

Dating and Hooking Up in College: Meeting Contexts, Sex, and Variation by Gender, Partner's Gender and Class Standing

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Abstract:

This study examined 13,976 dates and 12,068 hookup encounters at 22 colleges in the United States reported by students surveyed between 2005 and 2011 in the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS) to determine differences between dates and hookups in partner meeting context and sex during the encounter. Students most often met date and hookup partners through institutional settings or bars and parties, with approximately two-thirds of partners met in these venues. Those who had fewer potential partners on campus (women) were less likely to find partners in campus locations and less likely to find male sexual or dating partners but more likely to date women. Men and women engaging in same-sex encounters had higher rates of meeting partners through Internet sources. Hookups were associated with partners met in bars, parties, nightclubs, and college dormitories, and were twice as likely as dates to include sex. Students were more likely to go on dates with partners met on the Internet, which we theorize is a result of low levels of trust associated with that context. Patterns found are related to the association of meeting contexts with hookup scripts, risk and trust, and local partnering markets.

Keywords: hookups | dating | college | sexual relationships | Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS) | sexuality

Article:

The "hookup" has been described as increasingly common on college campuses (Heldman & Wade, 2010; Garcia, Reiber, Massey, & Merriwether, 2012). A hookup is a casual, noncommittal encounter of a sexual nature between two individuals, which may or may not include sex (Bogle, 2008; Flack et al., 2007). Recent research finds 60% to 80% of college students report at

least one such encounter (Eisenberg, 2001; Garcia et al., 2012; Grello, Welsh, & Harper, 2006; Paul & Hayes, 2002). Some researchers claim hooking up has now surpassed or replaced dating on U.S. college campuses, while others indicate dates are still more common (Bogle, 2008; Bradshaw, Kahn, & Saville, 2010; England, Fitzgibbons Shafer, & Fogerty, 2007; Regnerus & Uecker, 2011). Past research has examined where hookup encounters take place (Paul & Hayes, 2002), where sexual partners are met (Herold & Mewhinney, 1993; Mahay & Laumann, 2004), and where men meet male partners for casual and sometimes anonymous sex (Bolding, Davis, Hart, Sherr, & Elford, 2007; Benotsch, Kalichman, & Cage, 2002; Grov, Parsons, & Bimbi, 2007). However, research has not explored the contexts in which individuals first meet hookup partners (Grello et al., 2006) with whom they may not have sex, or differences in hookups by sexual orientation (Heldman & Wade, 2010). Another area lacking research is systematic comparisons of meeting partner contexts and sex in hookups and dates, which can reveal cultural distinctions between these encounter types.

We analyzed a recently collected survey that asked college students about their most recent date and hookup to explore patterns in partner meeting place and sexual activity during these encounters. Drawing from sexual scripting, the social psychology of trust, and sexual economics literatures, we develop a theoretical framework to explain differences in meeting place and sexual activity in dates and hookups, and variations by gender, partner's gender, and class standing.

Our theoretical framework is similar to and expands Mahay and Laumann's (2004) framework describing sexual partner meeting places in several key ways. Mahay and Laumann (2004, p. 138) discussed sexual partner meeting place culture, market characteristics, and what they described as "embeddedness." They argued that individuals tend to partner with those met in locations in which they are institutionally embedded (work, school), with whom they have mutual acquaintances ("social network embeddedness"), and whom they have known longer ("relational embeddedness"). We argue that due to this embeddedness, certain locations are associated with varying levels of risk and trust. We also extend the concept of sexual culture to discuss scripts associated with specific types of partnering, and extend Mahay and Laumann's (2004) theory of sexual partnering to explain differences in meeting places and sexual activity during both dates and hookups, and variation by gender, partner's gender, and class standing.

Hookups, Dates, and College Sexual Experimentation Scripts

At the beginning of the 20th century the lengthening of education facilitated the emergence of youth culture, the date, and eventually the hookup, as young adults increasingly attended college and moved out of their parents' homes before marriage, and delayed marriage to later ages (Rosenfeld, 2007). Prior to the emergence of the date, individuals met potential marriage partners through "courtship," a process including heavy parental involvement when men visited women at their home (Bogle, 2008; Bailey, 1989). In the 1920s courtship was replaced by dating as the most common sexual partnering activity (Bailey, 1989; England & Thomas, 2007), and partnering activities moved from private homes to the public sphere, where they commonly involved economic consumption (Bailey, 1989; England & Thomas, 2007). This trend shifted partnering from courtship's emphasis as a pathway to marriage toward dating as a social and recreational activity, without giving up the sexual exploration that characterized later stages of

courtship (Bailey, 1989). While the exact timing of the emergence of hookup culture is unknown, scholars note a connection to the 1960s, when attitudes and sexual norms dramatically shifted (Heldman & Wade, 2010; Mahay & Laumann, 2004, p. 134). Larger groups began to spend time together, and a “party” atmosphere replaced previously smaller, more intimate gatherings (Bogle, 2008). Hookups often began at these parties, where individuals met and engaged in a wide range of sexual activity (Maticka-Tyndale, Herold, & Mewhinney, 1998). Rates of hooking up grew over time, and a hookup culture arguably emerged in the 1990s (Heldman & Wade, 2010).

Examining the sexual scripts associated with dating and hooking up can shed light on sexual partnering (Garcia et al., 2012) and specifically why meeting places and sex may be associated with different encounter types. Sexual scripts are a type of cognitive map, providing expectations based on a widely recognized sequence of events, that serves to guide sexual and gender behavior (Alksnis, Desmaris, & Wood, 1996; Plante, 2006, p. 55). In recognition of these socially constructed scripts, individuals develop a set of expectations about how a given interaction—in this case, a romantic or sexual encounter—will unfold (Alksnis et al., 1996; Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1998; Raley & Bratter, 2004; Simon & Gagnon, 2003). These expectations affect whether individuals engage in certain types of partnering, whether they view certain types of encounters as a hookup or a date, and whether they have sex during encounters.

The hookup script focuses on casual sexual activity and may consist of kissing only, or may include heavy petting, genital stimulation, oral, vaginal, or anal sex, or any combination of these acts (Bogle, 2008; Downing-Matibag & Geisinger, 2009; England et al., 2007; Fielder and Carey, 2010). The characteristic, distinctive feature of hookups is that no long-term involvement is expected, and emotional attachment is often discouraged (Paul & Hayes, 2002; Paul, McManus, & Hayes, 2000; Lambert, Kahn, & Apple, 2003). Stemming from the party atmosphere previously discussed, hookups frequently begin in party settings amid large groups (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1998) and are associated with nightlife settings (Grazian, 2007).

In contrast with the hookup script's focus on casual sexual encounters, dating scripts focus on relationship formation. Christopher and Sprecher (2000) referred to dating as a premarital relationship. We add that apart from the public nature of dates, the presumption that a date may lead to a romantic relationship is a distinguishing feature of this type of encounter. Dates may include sex, but sexual activity is not a characteristic feature of dates as it is with hookups.

The social script of college as a “time to experiment” sexually and in other ways (including intoxication) is also conducive to the hookup. As students increasingly move out of their parents' homes to attend college before marrying, college has become associated with a script of sexual exploration and the formation of sometimes transgressive intimate relationships (Rosenfeld, 2007). Colleges can provide opportunities for students to explore same-sex attractions (Rupp, Taylor, Regev-Messalem, Fogarty, & England, 2014). Students also have many opportunities to interact with other students their own age, who are in many cases unmarried. Perhaps as a result, hookups have come to be associated with college campuses (Bogle, 2008). Students may therefore be more likely to hook up with partners met on campus.

