

**DETERMINANTS OF VARIABILITY IN COLLEGE MEN'S
SOCIOSEXUALITY: A FOCUS ON AVOIDANCE, BROS, AND MASCULINITY
IDEOLOGIES**

by

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**This dissertation is dedicated to my mom and dad
for their unconditional love, acceptance, and support.**

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ABSTRACT

Stereotypes about college sexuality often characterize men as relationship-phobic and hook up-focused. Such stereotypes contrast with emerging research noting considerable within-gender variability in men's sociosexuality (i.e., the orientation towards uncommitted sex). This dissertation explored the diversity in college men's sociosexuality and investigated the factors contributing to variation in sociosexual beliefs, desire, and behavior. I hypothesized that men's internal models of relationships (attachment avoidance), the internalization of traditional masculinity ideologies (TMI), and male peer relationships that reinforce TMI (homosociality) contribute to greater engagement in uncommitted sex.

Study 1 examined the relative contributions of TMI, attachment avoidance, and homosociality to sociosexuality among 495 undergraduate men. TMI and two dimensions of homosociality (i.e., peer sex norms and sexual storytelling) directly predicted greater sociosexual beliefs, behavior, and desire. TMI also fully mediated the associations of attachment avoidance with sociosexuality.

In Study 2 I more directly examined the diversity in participants' sociosexuality through latent profile analysis. Profiles were based on standardized sociosexuality, homosociality, TMI, and attachment variables. One emerging profile was high on all constructs (*Players*; 10% of the sample), and one was low on all constructs (*Restricted*; 30%). Three additional profiles emerged with discrepant patterns: *Wannabes* (similar to *Players*, but below average in sociosexual behavior; 36%), *Avoidant* (similar to *Restricted*s, but with above average avoidance; 16%), and *Discrepant* (above average sociosexual behavior, but discordant across constructs; 8%). The latter three subgroups indicate that the key constructs do not always "go together," perhaps explaining the modest associations in Study 1. There were several notable demographic, personality, and behavioral differences between the profiles (e.g., nearly 50% of the *Discrepant*s self-identified as sexual minorities, *Restricted*s were the most religious, *Avoidant*s were the most shy).

Analysis of 15 in-depth interviews in Study 3 further synthesized the results from Studies 1 and 2, highlighted heterogeneity within relationship- and hook up-oriented perspectives, and indicated that the processes shaping sociosexuality may vary for different college sub-populations (e.g., sexual minorities). Findings also provide evidence regarding potential trajectories of change in perspectives that future research can address.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

*It is my hope that, with better understanding of the Bro Code, Bros the world over can put aside their differences and strengthen the bonds of brotherhood. It is then, and only then, that we might work together as one to accomplish perhaps the most important challenge society faces—getting laid. Before dismissing this pursuit as crass and ignoble, consider this postulate: without the sport inherent in trying to bang chicks, would men willingly have sex for the sole purpose of producing smelly, screaming babies?**

**Of course not.*

--Barney Stinson, 2008
Introduction to *The Bro Code*

I like having someone to be there for me. I like to be there for other people. I like the deeper connections with people. But there is always that other side of me that's never had—or has only had on very rare occasions—the hooking-up part. So there is always that part of me that's like—yeah, that would be kind of cool. But at the same time, you get to have sex with her once and that's it. Are you going to be friends with her after that? There are definitely girls I'm attracted to very much but I don't want to hook-up with them because I like being in a relationship.

--Matt, 18 years old, Freshman

The two quotes above represent two very different views on uncommitted sex.¹ Barney—a fictional character and consummate womanizer from the CBS sitcom “How I Met Your Mother”—presents a perspective consistent with Western gender norms regarding masculine sexuality. According to Barney, the ultimate goal for all men is to “bang” as many partners as possible, not only for personal gratification, but also because it is a “sport” that brings men closer together. Matt—a participant from this

¹ Uncommitted sex encompasses the range of partnered sexual behaviors that occur outside the context of a traditional, monogamous, committed relationship. In this dissertation uncommitted sex refers to short-term sexual relationships, such as one-night stands, hook ups, or friends with benefits.

dissertation—is more relationship-focused, and pursues partners for the emotional connection, rather than just the sex. Although Matt has acted upon an occasional desire for uncommitted sex, such behaviors only seem to reinforce his desire to be in a relationship.

Matt is also a college student, and his views on sex and relationships do not only contrast with Barney's traditional masculine perspective, but also with current conceptualizations of college student sexuality. Survey research indicates that nearly 75% of college students hook up² at least once before they graduate, leading some social scientists to conclude that uncommitted sex has become the norm among contemporary American college students (Bogle, 2008; England & Thomas, 2006; Glenn & Marquardt, 2001; Kimmel, 2008; Paul, McManus, & Hayes, 2000). Initial research by social scientists and journalists found that college men initiate hook ups more than women, are more satisfied after hooking up, and that hook ups generally enhance men's social status while bringing down women's reputations (Bogle, 2008; Denizet-Lewis, 2004; Hermann & Rackl, 2005; Kimmel, 2008; Paul & Hayes, 2002; Stepp, 2007). Such findings are consistent with well-documented gender differences in sociosexuality (i.e., the orientation towards uncommitted sex; Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Miller, 1948) and provide much support for the popular perception that “men want sex and women want relationships” (Grello, Welsh, & Harper, 2006; Oliver & Hyde, 1993; Townsend, 1995; Twenge, 1997; Wiederman, 1997)

But is college men's sexuality really this straightforward? A growing body of work suggests that men's views on uncommitted sex are complex and diverse. Although previous research has found that sociosexuality shows one of the largest gender differences in psychology (Hyde, 2005, $d = .81$), more recent estimates drawing from both convenience and population-based studies reveals that gender differences in sociosexuality have either decreased or are smaller than earlier studies indicate (e.g., in Petersen and Hyde's (2010) meta-analysis, $d = .45$). Researchers have also identified that there is substantial *within* gender variability in sociosexuality that requires further research (Giordano, Longmore, & Manning, 2006; Giordano, Longmore, Manning, &

² Although definitions of hook ups vary (Epstein, Calzo, Smiler, & Ward, 2009), most research has defined hook ups as brief sexual encounters between two strangers or brief acquaintances with no expectation of emotional commitment (Glenn & Marquardt, 2001; Paul et al., 2000).

Northcutt, 2009; Herold & Mewhinney, 1993; Manning, Giordano, & Longmore, 2006; Townsend, 1995). In their integration of research and theory on sexual strategies, Gangestad and Simpson (2000) found that gender accounts for only 16% of the variance in preference for short-term sexual partners. In addition, approximately 30% of adult men express views about uncommitted sex that are *less favorable* than the median attitudes of women (Gangestad & Simpson, 2000). In spite of accumulating evidence that men's sociosexuality is highly variable, surprisingly little research has attempted to apply this perspective to studying the nuances of college men's sexuality. Just as Matt's quote indicates, not all college men just want to hook up. Furthermore, even among men who do hook up, it is possible that their beliefs about, desire for, and engagement in uncommitted sex is more complex than is typically presented in media portrayals and gender differences research.

The goals of this dissertation are to explore the diversity in college men's sociosexuality and to investigate the factors that lead some men to engage in, desire, and endorse uncommitted sex more so than others. Using a combination of variable- and pattern-centered techniques as well as in depth interviews, I hope to shed greater light on the nuances of college men's sexuality and increase understanding of the factors that shape diverse perspectives on uncommitted sex. Drawing from a socio-cultural, developmental framework, I hypothesize that college men's sociosexuality is tied to their internal working models of themselves in close relationships (attachment), their socially constructed beliefs about masculinity (traditional masculinity ideologies [TMI]), and their level of social engagement with other men (e.g., "bros") who may reinforce those beliefs (homosociality). As all three constructs influence the ways in which men regulate emotions and intimacy in sexual and romantic relationships, these factors may be crucial in determining men's attitudes, desire, and capacity regarding uncommitted sex. My dissertation investigates these processes by addressing three aims:

- (1) Uncover the overall relative contributions of TMI, homosociality, and attachment to men's sociosexual beliefs, desires, and behaviors;
- (2) Identify sociosexual "types" of college men by using pattern-centered analyses to understand better the diverse ways in which TMI, homosociality, attachment, and sociosexuality are organized within individuals;

(3) Explore the relevance of these sociosexual “types” by examining how they differ in their sexual beliefs and satisfaction with sexual and romantic relationships.

