

# **Is There a War of the Sexes in College?**

## **Gender, Meanings, and Casual Sex**

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In the U.S. today, average age at first intercourse is 17, marriage is often in the mid- to late 20s, and premarital sex is nearly ubiquitous. Moreover, more of heterosexual sexual activity has moved to contexts that are more casual than a monogamous relationship. In the college environment, such casual liaisons are called “hookups.” As students typically define hookups, they are less formal than dates, always involve some sexual activity, not necessarily intercourse, and neither imply nor preclude an interest in a relationship.

Some view the increased incidence of sex outside relationships as evidence of women’s progress, while others see it as evidence that women are not getting what they want. In the latter camp, Bogle (2008) asserts that there is a war of the sexes, in which men want hookups with casual sex while women want relationships and to limit sex to relationships. Bogle sees the hookup culture as evidence that women somehow inexplicably lost that war. Regnerus and Uecker (2011) offer a similar view.

Discussions of the reasons for gender differences in preferences regarding casual sex feature both nature and nurture. Evolutionary psychologists and their followers argue that such differences are hard wired because what produced reproductive fitness was different for men and women given that women must spend nine months gestating each child, whereas men only need contribute sperm from one sex act (Buss 1989; Baumeister and Vohs 2004; Baumeister et al. 2001; Regnerus and Uecker 2011). A second view posits social pressures that differ by gender, wherein parental and peer pressure on women is to avoid being seen as overly sexual (Crawford and Popp 2003; Miller 2008), while men and boys receive accolades for being a “player” and ridicule for lack of sexual

agency (Kimmel 2008; Pascoe 2007). Institutional actors may reinforce these views. These different pressures constitute a sexual double standard. Armstrong et al. (2010 and Armstrong et al. 2012) argue that the double standard is still present, but now takes a new form. Whereas in an earlier era, women were judged more harshly than men for premarital sex, today premarital sex in relationships is well accepted except among religious conservatives, but the double standard takes the form of women being judged more harshly for casual sex.

In this paper, we use a new data set on college students to examine evidence for gender differences in preferences for casual sex, and the double standard. We do this in several ways—by looking at gender differences on questions about attitudes, by examining how much intercourse in a reported-on recent hookup is associated with interest in a relationship, and by using gendered misreporting as a window into what behaviors men and women find to be desirable or stigmatizing for their own sex. We want to avoid exaggerating gender differences if they are small, but also to acknowledge and describe accurately differences that are there.

## **DATA AND METHODS**

We use the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS, Paula England, PI), collected online between 2005 and 2011 (N=24, 298). The 15-20 minute survey was administered online, to men and women from 21 4-year colleges and universities. Recruitment took place in a non-probability sample of classes, with almost all participating instructors giving students some course credit for taking the survey, so that the survey had a virtually 100% response rate in most classes. Thus, any non-

representativeness within universities emerges from who selects into participating classes. We were able to assess whether bias was coming from what majors took the survey; our sample was only 11% sociology majors, despite recruitment largely in sociology courses. Our interest is in gender differences among heterosexual students, so we limit our analysis to students who self-report that they are heterosexual and whose reported events were with someone of the other sex.

The survey asked respondent characteristics, including demographic measures such as age, race, whether an immigrant, and mother's education; number of sexual (intercourse) partners ever; self-assessed attractiveness; whether the respondent has ever had sex with one person, at a later date had sex with another person, and then at a later date had sex with the first person; and whether the respondent has ever had two sexual partnerships going on simultaneously. Respondents were also asked a number of attitude questions, discussed below.

Key to our analyses are questions based on students' reports of two distinct events, "hookups" and "dates." Preceding questions about their most recent hookup, the instrument said "Use whatever definition of 'hookup' you and your friends use." However, the question specified that the hookup on which they report be one that is not with someone with whom they are already in a romantic relationship; this wording was used to exclude sex in a monogamous relationship. Respondents were asked a series of questions about their most recent hookup, including all the sexual practices that occurred in the event with a "check all that apply" list. They were also asked how interested they were in a relationship with the person before the hookup, where they first met their

hookup partner, whether the hookup involved happening to be at the same place or one person contacting the other to arrange the hookup, about alcohol or drug use the night of the hookup, the race and sex of the partner, whether the partner attends the same college, whether they had an orgasm, who initiated more of the sexual activity on the hookup, and how many times they had previously hooked up with this person.