The association of hooking up with a casual sex script may lead to variation in partnering by gender and partner's gender. Men have more permissive attitudes toward sex; for women, sex is more often pursued within relationships (Laumann, Ellingson, Mahay, Paik, & Youm, 2004; Regnerus & Uecker, 2011), and women are more likely than men to prefer dates over hookups (Bradshaw et al., 2010). Double standards related to the social acceptability of sex outside of romantic relationships, in which women receive negative social sanctions while men receive social rewards (Tanenbaum, 2000), may lead to or reinforce these differences—and can also lead to reporting differences, in which men overreport and women underreport engaging in sex. Further, if men favor casual sex more than women, and both partners' preferences affect activity during an encounter, men partnering with men may be more likely to engage in sex during encounters, which may be why they report more sexual partners than men partnering with women (Eisenberg, 2001). Lesbians are more likely to pursue emotional attachment than gay men (Klinkenberg & Rose, 1994) and therefore may prefer dates and avoid venues associated with a hookup/casual sex script. Conversely, women who partner with men may have sex if they believe a long-term relationship will result; Garcia and Reiber (2008) found around half of the college students they surveyed who had hooked up did so hoping to start a romantic relationship.

Interest in sex may also differ by class standing. Freshmen men and women may test the limits of their newfound freedoms and engage in sexual experimentation. Later they may be more interested in settling down with a long-term partner and therefore more interested in dating instead of hooking up. If more advanced students are less interested in sexual experimentation, their hooking up and dating encounters may also include less sexual activity.

Trust, Risk, and Partnering

In addition to sexual scripts, trust in potential partners can affect whether students date or hook up with them. Trust helps individuals fend off the cognitive demands presented by risks (Giddens, 1991) such as sexually transmitted infections (STIs), pregnancy, and sexual assault. Dates are associated with public consumption and are more likely to take place in public than hookups. The less sexual, more public, and therefore less risky nature of dating scripts suggests that students may date partners rather than hook up with them when they trust those partners less.

We theorize that the level of trust that affects encounter type, and partnering rates in general, is strongly tied to the context in which a potential partner is met. Cues during first impressions and subsequent interactions determine the amount of trust in a given exchange (McKnight, Cummings, & Chervany, 1998; Levine, 1971). Meeting through public venues or bars may foster more trust than meeting through Internet connections or personal advertisements due to in-person contact prior to an encounter. Repeated contact between partners who met via institutions, dorms, common interest groups, or who are from the same hometown, is more likely to foster trust.

Students are probably more likely to trust potential partners met through personal recommendation or common interest groups than institutional settings due to closer ties. On the other hand, closer ties could also increase concerns over mutual acquaintances hearing about taboo behaviors and/or the possibility of contact after the initial encounter, which may be awkward if sex occurred during the encounter. Trust may also be higher among those meeting

through personal ties and institutional contexts due to transitivity. Transitivity is the expectation that if A establishes a tie to B, and B has an established tie with C, then A has an increased likelihood of establishing a tie to C (Granovetter, 1973), and predicts that students will be more likely to trust a partner met through friends or family, which we term “personal recommendation,” or partners with common institutional ties. Further, trust can result from reliance on the normalcy provided by the stable social contexts of an institution. Conversely, approaching a potential partner or agreeing to an encounter with a partner met in a context without institutional or personal ties or extensive prior contact may be correlated with a bold, risk-taking, or thrill-seeking personality. This type of personality increases the likelihood of students engaging in risky behavior generally (Vollrath & Torgersen, 2002), leading to a potential correlation between meeting partners in contexts with low levels of trust and hooking up.

Women may place a higher premium on avoiding risk when determining whether to engage in romantic or sexual partnering for several reasons. First, women face greater personal risk during sexual encounters, due to emotional, health, financial, and opportunity costs involved in a potential pregnancy that are more heavily borne by women, and a greater risk of sexual assault during encounters; women are three times more likely than men to be sexually assaulted on campus (Flack et al., 2007). Second, women are more likely than men to avoid certain types of aggression in social situations out of fear, and they tend to be less aggressive in social situations (Simpson, 2003); therefore, women may be less likely to partner with those met in contexts associated with the risk-taking, aggressive personality type that leads individuals to approach potential partners with whom they have no personal or institutional ties.

Market Forces

Sex ratios play an important part in partnering (Mahay & Laumann, 2004). When, in a given context, one gender significantly outnumbers the other, the minority gender will have greater market value. Higher market value translates to greater leverage, and the minority gender will be better able to seek sex on their terms (Baumeister and Vohs, 2004; Mahay & Laumann, 2004; Regnerus and Uecker, 2011). As a result, on campuses with a higher proportion of women, women generally go on fewer traditional dates and are more likely to engage in sexual activity (Uecker & Regnerus, 2010). Although most hookups and dates involve opposite-sex partners, men and women in our study were not necessarily hooking up with or dating each other and may differ in partner search strategies, given the uneven sex ratio in colleges and classrooms that make up a significant portion of their partnering market. An imbalance on campus, where women usually outnumber men, can lead women who prefer opposite-sex partners to look outside of campus contexts for partners; men who prefer opposite-sex partners, who have an abundance of available partners, may be more likely to find partners on campus. Women who prefer same-sex partners will also have an advantage in finding partners on campuses, as some women who prefer opposite-sex partners are willing to substitute same-sex partners when they are unable to find opposite-sex partners, due to their greater market share.

Students interested in same-sex partnering face a unique dilemma due to the relative scarcity of potential partners favoring same-sex partnering and difficulty identifying those partners. This may lead such students to rely on same-sex-specific partnering venues or Internet dating to allow

them to more easily identify potential partners. The few studies that have specifically examined where men who have sex with men meet sexual partners report a high prevalence of using Internet or personal ads, bars and clubs specifically aimed at gay patrons, gay bathhouses, and gay and lesbian community events (Bolding et al., 2007; Benotsch et al., 2002; Grov et al., 2007).

Students less interested in casual sex, such as advanced students and women partnering with women, may avoid venues associated with a hookup/casual sex script. Advanced students are also more likely to be legally able to consume alcohol and therefore may spend more time in the bar-partnering market as they age. As a result, class standing may be negatively associated with meeting in dormitories but not with bars, parties, and nightclubs. Mahay and Laumann (2004) indicated that older singles will have fewer friends who are single and therefore rely less on personal recommendation to find partners as they age.

Hypotheses

Drawing upon these theoretical distinctions, we categorized partner meeting contexts according to hookup/sexual experimentation scripts (S), trust (T), a risk-taking personality (R), campus context (C), same-sex context (SS), and alcohol age (A) (see Table 1), and we developed a series of postulates and five hypotheses about expected relationships in the data based on these distinctions (see Figure 1). Meeting context categorizations are discussed in the next section.

Figure 1. Postulates and hypotheses.