As a sub-aim of the dissertation, I will also investigate whether the processes shaping college men’s sociosexuality differ for sexual minority college students (i.e., gay, bisexual). Nearly all research on college students’ hook up experiences has focused on heterosexual samples. Although research on non-college adult samples has found that gay and bisexual men do not differ from heterosexual men in the levels of sociosexual acceptance or desire (Schmitt, 2006), sexual minority men have been found to engage in higher levels of uncommitted sex than heterosexual men (Goodreau & Golden, 2007). However, it is possible that the current college sexual culture may actually resemble the sexual cultures of sexual minority communities in that hooking up is more the norm than the exception (Kimmel, 2008; Schmitt, 2006). Thus, sexual minority and heterosexual male college students’ may be more similar than different in their sociosexual preferences and behaviors.

In this first chapter I introduce the theoretical framework for my dissertation research. Next I review and synthesize the relevant research on the core constructs of sociosexuality, masculinity ideologies, homosociality, and attachment. In the proceeding chapters I introduce the designs and methods of each of the dissertation studies, as well as summarize key findings and directions for future research. In the concluding chapter I integrate the results across the three studies and identify important implications for the fields of developmental psychology and gender and sex research.

Theoretical Framework

Developing comfort with one’s sexuality and learning how to build and maintain interpersonal intimacy are central tasks of young adult socio-emotional development (Arnett, 2000; Brown, 1999; Erikson, 1963; Savin-Williams & Diamond, 2004). Direct and vicarious exposure to committed and uncommitted sexual relationships provide young adults with a greater understanding of their personal dating and sexual preferences and greater knowledge about the responsibilities of adult intimate relationships. By developing comfort with their sexual selves and acquiring interpersonal relationship skills, young adults learn how to build and maintain committed relationships later in life.

Indeed, recent longitudinal research indicates that contemporary adolescents and young adults typically experience an increase in sexual partners throughout mid- and late-adolescence—presumably as they explore relationships—followed by a decrease in sexual partners in young adulthood as they settle into more exclusive, serious relationships (Kan, Cheng, Landale, & McHale, 2010; Seiffge-Krenke, 2003).

College is an ideal environment for young adults to pursue committed and uncommitted sexual opportunities and to develop interpersonal sexual and relationship skills. In comparison to earlier contexts, such as high school, college presents young adults with a greater availability of potential partners and limited monitoring by parents or other authority figures. Thus, it is not surprising that, at least as early as the 1960s, hooking up has thrived along side dating on college campuses (Kimmel, 2008). Hooking up may be particularly seductive to college students because it allows them to satisfy their sexual needs without requiring them to develop a relationship to sexual partners beforehand—a process that some college students see as competing with time allocated to other important social objectives, such as building and fostering new friendship networks (Bogle, 2008).

Because nearly 75% of college students hook up before they graduate (England & Thomas, 2006; Glenn & Marquardt, 2001; Kimmel, 2008; Paul et al., 2000), researchers, health providers, and parents alike are increasingly concerned that college students are only hooking up, and that this seeming “epidemic” of hooking up has pushed dating aside and is preventing contemporary college students from learning how to shoulder the emotional demands and responsibilities of long-term commitment (Bogle, 2008; England & Thomas, 2006; Kimmel, 2008; Stepp, 2007). Such concern is warranted given accumulating evidence that individuals in committed, monogamous relationships fare better emotionally, physically, and economically than their un-partnered peers throughout the lifespan (Lillard & Panis, 1996; Umberson & Williams, 2005; Waite & Gallagher, 2000). These differences in the protective benefits of committed relationships are larger among men than they are among women (Lillard & Panis, 1996; Umberson & Williams, 2005; Waite & Gallagher, 2000). In comparison to women, college men may be more likely to engage in hook ups because traditional gender role norms already encourage men to desire multiple sexual partners, to demonstrate their independence, and to hide

any signs of sensitivity or emotionality (Levant, 1997). Thus, understanding the factors that increase college men's propensity for uncommitted sex—a potential risk factor to the formation of high quality, satisfying future relationships—is imperative.

Masculinity researchers have constructed several theories to understand the centrality of uncommitted sex to men's experiences of gender and intimate relationships. Among the theories that utilize a developmental perspective is Good and Sherrod's (1997) theory of uncommitted sexuality as a psychosocial developmental stage. According to the theory, the socialization of traditional masculinity norms over time leads most men to adopt positive attitudes regarding uncommitted sex, to be more desirous of uncommitted sex, and to engage in it as much as possible. Although some uncommitted sex is developmentally normative in adolescence and young adulthood (Bogle, 2008; Paul, McManus, & Hayes, 2000), Good and Sherrod (1997) posit that continuous engagement in this behavior is ultimately detrimental. In order for men to resolve the uncommitted sexual stage and pursue monogamous, intimate romantic relationships, Good and Sherrod propose four necessary tasks. First, men must gain experience as sexual beings, learning to recognize and experience their sexual desire, manage physical functioning and sexual impulses, and develop methods of managing sex-related emotions (Good & Sherrod, 1997). Emotion regulation is central to this task; men must learn to *un-restrict* their emotions in order to experience feelings deeper than those related to the physical aspects of sex. In the second task men must gain experience with the interpersonal aspects of sexuality. Men must learn to attract interest, obtain consent, and recognize, communicate, and fulfill their partner's sexual needs. This second task is analogous to the relationship maintenance and building behaviors in the adult attachment literature, in that fulfilling the task facilitates bonding. Men who recognize only their own needs cannot successfully build a reciprocal relationship. In learning how to attract interest and obtain consent, men must also make themselves vulnerable to rejection—a prospect that threatens male norms regarding power and status.

In the third task in Good and Sherrod's model men must develop a sense of sexual and relationship identity. In other words, men must establish “who they are” and “whom they want to be with.” From the masculinity perspective, the task of establishing “who I am” is the process of understanding what it means to be a man. This is accomplished

through the internalization of gender norms and expectations. Men who are socialized more traditionally may hold more traditional masculinity ideologies, and may thus desire to be with as many women as possible. Although Good and Sherrod do not draw parallels to attachment, it is also possible to argue that the “who I am” process is similar to the development of one’s internal working model of attachment, in that men are attempting to understand who they are in the context of close relationships (Aron A., Aron E., Tudor, & Nelson, 1991). The fourth task of Good and Sherrod’s model is developing comfort with interpersonal intimacy. In order to break out of the cycle of uncommitted sex, men must be able to relate their deep hopes and thoughts to another person, and be comfortable with that person’s need to do the same.

Although Good and Sherrod do not specify when men are most likely to negotiate the conflict between uncommitted and intimate romantic sexual relationships, they do acknowledge that the four tasks required for resolution fit with the tasks of Erikson’s Intimacy vs. Isolation stage of psychosocial development. Erikson proposed that the Intimacy vs. Isolation stage takes place in young adulthood (18-35 years of age) and is characterized by learning how to make personal commitments to others (Erikson, 1963). Uncommitted sexual experiences may be a method of achieving that end in that such activities allow youth to gain a sense of their own intimacy needs and emotional reactions to sex. Good and Sherrod’s model also overlaps with the tasks outlined in Arnett’s (2000) theory of emerging adulthood. According to Arnett, the period between the ages of 18-25 (i.e., the period spanning college) is central for identity exploration in multiple domains, including love and sex. Experiencing both committed and uncommitted sex are ways of learning about one’s sexuality and gaining confidence in negotiating the complex emotions and interpersonal demands that accompany adult relationships. Good and Sherrod’s model adds to these developmental theories by proposing that traditional gender role socialization may stunt men’s socio-emotional development and impede the acquisition of necessary interpersonal relationship skills.

One of the limitations of Good and Sherrod’s model is that it lacks a solid conceptualization of how developmental contexts impact men’s negotiations of the uncommitted sexual psychosocial stage. Drawing parallels to Brown’s (1999) four-phase model of romantic relationship development provides some insights into how changes in

peer contexts—such as those that accompany entry into the college environment—may affect men’s sexual and relationship strategies.

Brown theorizes that in adolescence, initial relationships are brief and superficial, with the main objective being the broadening of one’s self concept and gaining confidence in one’s ability to attract and relate to partners. The second phase of Brown’s model is characterized by seeking romantic relationships based on peer opinions and with status concerns in mind. The third phase, which generally occurs in young adulthood, is marked by longer relationships, intimacy, and deeper feelings of caring. Finally, the fourth phase consists of more enduring relationships with the aim of establishing lifelong commitment. Like Good and Sherrod, Brown notes that individuals must develop a sense of their sexual selves and how to approach partners (phase one), and that relationships become more committed as individuals develop comfort with intimacy (phases three and four). However, Brown recognizes that relationships also have a peer component (phase two), and proposes that concerns regarding peer approval may shape the types of relationships individuals pursue. Because most incoming college men leave their high school social networks behind and must build new social networks, they may engage in a range of behaviors—such as drinking alcohol, partying, and engaging in uncommitted sex—in order to be accepted by their male peers.