Respondents were also asked about their most recent date in college, and the question said that they should exclude a date with a person with whom they were already in a relationship. A similar set of questions to those asked about hookups was asked about this date.

We begin by calculating gender differences in means for attitudes about relationships and casual sex, and gender differences in means about disrespect for individuals who participate in casual sex, shown in Tables 1 and 2, respectively. As a window into misreporting, which may be induced by a sexual double standard, we compare male and female reports about what happened in their most recent hookup, date, and relationship sexual event. These numbers are presented in Table 4, and are restricted to those events in which both participants attended the same college.

Table 3 shows odds ratios from logistic regressions for the effect of interest in a relationship on whether or not the respondent reports a specific sexual behavior occurred. We estimate models for vaginal intercourse, for whether the partner performed oral sex, and for whether the respondent performed oral sex, separately for six event types: all hookups, all same-school hookups, coital hookups, coital same-school hookups, non-coital hookups, and non-coital same-school hookups. Each model adjusts for whether the

respondents arranged to meet, and if so, who contacted whom; their number of prior hookups, if any; the respondent's age; self-rated attractiveness; the respondent's and partner's races; whether the respondent is an immigrant; the respondent's number of prior sexual partners; whether the respondent has ever alternated between partners, or had multiple ongoing sexual partnerships; the number of drinks consumed; whether the partner attends the same college; childhood religion; church attendance; and school fixed effects.

We report odds ratios from models estimated separately by sex. We also estimated models which pooled both sexes and included interactions with sex for all variables. We report the significance level of the interaction between sex and interest in a relationship prior to hooking up so that Table 4 shows not only whether the odds ratios are significant for either gender, but whether gender differences in the effect of interest in a relationship prior to hooking up are statistically significant.

## **RESULTS**

### **Preferences for Relationships and Casual Sex**

We begin with the most straightforward approach to assessing differences in preferences—a comparison of responses to attitude questions, found in Table 1. Clearly men and women are both interested in relationships. In an item not shown here, about 90% of both men and women say they want to marry sometime. As Table 1 shows a virtually identical percent of women and men (69% and 70%) wish there were “more opportunities for finding someone to have a relationship with” at their school. Of students not in a relationship, a virtually identical proportion of women and men (95%

and 93%) say “If I met the right person now, I’d like to be in an exclusive relationship.” On the downside of relationships, a nearly identical proportion of women and men (69% and 71%) see as a disadvantage of relationships that it might interfere with moving to another city for a job or graduate school (Table 1).

Where we start seeing gender differences is in questions that reveal preferences for casual encounters, or compare them to relationships. For example, fewer women than men (25% versus 38%) say that “I don’t really want to be in an exclusive relationship now because I’d rather be free to date or hook up with multiple people,” suggesting that in the trade off between the freedom to not be monogamous and a relationship, men are more lured toward nonmonogamy (Table 1). However, it is a minority of both sexes. In a similar vein, of students reporting on a recent hookup, when asked if they were interested in being in a romantic relationship with the person before hooking up with them, a small but nontrivial and statistically significant gender gap is seen, with 39% of women and 32% of men agreeing (Table 1). (Students were also asked about their interest in a relationship with this person after the hookup. Results not shown reveal that both men and women’s interest diminished slightly, but the gender gap was of similar magnitude.)

Questions asking explicitly about casual sex reveal different gender differences depending on whether asked as a norm or a personal preference or what one would do. This can be seen from the fact that women and men have indistinguishable responses (85% and 84% agreeing) when asked if “any kind of consensual sex is okay as long as both persons freely agree to it.” But a large difference emerges between women and men

regarding whether they “wish there were more opportunities for hooking up” at their school, with only 16% of women but 48% of men agreeing. Given media depictions of the hookup culture, it is surprising to see how high a percent of women (51%) and men (36%) say “I would not have sex with someone unless I was in love with them,” but the gender difference is also striking (Table 1).

