.074***	(.189)	1.355**	(.427)
Intercourse (1=Yes; 0=No)					.403***	(.081)	.139	(.133)
Performed Oral Sex (1=Yes; 0=No)					.050	(.093)	-.296+	(.163)
Received Oral Sex (1=Yes;0=No)					-.177+	(.102)	-.088	(.139)
General Control Variables								
Race (No excluded group; Not mutually exclusive)								
White	-.341	(.337)	.217	(.614)	.219+	(.124)	.133	(.214)
Black	-.633	(.429)	-.103	(.741)	-.258	(.176)	-.237	(.288)
Hispanic	-1.107**	(.403)	.469	(.637)	.051	(.125)	-.125	(.226)
Asian	-.290	(.362)	1.095	(.667)	.407**	(.127)	.369+	(.222)
Other	-.019	(.320)	.863	(.602)	-.119	(.137)	-.041	(.236)
High School Geography (Midwest is excluded group)								

Northeast	-.404	(.253)	-1.009+	(.605)	-.178+	(.105)	-.386*	(.167)
South	-.179	(.345)	.181	(.607)	-.235	(.150)	-.330	(.231)
West	-.285	(.223)	-.984+	(.512)	-.241*	(.094)	-.310*	(.152)
Mother's Education (Less than high school is excluded group)								
High School Graduate	-.653+	(.395)	-.593	(.852)	-.007	(.169)	.146	(.322)
Some College	-.575	(.372)	-.533	(.810)	.004	(.162)	.226	(.314)
Bachelor's Degree	-.810*	(.378)	-.825	(.833)	-.340*	(.165)	.036	(.314)
Graduate Degree	-.612	(.392)	-.997	(.898)	-.213	(.172)	.087	(.321)
Year in School (First year is excluded group)								
2nd Year	-.240	(.254)	.776	(.598)	.202*	(.099)	.056	(.159)
3rd Year	-.215	(.281)	.690	(.635)	.188+	(.110)	-.074	(.183)
4th Year	.247	(.269)	-.360	(.809)	.306**	(.116)	.270	(.180)
5th Year or Beyond Undergraduate	-.016	(.473)	.569	(.954)	.157	(.194)	.393	(.271)
Educational Aspirations (Less than bachelor's is excluded group)								
Bachelor's Degree	.033	(.615)	-2.189**	(.781)	-.340*	(.165)	.850+	(.483)
Graduate Degree	.037	(.600)	-1.378*	(.638)	-.213	(.172)	.984*	(.476)
On-Campus Residence (1=Yes; 0=No)	.060	(.221)	.210	(.469)	.175*	(.089)	.127	(.137)
Fraternity/Sorority (1=Yes; 0=No)	-.450	(.277)	-.051	(.498)	-.151	(.101)	-.001	(.146)
Varsity Athlete (1=Yes; 0=No)	.479	(.293)	.152	(.554)	-.394*	(.156)	.439**	(.153)
Religious Service Attendance (Never is excluded group)								
Few Times a Year	.376+	(.214)	.545	(.510)	.017	(.081)	.095	(.127)
One to Three Times a Month	.631*	(.276)	.341	(.705)	.165	(.114)	.013	(.196)
Once a Week	.658+	(.348)	.996	(.760)	.456**	(.139)	.264	(.244)
More than Once a Week	1.511***	(.443)	1.886+	(.977)	1.233***	(.227)	1.491***	(.374)
Intercept	-3.644***	(.847)	-5.164***	(1.326)	-1.821***	(.352)	-3.173***	(.638)
-2 Log Likelihood	1361.056		271.608		6285.130		2277.952	
X^2	72.192***		62.298***		630.902***		142.056***	

Note: Standard errors are reported in parentheses; +$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

These combined results indicate that, among women, endorsement of the traditional double standard is not a significant predictor, and feeling that one has ever been disrespected for hooking up is a significant predictor, of measures of power on their most recent hookup. Generally speaking, for women, evaluating their own gender more harshly than men for hooking up is not associated with power dynamics on their most recent hookup; however, feeling that one has been personally subjected to harsh evaluation for hooking up is associated with an unfavorable power imbalance on their most recent hookup.

Men's Power on Hookups

Among men, the coefficients for Reverse Double Standard reached statistical significance for both outcomes reported (Verbal Pressure and Regret). The odds ratio representing the relationship between this predictor and Verbal Pressure [exp(.1.533)] indicates that, net of control variables, the odds that a man who endorses a reverse double standard will report succumbing to his most recent hookup partner's verbal pressure for unwanted intercourse are 4.632 times greater than the odds that a man who endorses egalitarian mores will report succumbing to his most recent hookup partner's verbal pressure for unwanted intercourse. Additionally, the odds ratio depicting the relationship between this predictor and Regret [exp(.579)] indicates that, net of controls, the odds that a man who endorses a reverse double standard will report regretting his most recent hookup are 1.784 times greater than the odds that a man who endorses egalitarian mores will report regretting his most recent hookup. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was supported.

Likewise, for men, the coefficients for Disrespected for Hooking Up reached statistical significance for both outcomes reported. The odds ratio representing the relationship between this predictor and Verbal Pressure [exp(.810)] indicates that, net of control variables, the odds

that a man who reports feeling he has ever been disrespected for hooking up will also report succumbing to his most recent hookup partner's verbal pressure for unwanted intercourse are 2.248 times greater than the odds that a man who does not report feeling disrespected for hooking up will succumb to his most recent hookup partner's verbal pressure for unwanted intercourse. Additionally, the odds ratio depicting the relationship between this predictor and Regret [exp(.498)] indicates that, net of controls, the odds that a man who reports feeling he has ever been disrespected for hooking up will also report regretting his most recent hookup are 1.645 times greater than the odds that a man who does not report feeling disrespected for hooking up will have regretted his most recent hookup. Thus, Hypothesis 5 was supported.

Together, these findings indicate that, for men, endorsement of a reverse double standard and feeling that one has ever been disrespected for hooking up (net of each other) are both significant predictors of measures of power dynamics on their most recent hookup. In other words, for men, evaluating their own gender more harshly than women for hooking up and feeling that one has been personally subjected to harsh evaluation for hooking up are both associated with an unfavorable power imbalance on their most recent hookup.

Conclusion

Despite popular claims that hooking up is generally harmful to young women, research suggests that most women with hookup experience actually find it to be enjoyable. However, women are more likely than men to find hooking up to be dissatisfying or disempowering (Fielder and Carey 2010; Lewis et al. 2012; Owen et al. 2010; Owen and Fincham 2011). Armstrong et al. (2010) argue that women's negative experiences with hookups may be attributed to a traditional double standard used to evaluate women more negatively than men for similar sexual behaviors. Some evidence suggests that men's subscription to the double standard

may be associated with women's adverse experiences with hookups (Hamilton and Armstrong 2009). However, through the process defensive othering (see Schwalbe et al. 2000), young women who endorse a traditional double standard are arguably identifying with men and accepting their devaluation of women as valid. This may place them in a subordinate position to their male partners and, thus, make them susceptible to negative outcomes from hookups.

Consistent with past research that suggests the traditional double standard is being displaced by newly emerging sexual standards, over half the respondents in this study endorsed an egalitarian standard in judging men and women for hooking up and a slightly greater proportion of respondents subscribed to a reverse double standard than a traditional double standard (approximately one-fourth and one-fifth, respectively). However, the odds of a respondent feeling that she or he has been negatively judged for hooking up were over four times as high for women as for men. This suggests that, although most college students do not endorse the traditional double standard when asked in explicitly gendered terms, gender differences in their individual experiences reflect the continued pertinence of a traditional double standard, as it applies to contemporary hookup culture.

Importantly, findings indicate that double standards (i.e., traditional and reverse) are associated with power disadvantages on hookups for both women and men, but these patterns vary by gender in notable ways. For women, endorsing a traditional double standard was not a significant predictor of negative outcomes on their most recent hookup. However, women's perception that they had ever been judged negatively for hooking up was associated with increased odds of succumbing to verbal pressure for intercourse on their most recent hookup and reporting feelings of regret after their most recent hookup. For men, endorsing a reverse double

standard and feeling that they had ever been judged negatively for hooking up were *both* associated with increased odds of the aforementioned outcomes.

These gender differences may be explained by both modern sexism and defensive othering. Concerning the former, compared to men, women are more responsive to modern sexism and more critical of explicitly gendered explanations for women's disempowerment (Barreto and Ellemers 2005). Thus, although gendered explanations for – and individual accounts of – couples' power inequalities are arguably related to one another (Risman 2004), they may be more disparate in the minds of young women than in the minds of young men.

In terms of defensive othering, different processes involved with women endorsing a traditional double standard and men endorsing a reverse double standard may explain the fact that endorsing a double standard prejudicial to one's own gender is associated with negative hookup outcomes for men, but not women. According to the logic of defensive othering, women who endorse a traditional double standard are distancing themselves from the subordinate group and, by extension, men who endorse a reverse double standard are distancing themselves from the dominant group. Thus, findings from this investigation suggest that explicitly distancing oneself from a subordinate gender group may not have observable implications for power imbalances in intimate exchanges with members of the dominant group. Alternatively, explicitly distancing oneself from a dominant gender group is associated with unfavorable power imbalances in intimate exchanges with members of the subordinate group. In effect, the latter may involve losing some of the power associated with membership in a dominant group (i.e., men who engage in defensive othering may be sacrificing some degree of male privilege). Future research should explore this possibility.