Good and Sherrod’s theory has not yet been tested empirically, but as the above synthesis of theories suggests, the young adult college environment may be an ideal context to explore the model’s application to men’s sociosexuality. Entering the college environment introduces new demands and opportunities that directly affect men’s sexual lives. The sudden, abundant availability of potential sexual partners and limited monitoring by parents and other authority figures can enable men to pursue their sociosexual desire with greater freedom. The need to establish a new social network may also motivate some men to engage in uncommitted sex for peer approval. However, not all men may approach the new social and sexual opportunities in college with similar motivations or goals in mind. Just as college presents opportunities for uncommitted sex, it also presents opportunities for committed relationships. Based on Good and Sherrod’s theory, I propose that masculinity ideologies, homosociality, and attachment all figure prominently in shaping young adult men’s views and engagement in committed and

uncommitted sex. In the next section I describe in greater depth the multidimensional nature of men's sociosexuality, as well as introduce the central constructs of the dissertation and their anticipated connections to sociosexuality.

A Review of Sociosexuality and Its Potential Links to TMI, Homosociality, and Attachment

Multiple Dimensions of Sociosexuality

Alfred Kinsey introduced the term “sociosexuality” to describe an individual's orientation towards uncommitted sex (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948). Although Kinsey implied that sociosexuality is a broad and multi-component construct, most previous studies of sociosexuality have treated it as a behavioral variable, with higher scores indicating unrestricted sociosexuality (i.e., a history of greater frequency of uncommitted sex) and lower scores indicating restricted sociosexuality (Simpson & Gangestad, 1991; Simpson, Wilson, & Winterheld, 2004). However, this conceptualization is problematic given that sociosexuality consists not just of one's actions, but also one's mental states. Recently, Penke and Asendorpf (2008) reconceptualized global sociosexual orientations as an amalgamation of behavior, attitudes, and desires. In this new model, *sociosexual behavior* represents the frequency that individuals engage in uncommitted sex, and *sociosexual attitudes* represent an individual's evaluative disposition and moral feelings toward uncommitted sex. The final component, *sociosexual desire*, is a motivational state marked by heightened sexual interest, sexual arousal, and sexual fantasies. Unlike the broader construct of sexual desire, sociosexual desire specifically targets potential sexual partners to whom no committed romantic relationship exists (Simpson et al., 2004).

The multidimensional structure of sociosexuality permits men to vary in each of the components, and levels of one component may not necessarily correlate with the other components. Research since the early 1990's on adolescent and adult desires, feelings, and experiences concerning uncommitted sex challenges the belief that men only want sex, thereby indicating that behaviors, beliefs, and desires may not be linked or equal. For example, although men are more likely than women to anticipate uncommitted sex (63% to 28%, respectively; Herold & Mewhinney, 1993), Townsend (1995) found that 8% of men reported they found it difficult to “keep from getting emotionally

involved” with an uncommitted sex partner. In a similar vein, Herold and Mewhinney (1993) found that more men than women enjoy uncommitted sex (25% to 2%), but only a quarter of men reported that they *always enjoy* such experiences, thus suggesting that the *majority* have more complicated feelings. Other research has found that some men appear to have difficulties meeting the goal of “no strings attached” that is central to uncommitted sexual scripts (e.g., “hooking up”), whereas others may refer to sexual behavior with familiar partners as uncommitted sex, or even engage in uncommitted sex with relational goals in mind (Epstein et al., 2009). Townsend (1995) found that 12% of men agreed that they wanted to be *emotionally* involved with a person before having sex with him/her, and 25% of men agreed that, even if no emotional commitment was originally desired, after several instances of sex they do experience emotional vulnerability and wish for a romantic connection. Similarly, Manning and colleagues (2006) found that one third of the high school age boys they surveyed who had uncommitted sex wanted those partners to become girlfriends. The authors also found that among those teenage males who reported at least one instance of uncommitted sex, in 76.3% of the cases the partner had been a friend, and in 66.3% an ex-girlfriend. Furthermore, additional research has found that most adolescent boys and young men who engage in uncommitted sex, even those who might be classified by their peers as “players,” express a desire to enter eventually more meaningful, committed relationships (Giordano et al., 2009). Findings such as these highlight the considerable heterogeneity in men’s uncommitted sexual attitudes, desires, and experiences.

What contributes to variability in each of the components of sociosexuality? In reviewing the theory and previous research, Penke and Asendorpf (2008) identify several factors. *Sociosexual behavior* is based both on the desire to engage in uncommitted sex and the aspects of the individual and environment that limit the ability to engage in uncommitted sex. For example, although a man may desire to have uncommitted sex with 20 different women each day, his actual sociosexual behavior may be restricted due to individual-level (e.g., introversion, sobriety, bad breath) and contextual (e.g., lack of available partners) constraints. Indeed, among college students seeking sexual and dating partners, factors such as gregariousness, alcohol consumption, and participation in party contexts (all social lubricants) have been found to be relevant predictors of greater

sociosexual behavior (Asendorpf, 2000; Bogle, 2008; Maticka-Tyndale, Herold, & Mewhinney, 1998). Like sociosexual behavior, *sociosexual attitudes* are also affected by both individual-level and contextual factors. Here, personal beliefs (e.g., religious values regarding premarital sex) and the overall cultural traditions and institutions of the environment (e.g., social mores regarding monogamy, arranged marriage; Gangestad, Haselton, & Buss, 2006; Low, 2007) affect the types of sociosexual attitudes one expresses. *Sociosexual desire*, however, may be affected more by individual level factors. For example, two of the strongest predictors of unrestricted sociosexual desire are higher levels of free testosterone (Fisher, 2004), and the absence of passionate love for a partner (which often precedes the dissolution of a relationship or the onset of infidelity; Tennov, 1979).

To a certain extent sociosexuality may also vary according to sexual orientation. Much research has found that gay and bisexual men do not differ from heterosexual men in their sociosexual desire and beliefs (Bailey, Gaulin, Agyei, & Gladue, 1994; Lippa, 2007; Schmitt, 2006). However, gay and bisexual men have been found to have more total lifetime sexual partners and more uncommitted sexual partners than heterosexual men (Goodreau & Golden, 2007). Several researchers have suggested that the main reason for this behavioral difference is tied to the gender of one's sexual partners (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Kurdek, 2004). Thus, because men in general have more unrestricted views and desire for uncommitted sex (Bailey et al., 1994; Bailey, Kirk, Zhu, Dunne, & Martin, 2000), uncommitted sex is more common and acceptable among gay and bisexual communities. Heterosexual men are more limited in their level of uncommitted sexual experience due to women's overall lower levels of sociosexual acceptance and desire. It is possible that this behavior difference may be less pronounced in the college context, given that the contemporary milieu of many college campuses encourages uncommitted sex among both men and women (Bogle, 2008).

Less explored, although likely contributors to sociosexuality, are men's gender role norms, homosociality, and attachment. Cultural prescriptions for masculinity may influence men's attitudes and desire for uncommitted sex as men strive to meet masculinity ideals. Because male peers set the norms for sexual behavior and play a critical role in judging and policing masculine representations, men may engage in

uncommitted sex in order to prove their masculinity to their peers. Finally, given that uncommitted sexual encounters require maintaining emotional distance, internal working models of attachment—particularly avoidance—may also figure prominently in determining variability in men’s predispositions to engage in uncommitted sex. I explore each of these three potential contributors in detail below.

Unrestricted Sociosexuality as a Facet of Traditional Masculinity Ideology

What are masculinity ideologies? Men’s masculinity ideologies are individual-level constructs that represent their beliefs about the importance of men’s adherence to culturally defined standards of male behavior (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1998). There are likely multiple types of masculinity ideologies, and these types of ideologies may vary both within (Wade, 1998) and between demographic groups (Levant, 1997; Mahalik, Locke, Theodore, Cournoyer, & Lloyd, 2001; Stillson, O’Neil, & Owen, 1991). Much research has focused on one particular construction of masculinity that is widely prevalent in the contemporary United States. This type of masculinity has been termed “traditional” masculinity ideology (TMI; Brannon, 1976; Doyle, 1989; Pleck, 1976) due to its similarity to the patriarchal and rigid gender role norms of 1950s America (Levant, 1992). The prevalence of TMI makes it the most easily accessible conception of “what it means to be a man” for developing boys and young men. Given that TMI is associated with power and status, young adult men who enter college and are focused on establishing their identities and independence may refer to TMI as a guide for their social and sexual decision-making (Kimmel, 2008).