### **Disrespect and the Double Standard**

We next attempt to examine the double standard directly, by examining responses to asking students if they disrespect or reject as relationship partners those who have hooked up a lot, and if they think they have been disrespected for hooking up. These results are in Table 2. In response to the survey item “If someone has hooked up a lot, I’m less interested in this person as a potential girl/boyfriend,” responses are virtually identical—with 73% of women and 72% of men agreeing (Table 2). If this were the only question we would conclude that there is a single standard with a majority thinking that “a lot” of hooking up is controversial for either men or women.

Things get more confusing when we move to items asking directly about respect and disrespect. Consider first the item “If women hook up or have sex with lots of people, I respect them less.” A majority of men and women agree, with men somewhat more disrespecting than women (61% of women and 69% of men). Of course, this tells us nothing about the double standard until we compare these responses to the analogous question about men hooking up and having sex with lots of people. Here more women claim modestly more disrespect for men than for women who hook up and have sex with many; recall that 61% of women said they disrespect a woman who hooks up or has sex



with lots of people, but 67% of women saying they disrespect a man who does this.<sup>1</sup>

Where we really see a double standard is in men's views. As mentioned above, 69% of men said they respect a woman less if she hooks up or has sex with lots of people, but only 37% of them feel this way about men who do the same, a huge difference.<sup>2</sup> We might interpret the pattern of responses to say that two principles are at play: One is "in group bias" wherein each sex judges the other a more harshly than they judge their own, but the other is that both sexes hold a double standard that judges women more harshly. Either men hold a hugely more extreme double standard, or they exhibit much more in-group bias than women, or some of each.

When asked about their own specific experiences feeling respected less or respecting someone else less, we see evidence of a double standard as well. Asked if they "ever hooked up with someone and then respected the person less because he or she hooked up with you? 31% of men but a modestly though significantly smaller 21% of women say yes. A larger difference emerges when students were asked if they had "ever hooked up with someone and afterward had the feeling that the person respected you less because you hooked up." Here more than twice as many women as men say they have

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that more of both men and women didn't answer the question about disrespecting men who hook up a lot or have sex with lots of people (6% of women and 10% of men) whereas almost no one failed to answer the question about women. The questions were deliberately placed a few items apart so as not to make the double standard in individuals' responses so blatant as to arouse desirability bias.

<sup>2</sup> As in the note above, if we percentage only on those who asked the question, then the comparison is that 69% of men disrespect women who hook up or have sex with many, but only 41% disrespect men who do so, a huge difference.

had this experience—54% versus 22%.<sup>3</sup> Overall, the evidence is that hooking up or having sex with “too many” people can be controversial for most students, and both men and women can be judged for this, but men’s judgments land especially unequally on women in the abstract, and reporting on concrete instances women appear much more worried about this disrespect than men.

### **When Sexual Behavior is Conditioned on Relational Interest (or Reports of Interest Conditioned on Sexual Behavior)**

We turn now to an examination of how interest in a relationship with a hookup partner before the hookup is associated with engaging in intercourse or oral sex in the hookup. Our interest here is whether women condition “going farther sexually” on being interested in a relationship to a greater extent than men do. A student who prefers to have only relational sex, thinks casual sex is immoral, and/or fears being judged for casual sex may not want to have intercourse in hookups, or may only be willing to do this if s/he has an interest in a relationship with this person. This could indicate a hope that having sex with the person will transform it into a relationship, or simply a prediction that it is likely to become a relationship. It is also possible that, having had sex, those with normative beliefs and fears of being judged are more likely to report that they had a prior interest in a relationship, even if they didn’t. We would expect these patterns for women more than men if they have stronger preferences to keep sex in relationships, or if they are more afraid of being judged, given the double standard.