Taken as a whole, findings from this investigation have implications for understanding deleterious aspects of hooking up for both women and men. Despite what popular accounts of hooking up may claim, only a minority of respondents engaged in unwanted sexual activity and/or reported negative emotional reactions to hooking up. When they do occur, these outcomes are related to gendered patterns in standards used to evaluate women's and men's sexual behaviors. This is the case even when accounting for respondents' number of past hookups with their partner, respondents' drug and alcohol use, and the sexual behaviors that occurred on the hookup in question.

However, as findings from this study demonstrate, the different standards used to evaluate women's and men's sexual behaviors are not always packaged in explicitly gendered language. Thus, any efforts to minimize negative outcomes of college hookups should not only critique double standards of sexual behavior (i.e., both traditional and reverse), but should also interrogate college students' individualized experiences of power imbalances on hookups. This latter strategy could prove especially helpful among college students who, under the influence of modern sexism, do not believe that double standards of sexuality have any influence over their personal encounters with hookup partners.

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CHAPTER 4

HOOKING UP AND PAIRING OFF: UNWANTED SEXUAL ACTIVITY, PLEASURE, AND POST-HOOKUP INTEREST IN ONE'S PARTNER

Introduction

Although popular media depictions have both lauded and lamented hookup culture as the end of romantic relationships on college campuses (for examples see Freitas 2013; Rosin 2012; Taylor 2013), hookups and relationships are not incompatible with one another. Studies indicate that both hookups and romantic relationships are common on college campuses (Fielder, Carey, and Carey 2013; Monto and Carey 2014; Shukusky and Wade 2012). In fact, a growing body of research indicates that hooking up may be a new pathway, rather than a roadblock, to romantic relationships among college students (Bogle 2008; England and Thomas 2006; Garcia and Reiber 2008; Kalish and Kimmel 2011).

Hookups can be defined as casual sexual activity with no explicit expectation of romantic obligation between partners (Bogle 2008; Glenn and Marquardt 2001; Paul, McManus, and Hayes 2000). However, this does not mean that hookups are devoid of intimacy or commitment between partners. Hookups rarely occur between strangers; rather, they typically involve acquaintances (Fielder and Carey 2010; Grello, Welsh, and Harper 2006; Lewis et al. 2012; Manning, Giordano, and Longmore 2006). Furthermore, lack of explicit romantic obligation does not preclude tacit hope for commitment from one's hookup partner. Although hookups do not come with a guarantee of commitment, both young women and men seem to hope for this, as they indicate a preference for hookups that lead to friendships, future hookups, or romantic relationships with their partners (Garcia and Reiber 2008; Paul and Hayes 2002; Shukusky and

Wade 2012). In fact, college students who believe hookups rarely lead to future commitments are unlikely to hook up (Brimeyer and Smith 2012).

Most romantic relationships between college students begin with a hookup; however, only a small proportion of hookups result in romantic relationships (England and Thomas 2006; Kalish and Kimmel 2011). As Bogle (2008) explains, "College students recognize hooking up as the pathway to a potential romantic relationship, yet a hookup does not guarantee *any* [emphasis in original] commitment beyond when the encounter takes place" (p. 29). This can be disappointing for many college students, particularly females, as research indicates young women are more likely than young men to hope to develop romantic relationships with their hookup partners (Bogle 2008; Garcia and Reiber 2008; Grello et al. 2006; Owen and Fincham 2011; Shukusky and Wade 2012).

Women's pursuit of heterosexual relationships through hookups is somewhat counterintuitive considering that the sexual activity on hookups tends to be characterized by a greater degree of "gender inequality" than that found in the sexual activity in relationships (Armstrong, England, Fogarty 2010; 2012). In fact, sexual activity on college hookups is frequently driven by male desire such that couples often engage in sexual activity that is wanted/desired by the male partner, but not necessarily by the female partner (see Armstrong et al. 2010; 2012; Backstrom, Armstrong, and Puentes 2012; Flack et al. 2007; Wade and Heldman 2012). Additionally, and perhaps relatedly, on hookups, young women tend to expect and to experience less pleasure than what their male partners expect or experience (Bradshaw, Kahn, and Saville 2010; Paul and Hayes 2002; Shukusky and Wade 2012). As a result, general dissatisfaction with sexual activity on a hookup may hinder young women's post-hookup interest in subsequent contact with their partners. That is, although young women are more likely than

young men to see hookups as a potential pathway to romantic relationships, their dissatisfaction with a specific hookup encounter may thwart their interest in cultivating a relationship from that particular hookup. This may not be the case for young men, however, as research indicates that engaging in unwanted sexual activity is less common and less aversive for males than for females (Byers and Glenn 2012; Kernsmith and Kernsmith 2009; O'Sullivan, Byers, and Finkelman 1998).

In this study I use data from the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS) to examine the relationship between unwanted sexual activity, sexual pleasure, and college students' post-hookup interest in their hookup partners. I expect findings to broaden our understanding of the circumstances under which hooking up may (and may not) lead to romantic relationships between college students. More specifically, I anticipate that findings from this analysis will highlight processes through which gender inequality, in the context of sexual activity, may hinder young women's pursuit of relationships with their hookup partners. This is particularly relevant because hookups have not replaced romantic relationships on college campuses; rather, hookups have replaced dates as the primary means through which college students form romantic relationships (Bogle 2008).

Unwanted Sexual Activity on Hookups

Sexual activity on college hookups is frequently driven by male desire, such that couples more often engage in activities that the male partner desires than in those that the female partner desires (Armstrong et al. 2010; 2012; Backstrom et al. 2012). In many cases, young women consent to sexual activity that they do not desire, or want, in order to fulfill their male partner's desires (Flack et al. 2007; Wade and Heldman 2012). Such cases of unwanted sex can be the result of verbal pressure or of a more subtle understanding of a partner's wishes; however, in

either case, it involves consensual participation by both partners. In fact, it is possible to consent to (or willingly engage in) sexual activity that one does not want or desire, as consent is not synonymous with want/desire. As Peterson and Muehlenhard (2007) explain, "to *want* something is to desire it, to wish for it, to feel inclined toward it, or to regard it or aspects of it as positively valenced; in contrast, to *consent* is to be willing or to agree to do something" (p. 73 [emphasis in original]).

Although young men and women both report engaging in unwanted sexual activity, a number of studies indicate that this is more common for young women (Flack et al. 2007; Kaestle 2009; O'Sullivan and Allgeier 1998; Sprecher at al. 1994; Wright, Norton, and Matusek 2010; for a counterexample see Muehlenhard and Cook 1988).[19] Engaging in unwanted sexual activity is not inherently problematic, as it can be a healthy component of a committed relationship in which partners share an implicit contract to remain sexually available to one another (see Impett and Peplau 2003; O'Sullivan and Allgeier 1998; Vannier and O'Sullivan 2010, but for an exception see Katz and Tirone 2009). However, there is reason to believe that young adults often perceive unwanted sexual activity during hookups to be a negative experience.

Findings from qualitative studies exploring college students' perceptions of typical hookups reveal that young men and women describe "bad" or "worst" hookups as those that involve being pressured or manipulated by one's hookup partner into engaging in unwanted sexual activity (Littleton et al. 2009; Paul and Hayes 2002). Such "bad" hookups appear to be a common reality for young people. One investigation of college students' risk factors for

[19] Muehlenhard and Cook (1988) find that, when including kissing in the analysis, women consent to unwanted sexual activity more often than men. However, when limiting the analysis to sexual intercourse, men consent to unwanted sexual activity more often than women.

unwanted sex indicates that respondents reported engaging in vaginal, anal, or oral sex when they "did not want to" more often in the context of a hookup than a date or relationship (Flack et al. 2007).

Just as there are gender differences in the frequency with which young men and women engage in unwanted (consensual) sex, there are gender differences in the subjective consequences of unwanted sexual activity. In heterosexual pairings, unwanted sexual activity tends to be more problematic for young women than it is for young men. Specifically, young women tend to report stronger negative emotional reactions to unwanted sexual activity than young men – and some young men even report positive feelings in reaction to being coerced to engage in sexual activity with their female partners (Byers and Glenn 2012; Kernsmith and Kernsmith 2009; O'Sullivan et al. 1998). Additionally, young men who coerce their female partners to engage in unwanted sex are typically viewed as aggressive, whereas women who coerce their male partners to engage in unwanted sexual activity are viewed as promiscuous (Oswald and Russell 2006).

These gendered patterns are consistent with prominent gender norms that minimize young women's sexual desire and pleasure while taking young men's sexual desire and pleasure for granted (see Fields 2008; Fine 1988; Fine and McClelland 2006; Tolman 2002). Ultimately, such mores portray young women as sexual objects that should be pleasurable to young men, who are assumed to be sexual subjects with desires of their own. As Bay-Cheng and Eliseo-Arras (2008) argue, gender norms influence negotiations about sexual activity "in the moment" such that young men verbally convince young women to engage in unwanted activity – and both partners ignore young women's desires or feelings surrounding the unwanted sex. In light of this, these authors conclude that gender norms leave young women feeling "obligated to satisfy their

male partners' sexual wishes and being convinced to consent to sex regardless of their own embodied interests" (p. 394).