Models conceptualizing TMI vary in the number of dictates and the terminology used to describe them. Some of the key dictates consistent among the models are homophobia, stoicism, risk-taking, promiscuity, competitiveness, and self-reliance (Brannon, 1976; Doyle, 1989; Levant, 1992; Mahalik, Locke, Diemer, Ludlow, Scott, Gottfried, & Freitas, 2003; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010; Philaretou & Allen, 2001; Pleck, 1976). To fulfill these components, men are socialized to be tough and aggressive, to dominate in any competition or hierarchy, to restrict their emotions, to have sex with as many partners as possible, and to avoid doing anything that may be perceived as feminine or “gay” (O’Neil, et al., 1986; O’Neil, 2008). Such socialization may have negative consequences. According to Pleck’s gender role strain paradigm (1981, 1995),

TMI leads men to cultivate qualities that are antithetical to traits and behaviors that have been found to promote healthy functioning (e.g., close personal relationships, help-seeking, emotional awareness). As a result, greater endorsement of TMI has been linked to delinquency, substance use, and self-directed and interpersonal violence (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1998).

Because promiscuity is one of the dictates of TMI, it seems likely that men who conform to TMI may also exhibit unrestricted sociosexuality. Men who conform to TMI have been found to *prioritize* physical pleasure, sexual performance, and number of sexual partners, and to *minimize* emotional connection, intimacy, and monogamy (Levant, 1997; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010; Philaretou & Allen, 2001). A large body of quantitative research has more directly targeted the links between men's endorsement of TMI and their sexual outcomes. In developing their assessment of TMI—the Male Roles Attitudes Scale—Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1993) examined the connections between several facets of traditional masculinity (i.e., anti-femininity, toughness, uncommitted sex norms, power in relationships) and adolescent boys' sexual outcomes. Using nationally representative data on 15-19 year old boys in the United States, the researchers found that having more traditional ideology was associated with having more sexual partners in the past year, not having a romantic relationship with the most recent sexual partner, and greater belief that relationships between men and women are adversarial. These associations held even after controlling for global gender role attitudes and demographic correlates.

Pleck et al.'s (1993) results suggest that correlates of TMI (e.g., adversarial sexual beliefs) may serve as an impediment to the formation of intimate relationships; recent research bolsters this claim. Burn and Ward (2005) found that TMI, as assessed via the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003), was negatively associated with college men's reports of relationship satisfaction. In addition, college women who reported that their boyfriends were more traditional also reported lower relationship satisfaction. In both cases, the "Playboy" subscale of the CMNI—which measures desire for multiple partners and sexual variety—had consistent negative associations with men's and women's reports of relationship satisfaction. In addition, in their review of 15 years of research using the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI;

Levant & Fischer, 1998), Levant and Richmond (2007) found that men who were more traditional tended to report greater fear of intimacy, lower relationship satisfaction, more instances of acquaintance sexual aggression, greater acceptance of rape myths, engaged in more relationship violence, and scored higher on measures of alexithymia (i.e., the inability to understand, process, or describe emotions; Sifneos, 1973; Taylor, Bagby, & Parker, 1997). Other research has found that men who possess more traditional ideologies are also more likely to objectify women, and hold more favorable attitudes regarding the sexual, rather than the functional aspects of women's bodies (e.g., negative views regarding breastfeeding and childbirth; Ward, Merriwether, & Caruthers, 2006). Collectively, the research links TMI both with unrestricted sociosexual behavior and a host of attitudinal and behavioral correlates that affect the establishment and stability of satisfying romantic relationships.

Qualitative research has further enriched the quantitative findings by providing more information regarding the processes through which TMI may shape men's sociosexuality. Well before the onset of sexual behavior and dating, parents begin to inculcate gender norms that emphasize differences between men and women's approaches to sex and relationships. This process possibly stunts the development of boys' and young men's interests in intimacy and emotional involvement. In her research on US mothers, Martin (2009) found that mothers of 3- to 6-year-old children make efforts to quash signs of gender non-conformity. At the same time, many mothers motivate cross-gender play that is modeled after adult heterosexual romantic interest and dating scripts. Such socialization is closely tied to the assumption that the children are heterosexual (e.g., "He is already attracted to girls and just does not show any signs [that he is gay] that I can see"; "My son loves girls--- women any age", pg. 197). Although such socialization in childhood touches upon romance and relationships, it is important to note that from the very beginning the messages are heavily gendered. Indeed, by the time youth enter puberty, boys and girls have internalized that men are dominant and sexual aggressors, and women are submissive and sexual gatekeepers (Martin, 1996).

This socialization continues across life as male peers police young men's masculine performances. In their interviews with adolescent and young adult men aged 16-21 in the United Kingdom, Holland and colleagues (1994) examined how pressures on

boys and men to achieve traditional masculinity ideals influence their sexual relationships with women. The interviews revealed that the participants struggled with the constraints and demands of traditional masculinity, and confronted conflict between the emotional vulnerability inherent in sexual encounters and the cultural expectation for them to appear experienced and in control of sexual situations (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1994). By internalizing the expectations of their peers, the participants emerged with the belief that they should be highly sexually active and worried that “caring” emotions would make them appear dependent upon women. To counter these vulnerabilities, the young men in Holland’s study (1994) reported boasting or lying about their sexual experiences and treating women primarily as sex objects rather than as potential romantic partners. Although such actions may avert romantic rejection and ridicule by the male peer group, such strategies may ultimately make it difficult for men to cultivate experience in building intimacy. As one 21-year-old male recalled,

I was in a rugby club when I was twelve or thirteen and the older rugby club members would go on about sex. From the way they were talking you would get the impression that as long as you were sticking your dick up somebody then you should be happy and that was all there was to it. And you really didn’t have to feel anything for the person, in fact you shouldn’t really feel anything for the person at all.

(Holland et al., 1994, p. 130).

Interview studies on adult men and ethnic minorities find similar trends. For example, Seal and Ehrhardt’s (2003) interviews with 100 heterosexually active men (18-29+ years old, predominantly African American and Latino) revealed that adult men report similar tensions between desire for sex and desire for emotional intimacy. Conflict arises as men feel pressure to always be ready for sex, or to feign romantic interest in order to access sex. These traditional masculine norms and related conflicts are transmitted further as adult men have children and begin to socialize their sons about gender, sexuality, and relationships. In Kirkman, Rosenthal, and Feldman’s (2001) study of TMI, fatherhood, and communication about sexuality, it was found that fathers’ of adolescents avoided talking about the relational aspects of sexuality often because they felt pressure to model traditional masculinity norms, such as stoicism. It is likely that such modeling further encourages sons to be silent around issues of emotions and intimacy.

TMI and sexual orientation. Given the prevalence of TMI, it is likely that all American boys and men are socialized to a certain extent to adhere to different facets of TMI, although some research suggests that the process and outcomes of such socialization may differ for sexual minority men. Multiple researchers have found that gay men are less likely to internalize and exhibit traditional masculine norms than heterosexual men (Green, Bettinger, & Zachs, 1996; Lippa, 2008; Wade & Donis, 2007). However, it is possible that there are some gay men who do not perceive themselves as feminine, who might value TMI, or may adopt TMI as a means of combating sexual orientation-related stigma and victimization (Wilson et al., 2010). Some research has even found that gay men may prefer sexual and romantic partners who exhibit traditional masculine traits (i.e., “straight-acting” gays, Sánchez, Greenberg, Liu, & Vilain, 2009). Limited research suggests that those gay and bisexual men who strongly conform to TMI tend to have more accepting attitudes towards uncommitted sex, but also poorer quality romantic relationships than those who conform less to TMI (Sánchez, Bocklandt, & Vilain, 2009; Wade & Donis, 2007). Thus, although sexual minority male college students may conform to TMI less than their heterosexual peers, TMI may affect sexual minority and heterosexual males’ sociosexuality in similar ways.

To summarize, TMI may affect sociosexuality *directly* by guiding the types of sexual experiences men seek out, as well as *indirectly* by fostering beliefs and behaviors that may limit the development of intimate romantic relationships. Moreover, the qualitative research emphasizes the important role that close male peers play in shaping men’s masculinity ideologies and their sociosexuality.