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<sup>3</sup> To see if each sex is correctly perceiving disrespect from the other, we can compare the percent of one sex who say they have disrespected their hook up partner after the fact with the percent of the other sex saying they perceive themselves to have been disrespected by a prior partner. Twenty-one % of women have disrespected men in this way, and that accords with 22% of men saying they have been disrespected. But regarding disrespect of the women, a much higher percent of women perceive it to have happened (54%) than men say they have disrespected their partner. Thus, if we are to believe the men’s reports of their own disrespect, women have an inflated view of their danger of being disrespected by a hookup partner.

Table 3 reports on regressions predicting whether hookups entailed intercourse, whether respondents received oral sex, and whether they performed oral sex in all hookups, coital hookups (those with intercourse), and non-coital hookups. All events are the most recent hookup. All logistic regression models include a standard set of demographic and school controls. Women who say they were interested in a relationship with this partner before the hookup are 20% more likely to report having had intercourse than those not interested in a relationship; and this is similar (22%) if we limit the analysis to hookups with those in one's same school (Table 3). (Both are significant.) For men there is no significant effect; they are not conditioning intercourse on relational interest, or are not conditioning reporting relational interest on whether they had intercourse. (The gender difference in effects is significant, at  $p < .05$  in the case of all hookups and  $< .10$  in the case of those in the same school.) This suggests that women either prefer to keep intercourse to relationships (or proto-relationships) more than men, or feel pressure to claim a relational interest to justify having had intercourse, consistent with the double standard.

However, other results in Table 3 show that women do not significantly condition either the giving or being willing to receive oral sex on an interest in a relationship with a hookup partner. (I.e., none of the effects of relational interest are significant in Table 3's models predicting performing or receiving oral sex.) This supports the notion that the social meaning of oral sex is now very different from the social meaning of intercourse for women, with a bright red line in between.

How men's behavior around oral sex relates to their interest in a relationship is more confusing to interpret. Table 3 shows that in noncoital hookups (i.e. those not involving intercourse), men are only half as likely to receive oral sex if they are interested in a relationship. This difference is not present in coital hookups (where men's interest in a relationship is unrelated to whether they receive oral sex), so clearly the difference in the "all hookups" sample is being driven by results in the noncoital hookups. Since qualitative reports suggest that men often take action (such as moving a woman's head toward his penis) to try to get women to give them oral sex (England et al. 2008:538), our regression results could mean that when men are interested in a relationship, they are less likely to do anything that could be construed as pressure on the woman to give them oral sex because they are interested in a longer-term investment in both the relationship and sex with her. However, if this were the interpretation, one would think that men might not do anything to push for intercourse either if interested in a relationship, but, as we saw, relational interest had no net association with intercourse. In hookups with intercourse (but not non-coital hookups) men are 41% more likely to perform oral sex if they were interested in a relationship; this too could be seen as part of longer-term investment, wherein they are more concerned that the woman enjoys the overall sexual event if they want a relationship. (However, this effect diminishes to nonsignificance when we limit the analysis to partnerships with students at the same school, suggesting that maybe this investment behavior by men is more common when they have a partner from outside their school.)

### **Assessing Misreporting and Inferring Meanings**

Another approach to indirectly assessing gender differences in preferences for or social pressure to avoid casual sex is to examine gender differences in reports. These are for variables where we can surmise that certain failures of male reports to correspond with female reports are indicative of reporting error by one sex or the other. Of course, this would be a clearer inference with we had data on couples, both reporting on the same event, something that is available in no data set, to our knowledge. However, if our samples are roughly representative of each sex, then at least for events with fellow students in one's school, these reports should line up. Because women hookup, date, and have relationships with men outside their college more than men do (probably fueled in part by the convention that it is all right for the male to be older), to make the events men and women are reporting on in the analysis as comparable as possible, in Table 4 we limit the analysis to the subset of hookups, dates, and relationship events in which the respondent's partner was also a student in their same school. We assume that systematic misreporting in a particular direction results from social desirability bias, and thus we can use gender differences in reporting (on things where their reports should align absent reporting bias) to give us then insight into which sex finds which behavior more stigmatizing or aggrandizing.