When young women engage in unwanted sexual activity they arguably prioritize their male partners' sexual desires over their own. Indeed, engaging in unwanted sexual activity may diminish young women's feelings of sexual satisfaction on hookups. Qualitative interviews with college women suggest that engaging in consensual, unwanted sexual activity on hookups tends to be unsatisfying for young women (Wade and Heldman 2012). As one young woman relayed to Wade and Heldman, "having sex was entirely for his enjoyment, when he wanted it, where, and how . . . anything we did was not pleasurable to me. I could not be satisfied by him in any way" (p. 141). This apparent relationship between young women's engagement in unwanted sexual activity and the pleasure they report receiving on hookups could have implications for young women's subsequent interest in their hookup partners (and provide insight into why hookups are unlikely to result in romantic relationships), as it likely compounds a previously documented "pleasure gap" that can leave young women disenchanted with hookup culture.

Hooking Up and the Pleasure Gap

Both young men and young women typically engage in hookups with hopes of receiving sexual pleasure from their hookup partners (Garcia and Reiber 2008; Lyons et al. 2014). However, these hopes remain relatively unrealized for young women. That is, young women tend to find sexual activity on hookups to be less pleasurable than sexual activity in the context of romantic relationships; furthermore, sexual activity on hookups is often less pleasurable to young women than it is to young men (Armstrong et al. 2012). Armstrong and colleagues link this pleasure gap to a contemporary form of the sexual double standard that entitles young women to pursue sexual pleasure, but only within the context of a committed relationship.

The traditional sexual double standard allots more sexual freedom to men than women and, accordingly, evaluates women more negatively than men for engaging in similar sexual behaviors (see Reis 1960 for foundational work on the sexual double standard). Recent research on the traditional double standard has produced seemingly equivocal findings, with some studies noting the continued significance of the traditional double standard (Crawford and Popp 2003; Jonason and Marks 2009; Kreager and Staff 2009; Marks 2008; Marks and Fraley 2006; 2007; Sakaluk and Milhausen 2012) and others suggesting it is obsolete in contemporary hookup culture (Allison and Risman 2013; Marks and Fraley 2005; Milhausen and Herold 2002).

Although hookup culture may have altered patterns of sexual relations on college campuses, its existence is not necessarily a sign that the sexual double standard is outmoded. The casual nature of hooking up allows contemporary women to explore their sexual desires in ways that previous generations of women could not; however, it is still a "deeply gendered sexual project that takes place on a gender-unequal terrain" (Kalish and Kimmel 2011:139). Several studies indicate that young women are often stigmatized by an ambiguous double standard that directs them to avoid hooking up "too much" or "going too far" sexually on a hookup (Bogle 2008; Currier 2013; Glenn and Marquardt 2001; Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Kimmel 2008; Reid, Elliot, and Webber 2011). Applying this insight directly to sexual pleasure, Armstrong et al. (2012) note the emergence of a new sexual double standard permeating throughout hookup culture, whereby:

> Entitlement to sexual pleasure has become reciprocal within relationships, but doubts about women's entitlement to pleasure in casual liaisons keep women from asking to have their desires satisfied and keep men from seeing women as deserving of their attentiveness in hookups. (P. 458)

Specifically, qualitative interviews with male and female college students indicate that both genders believe men are entitled to pleasure in the contexts of hookups and relationships, but women are only entitled to pleasure in the latter context (Armstrong et al. 2010; 2012). As a result, women strive to please both their male hookup and relationship partners whereas men only strive to please their female relationship partners. In fact, findings from one study show that college women take for granted the fact that they can receive sexual stimulation that is conducive to women's pleasure (i.e., oral sex) in the context of a relationship, but feel that they must be particularly assertive to receive it on a hookup (Backstrom et al. 2010).

This creates a hookup/relationship pleasure gap whereby women report lower levels of sexual satisfaction from their hookups than from their relationships (Armstrong et al. 2012). In fact, young women report lower levels of desire, pleasure, and general enjoyment during sexual activity with hookup partners than sexual activity with more familiar partners (e.g., friends with benefits, dating partners, romantic relationship partners) (Bay-Cheng, Robinson, and Zucker 2009; Fielder and Carey 2010). In addition, compared to young men, young women are less likely to feel sexually satisfied following a hookup – and are less likely to expect sexual satisfaction as a benefit of hooking up (Bradshaw et al. 2010; Paul and Hayes 2002; Shukusky and Wade 2012). This has practical implications as, ultimately, women who find their hookups to be un-pleasurable tend to opt-out of hooking up (Wade and Heldman 2012). Furthermore, Wade and Heldman conclude that young women perceive opting out of hooking up as being equivalent to opting out of sexual relations altogether, as they believe dating to be obsolete – and hookups to be the only path to relationships – in contemporary college life.

If lack of pleasure reduces women's interest in hooking up and relationships in general, then it should follow that lack of pleasure with a particular hookup partner should reduce

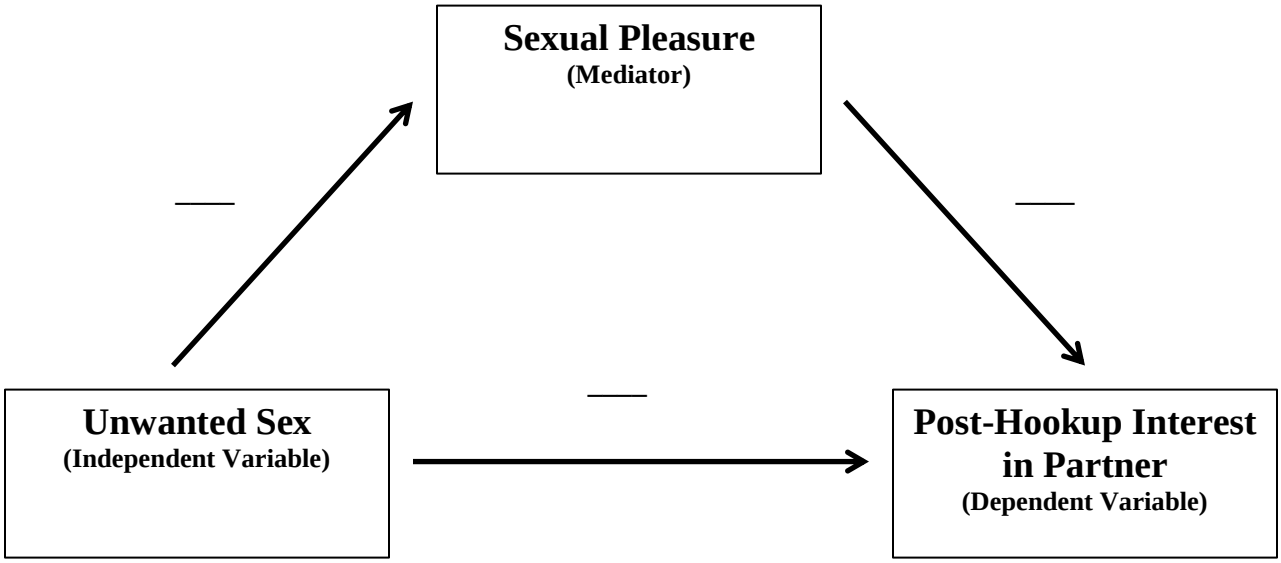
women's subsequent interest in that hookup partner. Additionally, since unwanted sex is associated with lower levels of sexual pleasure among women (Wade and Heldman 2012), then the relationship between unwanted sex during hookups and young women's subsequent interest their hookup partners should be mediated (or at least partially explained) by young women's self-reports of sexual satisfaction with that specific partner (see Figure 4.1).

Compared to the empirical data representing women's experiences with hooking up, there are fewer data from which to hypothesize about the relationship between men's engagement in unwanted (consensual) sexual activity and their sexual satisfaction, much less their subsequent interest in their hookup partners. Research does indicate, however, that engaging in unwanted sex may be less problematic for young men than it is for young women (Byers and Glenn 2012; Kernsmith and Kernsmith 2009; O'Sullivan et al. 1998). Thus, engaging in unwanted sexual activity should not be a significant predictor of young men's subsequent interest in their hookup partners.

Purpose of Study and Statement of Hypotheses

In this study I explore relationships between unwanted sexual activity, sexual pleasure, and college students' interest in subsequent contact with their hookup partners. I specifically test the following hypotheses:

Figure 4.1. Theoretical Model Depicting Sexual Pleasure as a Mediator between Unwanted Sexual Activity and Post-Hookup Interest in Hookup Partner.



H1: For women, engaging in unwanted sexual activity on one's most recent heterosexual hookup will be associated with lower odds of expressing post-hookup interest in one's hookup partner.

H2: For men, engaging in unwanted sexual activity on one's most recent heterosexual hookup will not be associated with odds of expressing post-hookup interest in one's hookup partner.

H3: For women, the negative relationship between engaging in unwanted sexual activity on one's most recent heterosexual hookup and post-hookup interest in one's hookup partner will be (partially) mediated by the level of pleasure that they report receiving from the sexual activity on that hookup.