Homosocial Contexts Inculcate TMI and Foster Unrestricted Sociosexuality

What is homosociality? A second possible contributor to men’s sociosexuality is their homosociality. Public attention towards men’s relationships with other men has been increasing, as evidenced by contemporary media programs as MTV’s *Bromance* and the recent movie “I Love You, Man” (2009). Although more popularly referred to in slang as “bro-” or “guy-time” and “bromances,” the construct of *homosociality* refers to non-sexual same-sex-focused social bonds and relations (Bird, 1996). Homosociality has been found to change from childhood through early adulthood. In childhood peers expect boys to socialize only with other boys; boys who socialize with girls are subject to name-

calling and homophobic abuse (Plummer, 2001a). However, in adolescence and early adulthood, young men who do *not* associate with enough members of the opposite sex may be questioned regarding their sexual prowess or sexual orientation (Tolman, Spencer, Rosen-Reynoso, & Porche, 2003). Thus, heterosexual men must learn how to balance both homosociality and their relationships with women (*heterosociality*). Although heterosociality is often facilitated through age-graded transitions into mixed-sex environments (e.g., high school, college, the work place; Collins, Welsh, & Furman, 2009; Connolly, Furman, & Konarsky, 2000), some men may continue to engage predominantly in homosocial peer relations in adolescence and adulthood through their participation in male-oriented collectives or movement into male-dominated occupations. In college homosociality may be manifested in multiple ways, such as forming predominantly male social networks, joining intramural or organized sports teams, joining fraternities, or majoring in and taking coursework in subjects dominated by men (e.g., engineering).

Homosociality may be one of the strongest predictors of men's endorsement and enactment of TMI. Indeed, it has been theorized that men's expression of gender is largely a homosocial enactment in which "manhood" is performed in front of and granted by male peers (Kimmel, 1994; Kimmel, 2008). In Bogle's (2008) study of hooking up on college campuses, it was found that uncommitted sexual scripts might even be geared towards maintaining and establishing men's reputations among their peers. For example, the term "hooking up" is ambiguous with regards to the level of sexual activity involved in the encounter. Men benefit from the ambiguity of the term in that other men may imagine that the hook up involved sexual intercourse (Carpenter, 2005).

Homosociality and sociosexuality. Growing quantitative research finds that homosocial contexts indeed play a significant role in shaping men's sexual attitudes and behaviors. In a meta-analysis of 29 studies of men involved in college athletics or fraternities, Murnen and Kohlman (2007) found associations of modest strength not only between athletic/fraternity participation and hypermasculinity, but also between athletic/fraternity participation and rape myth acceptance. The researchers also found a small, but significant effect linking athletic/fraternity participation and self-report of sexual aggression, thus providing further evidence that men involved in athletics and

fraternities may be more likely to objectify women and devalue the relational aspects of sexuality.

As with the TMI literature, rich qualitative work has explored more in depth how homosociality organizes men's sexual relationships. In his interviews with 18- to 26-year-old men in colleges, youth centers, and military academies, Flood (2008) found that men's relationships with other men control their sexual relationships with women in four ways. First, male-male friendships take priority over male-female relations; male-female friendships are viewed as dangerously feminizing. Within homosocial social networks, peers afford men neither the time nor the support to pursue or maintain long-term relationships with women. Consistent with research on athletes and men in college fraternities (Boswell & Spade, 1996; Messner, 1992), and developmental research on male peer relationships (Martino, 2000; Plummer, 2001b), Flood (2008) found that men who spent too much time with female friends found themselves subject to homophobic abuse, and men who chose time with girlfriends over "guy time" were perceived as weak and controlled by women.

The second way homosociality controls men's sexuality is that male peers become the audience and jury of men's sexual performances. In Tolman and colleagues' (2004) study with 8th-grade boys, one 14-year-old recounted his friends' response to seeing him kiss his girlfriend for the first time—"You were kissing. We saw you kissing. You're the man!" (pg. 245). Although performing for peers enhances masculine social status, such peer pressure can also lead boys and young men to engage in sexual actions at the expense of their own personal well being. In the same study, one 13-year-old recounted an instance in which he was pressured to take part in a kissing game because most of his friends were:

You gotta do something, so I did. And, like, it was terrible. I regret that... I kept [laughing] tightening my mouth and she was, like, digging... it was kind of a rip-off, man. It was, like a big rip-off, like a disappointment. Like, 'cause it really didn't mean anything, it was just really dumb. In a way, that's just, like, rude to myself."

(Tolman, Spencer, Harmon, Rosen-Reynoso, & Striepe, 2004, pg. 246)

The third way that homosociality enforces men's sociosexuality is through storytelling and the sharing of sexual narratives. Not only does storytelling allow men to

convey their experiences (regardless of their veracity) and achieve status within the peer group, but it also allows men to transmit sexual expectations and attitudes that may help men construct the meaning of their sexual experiences (Eyre, Hoffman, & Millstein, 1998; Flood, 2008; Kehily, 2001; Plummer, 2001b; Wight, 1996). Particular concerning is that the ideas and attitudes conveyed in boys' and men's sexually storytelling may not necessarily correspond to the storyteller's initial personal reactions to the events. Wight's (1994) research on adolescent boys found that when describing experiences to the larger peer group, boys are more likely to focus on male gratification and to talk about sex in ways that objectify their partners. As a consequence of describing sexual experiences to the male peer group, men may redefine experiences in ways that minimize the possible emotions or deeper connections involved in the sexual act.

Finally, the fourth way that homosociality influences men's sociosexuality is that heterosexual sex itself can be the medium through which male bonding is enacted. Although some men reported that this literally (although rarely) takes the form of having sex in the same room, with the same woman, or gang rape, more commonly this takes the form of collectively gazing at women, cat-calling and harassment, telling sexist jokes, or sharing sexual media and pornography. For example, in Bleecker and Murnen's (2005) study of fraternity membership and sexual aggression against women, it was found that men in fraternities had significantly more images of women in their rooms, that these images of women were rated as significantly more degrading than those in the rooms of non-fraternity men, and that fraternity men had significantly higher scores in support of rape myths (thus indicating more favorable views of sexual aggression against women).

Homosociality and sexual orientation. Based on the masculinity research and sociological literature, it appears that homosocial relationships are a primary context for the socialization of TMI and positive views regarding uncommitted sex. Do homosocial contexts operate in the same way for sexual minority men? Limited research on the gender composition of social networks has suggested that gay and bisexual male youth are more likely to socialize with girls and to have more girls in their social network than do their heterosexual peers (Bailey & Zucker, 1995). Because male peers may bully other male youth who do not conform to TMI (i.e., those who are more feminine or who are perceived to be gay), sexual minority male youth may seek social support and friendship

from female peers (Balsam, Rothblum, & Beauchaine, 2005; Blakemore, 2003; Corliss, Cochran, & Mays, 2002; Kimmel, 1994; Pascoe, 2005). Based on such findings, perhaps sexual minority male college students will report lower levels of homosociality than their heterosexual peers. However, it is possible that such bullying could lead some sexual minority men to more closely conform to TMI (Kimmel, 1994; Pascoe, 2005; Wilson et al., 2010). The nature of sexual minority men's homosociality may also differ from heterosexual men's homosociality. Although both forms of homosociality are sources of friendship and social support, non-sexual same-sex friendships with other sexual minority men may also be a source of acceptance and positive identity development. Indeed, it is possible that college attendance may actually lead to an increase in homosociality among sexual minority male college students given the greater availability of sexual minority male peers and the availability of social support groups (e.g., LGBT student organizations). As in the case of heterosexual men, sexual minority men's homosociality is also likely to play a central role in the socialization of gender and sexual norms. For example, research has found that gay men are likely to exhibit similar social and behavioral profiles as their gay male peers in domains including partying, drug and alcohol use, and sexual risk-taking (Willoughby, Lai, Doty, Mackey, & Malik, 2008).

To summarize, men's social relationships with other men are a critical context for gender and sexual socialization as well as social support. However, such homosocial bonds may encourage men to accrue uncommitted sexual experiences in order to maintain or enhance their social statuses, and also lead men to cultivate attitudes that celebrate the physical, rather than the emotional aspects of sex. How homosociality influences the sociosexuality of sexual minority men has yet to be explored. Because one of the key tasks for incoming college students is the establishment of new social networks, the desire for peer approval may make homosociality a particularly powerful force in shaping college men's sociosexuality.

Attachment and Links to Gender and Sociosexuality

Thus far I have reviewed how two proximal gender-related constructs may influence variability in men's sociosexuality. By incorporating the third construct—attachment—I hypothesize that college men's propensities for uncommitted sex are also influenced by more distal, underlying, and universal systems of emotion regulation and

intimacy control.