With this in mind, consider first the simple reports in Table 4 regarding what happened on a recent event. First, we notice that the percent of women reporting intercourse in the events is lower than for men in hookups (33% of women versus 40% of men report it) and in dates (19% of women and 29% of men report it). (Both differences are significant.) But there is no greater male reporting of intercourse in relationship

events (82% of women and 84% of men so report, with no significant difference). This pattern of results suggests that relationship sex is not controversial for women (or men), but sex on hookups or dates is more controversial for women than men, or more status-producing for men than women, leading to either women's under-reports or men's over-reports, or both. (We cannot assess which of these is the case, but are confident that it is one of them.) It is common in sex surveys to see men reporting more sex.

Table 4 also shows a striking analysis of what appears to be differential reporting regarding who initiated more of the sexual activity on dates or hookups. As an example, consider such reports from hookups. A similar proportion of women and men (28% of women, 32% of men) say they don't know. Among those who reported, both sexes tilt toward thinking men initiated more, but this is more dramatic for women than men. Looking at the numbers where the two sexes' reports should line up, whereas 10% of women think they themselves initiated, 29% of the men believe the woman initiated; in addition, whereas 62% of the women see the men to have initiated, only 39% of the men claim to have been the initiator. Although substantially more men claim initiation on dates than hook ups, making the gender disparities less stark, there is still substantial disagreement, with 12% of women but 19% of men thinking women initiated more of the sexual activity, and 59% of women but 46% of men reporting that men initiated more. (Unfortunately we cannot compare reports of initiation in relationship events, because the question wasn't asked for such events.)

Another window into claiming initiation—this time of arranging the hookup itself—is seen in the reports of how the two partners got into the situation where the hookup

occurred. Qualitative data shows that some hookups emerge at a party or in the dorm when two people happen to run into each other. But, although they are distinct from a date, a reasonable share of hookups entails some prior arrangement. For example, one person may text the other saying that a group of friends is going to a particular party or bar, in the hopes that they other will show up, or one may invite the other over to watch a DVD. Table 4 shows a large gender disparity in reports here that parallels those regarding sexual initiation. Whereas only 10% of women say that they contacted the guy to arrange to meet, 23% of the men attribute the contacting to the woman they hooked up with. On the flip side, 38% of women say that the man contacted them about arranging to meet, whereas only 21% of men claim they did this. The pattern in all these reports of initiating sexual activity or initiating contact suggests that women are especially reluctant to see themselves as initiators. However, here the male reporting is unlike their probable exaggeration of how often they “got” oral sex or intercourse; rather it seems that neither sex wants to be seen as the initiator, but women want to avoid this much more than men. Of course we cannot be sure how the misreporting is allocated between men and women, but our conjecture is that both sexes are hesitant to be the initiator, but perhaps for different reasons. For women, seeking casual sex is more suspect under the double standard. For men, while hooking up and having sex is high status (at least bringing kudos from other men), having to initiate and work hard to get hookups and sex is not high status. Better for your friends to think that the women can’t keep their hands off you! While women too probably want to be seen as wanted, they have a further motivation to minimize their agency because of the double standard.

The reports of oral sex in Table 4 are particularly intriguing. Men and women are pretty close in their reporting of the proportion of times men gave oral sex to women; 19% of women and 23% of men report this in their last hookup. (Given the large N the difference is significant, but we consider it fairly small.) Where men and women really report differently is about men receiving oral sex; women reporting it in 24% of events and men in 37%. While there is a lot less oral sex on dates than on hookups (many dates involve almost no physical activity), a similar pattern occurs where the large disparity is regarding men receiving oral sex, reported by 19% of women and 29% of men. Our conclusion is that it is high status for men to receive oral sex, or it is stigmatizing for women to reveal that they gave it, or both. This too is indirect evidence of a double standard. Women's receipt of oral sex seems not to be as tied up in status or stigma.

## **CONCLUSION**

We have used a number of direct and indirect approaches to assess the evidence for gender differences in preferences for casual sex and the evidence for a double standard that may be part of what motivates women to avoid casual sex. Very similar and large proportions (~95%) of men and women report interest in relationships if they meet the right person, although large majorities of both sexes (~70%) say that relationships may impede geographical mobility for education or careers. Large and identical percentages of men and women (~85%) also agree that any kind of consensual sex is okay as long as both people freely agree to it.