Method

To test these hypotheses I employ data from the OCSLS, which were collected between 2005 and 2011 at 22 colleges and universities across the United States. Recruitment for the OCSLS took place in college courses, many of which were sociology classes. However, despite this fact, only about 8% of respondents were sociology majors. As part of the recruitment process, students were given the option of completing the survey or an alternate assignment for course credit; however, the majority of students elected to complete the survey, resulting in a 99-100% response rate in most classes (Armstrong et al. 2012). Administration of the OCSLS did not involve random sampling, which limits generalization of results. Yet, as other scholars have noted, the fact that this survey was administered on a wide range of campuses and has a nearly 100% response rate ensures that it captured a large, diverse cross-section of the US college student population (Allison and Risman 2013; Armstrong et al. 2012).

The OCSLS dataset is well suited for exploring the hypotheses outlined in this study because the sample includes both women and men and survey items include in-depth measures of college students' personal experiences with hooking up. Additionally, as a self-administered online survey, the OCSLS is likely to produce higher response rates to items requesting sensitive information than face-to-face surveys (Shroder, Carey, and Vanable 2003).

In this analysis I focus strictly on those respondents who reported experience with hooking up during their college years. I classified respondents as having hookup experience if they reported participating in at least one hookup since beginning college. When asking respondents about their hookup experience, the OCSLS instructs them to "use whatever definition of a hook up you and your friends generally use. It doesn't have to include sex to count if you and your friends would call it a hook up."

To capture a sample of traditional college students I limited the sample to those respondents who reported that they were undergraduates, under the age of 25, not married, and graduated high school in the United States. Additionally, since this analysis focused on unwanted sexual activity and sexual pleasure on heterosexual hookups, I included respondents only if they identified as male or female (excluding the few respondents who either did not identify or who identified as transgender), identified as heterosexual, and reported that their most recent hookup was with a partner of the other sex. Collectively, the aforementioned inclusion criteria yielded a working sample of 11,415 college students.

Main Variables

In this analysis, unwanted sexual activity is represented by two separate variables: (1) a measure of whether respondents engaged in unwanted intercourse as a result of verbal pressure and (2) a measure of whether respondents performed oral or manual stimulation of their partner's

genitals when they were not interested in sexual activity. I classified respondents as engaging in unwanted intercourse as a result of their partner's verbal pressure if they responded "yes" to the following item regarding their most recent hookup: "Did you have sexual intercourse that you did not want because someone verbally pressured you?" (1 = Yes; 0 = No). I classified respondents as performing unwanted oral/manual sex if they responded "yes" to the following item regarding their most recent hookup: "Did you perform oral sex or hand stimulation of your partner because you did not want to have intercourse, but felt you should give them an orgasm?" (1 = Yes; 0 = No). Importantly, I selected these two measures of unwanted sex because they differ in both the specific type of unwanted sexual activity (i.e., intercourse and oral/manual stimulation) and the extent to which the sexual activity was obtained through coercion (i.e., verbal pressure and more subtle understandings).

Sexual pleasure is represented by respondents' self-reported enjoyment of sexual activity on their most recent hookup. I constructed this variable from the following item pertinent to respondents' most recent hookup: "How much did you enjoy whatever happened physically?" Possible responses included: "I did not enjoy the sexual activity at all," "I enjoyed the sexual activity very little," "I enjoyed the sexual activity somewhat," and "I enjoyed the sexual activity very much." Very few male respondents reported that they enjoyed the sexual activity on their most recent hookup very little, which created zero cell counts and large standard errors in preliminary analyses. As a result, I dichotomized this measure (1 = Not at all/Very Little; 0 = Somewhat/Very Much). This coding designates higher levels of pleasure as the excluded/reference group in statistical analyses, which permits interpretation of results in a manner that is consistent with the directionality of the study's hypotheses.

To represent subsequent interest in one's most recent hookup partner I created two separate variables measuring respondents' post-hookup interest in (1) a relationship and (2) a subsequent hookup with their partner. I classified respondents as expressing interest in a relationship if, in response to the item, "Were you interested in having a romantic relationship with the person you hooked up with after you hooked up?" they selected the response "Yes, I was definitely interested" (1 = Yes; 0 = No). Similarly, I classified respondents as expressing interest in a subsequent hookup if, in response to the item, "At the end of the hookup, were you interested in hooking up with this person again?" they selected the response "Yes, I was definitely interested" (1 = Yes; 0 = No).[20]

Control Variables

In this analysis I controlled for a few key variables that are likely to influence the relationships between the main variables outlined above. First, I controlled for respondents' self-reported (retrospective) pre-hookup interest in a relationship with their hookup partners. I classified respondents as expressing such interest if, in response to the item, "Were you interested in having a romantic relationship with the person you hooked up with before you two hooked up?" they selected the response "Yes, I was definitely interested" (1 = Yes; 0 = No). This particular control is important for two main reasons: (1) it is logical to assume that pre-hookup interest in one's partner is related to post-hookup interest in one's partner and (2) research by Armstrong et al. (2012) indicates that, at least for young women, interest in a relationship with one's hookup partner is positively associated with sexual pleasure on a given hookup.

[20] Other potential responses to these two items were "No; I wasn't at all interested," "Possibly; I didn't really know yet," and "Maybe; it had some appeal." These responses, as well as nonresponses, were coded as "0."

Of additional importance, the specific sexual activities that occur on a hookup can influence respondents' reports of sexual pleasure. Thus, I included measures indicating whether respondents engaged in vaginal intercourse (1 = Yes; 0 = No), performed oral sex (1 = Yes; 0 = No), and received oral sex (1 = Yes; 0 = No) on their most recent hookup. I excluded from analysis respondents who were missing data on any of the aforementioned variables. This exclusion dropped the final sample size from 11,415 to 11,117.[21]

Data Analysis

Baron and Kenny (1986) claim that a variable can be said to function as a mediator to the extent to which it explains the relationship between an independent and dependent variable. In this analysis, sexual pleasure may be said to function as a mediator to the extent to which it explains the relationship between unwanted sexual activity and post-hookup interest in one's partner (net of controls). To test a mediation hypothesis, Baron and Kenny propose running the following set of separate regression equations: (1) regress the proposed mediator (i.e., sexual pleasure) on the independent variable (i.e., unwanted sex), (2) regress the dependent variable (i.e., post-hookup interest in one's partner) on the independent variable (i.e., unwanted sex), and (3) regress the dependent variable (i.e., post-hookup interest in one's partner) on both the independent variable (i.e., unwanted sex) and the mediator (i.e., sexual pleasure).

In order to establish mediation, Baron and Kenny argue that the following conditions must be met:

> First, the independent variable must affect the mediator in the first equation; second, the independent variable must be shown to affect the dependent variable in the second

[21] Thus, 2.61% of cases were omitted due to respondents missing data on one or more variables. Data missing for individual variables was relatively infrequent, with a maximum value of 1.67% of cases (Enjoy Sexual Activity).

> equation; and third, the mediator must affect the dependent variable in the third equation. If these conditions all hold in the predicted direction, then the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable must be less in the third equation than in the second. (P. 1177)

Baron and Kenny note that, when assessing the difference in effects of the independent variable on the dependent variable between the second and third equations, it is important to examine both the significance and the absolute size of the pertinent coefficients. Thus, they recommend computing Sobel's *z* to test the significance of the difference between the coefficients in the second and third equations outlined above (i.e., equations assessing the direct and indirect/mediated paths between the independent and dependent variables). If the three aforementioned conditions are met, and a statistically significant Sobel statistic is obtained (an important final step that, as Preacher and Hayes (2004) note, is often overlooked in practice), then a mediation hypothesis can be accepted.[22]

In this analysis, I conduct four sets of logistic regression analyses to determine the function of sexual pleasure as a mediator in the relationship between a combination of independent variables and dependent variables. Specifically, I use two separate measures as independent variables (i.e., unwanted sex represented by verbal pressure for intercourse as well as unwanted oral/manual sex) and two separate measures as dependent variables (i.e., subsequent interest in one's hookup partner represented by interest in a relationship as well as interest in a hookup). Since my dataset consists of binary variables, for each mediation test, I compute a

[22] Sobel's test has been noted to be low in power (high risk of a Type II error) and, thus, is not recommended for use in small samples (see Preacher and Hayes 2004; 2008). However, the Sobel test has the benefit of being conservative (low risk of a Type I error) and is appropriate for use in large samples, such as that obtained by the OCSLS.

Sobel's *z* statistic following adjustments for the use of logistic regression, as proposed by MacKinnon and Dwyer (1993).

Results and Discussion

The final sample for this study consisted of 68.75% females (*n* = 7,643) and 31.25% males (*n* = 3,474). Racial/ethnic demographics for the sample were as follows: 75.94% White (*n* = 8,442), 12.98% Hispanic (*n* = 1,443), 12.45% Asian (*n* = 1,384), 6.49% Black (*n* = 721), and 7.14% Other Race (*n* = 794).[23]

Descriptive statistics are summarized in Table 4.1. Gender comparisons of descriptive statistics for main variables are largely consistent with themes in past research. Specifically, a greater proportion of females (21.41%, *n* = 1,636) than males (15.03%, *n* = 522) reported pre-hookup interest in a relationship with their most recent hookup partner. The same is true for post-hookup interest in a relationship (females: 29.40%, *n* = 2,247; males: 21.27%, *n* = 739) and post-hookup interest in a subsequent hookup (females: 38.58%, *n* = 2,949; males: 35.03%, *n* = 1,217).