Postulates and hypotheses	Description
P1	Rates of hooking up (versus dating) will be higher when partners meet in contexts associated with hookup/casual sex scripts (S), more trust (T), or risk-taking personalities (R).
H1	Encounters with partners met in dormitories and bars/parties/nightclubs will have the highest likelihood of becoming a hookup instead of a date; those with partners met through institutions, common interest groups/history, public, and personal recommendation will have a chance of becoming a hookup versus a date that is roughly equivalent; and encounters with those met through Internet/personals will be most likely to be a date.
P2A	On campuses or in classrooms with more women, if most students prefer opposite-sex partners, men will be more likely to partner compared to women, due to their partnering market.
P2B	If women are less likely to meet partners in contexts associated with risk-taking personalities and if P2A is correct, then gender differences in the partner meeting context of college students will depend on the association of a context with a risk-taking personality and whether that context is associated with a college campus (C) in which women outnumber men.
P2C	Market constraints will logically have more of an effect on partnering than personal preference. Therefore the advantage men get from being in a campus context (C) is likely larger than the negative effect of a venue's association with risk taking (1 - R) on the probability of a woman meeting a partner in a given venue. For shorthand, we assume that the advantage men get from being in a college campus is roughly twice the advantage that women have in a context associated with less risk taking. If $1-R > 2C$, women will be more likely to meet in a venue than men. If $1 - R < 2C$, men will be more likely to meet in that venue than women.
H2	Women will be more likely than men to meet partners through personal recommendation and common interest/history groups. Men will be more likely than women to meet partners through institutional settings and dormitories. Men and women will be equally likely to meet in public, through Internet/personals, and at bars/parties/nightclubs.
P3A	If most individuals favor opposite-sex partners, but some are willing to engage in partnering with same-sex partners, then on campuses with more women, or with classes that have more women, women who partner with women will

	meet more partners on campus compared to women who partner with men; and men who partner with men will meet fewer partners on campus (C) compared to men who partner with women.
P3B	If women seeking female partners avoid locations with a strong hookup culture (H), but men do not, and if both favor same-sex venues (SS) when seeking same-sex partners, and P3A is correct, then relative to women partnering with men, women partnering with women will be more likely to meet in locales where $C + SS - H > 0$. Relative to men partnering with women, men partnering with men will be more likely to meet in locales where $SS - C > 0$ and less likely when $SS - C < 0$.
H3	Compared to women partnering with men, women partnering with women will be more likely to meet partners in institutions and on the Internet. Compared to men partnering with women, men partnering with men will be more likely to meet partners on the Internet or in bars/parties/nightclubs and less likely to meet in institutions or dorms.
P4A	If men prefer and/or report sex more than women, then women will be more likely to date than men, men will be more likely to hook up than women, and men will report more sex during encounters compared to women.
P4B	When determining the level of sexual activity during an encounter, the partner desiring lower sexual activity will prevail unless sexual assault occurs. Therefore, encounters involving women will be less likely to include sex than encounters involving only men.
H4	Men who partner with men will be the most likely to have sex during encounters, compared to men who partner with women and women who partner with women.
P5A	If older students are less interested in casual sex, and freshman year is associated with a college sexual experimentation script, then more advanced students will be less likely to have engaged in sex during their last encounter.
P5B	If more advanced students prefer dates to hookups, they will avoid meeting partners in venues associated with hookup scripts and seek partners in venues associated with dating. If H1 is correct, then more advanced students will be more likely to seek partners through Internet sources. However, if more advanced students are more likely to attend bars due to attaining legal drinking age, then more advanced students will avoid dormitories but not bars.
PB3	Class standing is related to meeting venue through its negative relationship to hookup scripts and positive association with legal drinking age (A) and interest in dating. Dating is associated with low trust (-T) and avoidance of hookup culture (-H). If $A - H - T > 0$, then that venue will be positively related to class standing; if $A - H - T < 0$, then it will be positively related to class standing. Market theory also suggests that as students advance they will rely less on personal recommendation.
H5	Compared to less advanced students, more advanced students will be more likely to meet through the Internet; less likely to meet through personal recommendation, institutional settings, common interest groups, and dormitories; and less likely to have sex during encounters. They will be equally likely to meet in public and bars/parties/nightclubs.

Table 1. Theoretical Correlations With and Characteristics of Meeting Contexts

Meeting Contexts	Hookup Script (H)	Trust (T)	Risk-Taking Personality (R)	Campus Context (C)	Same-Sex Context (SS)	Legal Drinking Age (A)
Personal recommendation	0	1	0	0	0	0
Common interest/history	0	1	0	0	0	0
Institution	0	1	0	1	0	0
Dorm	1	1	0	1	0	0
Public	0	0	1	0	0	0
Internet/personals	0	-1	1	0	1	0
Bars/parties/nightclubs	1	0	1	0	1	1

Data, Measures, and Method

We analyzed the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS), which surveyed 24,131 college students at 22 colleges and universities in the United States from 2005 to 2011 about their most recent date and hookup that took place while in college. This sample is not representative of hookups and dates among these students in general, as some students will engage in more hookups and dates than others, and only one hookup and/or date per student is included in the sample. Rather, this sample represents the location that students in our sample typically met

hookups and dates, and the typical extent to which they engaged in sexual activity during encounters. The OCSLS was collected as a self-administered computer survey and was based on a convenience sample in which professors personally acquainted with the data collector were recruited to give the survey in large college courses, many at the introductory level, or related to subjects such as sociology, gender, family, sexuality, and public health. Respondents were not compensated, although in many cases the survey was a course assignment, with an alternative assignment offered. Response rates within courses were higher than 99%. Although the 22 colleges from which students were recruited to take this survey are not a representative sample, they were drawn from all regions of the United States and included 12 research universities, five comprehensive regional universities, four small liberal arts colleges (including two affiliated with a religion), and one community college.

The courses in which recruitment took place means the sample is also not representative of students at these schools. Approximately 80% of these courses were sociology courses, although the sample was almost 90% nonsociology majors, and there are few differences between sociology majors and other majors in the sample (for more details on the survey, see Armstrong, England, & Fogarty, 2012). Two other differences between our sample and the general population of students at these schools are notable. First, due to gender selection into courses regarding gender and the family, there was a disproportionate number of women in our sample compared to the sex ratio of students at these universities as a whole; 68.8% of students who completed the survey were female, while data drawn from campus Web sites showed that campuses in our sample were on average 53% female. In addition, there was a disproportionate number of freshman and sophomores in our sample, comprising 34% and 25%, respectively. While comparisons of significant differences between men and women and between hookups and dates control for differences in class standing and gender, overall rates of sexual activity and partner meeting contexts may be biased by differences in class standing (see discussion in Results section). Due to this bias we examined class standing rather than age, after finding similar results for both.

Because we envisioned the courses in which respondents were recruited as an important component of their partnering “market,” the uneven sex ratio in these courses was also an advantage of these data, as it allowed us to examine a sample of students in a partnering market in which women outnumbered men. To more fully examine this issue, we present additional analyses examining rates of dating and hooking up in each school ($N = 22$), and correlations by gender and gender of partner with the sex ratio at each institution, and the sex ratio in our data at each institution. We collected information on the sex ratio at each university from their Web sites in June 2011, shortly after the end of data collection for the OCSLS.