The attachment system. An individual's attachment orientation describes his or her internalized model of the self in relationship to close others (Bretherton & Munholland, 1999) and is hypothesized to develop early based on one's experiences with the primary caregiver—typically the mother (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991; Cassidy, 1999). This early relationship sets up a model for trust and intimacy that serves as a model for intimate relationships across the lifespan (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). In general, if the caregiver was warm and responsive to the infant's needs, attachment theorists expect that the maturing child will learn to trust others, become confident in his ability to regulate his emotions, and find it easy to seek comfort from close others. Such an orientation has been labeled as *secure*. Unresponsive or neglectful parenting leads an infant to be mistrustful of others, to maintain emotional distance, and to practice compulsive self-reliance—an orientation labeled as being more *avoidant*. Inconsistent parenting, on the other hand, fosters both an inability to regulate personal emotions and obsessive reliance upon others for comfort—otherwise known as being more *anxious* in attachment orientation. Although researchers often classify individuals according to overall attachment styles (i.e., secure, avoidant, anxious), attachment is also assessed along a continuum, with individuals' attachment orientations described based on their levels of attachment-related avoidance and attachment-related anxiety (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998). Here, attachment anxiety is conceptualized as one's need for approval from others and fear of rejection; avoidance is defined by fear of intimacy and dependence and denial of attachment needs (Brennan et al., 1998).

Attachment theory posits that there is generally continuity between infant attachment and adult romantic attachment. Attachment and adult sexuality are expected to be interrelated given that sexual behavior may strengthen the emotional bond between partners, motivate them to become attached to each other, and ultimately facilitate the formation of a relationship to support later child-rearing (Gonzaga et al., 2001). Accordingly, connections between attachment, sexual motivation, and sexual behavior have been found to differ depending on attachment style. I detail some of these connections below.

Attachment and sexual motivations and behavior. Theoretically, secure

individuals are expected to seek and value intimacy, and are to be more likely to have sex to express love and promote intimacy (Cooper et al., 2006; Tracy et al., 2003). Consistent with this view, secure individuals have been found to be the least likely to report preference for and involvement in uncommitted relationships (Schachner & Shaver, 2004). Because their motivations to have sex are to promote the growth of intimacy, and because the ideal outcome of sex is greater intimacy, secure adolescents and young adults have been found to enjoy sex more than their anxious and avoidant peers (Fraley & Shaver, 2000; Schachner & Shaver, 2004; Tracy et al., 2003).

Previous research has found that those who score high on attachment anxiety may be more motivated by their concern with rejection and abandonment, and may thus engage in sex in order to establish intense closeness, to please their partners, to affirm self-worth, and to cope with problems and insecurities (Cooper et al., 2006; Davis et al., 2004; Impett & Peplau, 2002; Schachner and Shaver, 2004). Consistent with these motivations, anxious individuals have been found to like the “cuddly” aspects of sex more than the genital aspects (Fraley & Shaver, 2000; Schachner & Shaver, 2004). However, as their motivations to maintain sexual partners suggests, anxious individuals were also found to be more willing to consent to unwanted sexual activity, particularly when they perceived discrepancies between their and their partners’ levels of commitment in the relationships (Impett & Peplau, 2002). Such behaviors are consistent with the finding that anxious individuals focus on satisfying their partners’ needs over their own.

If the function of sex is to motivate lasting attachment, what motivates sexual engagement in avoidant individuals, who dislike intimacy and closeness in relationships? Although research has found that higher attachment avoidance is associated with less enjoyment of affectionate pre-sexual activities (e.g., touching, kissing, caressing) and less frequent discussion of sexual histories with partners (Davis et al., 2004; Fraley & Shaver, 2000; Schachner & Shaver, 2004), higher attachment avoidance is also positively correlated with having more lifetime sexual partners, one-night stands, sex with strangers, and extra-dyadic sexual relationships (Birnbaum, 2007; Davis et al., 2004; Feeney et al., 2000; Fraley & Shaver, 2000; Schachner & Shaver, 2004). Avoidant individuals are more likely to use drugs or alcohol before sex, but also *more likely to use condoms* with greater

consistency than secure and anxious individuals (Feeney et al., 2000; Schachner & Shaver, 2004). By avoiding affectionate contact, not discussing previous sexual histories, using condoms consistently, and having sex with strangers, avoidant individuals are able to engage in sexual behavior without building physical or emotional intimacy. Consistent with findings that intimacy is not a primary motivator of avoidant individuals' sexuality, Schachner and Shaver (2004) found that avoidant individuals were more driven to have sex in order to affirm their sense of their own desirability, to fit in with their social group, and because of peer pressure. Indeed, research among adolescents has found that avoidant teens are more likely to report having sex to achieve the social milestone of "losing virginity" than their secure and anxious peers (Tracy et al., 2003). Thus it appears that status and identity, rather than intimacy, motivate the sexual behavior of avoidant individuals. How motivations may differ depending on type of avoidance style—dismissing (high avoidance and low anxiety) vs. fearful (both high avoidance and anxiety)—has yet to be studied, although it may be assumed that the motivations of both types would not be driven by a need for intimacy and closeness. For example, fearfully avoidant individuals might be more interested in having sex as a means of improving concepts of the self.

Attachment, sociosexuality, and gender ideologies. By reviewing the connections between attachment and sexuality, several links to both sociosexuality and TMI emerge. It appears that avoidant individuals may be predisposed to having more unrestricted sociosexuality. Avoidant people may desire uncommitted sex specifically because it does not require emotional commitment, and may engage in uncommitted sex in order to meet their basic sexual needs and fulfill status goals. In addition, it appears that there may be some overlap between the characteristics of attachment avoidance and TMI in that both constructs motivate men to maintain emotional distance and engage in sex to attain status. However, attachment is conceptualized as a gender-neutral construct, and research has typically found no gender differences in attachment classifications (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Rothbard & Shaver, 1994; Van IJzendoorn & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2008). In spite of the lack of gender differences in attachment classification, evidence that the quality of women's sexual relationships is more strongly predicted by their attachment anxiety, and that the quality of men's sexual relationships is more strongly predicted by

their attachment avoidance supports the hypothesized links between TMI and attachment dimensions (Cooper et al., 2006; Del Giudice, 2009).

Other research that has examined the overlap between attachment and gender has found some similarities between the attachment dimensions of anxiety and avoidance and femininity and masculinity, respectively (Collins & Read, 1990; Shaver, Collins, & Clark, 1996; Shaver, Papalia, Clark, Koski, Tidwell, & Nalbonem, 1996). In one notable study, Shaver and colleagues (1996) conducted three smaller studies on college students to explore the similarities between attachment style typologies and sex role typologies. Although there were no gender differences in attachment classifications, the first study found that masculine subjects scored higher on avoidance than did feminine and androgynous subjects. The researchers also found that more men than women are dismissive avoidant, and more women than men are fearfully avoidant, possibly owing to the links between femininity and emotional intimacy. Looking more specifically at ideology, Blazina and Watkins (2000) found negative correlations between TMI and security of attachment to romantic partners. Schwartz, Waldo, and Higgins (2004) also found that secure men scored lower in stoicism, were less competitive, and less concerned with status and power.

Attachment, sociosexuality, and sexual orientation. Given the potential evolutionary links between the attachment system, reproduction, and caring for offspring, multiple researchers have questioned whether the attachment system differs for sexual minority individuals (for review, see Diamond, 2003). One study comparing committed gay male and exclusively dating heterosexual couples found no sexual orientation differences in the distribution of attachment styles (Roisman, Clausell, Holland, Fortuna, & Elieff, 2008). Furthermore, Ridge and Feeney's (1998) study comparing gay adults (aged 17-50) to similarly aged heterosexual subjects also found no differences in the relative frequencies of attachment styles, although gay men were found to have better relationships with their mothers than did lesbians. However, limited research suggests that rejections by parents and peers in childhood based on sexual orientation or gender nonconformity can predict attachment. Landolt and colleagues (2004) examined the connections between recalled gender nonconformity and rejection from parents and peers and current attachment avoidance and anxiety. Gender nonconformity predicted parental

and peer rejection in childhood, and paternal rejection and peer rejection both predicted attachment anxiety. Based on these limited studies, it is expected that there will be no sexual orientation differences in attachment avoidance and anxiety in this study. How attachment may affect the sociosexuality of sexual minority male college students is yet to be determined.

Overall, it appears that the effects of avoidance on men's sexuality may be amplified by internalized gender role norms that emphasize emotional independence and high levels of sexual behavior. How attachment and gender ideology interact to influence men's sociosexuality has yet to be explored. Referring back to Good and Sherrod's theory (1997) it is possible that attachment theory may provide additional information regarding which men are more likely to transition successfully out of the uncommitted sexuality stage. For example, perhaps men who have a more secure attachment orientation may be less likely to engage in uncommitted sex or more likely to transition successfully into monogamous romantic relationships. Furthermore, attachment may affect sociosexuality directly, as well as indirectly via an influence on endorsements of TMI.