Additionally, a greater proportion of females (1.91%, *n* = 146) than males (.89%, *n* = 31) reported engaging in unwanted intercourse as a result of verbal pressure on their most recent hookup, as well as performing oral/manual sex when they were not interested in sexual activity (females: 6.95%, *n* = 531; males: 4.06%, *n* = 141). Finally, a greater proportion of females (14.63%, *n* = 1,118) than males (9.36%, *n* = 325) indicated that they enjoyed the sexual activity on their most recent hookup "not at all" or "very little." As indicated in Table 4.1, Chi-squared tests of independence indicate that each of these gendered patterns is statistically significant.

[23] Categories are not mutually exclusive (i.e., respondents could select more than one category); thus, percentages do not sum to 100.

Table 4.1. Descriptive Statistics for Individuals with College Hookup Experience, OCSLS, N = 11,117

	Proportions for Total Sample (N = 11,117)	Proportions for Females (n = 7,643)	Proportions for Males (n = 3,474)	X^2
Dependent Variables				
Post-Hookup Relationship Interest (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.262	.294	.213	79.888***
Subsequent Hookup Interest (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.365	.386	.350	12.714***
Main Independent Variables				
Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.059	.069	.041	34.588***
Unwanted Intercourse-Verbal Pressure (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.016	.019	.009	15.151***
Enjoy Sexual Activity				58.317***
Not at all/Very Little	.126	.146	.094	
Somewhat/Very Much	.847	.854	.906	
Control Variables				
Pre-Hookup Interest in Relationship (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.189	.214	.150	61.725***
Intercourse (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.390	.388	.427	14.730***
Performed Oral Sex (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.247	.261	.238	6.850**
Received Oral Sex (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.266	.218	.395	373.291***

Note: $+p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$; X^2 obtained from Chi-squared test of independence between gender and the specified variable.

Unwanted Sexual Activity and Post-Hookup Interest in Partner

Female Sample. Table 4.2 summarizes results from logistic regression analyses predicting post-hookup interest in one's partner from unwanted sexual activity. For females, both measures of unwanted sexual activity (i.e., Unwanted Intercourse and Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex) are statistically significant, negative predictors of both measures of post-hookup interest in one's partner (i.e., Post-Hookup Relationship Interest and Subsequent Hookup Interest) – net of controls. More specifically, converting the logit coefficients to odds ratios [i.e., exp(B)] indicates the odds that a female who reports engaging in unwanted intercourse as a result of verbal pressure will also express post-hookup interest in a relationship or subsequent hookup are, respectively, .289 (i.e., [exp(-1.240)] and .217 [i.e., exp(-1.528)] times that of a female who does not report engaging in unwanted intercourse as a result of verbal pressure. Additionally, the odds that a female who reports performing oral/manual sex when she is not interested in sexual activity will also express post-hookup interest in a relationship or subsequent hookup are, respectively, .525 [i.e., exp(-.645)] and .509 [i.e., exp(-.675)] times that of a female who does not report performing oral/manual sex when she is not interested in sexual activity. In other words, for females, both measures of unwanted sexual activity are associated with lower odds of expressing post-hookup interest in both a relationship and subsequent hookup with one's partner. Thus, Hypothesis 1 is supported.

Male Sample. For males, the coefficients for both measures of unwanted sexual activity (i.e., Unwanted Intercourse and Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex) failed to reach significance for Post-Hookup Relationship Interest, but were statistically significant and negative for Subsequent Hookup Interest – net of controls. Specifically, the odds that a male who reports engaging in unwanted intercourse as a result of verbal pressure will also express post-hookup

Table 4.2. Estimates from Binary Logistic Regression Models Predicting Post-Hookup Interest in a Relationship and/or Subsequent Hookup with one's Partner, OCSLS, *N* = 11,117

	Post-Hookup Relationship Interest				Subsequent Hookup Interest			
	Females (*n* = 7,643)	Males (*n* = 3,474)	Females (*n* = 7,643)	Males (*n* = 3,474)	Females (*n* = 7,643)	Males (*n* = 3,474)	Females (*n* = 7,643)	Males (*n* = 3,474)
Main Independent Variables								
Unwanted Intercourse-Verbal Pressure	-1.240***	-.092			-1.528***	-1.555**		
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.282)	(.594)			(.242)	(.580)		
Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex			-.645***	.105			-.675***	-.760***
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)			(.144)	(.264)			(.112)	(.225)
Control Variables								
Pre-Hookup Interest in Relationship	3.261***	3.714***	3.256***	3.715***	1.775***	2.025***	1.769***	2.029***
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.075)	(.132)	(.075)	(.132)	(.063)	(.111)	(.063)	(.111)
Intercourse	.300***	-.165	.215**	-.160	.392***	.227**	.295***	.185*
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.071)	(.126)	(.072)	(.127)	(.057)	(.088)	(.058)	(.089)
Performed Oral Sex	.127	.694***	.286**	.690***	.208**	.370***	.284***	.387***
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.082)	(.141)	(.087)	(.142)	(.066)	(.103)	(.068)	(.103)
Received Oral Sex	.266**	-.098	.286**	-.101	.316***	-.041	.340***	-.026
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.087)	(.135)	(.087)	(.135)	(.017)	(.094)	(.071)	(.095)
Intercept	-1.931***	-2.227***	-1.899***	-2.232***	-1.122***	-1.107***	-1.088***	-1.082***
	(.047)	(.081)	(.047)	(.082)	(.037)	(.057)	(.037)	(.057)
-2 Log Likelihood	6495.742	2417.600	6496.526	2417.458	9005.100	4035.124	9017.860	4032.065
X^2	2762.858***	1178.300***	2762.074***	1178.442***	1188.400***	464.675***	1175.640***	467.735***

Note: +$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests). Coefficients are reported in logit form. Standard errors are reported in parentheses.

interest in a subsequent hookup are .211 [i.e., exp(-1.555)] times that of a male who does not report engaging in unwanted intercourse as a result of verbal pressure. Additionally, the odds that a male who reports performing oral/manual sex when he is not interested in sexual activity will also express post-hookup interest in a subsequent hookup are .468 [i.e., exp(-.760)] times that of a male who does not report performing oral/manual sex when he is not interested in sexual activity. In other words, for males, both measures of unwanted sex are unrelated to post-hookup interest in a relationship with one's partner. However, both measures of unwanted sex are associated with lower odds of expressing post-hookup interest in a subsequent hookup with one's partner. Thus, Hypothesis 2 is only partially supported.

Unwanted Sexual Activity, Sexual Pleasure, and Post-Hookup Interest in Partner

Female Sample. Hypothesis 3 states that, for women, the negative relationship between unwanted sexual activity and subsequent interest in one's hookup partner will be mediated by sexual pleasure. To test this hypothesis I employed Baron and Kenny's (1986) method for assessing mediation among four combinations of independent variables (i.e., Unwanted Intercourse and Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex) and dependent variables (i.e., Post-Hookup Relationship Interest and Subsequent Hookup Interest). Regression output used in mediation analysis predicting post-hookup interest in a relationship is summarized in Table 4.3 and regression output used in mediation analysis predicting interest in a subsequent hookup is summarized in Table 4.4.

As summarized in Table 4.3, when predicting post-hookup relationship interest, all three of Baron and Kenny's (1986) criteria for mediation are established. This is the case for both measures of unwanted sexual activity. Specifically, (1) Unwanted Intercourse is a significant predictor of Enjoyed Sexual Activity, (2) Unwanted Intercourse is a significant predictor of Post-

Table 4.3. Estimates from Binary Logistic Regression Models Used in Mediation Analysis Predicting Post-Hookup Interest in a Relationship with one's Partner – Female Sample, OCSLS, *n* = 7,643

	Enjoyed Sexual Activity Not at all/Very Little		Post-Hookup Relationship Interest			
Main Independent Variables						
Unwanted Intercourse-Verbal Pressure	2.068***		-1.240***	-.537+		
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.182)		(.282)	(.300)		
Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex		.813***			-.645***	-.438**
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)		(.118)			(.144)	(.146)
Enjoy Sexual Activity				-2.777***		-2.785***
(1 = Not at All/Very Little; 0 = Somewhat/Very Much)				(.211)		(.210)
Control Variables						
Pre-Hookup Interest in Relationship	-1.705***	-1.682***	3.261***	3.204***	3.256***	3.203***
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.140)	(.139)	(.075)	(.078)	(.075)	(.078)
Intercourse	-1.690*	.013	.300***	.284***	.215**	.233**
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.078)	(.077)	(.071)	(.072)	(.072)	(.074)
Performed Oral Sex	-.309**	-.404***	.127	.097	.286**	.146+
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.097)	(.099)	(.082)	(.084)	(.087)	(.086)
Received Oral Sex	-.585***	-.623***	.266**	.179*	.286**	.189*
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.111)	(.109)	(.087)	(.089)	(.087)	(.089)
Intercept	-1.389***	-1.431***	-1.931***	-1.700***	-1.899***	-1.676***
	(.042)	(.043)	(.047)	(.048)	(.047)	(.048)
-2 Log Likelihood	5905.083	5981.240	6495.742	6152.555	6496.526	6146.608
X^2	456.917***	380.760***	2762.858***	3106.045***	2762.074***	3111.992***

Note: +$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests). Coefficients are reported in logit form. Standard errors are reported in parentheses.