The unit of analysis for the meeting place/sexual activity sample in this article is date or hookup encounter rather than student. Dates and hookups do not occur among distinct groups of students; among those who reported a date, approximately 67% had engaged in a hookup; and among those who hooked up, approximately 78% reported a date, which is included in the sample (see Table 2). Many students did not report engaging in either hookups or dates and were not included in this sample. The unit of analysis for the sex ratio analysis was school.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics and Two-Sample *t* Tests of Difference of Gender and Encounter Type for Characteristics of Students in Date and Hookup Meeting Place/Sexual Activity Sample

Characteristics	Dates			Hookups		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Freshman	22.9**##	25.1##	24.4##	27.3	29.0	28.4
Sophomore	25.8	25.1	25.3	25.7	24.4	24.8
Junior	23.3	22.1	22.5#	21.2	21.0	21.3
Senior	20.7##	20.7	20.7##	18.7	19.6	19.3
5+ year senior	6.3*	5.4	5.7#	5.5	4.8	5.0
Graduate student	1.0**	1.6	1.4	0.9*	1.2	1.2
Partner same sex	6.8**	3.1	4.3	6.9**	3.3	4.4
White	59.4#	58.8##	59.0##	62.2	62.7	62.6
Black	7.2*	6.4	6.7	7.7**	5.8	6.4
Asian	14.7##	13.5##	13.9##	11.4	10.6	10.9
Hispanic	11.5**	13.4	12.7	11.1**	12.7	12.9
Other race	7.3	8.0	7.7	7.6	8.2	8.0
No religious attendance	35.8**	33.0##	33.9##	36.8	35.0	35.6
Some religious attendance < 1 per month	43.2	43.7	43.5##	45.1	45.0	45.0
Religious attendance 1+ per month	21.1**##	23.2##	22.6##	18.1*	20.0	19.4
Mother, bachelor's +	52.8**	49.7#	50.7#	53.8*	51.6	52.3
Frat/sorority member	17.6**	15.1	15.9	17.7**	14.8	15.7
GPA < 2.1	7.9	7.2	7.5	8.5*	7.3	7.7
GPA 2.1–3.0	39.5**	34.1	35.8	39.2**	34.4	35.9
GPA 3.1–3.75	44.0**	48.1	46.8	44.3**	48.8	47.4
GPA 3.76 +	8.5**	10.6#	9.9#	8.0*	9.5	9.0
Lives in dorm	41.1##	42.5##	42.0##	45.1	46.7	46.2
Lives in frat/sorority	6.2**	3.9	4.7	6.5**	4.0	4.8
Lives off-campus independent	40.1#	40.0#	40.0##	37.6	38.3	38.1
Lives off-campus w/parents	12.5#	13.6##	13.3##	10.8	11.1	11.0
Hooked up	65.8**	68.1	67.3			
Dated				78.9*	77.1	77.7
% Female sample			67.3			68.6
N Meeting place/sex activity sample	4,567	9,409	13,976	3,787	8,281	12,068
% Female total			67.4			67.7
% Participated	62.7**	58.8	60.0	63.2**	59.9	60.9
N Participated	4,675	9,682	14,357	4,711	9,871	14,582
N Total students	7,459	16,479	23,938	7,459	16,479	23,938

†*p* < .10; **p* < .05; ***p* < .01; ****p* < .001; shows results of *t* tests of difference between men and women.

#*p* < .05; ##*p* < .01; *t* tests of difference between dates and hookups.

Measures

Regarding hookups, students were prompted: “For this section, use whatever definition of hookup 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.” Students were asked about their total number of hookups in college, and then asked, “Now some questions about the last time you hooked up with someone you were NOT already in an exclusive relationship with (whether or not you knew the person beforehand).” For dates, students were prompted: “Now some questions about the last date you went on with someone you were NOT already in an exclusive relationship with.” The exact meanings of date and hookup were left undefined, allowing us to examine the extent to which students associated these terms with certain types of sexual behavior.

To examine date and hookup partner meeting contexts, we analyzed responses to the following questions: “Where did you and your date first meet?” and “Where did you and the person you hooked up with first meet?” For both questions, respondents could select closed-ended responses that included *Class*, *Student club/team*, *Dorm*, *Work*, *Personal ad/dating service*, *At a party/bar/nightclub*, and *Other*. A subsequent open-ended question asked, “If other, please specify.” Although responses may be biased toward these predetermined categories, a substantial number of students provided an open-ended response to these questions, comprising 25.5% of hookup meeting contexts and 28.75% of date meeting contexts. Open-ended responses were recoded and combined with closed-ended responses into seven meeting contexts, and one “other” category, which included 1.5% of reported dating meeting places and 1.8% of reported hookup meeting places that we could not categorize because they were too vague or did not fit into our categories. Encounters in this category are deleted from our meeting place and sexual activity sample. Categories for meeting place were determined based on the dimensions discussed in Table 1. We initially coded responses into 13 total categories and then combined groups into seven categories based on a series of *t* tests (available from authors) that compared respondents in categories that logically were similar on a number of demographic variables. Categories were combined only when similar both theoretically and demographically.

The first category, *personal recommendation*, includes people who met through family (includes responses such as “through my brother,” “my sister's friend”) and through friends (“through mutual friends,” “a friend's friend”). A second category, *common interest/shared history*, included repetitive and one-time common interest events (“ballroom dance class/club,” “our mutual sports team,” “tennis match”) and a common history (“from my hometown,” “knew from high school,” “we grew up together”). The third category, *institution*, included the “class,” “student club/team,” and “work” responses originally provided to respondents along with some additional open-ended responses (“orientation,” “college event,” “Alcoholics Anonymous,” “at church”). *Dorm* combined this originally provided category along with open-ended responses related to institutional living contexts (“at a dorm-sponsored dance,” “we were roommates in an on-campus apartment”). *Public* combined off-campus housing (“we are neighbors,” “same apartment building,” “off-campus house”), with other public spaces (“grocery store,” “coffeehouse,” “at a beach”). *Internet/personals* combined the original “personals/dating service” group with Internet-related open-ended responses, including both social networking sites (“Facebook,” “online/MySpace”) and dating/hooking up Web sites (“adultfriendfinder.com,” “online/personal ad”). The originally supplied response of “at a party/bar/nightclub” was combined with similar open-ended responses (“at a club in London,” “pool hall,” “keg stands at a townhouse”) into the final category, *bars/parties/nightclubs*.

Gender was based on self-reported gender, and *partner's gender* was based on the self-reported gender of most recent hookup and date partner, with those reporting encounters with partners whose gender matched their own categorized as *same-sex* encounters; those reporting encounters with partners of the opposite gender were categorized as *opposite-sex encounters*. *Class standing* included freshmen, sophomores, juniors, seniors, seniors who had been in school five or more years, and graduate students. *Percent female—school* measured percent of students that are female at each college in our sample, drawn from university Web sites while *Percent female—sample* measured the percentage of respondents in our sample who were female.

Sex during encounter was reported based on responses to a question that asked, “Which sexual behaviors did you engage in? (Check all that occurred)” in regard to students' last hookup and/or date. *Sex* was operationalized as students' engagement in genital stimulation or oral, vaginal, or anal sex during their encounter. In addition, we report rates of *genital stimulation* (“stimulated your partner's genitals with your hand,” “genitals stimulated by your partner's hand,” “stimulated your own genitals,” “partner stimulated his/her own genitals”), *oral sex* (“performed oral sex on your partner,” “partner performed oral sex on you”), *vaginal sex* (“had vaginal sexual intercourse”), and *anal sex* (“anal sex: you penetrated your partner,” “anal sex: your partner penetrated you”). *No sexual activity* indicates students who did not engage in sex, kissing, or above-the-waist petting during their encounter.