Summary

To summarize, sociosexuality is a multi-dimensional construct that is determined by a myriad of individual and contextual-level antecedents and correlates. College men typically exhibit more unrestricted sociosexuality than do women, but there is a limited understanding as to what factors contribute to the considerable within-gender variability in sociosexuality. Based on Good and Sherrod's (1997) theory of the resolution of uncommitted sex, it appears that variability in sociosexuality may be affected by variance in men's comfort with intimacy and in differences in men's capacity to regulate emotions in sexual situations. Masculinity ideologies, homosociality, and attachment each influence men's models regarding intimacy in relationships and their abilities to regulate emotions in the context of sexual and romantic situations. As these constructs have not been examined together in their influence on men's sociosexuality, the studies in this dissertation will address this research gap. Additionally, given the limited research on sexual minority college students' sociosexuality, this dissertation will also explore how the effects of masculinity ideologies, homosociality, and attachment on sociosexuality

may differ for sexual minority men.

Two survey-based studies and one interview-based study are proposed to address the aims of the dissertation. Survey data will first be used to examine the connections between the key constructs using structural equation modeling. To achieve the second aim of the dissertation, latent profile analyses will be conducted on the survey data to identify sociosexual “types” of men. Such analyses will provide unique information regarding within-gender variability in college men’s sociosexuality. Comparisons between the types of men on measures of sexual attitudes and dating and sexual satisfaction will provide information regarding the implications of such within-gender variability. Finally, through select in-depth interviews I hope to examine more deeply the connections between masculinity, homosociality, attachment, and sociosexuality in men’s past experiences, and to explore the nuances of college men’s current and future sexual beliefs and expectations. The proposed research integrates developmental, personality, and sociological perspectives on sexuality, and will increase the understanding of how various contextual and psychological systems shape college men’s internal models of sex and relationships.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD FOR STUDIES 1 AND 2

The goals of Studies 1 and 2 are to address the first two aims of the dissertation. Study 1 will examine the pathways between attachment, homosociality, TMI, and men's sociosexual beliefs, desire, and behaviors. In doing so, this study will (1) evaluate the applicability of Good and Sherrod's (1997) theory to college men's sociosexuality; (2) quantify the connections found in the qualitative literature regarding the role of homosociality in shaping capacities for uncommitted sex; and (3) integrate the attachment, homosociality, and masculinity literatures on uncommitted sex. By applying a variable-centered approach, results are anticipated to highlight the relative contributions of the key constructs to sociosexuality, and provide a richer understanding of the antecedents and correlates of college men's sociosexual beliefs, desire, and behavior. Study 2 will expand on the results of Study 1 by identifying the unique ways in which attachment, homosociality, TMI, and sociosexuality are organized within individuals. By applying a pattern-centered approach, I will identify subgroups of men who differ from other subgroups in their overall attachment, homosocial, TMI, and sociosexual profiles. Such results will provide evidence of the diversity in college men's sociosexuality and clarify how attachment, homosociality, and TMI may shape sociosexuality in different ways for different subgroups of men.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were recruited via three methods. Approximately 43% of the participants were recruited in the Fall 2009 and Winter 2010 semesters via university introductory psychology subject pools. In an effort to over-sample ethnic minority college undergraduates, an additional 44% of participants were recruited in Fall 2009 via office of the registrar e-mail solicitation targeting students who self-identify as Asian, Pacific Islander, Black/African-American, Latino, and Native American. To also ensure that the experiences of sexual minority undergraduates (i.e., those who self-identify as

gay, bisexual, or mostly heterosexual) were represented in the data, an additional 13% of the participants were recruited in Fall 2009 via list servers and e-mail snowball sampling targeted at sexual minority college students. Those interested in participating in the study were told that would be completing a one-hour online survey on men's beliefs and attitudes about sex and relationships in early adulthood. Participants recruited from introductory psychology courses received course credit for their participation. Those recruited via registrar e-mail solicitation and snowballing were compensated with \$10 iTunes gift cards.

A total of 558 men initiated participation in the study. Of these participants, 23 were excluded for terminating participation after the consent page; 3 were excluded for exhibiting response bias (i.e., selecting the same column throughout the study); 4 were excluded for finishing the survey at an impossible rate (e.g., less than 5 minutes); 16 were excluded for violating survey instructions, or providing erroneous responses to quality control questions (e.g., selecting the incorrect response to a question that was worded in the reverse of the previous question); and 17 were excluded for being older than the age cut-off of 25 years old. With the exception of the 23 participants who did not complete any study measures (and thus provided no demographic data), no significant demographic differences were found between the excluded participants and the final survey sample.

The final survey sample consisted of 495 undergraduate college men ages 17-25 ($M_{Age}= 19.28$, $SD= 1.46$). With the exception of the snowball participants (for whom confidentiality prevents determining the exact location of college attendance), all students recruited from the psychology subject pools and registrar solicitation attended the same, large, elite, public university in the Midwestern United States. Approximately 32% of the sample was first-year college students, 38% self-identified as ethnic minorities,³ and 16.5% self-identified as sexual minorities (i.e., Exclusively/Mostly Homosexual, Bisexual, Mostly Heterosexual). A more detailed description of the demographic characteristics of the sample is provided in Table 2.1.

Measures

³ Because I attempted to over-sample for ethnic minorities the percentage of ethnic minorities in the study sample is considerably higher than the percentage of men within the target university's population who self-identify as ethnic minorities (19% according to 2009 undergraduate population statistics from the target university).

The online survey consisted of several multiple choice and open-ended questions focused on participants' demographic characteristics, level of dating experience, dating and sexual satisfaction, sexual experience and sociosexuality, attachment profiles, masculinity ideologies, gender and sexual attitudes, alcohol use and partying, homosociality and peer relationships, and personality characteristics. Participants were instructed to skip or select "Non Applicable" for any question that made them feel uncomfortable or that did not apply to them. **Study 1** primarily utilized data on participants' sexual and dating experiences, sociosexuality, attachment profiles, masculinity ideologies, and homosociality. **Study 2** incorporated additional information on satisfaction and sexual attitudes.

Demographic Characteristics

In addition to information regarding age, year in college, ethnic background, and sexual orientation, participants also provided information regarding parental education (a proxy for socioeconomic status) and overall level of religiosity.

Parental education. Participants indicated the highest level of education attained by both their mothers (or primary caregiver 1) and fathers (or primary caregiver 2) on a scale ranging from 1= No High School Diploma to 10= Ph.D. (Mothers: $M= 5.07$, $SD= 2.16$, Range= 1-10; Fathers: $M= 5.75$, $SD= 2.56$, Range= 1-10).

Religiosity. Religiosity was assessed via 3 items: How religious are you? (0= Not at all, 5= Very); How often do you attend religious services? (0= Never, 5= Several times a week); How often do you pray? (0= Never, 5=Very frequently). The three items were averaged to indicate participants' overall level of religiosity ($\alpha= .89$, $M= 2.54$, $SD= 1.20$, Range= 0-5).

Dating Experience and Dating and Sexual Satisfaction

Participants answered several questions regarding their level of dating experience and dating and sexual satisfaction.

Dating experience. Level of dating experience was assessed with the item, "How would you describe your accumulated level of experience with dating relationships up to this point? If you are currently engaged, married, or in a civil union or domestic partnership, please indicate your level of experience up to the point of becoming committed to one partner" (0= "Never been on a date" to 5= "More than five exclusive

dating relationships lasting 3 months+”). Overall, participants reported a mean level of dating experience of 3.34 ($SD= 1.18$, Range= 0-5), which approximately corresponds to some dating, but no exclusive relationships.

Participants also indicated whether they are currently dating someone exclusively (i.e., longer than 3 months) (Y/N). At the time of the survey, 26.5% of participants indicated currently being in an exclusive relationship.

Satisfaction with dating experiences. Overall satisfaction with dating experience was assessed with the item, “How satisfied are you with your current level of experience with dating/romantic relationships?” (1= “Very Unsatisfied” and 5= “Very Satisfied”). The average level of satisfaction was 3.20 ($SD= 1.19$), indicating that participants were neither dissatisfied nor satisfied with their level of dating experience.

Sexual Satisfaction. Participants’ overall sexual satisfaction was assessed with the item “How satisfied are you with your current level of experience with sexual relationships (i.e., being a virgin, number of partners, and/or quality of partners/experiences)?” (1= “Very Unsatisfied” and 5= “Very Satisfied”). The average level of satisfaction was 3.41 ($SD= 1.10$), indicating that participants were neither dissatisfied nor satisfied with the level and quality of their sexual experiences.

Sexual Experience and Sociosexuality

Levels of sexual experience were assessed via three questions that focused on the number of male and female partners with whom participants had engaged in oral sex, vaginal sex, and anal sex (0=0 partners, 8=20+ partners). Because the behavior subscale of the Revised Sociosexual Orientation Inventory (SOI-R; Penke & Asendorpf, 2008) is comprised of questions focused on number of one-time-only sexual partners and number of recent sexual partners, we asked participants to indicate the number of male and female partners with whom they had engaged in oral sex, vaginal sex, and anal sex on only one occasion (5 items) and in the past 12 months (5 items).