Hookup Relationship Interest, and (3) Enjoyed Sexual Activity is a significant predictor of Post-Hookup Relationship Interest when controlling for Unwanted Intercourse. Importantly, the relationship between Unwanted Intercourse and Post-Hookup Relationship Interest is significantly weakened when controlling for Enjoyed Sexual Activity (from a logit of -1.240 to -.537; odds ratio of .289 to .584), as indicated by a statistically significant Sobel test ($z = 8.601$, $p < .001$).

Likewise, (1) Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex is a significant predictor of Enjoyed Sexual Activity, (2) Performed Unwanted Oral/manual Sex is a significant predictor of Post-Hookup Relationship Interest, and (3) Enjoyed Sexual Activity is a significant predictor of Post-Hookup Relationship Interest when controlling for Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex. Furthermore, the relationship between Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex and Post-Hookup Relationship Interest is significantly weakened when controlling for Enjoyed Sexual Activity (from a logit of -.645 to -.438; odds ratio of .525 to .645), as indicated by a statistically significant Sobel test ($z = -6.114$, $p < .001$).

As summarized in Table 4.4, when predicting post-hookup interest in a subsequent hookup, all three of Baron and Kenny's (1986) criteria for mediation are established. Again, this is the case for both measures of unwanted sexual activity. Specifically, (1) Unwanted Intercourse is a significant predictor of Enjoyed Sexual Activity, (2) Unwanted Intercourse is a significant predictor of Subsequent Hookup Interest, and (3) Enjoyed Sexual Activity is a significant predictor of Subsequent Hookup Interest when controlling for Unwanted Intercourse. The relationship between Unwanted Intercourse and Subsequent Hookup Interest is significantly weakened when controlling for Enjoyed Sexual Activity (from a logit of -1.528 to -.948; odds ratio of .217 to .388), as indicated by a statistically significant Sobel test ($z = -9.322$, $p < .001$).

Table 4.4. Estimates from Binary Logistic Regression Models Used in Mediation Analysis Predicting Post-Hookup Interest in a Subsequent Hookup with one's Partner – Female Sample, OCSLS, *n* = 7,643

	Enjoyed Sexual Activity Not at all/Very Little			Subsequent Hookup Interest		
Main Independent Variables						
Unwanted Intercourse-Verbal Pressure	2.068***		-1.528***	-.948***		
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.182)		(.242)	(.262)		
Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex		.813***			-.675***	-.496***
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)		(.118)			(.112)	(.117)
Enjoy Sexual Activity				-3.081***		-3.102***
(1 = Not at All/Very Little; 0 = Somewhat/Very Much)				(.189)		(.189)
Control Variables						
Pre-Hookup Interest in Relationship	-1.705***	-1.682***	1.775***	1.630***	1.769***	1.626***
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.140)	(.139)	(.063)	(.065)	(.063)	(.065)
Intercourse	-1.690*	.013	.392***	.386***	.295***	.323***
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.078)	(.077)	(.057)	(.059)	(.058)	(.060)
Performed Oral Sex	-.309**	-.404***	.208**	.171*	.284***	.227**
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.097)	(.099)	(.066)	(.069)	(.068)	(.070)
Received Oral Sex	-.585***	-.623***	.316***	.231**	.340***	.243***
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.111)	(.109)	(.017)	(.073)	(.071)	(.073)
Intercept	-1.389***	-1.431***	-1.122***	-.844***	-1.088***	-.816***
	(.042)	(.043)	(.037)	(.038)	(.037)	(.039)
-2 Log Likelihood	5905.083	5981.240	9005.100	8347.132	9017.860	8343.015
X^2	456.917***	380.760***	1188.400***	1846.368***	1175.640***	1850.985***

Note: +$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests). Coefficients are reported in logit form. Standard errors are reported in parentheses.

Similarly, (1) Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex is a significant predictor of Enjoyed Sexual Activity, (2) Performed Unwanted Oral/manual Sex is a significant predictor of Subsequent Hookup Interest, and (3) Enjoyed Sexual Activity is a significant predictor of Subsequent Hookup Interest when controlling for Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex. The relationship between Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex and Subsequent Hookup Interest is significantly weakened when controlling for Enjoyed Sexual Activity (from a logit of -.675 to -.496; odds ratio of .509 to .609), as indicated by a statistically significant Sobel test ($z = -6.353$, $p < .001$).

Overall, for females, mediation analysis indicates that both measures of unwanted sexual activity are negatively associated with both measures of post-hookup interest in one's partner – and that this relationship is mediated, or explained by, lower levels of sexual pleasure. That is, young women who engage in unwanted sexual activity on hookups exhibit decreased odds of expressing subsequent interest in their partners, but this relationship is partially attributed to lower levels of sexual pleasure. Importantly, this is a case of partial (rather than full) mediation, as the relationship between unwanted sexual activity and post-hookup interest in one's partner does not reduce to zero when controlling for sexual pleasure (see Baron and Kenny 1986). This suggests the possibility of additional mediators not explored in this study.

Male Sample. For males, Hypothesis 2 (previously addressed) stated that unwanted sexual activity would not be a significant predictor of subsequent interest in one's hookup partner. As a result, there is no hypothesis about the function of sexual pleasure as a mediator of the relationship between unwanted sexual activity and subsequent interest in one's hookup partner. However, Hypothesis 2 is only supported as it applies to post-hookup interest in a relationship with one's partner. That is, logistic regression analyses revealed a significant,

negative relationship between unwanted sexual activity and interest in a subsequent hookup with one's partner. In light of this unexpected finding, I conducted an analysis of the function of sexual pleasure as a mediator of the relationship between unwanted sexual activity and interest in a subsequent hookup with one's partner.

As summarized in Table 4.5, when predicting post-hookup interest in a subsequent hookup, all three of Baron and Kenny's (1986) criteria for mediation are established. This is the case for both measures of unwanted sexual activity. Specifically, (1) Unwanted Intercourse is a significant predictor of Enjoyed Sexual Activity, (2) Unwanted Intercourse is a significant predictor of Subsequent Hookup Interest, and (3) Enjoyed Sexual Activity is a significant predictor of Subsequent Hookup Interest when controlling for Unwanted Intercourse. Importantly, the relationship between Unwanted Intercourse and Subsequent Hookup Interest is significantly weakened when controlling for Enjoyed Sexual Activity (from a logit of -1.555 to -1.271; odds ratio of .211 to .281), as indicated by a statistically significant Sobel test (z = -4.495, $p < .001$).

Likewise, (1) Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex is a significant predictor of Enjoyed Sexual Activity, (2) Performed Unwanted Oral/manual Sex is a significant predictor of Subsequent Hookup Interest, and (3) Enjoyed Sexual Activity is a significant predictor of Subsequent Hookup Interest when controlling for Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex. The relationship between Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex and Subsequent Hookup Interest is significantly weakened when controlling for Enjoyed Sexual Activity (from a logit of -.760 to -.685; odds ratio of .468 to .504), as indicated by a statistically significant Sobel test (z = -3.090, $p < .01$).

Thus, for males, mediation analysis indicates that both measures of unwanted sexual

Table 4.5. Estimates from Binary Logistic Regression Models Used in Mediation Analysis Predicting Post-Hookup Interest in a Subsequent Hookup with one's Partner – Male Sample, OCSLS, *n* = 3,474

	Enjoyed Sexual Activity Not at all/Very Little			Subsequent Hookup Interest		
Main Independent Variables						
Unwanted Intercourse-Verbal Pressure	2.162***		-1.555**	-1.271*		
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.405)		(.580)	(.612)		
Performed Unwanted Oral/Manual Sex		.818***			-.760***	-.685**
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)		(.246)			(.225)	(.230)
Enjoy Sexual Activity				-2.609***		-2.616***
(1 = Not at All/Very Little; 0 = Somewhat/Very Much)				(.313)		(.313)
Control Variables						
Pre-Hookup Interest in Relationship	-1.972***	-1.978***	2.025***	1.937***	2.029***	1.940***
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.363)	(.362)	(.111)	(.112)	(.111)	(.112)
Intercourse	-.203	-.139	.227**	.211*	.185*	.174+
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.143)	(.142)	(.088)	(.089)	(.089)	(.090)
Performed Oral Sex	-.343+	-.377+	.370***	.355***	.387***	.367***
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.207)	(.205)	(.103)	(.104)	(.103)	(.105)
Received Oral Sex	-.912***	-.920***	-.041	-.140	-.026	-.125
(1 = Yes; 0 = No)	(.169)	(.166)	(.094)	(.096)	(.095)	(.096)
Intercept	-1.762***	-1.783***	-1.107***	-.920***	-1.082***	-.897***
	(.074)	(.076)	(.057)	(.058)	(.057)	(.056)
-2 Log Likelihood	2002.154	2016.130	4035.124	3885.079	4032.065	3880.645
X^2	156.446***	142.470***	464.675***	614.721***	467.735***	619.155***

Note: +$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests). Coefficients are reported in logit form. Standard errors are reported in parentheses.

activity are negatively associated with interest in a subsequent hookup with one's partner – and that this relationship is mediated, or explained by, lower levels of sexual pleasure. That is, young men who engage in unwanted sexual activity on hookups exhibit decreased odds of expressing interest in a subsequent hookup with their partners, but this relationship is partially attributed to lower levels of sexual pleasure. As with females, this is a case of partial (rather than full) mediation, as the relationship between unwanted sexual activity and post-hookup interest in one's partner does not reduce to zero when controlling for sexual enjoyment.