Control variables included student's race, religious attendance, mother's education, whether the student was a fraternity or sorority member, and student's living arrangement. Individuals who indicated more than one race were categorized according to the race with which they most identified. Descriptive statistics for these variables and *t* tests of differences between men and women and dates versus hookups are included in Table 2.

Missing Cases and Imputation

Although we found a fairly similar number of dates ($N = 14,398$) and hookups ($N = 14,630$) reported in the total sample, we analyzed more dates than hookups in our sample due to a greater number of missing values on hookup meeting places; approximately 1.3% of daters did not provide a response to the question of where they had met their most recent dating partner, while 15.2% of those who had hooked up provided no information on meeting place. Heckman's (1979) selection method was used to test for selection bias concerning the meeting context. A nonsignificant Mills ratio was found, indicating that selection bias was not an issue in these data. Subsequently, all cases missing meeting context were dropped from these analyses. Therefore in total, 2.8% ($N = 406$) of dates and 17.0% ($N = 2,494$) of hookups were removed from the Meeting Place/Sex Activity Sample due to not including information on meeting places or the meeting place being unable to be categorized. We also deleted encounters missing information on gender of partner or for whom partners were transgender (date, $N = 14$; hookup, $N = 58$). Finally, two dates and ten hookups were deleted because they occurred among men indicating they partnered with men and had vaginal sex during the encounter, but elsewhere responded that they had lifetime sexual experience with women (including vaginal sex) but not men; we assumed these men misread the question on partner's gender. Our meeting place/sex activity sample included 13,976 dates and 12,068 hookups.

In analyses examining the percent who hooked up or dated in schools and how these rates correlated with percent female in schools and in our data set, we did not eliminate students missing information on meeting place from the sample in order to get a more accurate depiction of hooking up and dating rates within these classrooms. We eliminated students missing information on their own gender or the reported gender of their partner and the group of men reporting vaginal sex with men, since gender is a key aspect of this analysis. This resulted in an N of 22 institutions containing the encounters of 23,938 students in our sex ratio analysis.

A total of 415 students in our sample were missing information on one or more control variables. For these students we imputed values via multiple imputation by chained equations, using the MICE package (van Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn, 2011) in R. Ten imputed data sets were created based on the original OCSLS data, and all analyses were conducted ten times (once per imputed data set). Following completion of all analyses on each of the imputed data sets, Rubin's (1987) rules for pooling the results of separate analyses were implemented to combine results before interpretation.

Analytic Method

We estimated a series of two- and three-level random-intercept logistic regression models predicting various outcomes and controlling for all control variables described. To estimate these models we reshaped the data into a two- or three-level structure with most recent dating/hooking up encounters at the lowest level (in models examining both dates and hookups), individuals at the second level (or first in models examining either dates or hookups only), and school as the third. Using this type of model accounts for clustering of students at the 22 schools examined and clustering of encounters among individuals. We estimated models to calculate significant differences in meeting places by gender, whether the student engaged in a same-sex or opposite-sex encounter, and class standing. Outcome variables were a series of dichotomous variables for each meeting place or sexual activity, indicating whether they met in that locale or engaged in that activity. Separate models were estimated for each gender/encounter-type grouping to test encounter type and same-sex versus opposite-sex differences within group, with additional models testing gender differences in models examining both genders within each encounter type. We predicted whether an encounter was reported as a date or a hookup using a binary dependent variable where *Date* = 0 and *Hookup* = 1. Tables present unadjusted means for each meeting place or sexual activity, with indications of significant differences estimated via these regression models. Full regression results are not presented but are available from authors.

In addition, we calculated correlation coefficients between percent female on campus and in our sample at each school, and percent of men and women forming encounters with same-sex or opposite-sex partners. Finally, for descriptive statistics, results of two sample *t* tests between genders within each relationship type, between relationship types within gender, and between dates and hookups are presented. Although comparisons by encounter type violate the assumption of independent samples, *t* tests provide a general idea of differences by these factors.

Results

Table 2 includes descriptive statistics for those in our sample who dated, who hooked up, and the total sample of students who were not missing information on the variables included in this study. We found roughly equal rates of engagement in dates and hookups among students as a whole; 60% of students reported a date and 61% a hookup. Examining the difference between hookup encounters and date encounters in the “total” columns revealed an expected positive relationship between class standing and dating instead of hooking up, but few differences by gender, partner's gender, or encounter type. Contrary to prior assertions about hookup culture replacing dates and theorized gendered patterns, students are as likely to have participated in a date since starting college as they are to have participated in a hookup, and the percentage of

respondents who were female is equivalent among the total hookups and dates: 67.4% versus 67.7%, meaning women were not more or less likely to date versus hook up. Men, outnumbered by women in this partnering market, were more likely to engage in both types of partnering compared to women. There were no differences between dates and hookups in the overall likelihood of partnering with a same-sex partner, which included 4% of both encounters. Men were more than twice as likely to have a same-sex partner as women, with rates of 7% and 3%, respectively.

Table 3 presents meeting places for hookups and date partners, and differences by gender. For both date and hookup partners, the most common meeting place was institutions, followed by bars/parties/nightclubs, each comprising around 30% of date and hookup partner meeting contexts, and around 60% of total encounters combined. The next most common meeting place for students was a dorm, where 18% of hookup partners and 13.5% of date partners were met. Around 12% of dating partners and 10% of hookup partners were met through personal recommendation. Rarer meeting contexts included common interest groups (around 6% of dates and 6.5% of hookups), public places (3% for both), and Internet/personals, which accounted for around 2.5% of hookups and 3.5% of dates. In line with our first hypothesis, we found Internet/personals, personal recommendation, and institutions were associated with dates, while bars/parties/nightclubs and dorms were associated with hookups.

Table 3. Gender Variation in Date and Hookup Partner Meeting Place and Sexual Activity: Unadjusted Means With Significance Levels From Multilevel Logistic Models

Meeting Place/Sexual Activity	Dates			Hookups		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Personal recommendation	8.0** #	13.9##	11.9##	6.3**	11.8	10.1
Common interest/history	5.2**	6.6	6.1	4.9**	7.4	6.6
Institution	37.9** ##	33.1##	34.7##	32.9**	28.8	30.1
Dorm	16.8**	12.1##	13.6##	21.4**	17.0	18.3
Public place	2.6	3.1	2.9	2.1*	2.9	2.7
Internet/personals	3.4	3.6##	3.6##	2.4	2.4	2.4
Bars/parties	26.2* #	27.6#	27.2##	30.1	29.7	29.8
No sexual contact	35.0** ##	39.8##	38.2###	1.2	0.9	1.0
Sex	43.2** ##	31.4###	35.2###	73.4**	66.8	68.9
Genital stimulation	40.2** ##	28.7###	32.4###	66.9**	59.3	61.7
Oral sex	29.0** ##	16.6##	20.6##	47.7**	34.7	38.8
Vaginal sex	25.9** ##	19.0##	21.3##	41.8**	40.3	40.8
Anal sex	3.7** ##	1.0###	1.8###	4.8**	1.3	2.4
<i>N</i>	4,567	9,409	13,976	3,787	8,281	12,068

Note. All models control for respondent's race, class standing, religious attendance, mother's college degree, fraternity/sorority membership, grade point average, and living arrangement. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; tests the difference between men and women in encounter-specific models predicting meeting place and sexual activity during encounters. # $p < .05$; ## $p < .01$; ### $p < .001$; tests the difference between dates and hookups in gender-specific models predicting meeting place and sexual activity during encounters.