But direct questions about interest in casual sex show substantially more interest by men (with almost half of men and less than a fifth of women wishing there were more



opportunities for hooking up at their school), substantially more women say they would not have sex with someone they weren't in love with (51% versus 36%), and modestly fewer men than women were interested in a romantic relationship with their most recent hookup partner (39% versus 32%). Women are more likely to condition having intercourse on a hookup on being interested in a relationship (or at least are more likely to report interest if they did have intercourse). All this suggests either gender differences in preferences regarding casual sex (whether biologically or social constructed) or a difference in the incentives women and men face in the immediate present, with women needing to worry more about other's judgments due to the double standard.

Our data cannot parse how much of the gender differences in stated preferences or conditioning of intercourse are because of different preferences or different immediate incentives due to the double standard. However, we can provide some evidence that the double standard exists; while not every piece of evidence points in this direction, most of the evidence points this way. Supporting a single standard, approximately three-fourths of men and women say that if someone has hooked up a lot, they are less interested in this person as a potential girl/boyfriend. How much is too much is unclear. Also on the "single standard" side is evidence that women report no more negative judgment of a woman than a man who hooks up or has sex with "lots of people"—in fact women are slightly more judgmental of men than women who do so (67% versus 61%). But men's reported abstract judgments show a huge double standard, with approximately twice as many of them saying they would disrespect a woman as a man who did this (37% and 69%).

Evidence on misreporting also indirectly suggests a double standard as well, although more is going on than just that. More men than women report intercourse on hookups (33% versus 40%) and dates (19% versus 29%), suggesting that men gain status and women lose it from sex. Men also appear to overreport, or women underreport fellatio, suggesting that this increases men's status and/or diminishes women's. Moreover, women appear to be reluctant to report initiating hookups, or the sexual activity in hookups or dates, also suggesting a double standard.

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**Table 1. Women's and Men's Means and Gender Differences in Means on Attitudinal Questions Regarding Relationships and Casual Sex**

	Women	Men	t-test
<b>Students (12061 women, 5445 men)</b>			
<b>I wish there were more opportunities for finding someone to have a relationship with at my school.</b>	69%	70%	^
<b>I don't really want to be in an exclusive relationship now because I'd rather be free to date or hook up with multiple people.</b>	25%	38%	***
<b>One disadvantage of being in an exclusive relationship in college is that it might interfere with moving to another city for a job or graduate school when I graduate.</b>	69%	71%	***
<b>I wish there were more opportunities for hooking up at my school.</b>	16%	48%	***
<b>Any kind of consensual sex is okay as long as both persons freely agree to it.</b>	85%	84%	*
<b>I would not have sex with someone unless I was in love with them.</b>	51%	36%	***
<b>Students not in a relationship (8650 women, 4163 men)</b>			
<b>If I met the right person now, I'd like to be in an exclusive relationship.</b>	95%	93%	***
<b>Students reporting on their most recent hookup (7460 women, 3526 men)</b>			
<b>Were you interested in having a romantic relationship with the person you hooked up with before you hooked up?</b>	39%	32%	***

Note: T-tests are for sex differences in means.

^  $p < .10$       \*  $p < .05$       \*\*  $p < .01$       \*\*\*  $p < .001$

<b>Table 2. Women's and Men's Means and Gender Differences in Means on Questions about Disrespecting Those Who Have Casual Sex</b>				
		<b>Women</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>t-test</b>
<b>Students (12061 women, 5445 men)</b>				
	<b>If women hook up or have sex with lots of people, I respect them less.</b>			
	<i>No</i>	39%	31%	***
	<i>Yes</i>	61%	69%	***
	<i>Did Not Answer Question</i>	0%	0%	^
	<b>If men hook up or have sex with lots of people, I respect them less.</b>			
	<i>No</i>	27%	53%	***
	<i>Yes</i>	67%	37%	***
	<i>Did Not Answer Question</i>	6%	10%	***
	<b>If someone has hooked up a lot, I'm less interested in this person as a potential girl/boyfriend.</b>	73%	72%	
<b>Students reporting on their most recent hookup (7460 women, 3526 men)</b>				
	<b>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?</b>	54%	22%	***
	<b>Have you ever hooked up with someone and then respected the person less because he or she hooked up with you?</b>	21%	31%	***

Note: T-tests are for sex differences in means.