Conclusion

Contrary to the popular belief that hookups have replaced romantic relationships on college campuses, past research indicates that hooking up is a common path to forming romantic relationships in college (Bogle 2008; England and Thomas 2006; Garcia and Reiber 2008; Kalish and Kimmel 2011). Furthermore, even those students who are not interested in a relationship with their hookup partners are often interested in some form of subsequent contact, such as another hookup (Garcia and Reiber 2008; Paul and Hayes 2002; Shukusky and Wade 2012). These trends are supported by findings of the present study, as a sizable minority of respondents expressed post-hookup interest in a relationship (29.45% females; 21.27% males) or a subsequent hookup (38.58% females; 35.03% males) with their most recent hookup partner.

The pursuit of romantic relationships through hookups, however, may be especially complicated for young women, as their interest in subsequent encounters with a hookup partner may be quelled by dynamics of gender inequality surrounding the sexual activity that occurs on hookups. That is, sexual activity on college hookups is frequently driven by male desire, such that couples more frequently engage in activities that the male partner desires than those that the female partner desires (Armstrong et al. 2010; 2012; Backstrom et al. 2012). In fact, at times,

young women consent to sexual activity that they do not desire, or want, in order to fulfill their male hookup partner's desires (Flack et al. 2007; Wade and Heldman 2012). Thus, it is not surprising that, on hookups, young women tend to experience – and expect – less sexual pleasure than their male partners (Bradshaw et al. 2010; Paul and Hayes 2002; Shukusky and Wade 2012). Additionally, young women report lower levels of desire, pleasure, and general enjoyment during sexual activity with hookup partners than sexual activity with more familiar partners (e.g., friends with benefits, dating partners, romantic relationship partners) (Bay-Cheng et al. 2009; Fielder and Carey 2010).

Findings from this study indicate that, for young women, engaging in unwanted sexual activity (i.e., sexual intercourse as a result of a partner's verbal pressure or oral/manual stimulation to satisfy a partner when one is not interested in sexual activity) is associated with decreased odds of expressing post-hookup interest in one's partner (i.e., a romantic relationship or subsequent hookup). Additionally, despite dominant gender norms that minimize young women's sexual desire and pleasure (see Fields 2008; Fine 1988; Fine and McClelland 2006; Tolman 2002), the negative relationship between unwanted sex and subsequent interest in one's hookup partner is partially mediated by sexual pleasure. That is, engaging in unwanted sexual activity in order to fulfill a male partner's desires leads young women to become disinterested in their hookup partners, but this is partly explained by the fact that young women do not find such sexual activity to be very pleasurable.

Interestingly, although past research indicates that unwanted sexual activity may not be as problematic for young men as it is for young women (Byers and Glenn 2012; Kernsmith and Kernsmith 2009; O'Sullivan et al. 1998), findings from this study reveal a negative relationship between young men's engagement in unwanted sexual activity (i.e., sexual intercourse as a result

of a partner's verbal pressure or oral/manual stimulation to satisfy a partner when one is not interested in sexual activity) and their odds of expressing interest in a subsequent hookup (but not relationship) with their partner. As with young women, this relationship is partially mediated by sexual pleasure. This not only suggests that unwanted sex may be more problematic for young men than what some previous research suggests, but also points to an overlooked problem that unwanted sex creates for males – lower levels of sexual pleasure.

Collectively, these findings suggest that young men make a clearer distinction between the context of a hookup versus that of a romantic relationship than young women do. That is, prioritizing the desires of one's hookup partner and, consequently, reporting lower levels of sexual pleasure, hinders young men's interest in a subsequent hookup, but not a relationship, with that partner. However, for women, this is the case for interest in both a subsequent hookup and a relationship. This pattern is largely consistent with work by Armstrong et al. (2010; 2012), which indicates that men expect to prioritize their partner's desire and pleasure in the context of a relationship, but not on a hookup, whereas women expect to prioritize their partner's desire and pleasure in both contexts. That is, young men expect to do "relationship work" that they do not expect to perform in the context of a hookup – and research suggests that such work may include engaging in unwanted sexual activity as a form of relationship maintenance (Impett and Peplau 2003; O'Sullivan and Allgeier 1998; Vannier and O'Sullivan 2010). However, in the context of a hookup, young men tend to enjoy a privileged position of having their sexual desires fulfilled over those of their female partners (Armstrong et al. 2010; 2012; Backstrom et al. 2012; Wade and Heldman 2012). Thus, engaging in unwanted sexual activity to fulfill the desires of a partner may be especially disappointing to young men in the context of a hookup, but not in a relationship.

Interestingly, despite women's willingness to prioritize their partner's desire and pleasure in relationships and hookups, findings from this study suggest that young women are not necessarily satisfied with this arrangement. Specifically, the relationship between unwanted sexual activity, sexual pleasure, and interest in a relationship or subsequent hookup with one's hookup partner indicates that, for young women, being willing to prioritize a male hookup partner's desires does not necessarily mean that one finds such prioritization appealing enough to warrant a subsequent encounter.

It is important to note that generalization of findings from this analysis is limited in two main respects. First, generalization of findings is limited by sampling. Specifically, OCSLS data come from a nonrandom sample and, thus, results cannot be generalized to the larger population with certainty. Additionally, by focusing on the details of respondents' most recent hookup, the dataset employed in this analysis does not permit the assessment of any cumulative effect of sexual dissatisfaction across previous hookups with the specific hookup partner in question. Although controlling for pre-hookup interest in one's partner may account for some of this, it does not permit the determination of the specific dynamics that may contribute to diminished interest in a serial hookup partner.

Despite these limitations, findings from this analysis have implications for our understanding of the formation of romantic relationships between college students in a hookup culture. As Armstrong et al. (2010; 2012) note, sexual activity on hookups is marked by a greater degree of gender inequality than sexual activity in relationships. Given the recent trend for college relationships to emerge from hookups (England and Thomas 2006), this seems to create an ironic situation in which young women pursue (relatively) equitable relationships from inequitable hookups. However, results from this analysis may shed some light on this

conundrum, as they suggest that those hookups marked by inequality are unlikely to yield romantic relationships.

In other words, the tendency for sexual activity in relationships to be more equitable than that on hookups may not simply be a product of the different contexts (i.e., relationships versus hookups). Rather, it could be attributed to a self-selection process whereby those hookup partners who engage in more equitable sexual activity are most likely to form romantic relationships with one another. If this is the case, then findings from this study may inform discussions about whether hookup culture is particularly harmful to, or inequitable for, young women (for an example of such a discussion, see example Armstrong, Hamilton, and England 2010). However, such discussions would benefit from future research that explores the intricate progression (or lack thereof) of hookups to committed romantic relationships.

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CHAPTER 5

SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

Through this dissertation I explored relationships between gender norms (regarding sexual desire/pleasure and double standards) and negative hookup outcomes among college students. Using data from the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS) I explored the possibility that women's negative experiences with hooking up are not necessarily inherent to hookup culture itself but, rather, are related to gender norms that place young men in a privileged position over young women. Importantly, I included both young women and young men in my sample because, despite the fact that several scholars have noted that dominant gender norms privilege young men by taking their sexual desire and pleasure for granted, the extant research tends to duplicate this assumption by focusing on females and, thus, failing to examine male sexual desire/pleasure.

Summary of Findings

In Chapter 2 I examined the relationship between college students' sexual subjectivity (i.e., self-entitlement to pleasure and the pursuit of sexual activity) and sexual acquiescence on hookups and dates. I found that young women who report (typically) prioritizing their personal pleasure to an equal or greater extent than their partners' pleasure were less likely than those who report prioritizing their partners' pleasure over their own to engage in unwanted sexual activity (i.e., unwanted manual/oral stimulation of partner). This was the case for female respondents' most recent hookup and most recent date; however, this pattern was more pronounced on hookups than on dates. I interpret this to suggest that, for young women, prioritizing personal sexual pleasure may safeguard oneself against consenting to unwanted sexual activity.

Importantly, this relationship seems to be more pronounced in contexts that are generally characterized by greater levels of male privilege (i.e., contexts, such as hookups, that privilege male desires over female desires).

For males, pleasure prioritization was not a significant predictor of sexual acquiescence in the context of hookups or dates. This finding was expected, as it is consistent with the dominant discourses of adolescent sexuality, which take male sexual desire and pleasure for granted while minimizing female desire and pleasure. That is, these discourses provide young men (1) license to pursue sexual activity that is wanted as well as (2) reason to consent to sexual activity that is unwanted. In the latter case, young men may engage in unwanted sexual activity in order to adhere to discourses that portray them as sexual agents and conflate males' sexual agency with masculinity. As a whole, results from this chapter indicate that sexual subjectivity may safeguard young women, but not young men, from unwanted (consensual) sexual activity on college hookups and dates.

In Chapter 3 I examined the relationship between women's and men's endorsement of traditional and reverse double standards, respectively, and power imbalances on hookups, as evinced by negative hookup outcomes (i.e., experiencing unwanted sexual activity and/or feelings of regret). Because "post-feminist," gender-neutral rhetoric may lead contemporary college students to find individualistic accounts of couples' power disparities more appealing than gendered explanations (e.g., sexual double standards) (see Barreto and Ellemers 2005; Swim et al. 1995), I also examined the relationship between participants' personal feelings of being negatively judged for hooking up and their deleterious experiences on hookups.