Differences in sexual activity during encounters were pronounced; 38% of students reported no physical contact during their last date, and 1% of students reported no physical contact during

their last hookup. Hookups were almost twice as likely as dates to include sex, with rates of 69% and 34%, respectively. As hookups are associated with casual sex, this is not surprising, but notably one-third of dates included sex, and one-third of hookups did not.

In the second postulate discussed in this article (postulate 2A) we assumed that the college campuses and college classrooms that made up a significant part of our respondents' partnering market would have more women than men. We found that schools in the sample were on average 53% female, with 15 of 22 colleges, in which 72% of the surveys were collected, having more women than men. Moreover, given our high response rates, we know that the college courses in which our sample was collected were overwhelmingly female, with an average rate of 69.4% female per school sample, and women outnumbering men in every university sample. One university sample was 56% female, 11 were between 62% and 70% female, and the remaining ten university samples ranged from 70% to 79.5% female. Correlations between partnering rates and sex ratios at these universities are further discussed in the next section.

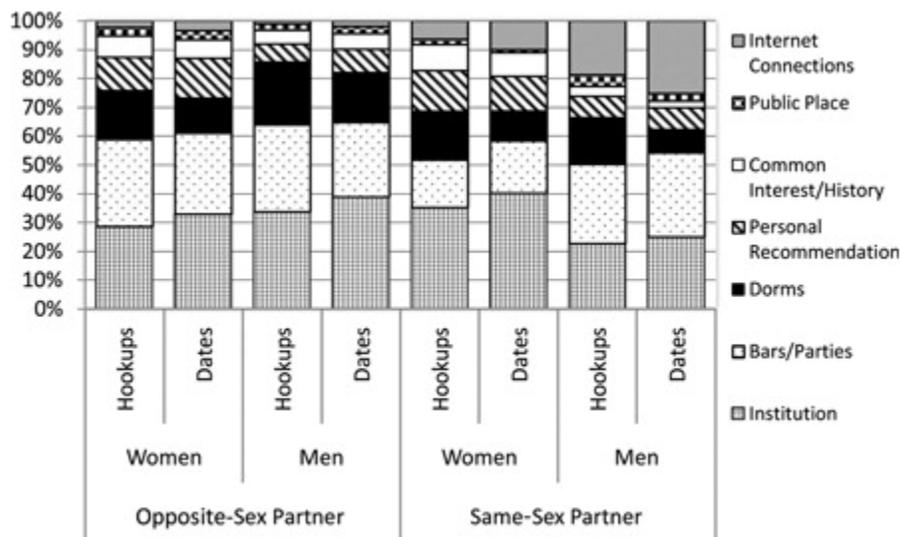


Figure 2. Meeting context of most recent hookup and dating partner, by gender, gender of partner, and encounter type.

Differences by Gender and Gender of Partner

The uneven sex ratios in the partnering markets of students in this study are reflected in gender differences in partner meeting places (see Table 3). In line with our second hypothesis, men were significantly more likely to meet both hookup and dating female partners in institutional settings and in dorms compared to women. Female students were significantly more likely to find hookup and dating partners in non-campus-specific locales, including through personal recommendations, common interest groups/shared histories, and more likely than men to meet hookups in public places, and dates in bars/parties/nightclubs. There were no gender differences in meeting hookups or dates online or through personals, but both men and women were more likely to date than hook up with partners met in those contexts, and were more likely to date instead of hook up when they met in institutions and through personal recommendation.

Confirming expectations, men were less likely than women to report no physical activity during dates and more likely to report sex during both types of encounters.

Table 4. Gender, Partner's Gender Variation in Date and Hookup Partner Meeting Place and Sexual Activity: Unadjusted Means With Significance Levels From Multilevel Logistic Models

Type of Encounter	Meeting Place/Sexual Activity	Men		Women	
		Opposite-Sex Partner	Same-Sex Partner	Opposite-Sex Partner	Same-Sex Partner
Dates	Personal recommendation	8.0#	7.6	13.9###	11.9
	Common interest/history	5.4*	2.3	6.5	8.2
	Institution	38.8***##	24.9	32.9*##	39.6
	Dorms	17.4**	8.0	12.2##	10.2#
	Public place	2.6	2.7	3.1	1.0
	Internet/personals	1.9**	25.2	3.4***##	9.9
	Bars/parties	26.0**#	29.2	28.0**#	18.1
	No sexual contact	34.6###	40.2###	39.9###	37.9#
	Sex	43.2###	42.7###	31.4###	32.0###
	Genital stimulation	40.1###	41.5###	28.7###	30.7###
	Oral sex	28.7###	33.2###	16.6###	16.0###
	Vaginal sex	27.8-##	0	19.3***##	11.3###
	Anal sex	2.6**	18.3###	1.0##	0.7
	<i>N</i>		4,259	308	9,110
Hookups	Personal recommendation	6.2	7.5	11.7	14.2
	Common interest/history	4.9	3.5	7.4	9.0
	Institution	33.7**	22.7	28.6	35.2
	Dorms	21.8**	16.1	17.0	16.9
	Public place	2.0	3.9	3.0	1.9
	Internet/personals	1.2**	18.8	2.2**	6.4
	Bars/parties	30.3	27.5	30.1**	16.5
	No sexual contact	1.2	1.9	0.9	0.4
	Sex	72.3**	87.6	66.8	66.0
	Genital stimulation	65.5**	85.9	59.2	62.5
	Oral sex	46.0**	70.6	34.7	34.8
	Vaginal sex	44.9—	0.0	40.9**	20.6
	Anal sex	3.0**	29.0	1.4	0.0
	<i>N</i>		3,528	259	8,007

Note. All models controlled for respondent's race, class standing, religious attendance, mother's college degree, fraternity/sorority membership, grade point average, and living arrangement.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; tests the difference between opposite-sex and same-sex partners in encounter-specific models predicting meeting place and sexual activity during encounters.

$p < .05$; ## $p < .01$; ### $p < .001$; tests the difference between dates and hookups in gender/partner's gender group-specific models predicting meeting place and sexual activity during encounters.

Table 4 and Figure 2 demonstrate distinctions in encounter meeting place during encounters by gender and partner's gender. In line with expectations in our third hypothesis, men who partnered with men were less likely than men who partnered with women to meet in institutional settings or dormitories and were significantly more likely to meet through Internet sources; in fact, around one-quarter of male same-sex dates and almost one-fifth of male same-sex hookup partners were met through Internet sources compared to just 2% of men dating women and 1% of

men hooking up with women. Women who partnered with women were more likely than those partnering with men to meet in institutional settings but, like men with same-sex partners, also significantly more likely to use Internet sources to find partners; 10% of women who dated women and 6.5% of women who hooked up with women met partners through Internet sources compared to rates of 3.5% and 2%, respectively, among women partnering with men. Unexpectedly, we found that women who partnered with women were significantly less likely to meet partners through bars and parties compared to women who partnered with men; 18% of women met female date partners and 16% of women met female hookup partners through bars or parties, compared to 28% of women who met male date partners and 30% who met male hookups through bars.