^  $p < .10$       \*  $p < .05$       \*\*  $p < .01$       \*\*\*  $p < .001$

**Table 3. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions for Effects of Interest in Relationship Prior to the Hookup on Whether Respondent Reports that Hookup Involves Intercourse, Giving Oral Sex, and Receiving Oral Sex, for Women and Men Reporting on Most Recent Hookup**

	Models Estimating:								
	Vaginal Intercourse Occurred			Partner Performed Oral Sex			Respondent Performed Oral Sex		
	Women	Men	sig diff	Women	Men	sig diff	Women	Men	sig diff
<b>All Hookups</b> (7248 women, 3376 men)	1.20**	0.93	*	1.08	0.77*	**	1.10	1.21^	
<b>All Same-School Hookups</b> (4196 women, 2228 men)	1.22*	0.93	^	1.09	0.73*	**	1.04	1.06	
<b>Coital Hookups</b> (2824 women, 1463 men)				1.03	1.08		1.02	1.41**	*
<b>Coital Same-School Hookups</b> (1400 women, 897 men)				1.01	1.00		0.93	1.17	
<b>Non-Coital Hookups</b> (4424 women, 1913 men)				1.00	0.49***	***	1.12	0.97	
<b>Non-Coital Same-School Hookups</b> (2796 women, 1331 men)				1.07	0.52***	**	1.06	0.94	

Note: All models include control variables. The “sig diff” column gives the significance test for gender difference in effects of interest in relationship from pooled models which include interactions with sex for all variables. See text for details.

^  $p < .10$       \*  $p < .05$       \*\*  $p < .01$       \*\*\*  $p < .001$



**Table 4. Misreporting as Assessed by Gender Differences where we Wouldn't Expect them Absent Misreporting**

	Women	Men	t-test
<b>Most recent hookup (4196 women, 2228 men)</b>			
<b>Overall, who initiated more of the sexual activity? *</b>			
<i>Woman initiated more</i>	10%	29%	***
<i>Man initiated more</i>	62%	39%	***
<i>I don't know</i>	28%	32%	***
<b>Did you and the person you hooked up with arrange to meet, or did you just happen to be at the same place? *</b>			
<i>Woman contacted</i>	10%	23%	***
<i>Man contacted</i>	38%	21%	***
<i>We were at the same place</i>	43%	41%	
<i>Did Not Answer Question</i>	9%	14%	***
<b>Vaginal intercourse occurred</b>	33%	40%	***
<b>Woman gave/man received oral sex *</b>	24%	37%	***
<b>Woman received/man gave oral sex *</b>	19%	23%	***
<b>Most recent relationship sexual event (1637 women, 805 men)</b>			
<b>Vaginal intercourse occurred</b>	82%	84%	^
<b>Woman gave/man received oral sex *</b>	63%	73%	***
<b>Woman received/man gave oral sex *</b>	58%	63%	***
<b>Most recent date (3182 women, 1851 men)</b>			
<b>Vaginal intercourse occurred</b>	19%	29%	***
<b>Woman gave/man received oral sex *</b>	13%	28%	***
<b>Woman received/man gave oral sex *</b>	12%	18%	***
<b>Most recent date involving sexual activity (1982 women, 1268 men)</b>			
<b>Overall, who initiated more of the sexual activity? *</b>			
<i>Woman initiated more</i>	12%	19%	***
<i>Man initiated more</i>	59%	46%	***
<i>I don't know</i>	29%	35%	***

Note: Calculations pertain only to students reporting on an event in which their partner was a student in their school.

\* Respondents were given response categories indicating what they did or the partner did; we have recoded it into which sex did what.