Consistent with past research that suggests the traditional double standard is being displaced by newly emerging sexual standards (Allison and Risman 2013; Marks and Fraley

2005; Milhausen and Herold 1999; 2002; Sakaluk and Milhausen 2012), over half the respondents in the sample endorsed a single, egalitarian standard in judging men and women for hooking up and a slightly greater proportion of respondents subscribed to a reverse double standard than a traditional double standard. However, young women were over four times more likely than men to report feeling that they have been negatively judged for hooking up. This suggests that, although most college students do not endorse the traditional double standard when asked in explicitly gendered terms, gender differences in their individual experiences reflect the continued pertinence of a traditional double standard, as it applies to contemporary hookup culture.

Other important findings from this chapter indicate that double standards (i.e., traditional and reverse) are associated with power disadvantages on hookups for both women and men, but these patterns vary by gender in notable ways. For women, endorsing a traditional double standard was not a significant predictor of negative outcomes on their most recent hookup. However, women's perception that they had ever been judged negatively for hooking up was positively associated with succumbing to verbal pressure for intercourse on their most recent hookup and reporting feelings of regret after their most recent hookup. For men, endorsing a reverse double standard and feeling that they had ever been judged negatively for hooking up were *both* positively associated with the aforementioned outcomes. As discussed in Chapter 3, I attribute these gender differences to two main processes.

First, although gendered explanations for – and individual accounts of – couples' power inequalities are arguably related to one another (Risman 2004), findings from this study suggest that they may be more disparate in the minds of young women than in the minds of young men. Second, different processes involved with women endorsing a traditional double standard and

men endorsing a reverse double standard may explain the fact that endorsing a double standard prejudicial to one's own gender is associated with negative hookup outcomes for men, but not women. That is, women who endorse a traditional double standard are distancing themselves from a subordinate group whereas men who endorse a reverse double standard are distancing themselves from the dominant group. Thus, for men, endorsing a reverse double standard may involve sacrificing some degree of male privilege that comes with membership in the dominant group and, thus, may contribute to unfavorable power imbalances in their intimate exchanges with members of the subordinate group.

In Chapter 4 I explored the relationship between unwanted sexual activity, sexual pleasure, and college students' post-hookup interest in their hookup partners. Findings indicated that, for young women, engaging in unwanted sexual activity (i.e., sexual intercourse as a result of a partner's verbal pressure or oral/manual stimulation to satisfy a partner when one is not interested in sexual activity) is negatively associated with post-hookup interest in their most recent hookup partner (i.e., a romantic relationship or subsequent hookup). Additionally, despite dominant gender norms that minimize young women's sexual desire and pleasure (see Fields 2008; Fine 1988; Fine and McClelland 2006; Tolman 2002), the negative relationship between unwanted sex and subsequent interest in one's hookup partner is partially mediated by sexual pleasure. That is, engaging in unwanted sexual activity in order to fulfill a male partner's desires leads young women to become disinterested in their hookup partners, but this is partly explained by the fact that young women do not find such sexual activity to be very pleasurable.

Interestingly, although past research indicates that unwanted sexual activity may not be as problematic for young men as it is for young women (Byers and Glenn 2012; Kernsmith and Kernsmith 2009; O'Sullivan, Byers, and Finkelman 1998), findings from this study reveal a

negative relationship between young men's engagement in unwanted sexual activity and their interest in a subsequent hookup (but not relationship) with their partner. As with young women, this relationship is partially mediated by sexual pleasure. This not only suggests that unwanted sex may be more problematic for young men than what some previous research suggests, but also points to an overlooked problem that unwanted sex creates for males – lower levels of sexual pleasure.

I interpret these findings to suggest that young men make a clearer distinction between hookups and romantic relationships than young women do. That is, prioritizing the desires of one's hookup partner and, consequently, reporting lower levels of sexual pleasure, hinders young men's interest in a subsequent hookup, but not a relationship, with that partner. However, for women, this is the case for interest in both a subsequent hookup and a relationship. This is consistent with work by Armstrong, England, and Fogarty (2010; 2012), which indicates that men expect to prioritize their partner's desire and pleasure in the context of a relationship, but not on a hookup, whereas women expect to prioritize their partner's desire and pleasure in both contexts. However, in the context of a hookup, young men tend to enjoy a privileged position of having their sexual desires fulfilled over those of their female partners (Armstrong et al. 2010; 2012; Backstrom, Armstrong, and Puentes 2012; Wade and Heldman 2012). Thus, engaging in unwanted sexual activity to fulfill the desires of a partner may be especially disappointing to young men in the context of a hookup, but not in a relationship.

Overall, findings from this chapter broaden our understanding of the circumstances under which hooking up may (and may not) lead to romantic relationships between college students. That is, they highlight processes through which gender inequality, in the context of sexual activity, may hinder young women's pursuit of relationships with their hookup partners. This is

particularly relevant because hookups have not replaced romantic relationships on college campuses; rather, hookups have replaced dates as the primary means through which college students form romantic relationships (Bogle 2008).

Limitations

Each of these three studies poses a unique set of limitations (discussed in pertinent chapters). However, in addition to their unique caveats, they share one broad limitation based on their use of the same dataset. Specifically, the OCSLS is well suited for exploring the main questions addressed in this dissertation because (1) it captures a large, diverse cross-section of the US college student population, (2) it offers a rare opportunity to explore sexual attitudes as well as sexual experience on hookups and dates among college women and men. However, OCSLS data come from a nonrandom sample and, as a result, findings cannot be generalized to the larger population with certainty.

In addition to this limitation, it is worth noting that sex surveys often face skepticism that the intimate nature of sex precludes its effective investigation (Ericksen 1999). Particularly, critics argue that sex surveys are bound to yield low response rates, produce invalid responses, and be plagued by selection bias. However, as Ericksen argues, much of this criticism is unfounded – based largely on the methodologically flawed Kinsey reports or on non-scientific sex surveys conducted by journalists and widely disseminated through lay publications, such as popular magazines. In fact, demonstrating the feasibility of sex surveys, results of one nationally representative study indicate that such surveys have a high response rate that is comparable to that of national health surveys (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, and Kolata 1994). Additionally, Michael et al. found that responses to items on sex surveys did not significantly differ from responses to sex items embedded in more general health surveys, suggesting that validity is not a

serious problem for sex research. Importantly, however unfounded criticisms of sex surveys may be, the OCSLS dataset minimizes the risk of issues with data integrity/validity because, as a self-administered on-line survey, it is likely to produce higher rates of reporting sensitive information than those rates from face-to-face surveys (Shroder, Carey, and Vanable 2003).

Implications

Despite the limitations posed by the OCSLS dataset, as well as caveats of each study, findings from this dissertation have important implications for our understanding of college students' negative experiences with hookups – for young women and men alike. Undermining popular media accounts that often portray hookup culture as detrimental to young women and beneficial to young men, findings from this dissertation indicate that (1) negative outcomes of hookups may not be inherent to hookup culture itself, as they are associated with gender norms that privilege young men and (2) hooking up can, in some cases, be detrimental to young men.

Specifically, this research indicates that, for young women, unwanted sexual activity and negative emotional reactions to hooking up are related to personal subscription to heteronormative constructions of male and female desire as well as to their endorsement of the traditional sexual double standard (albeit only when conceptualized in gender-blind terms). For young men, unwanted sexual activity and negative emotional reactions to hooking up are related to their endorsement of an emerging reverse double standard used to judge males more harshly than females for engaging in similar sexual behaviors (whether conceptualized in explicitly gendered or gender-blind terms).

Collectively, these findings have practical implications for the implementation of sex education with adolescents and college students (e.g., classroom curricula for the former and campus outreach programs for the latter). Scholars have criticized school-based sex education for

focusing on physical aspects of sex while neglecting social aspects of sexuality (Fields 2008; Peterson 2010; Spencer, Maxwell, and Aggleton 2008). Accordingly, as Fields (2008) argues, it may be beneficial to transform "sex education" into "sexuality education" whereby the current focus on sexual health is supplemented with information on social aspects of sexuality and self-actualization. As she specifically suggests:

> Sex education's aim need not be limited to reducing rates of adolescent pregnancies, disease, and sexual activity. Rather, the aim would be to create classroom environments in which students and teachers listen to one another out of commitment to recognizing and contending with sexual desires, power, and inequality. (P. 36)

Mirroring this call for an emphasis on power and inequality, Spencer et al. (2008) recommend that sexuality education include challenges to discourses about what constitutes "appropriate" sexual expression. Findings from this dissertation indicate that such challenges should include critical appraisals of heteronormative discourses that deem female sexual desire inappropriate as well as evaluations of sexual double standards that college students may use to judge themselves (or others) harshly for engaging in sexual activity.

Importantly, results from this research indicate that, in a "post-feminist" culture, such critiques should be designed with attention to young peoples' greater tendency to invoke individualistic, rather than gendered, explanations for power inequalities between partners. That is, the different standards used to evaluate women's and men's sexual behaviors are not always packaged in explicitly gendered language. Thus, efforts to minimize power inequalities between partners should not only critique explicit gender norms (e.g., heteronormative discourses of desire and sexual double standards), but should also interrogate students' individualized experiences of power imbalances with partners. This could prove to be especially effective

among adolescents and college students who, under the influence of modern sexism, do not believe that gender norms have any influence over their personal encounters with intimate partners.

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