In line with expectations in hypothesis four, men hooking up with men were significantly more likely than men hooking up with women to have sex during hookup encounters (see Figure 3). However, men who dated men were no more likely than men who dated women to have sex during dates, suggesting that men who partner with men behave more sexually conservatively, at rates similar to men who partner with women, when on a date instead of a hookup.

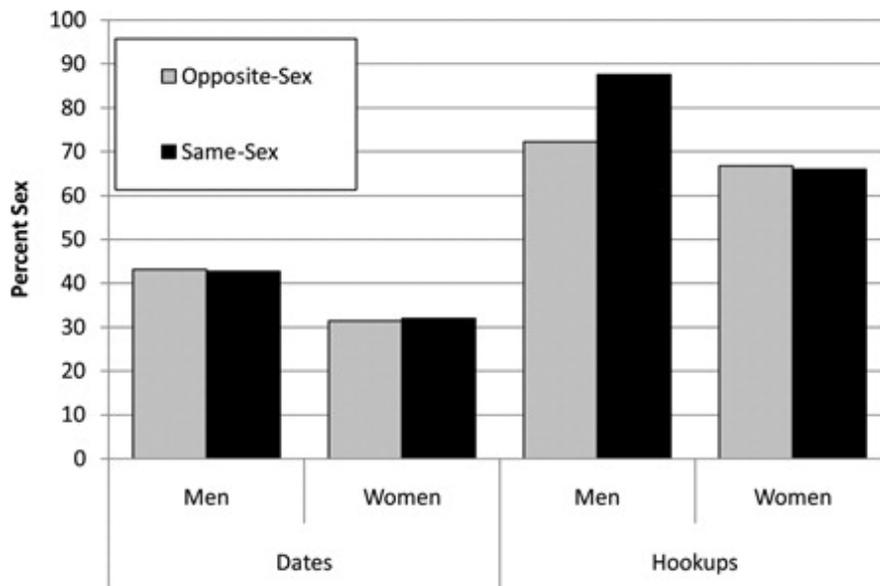


Figure 3. Percent engaged in sex during last encounter, by gender, and gender of partner.

Sex Ratios and Partnering Patterns

To further examine rates of partnering by campus and classroom sex composition, we examined correlations between sex ratios and partnering rates in each university in our sample by gender and partner's gender, presented in Table 5. We found that women were significantly less likely to partner with men when they were in universities that had more women in our sample (and therefore more women in the courses in which surveys were administered) and were marginally more likely to date women on campuses with more women.

Table 5. Correlation Coefficients (r) Percent Female and Partnering Rates, by Gender and Partner's Gender and by University ($N = 22$)

Percent Female	Men		Women	
	School	Data Set	School	Data Set
% Hooked up OR dated				
Opposite sex	-.127	-.339	-.194	-.434*
Same sex	.079	.076	.321	-.132
% Dated				
Opposite sex	-.089	-.338	-.236	-.345
Same sex	.017	-.028	.373†	.138
% Hooked up				
Opposite sex	.064	-.251	-.027	-.269
Same sex	.092	.065	.297	.105

Note. † $p < .10$ and * $p < .05$. Percent female in school was calculated based on data collected from university Web sites shortly after the end of survey data collection, 2011. Percent female in the data set was calculated based on the number of respondents who provided their gender (and partner's gender if hooked up/dated) in the data set and who indicated they were female, divided by the total number of respondents from that school ($N = 23,938$).

The other coefficients, while not significant likely due to our small sample size ($N = 22$), demonstrated interesting patterns that were logically sound according to our theory, once the nature of our sample was accounted for. Among women, percent female on campus and in classrooms was positively correlated with same-sex partnering and negatively correlated with opposite-sex partnering. We also found a positive correlation with hookups but a negative correlation with dates among men who partnered with women on campuses with more women, likely related to previously discussed gender differences in interest in casual sex. The positive correlation of men partnering with men and negative correlation of men partnering with women in courses with more women suggests selection into courses with many women by gay men, which is perhaps correlated with surveys collected in courses related to gender or sexuality.

Class Standing

Full results on class standing are not presented but are available from authors. In line with our fifth hypothesis, we found that reliance on Internet sources increased (see Figure 4) and meeting partners in dormitories decreased as students advanced in class standing, which we theorize is a result of increased interest in dates instead of hookups. Nearly one-fifth of graduate student men met dates through Internet sources. Contrary to expectations, however, with the exception of men seeking hookup partners, we found all other groups increased in likelihood of meeting through personal recommendation as they advanced in class standing (results available from authors). Further, as shown in Figure 5, few differences existed in sexual activity on dates by age for women, but men showed a U-shaped relationship to sex during dates, and during hookups less advanced students were actually significantly less likely to engage in sex during encounters. This suggests that engagement in sex increases among both men and women during hookups as they age, and for men during dates, but that women do not increase engagement in sex during dates as they advance in age, a factor which is strongly correlated with class standing.

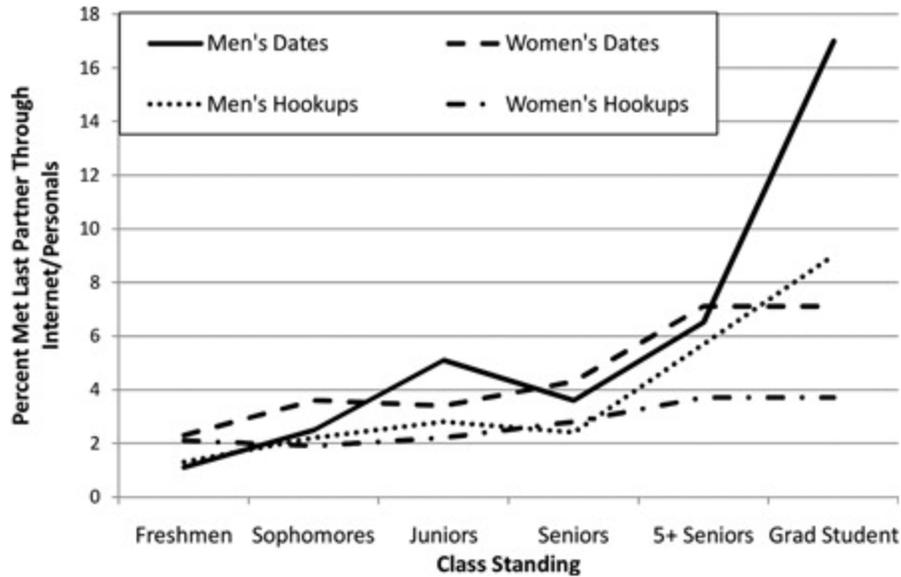


Figure 4. Percent met partner through Internet/personals, by class standing.

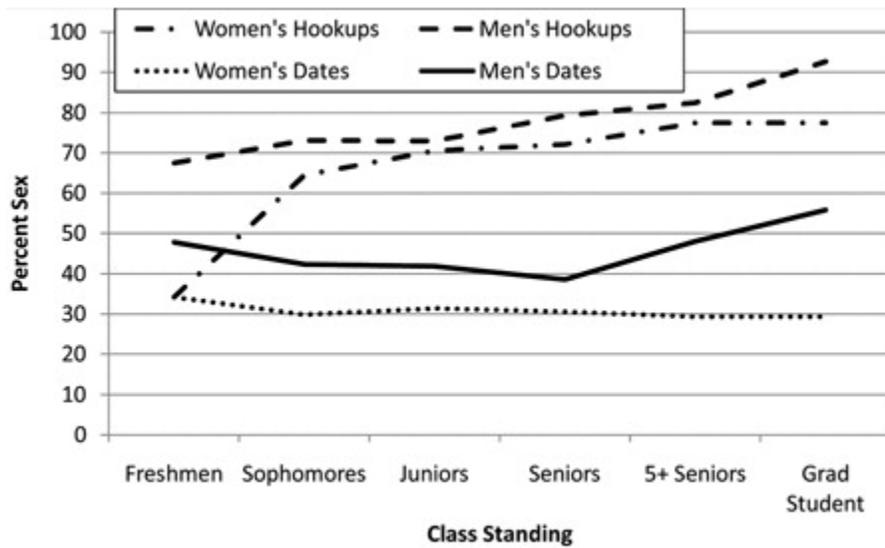


Figure 5. Percent sex during last encounter, by class standing.

As discussed, our sample included an over representation of freshmen and sophomores; therefore, rates of meeting places presented in Table 2 likely overestimate rates at which students meet partners in dorms and underestimate rates at which students meet through Internet/personals and personal recommendation, or engage in casual sex during hookups. Men's sex rate during dates should not be heavily biased, judging from patterns found.

Meeting Place, Sexual Activity, and Encounter Type

In Table 6 we present results of regression models, separated by gender, predicting whether an encounter was reported to have been a hookup rather than a date by the respondent. Meeting a

partner at a bar/party/nightclub increased the likelihood that an encounter would be reported as a hookup by 14% for women and 18% for men, and meeting in dormitories increased the likelihood that an encounter would be reported as a hookup by 38% for men and 53% for women compared with partners met through institutions, although findings related to partner's gender indicate the association of bars/parties/nightclubs with hookup culture was primarily related to opposite-sex and not same-sex partnering. Dormitories seemed to be positively related to same-sex hookups, but coefficients did not reach significance, perhaps due to the relatively small sample sizes of same-sex encounters. Once again confirming expectations in the first hypothesis, when partners met through institutions, personal recommendation, common interest groups/shared history, or public places, students were equally likely to engage in a date or hookup. Partners met through Internet settings were more likely to become dates compared to partners met in institutional settings; those met through Internet settings were 72% among men and 67% among women as likely as partners met through institutional settings to be reported as a hookup.

Table 6. Multilevel Logistic Models Predicting Encounter Type, by Gender and Gender of Partner (1 = Hookup, 0 = Date), Odds Ratios

			Opposite Sex		Same Sex	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Personal recommendation	.87	.95	.87	.94	1.44	1.48
Common interest/history	.98	1.11	0.96	1.11	1.69	1.29
Institution	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dorm	1.37**	1.55**	1.35**	1.55**	1.91	1.78
Public place	.86	1.05	.80	1.05	.63	1.07
Internet/personals	.72*	.67**	.68	.67**	.82	.71
Bars/parties	1.17**	1.15**	1.20**	1.15**	.82	1.02
No sex	—	—	—	—	—	—
Genital stimulation	2.59**	2.74**	2.43*	2.74*	7.24*	3.43*
Oral sex	1.15*	1.12*	1.09	1.11*	1.62	1.56
Vaginal intercourse	1.16*	1.61**	1.26*	1.62*	—	1.05
Anal sex	.83	.62**	.67*	.63*	.74	—
Same sex	1.08	1.15	—	—	—	—
Freshmen	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sophomores	.88	.90*	.88	.89*	.82	1.24
Juniors	.86*	.85**	.87	.84**	.76	.96
Seniors	.82*	.84**	.82*	.83**	.95	1.05
Seniors 5+ years	.75*	.86	.77*	.86	.49	.77
Graduate students	.74	.85	.80	.84	.50	1.23
<i>N</i>	8,354	17,690	7,787	17,117	567	573

Note. Models additionally controlled for respondent's race, religious attendance, mother's college degree, fraternity/sorority membership, grade point average, and living arrangement.

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

Higher-order sexual activity during an encounter was associated with the encounter being described as a hookup instead of a date. Encounters that included genital stimulation were more likely to be considered a hookup than a date compared to encounters that did not include any form of sex, among those partnering with both opposite- and same-sex partners. For men and women partnering with opposite-sex partners, vaginal sex and, for women, oral sex, was

associated with hookups. Anal sex was more closely associated with dates for both men and women partnering with opposite-sex partners. Among students partnering with same-sex partners, oral, vaginal, and anal sex were all equally likely to occur in hookups and dates.

Conclusion

Students meet hookup and dating partners mostly in similar contexts, indicating that students do not engage in vastly different partner search patterns to look for hookup or date partners, but whether an encounter is reported to be a hookup or date depends on the activity during the encounter or other factors prior to the encounter. Some differences by meeting context, sexual activity, and participation in hookups and dates did emerge, and considerable differences were found by gender, gender of partner, and class standing. We developed a theoretical framework extending prior work by Mahay and Laumann (2004) by introducing trust, gender differences in trust, and differences in sexual scripts by encounter type to explain this variation. We also drew on the unique nature of our sample to examine partnering in a market in which women outnumbered men to some extent, at least in the classes in which surveys were distributed.

Our findings for the most part confirmed our five hypotheses, providing evidence for our postulates. Selection into dates versus hookups was related to the extent to which meeting places were correlated with trust, a risk-taking personality, and hookup culture, with students more likely to meet partners for hookups in dormitories and bars/parties/nightclubs and for dates through Internet sources. In line with prior research, women avoided risk more than men when searching for partners, while due to an uneven sex ratio, men partnering with women and women partnering with women found more partners on campus than women partnering with men. Among women, sex ratios in local partnering markets were positively related to same-sex dating and negatively related to opposite-sex partnering. Students engaging in same-sex partnering and more advanced students relied more heavily on Internet sources to find partners. Sex most commonly occurred during male same-sex hookups, although surprisingly, on dates, men had the same rate of engaging in sex regardless of their partner's gender.

Some unexpected findings unexplained by our theoretical framework are notable. We theorized that women who partnered with women would meet partners in bars at a roughly equivalent rate as those who partnered with men; we found they were significantly less likely to meet partners in these venues, suggesting the bar scene is more utilized by men than women to find same-sex partners. Our framework also predicted students would rely less on personal recommendation, institutions, and common/interest groups over time, but we found students relied more on personal recommendation over time, and the likelihood of meeting in institutions and common/interest group was for the most part stable. This suggests an increased reliance on personal networks with class advancement that remains unexplained by our theory.

Our theoretical framework can be potentially extended to a number of different areas of future research by considering factors specific to the area of inquiry. Particularly, this framework can be extended to examine other romantic partners (long-term romantic relationship, cohabitation, marriage) or nonromantic partnerships; selection into sex and partner meeting places by other factors (race, class, age, etc.); and partnering among those in other types of partnering markets, such as young adults who do not attend college, older individuals in their twenties and thirties,

and those in a partnering market with an even sex distribution, or more men than women. In our own research, we will expand on the theoretical frame developed in this study to examine the relationship between meeting places and risk-taking activities during hookups.

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