SOI-Behavior was conceptualized as the total number of male and female partners with whom participants had engaged oral sex, vaginal sex, or anal sex on only one occasion ($M= 2.62$, $SD= 4.67$, Range= 0-24) and in the past 12 months ($M= 5.50$, $SD=$

3.28, Range= 0-21; combined items $\alpha=.82$).⁴ Initial descriptive statistics indicated that the SOI-Behavior variable exhibited a positive skew, with 17 participants indicating very high (but not implausible) total numbers of one time and recent sex partners. Rather than excluding these participants from the data, I restricted their total numbers of one-time sex partners and recent sex partners to 12 (which approximately corresponded to the number of partners that was two standard deviations above the means for one time and recent sex partners). This modification allowed for the data to approximate a normal distribution. On average, participants engaged in one-time and/or recent sex with a total of 7.14 partners ($SD= 5.70$, Range= 0-24).

Just as with SOI-Behavior, sociosexual beliefs and desire were also assessed using modified versions of the SOI-R beliefs and desire subscales. The language of the SOI-R items (which focus only on vaginal intercourse) was modified to better capture the typical experiences of both the college student sample and the sexual minority subsample. To more broadly assess the uncommitted sexual attitudes and desires of the study populations, references to “sex” were clarified to encompass oral sex, vaginal sex, and anal sex. SOI-Beliefs consisted of the sum of two items that address sociosexual attitudes (“Sex without love is OK,” “I can imagine myself being comfortable enjoying ‘casual’ sex with different partners”) assessed on a nine-point scale (anchored at 1= “Strongly Disagree” to 9= “Strongly Agree”; $\alpha= .66$, $M= 11.26$, $SD= 6.12$, Range= 2-23). SOI-Desire consisted of the sum of three items assessing sociosexual desire (e.g., “How often do you have fantasies about having sex with someone with whom you do not have a committed romantic relationship?”) assessed on a nine-point scale (anchored at 1= “Never” to 9= “at least once a day”; $\alpha= .86$, $M= 13.17$, $SD= 5.79$, Range= 0-24).

Participants’ Virginity Statuses were determined based on whether they indicated any vaginal or anal sex experience. This conceptualization of virginity status may not accurately reflect the level of sexual experience for sexual minority participants who, for multiple reasons, might not engage in vaginal or anal sex. However, because virginity status was predominantly used as a control variable in Studies 1 and 2 and not as a central

⁴ Although it is possible that these values overlap, together they provide a solid estimate of the level and frequency of uncommitted sex. The structure of this measure is similar to measures used to assess other risk behaviors, such as alcohol consumption (e.g., Johnston, O’Malley, Bachman, & Schulenberg, 2008).

behavioral outcome, this conceptualization does not represent a significant limitation.

Attachment

Participants provided information about their attachment-related anxiety and avoidance using two 18-item sub-scales from the Experiences in Close Relationships measure (ECR; Brennan et al., 1998). In the ECR participants are asked to read a list of statements concerning how they feel in romantic relationships (e.g., “I prefer not to be too close to romantic partners”). Participants are informed that the researchers are interested in how they generally experience relationships, not just in what is happening in a current relationship. Participants indicate their level of agreement with each statement on a seven-point scale (anchored at 1= “Disagree Strongly” and 7= “Agree Strongly”). Participant avoidance and anxiety scores are calculated as the mean for the total responses in each subscale (Avoidance: $\alpha = .93$, $M = 3.06$, $SD = .96$, Range= 1-6.11; Anxiety: $\alpha = .94$, $M = 3.74$, $SD = .96$, Range= 1.39-6.67).

Traditional Masculinity Ideologies (TMI)

Participant’s endorsement of TMI was assessed using two subscales from the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003). These subscales assess the extent to which men endorse the following dimensions of TMI: *competitiveness* (“Winning”, 10 items, $\alpha = .68$, e.g., “Winning isn’t everything, it’s the only thing”) and *casual sex norms* (“Playboy”, 12 items, $\alpha = .69$, e.g., “If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners”). Participants rank their level of agreement regarding how truly each item describes them on a four-point scale, anchored at 0= Strongly Disagree to 3= Strongly Agree. Items within each subscale are averaged to score men’s level of TMI on each dimension (Winning: $M = 1.79$, $SD = .54$, Range= 0-3; Playboy: $M = 1.12$, $SD = .70$, Range= 0-3).

Gender and Sexual Attitudes

Attitudes toward sexual harassment. Participants’ attitudes towards sexual harassment were assessed using two subscales of the Illinois Sexual Harassment Myth Acceptance (ISHMA) Scale (Lonsway, Cortina, & Magley, 2008): Natural Heterosexuality (four items, $\alpha = .81$, e.g., “Most women are flattered when they get sexual attention from men with whom they work”), and Woman’s Responsibility (three items, $\alpha = .71$, e.g., “Nearly all instances of sexual harassment would end if the woman

simply told the man to stop”). Participants indicate their level of agreement with each statement on a seven-point scale (1=Strongly disagree to 7=Strongly agree). Global sexual harassment myth acceptance was calculated as the sum of all 7 items ($\alpha=.66$, $M=24.97$, $SD= 8.22$, Range= 0-42).

Attitudes toward rape myths. Participants’ attitudes regarding rape was assessed using the short form of the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (IRMA-SF, Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). IRMA-SF consists of 20 items that assess participants’ general acceptance of myths about rape (e.g., “When women are raped, it’s often because the way they said ‘no’ was ambiguous”). Participants indicate their level of agreement with each statement on a seven-point scale (1=Strongly disagree to 7=Strongly agree). Items are summed to create a global rape myths acceptance score ($\alpha= .86$, $M= 36.02$, $SD= 13.90$, Range= 0-84).

Adversarial sexual beliefs. Participants’ levels of hostility towards men and women were assessed using the Gender Hostility to Men and Gender Hostility to Women scales of the Personal and Relationships Profile (PRP, Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1999). Each scale consists of five items regarding hostile thoughts or beliefs one may have of each gender (e.g., Men treat women badly; I often feel resentful of women). Participants indicate their level of agreement with each item on a four-point scale (1= strongly disagree to 4= strongly agree). Items on each scale were summed to produce Gender Hostility to Men and Women scores (Hostility to Men: $\alpha= .82$, $M= 8.08$, $SD= 2.46$, Range= 0-12; Hostility to Women: $\alpha= .88$, $M= 9.53$, $SD= 2.99$, Range= 0-15).

Sexual double standards. Participants’ endorsement of sexual double standards was assessed using the Double Standard Scale (Caron, Davis, Halteman, & Stickle, 1993). The scale consists of 10 items (e.g., “It is worse for a woman to sleep around than it is for a man”) that measure the extent to which respondents adhere to the traditional sexual double standard (i.e., men are allowed more sexual freedom than women). Items are rated on a five-point scale ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5). A sum of the items comprises a participant’s level of endorsement of sexual double standards ($\alpha= .83$, $M= 21.11$, $SD= 6.25$, Range= 3-36).

Alcohol Use and Partying

Alcohol use and binge drinking. Four items taken from the Monitoring the Future

Study (Johnston, O'Malley, Bachman, & Schulenberg, 2008) assessed participants' alcohol use and binge drinking behaviors. Participants were first asked "Have you ever had any alcoholic beverage to drink—more than just a few sips?" (Y/N). If the participant replied "No" they received scores of "0" for the subsequent three items. Those who respond, "Yes" were then asked:

1. On how many occasions have you had alcoholic beverages to drink—more than just a few sips—during the last 30 days. Participants indicated the number of occasions on a seven-point scale (0=0 to 6=40+; $M= 1.90$, $SD= 1.67$, Range= 0-6).

2. Think back over the LAST TWO WEEKS. How many times have you had five or more drinks in a row? (A "drink" is a bottle of beer, a glass of wine, a wine cooler, a shot glass of liquor, or a mixed drink.) Participants will indicate their binge drinking behavior on a six-point scale (0=None to 5=10+ times; $M= 1.40$, $SD= 1.58$, Range= 0-5).

3. On how many occasions (if any) have you been drunk or very high from drinking alcoholic beverages during the last 30 days? Participants indicated the number of occasions on a seven-point scale (0=0 to 6=40+; $M= 1.13$, $SD= 1.33$, Range= 0-5).

Partying. Participants' partying behaviors were assessed based on seven items focused on how often they typically attend several types of parties (e.g., fraternity and/or sorority parties, house party) or party contexts (e.g., dance clubs, bars). Participants also had the option to add other party contexts to the list. Participants indicated level of attendance on a six-point scale (1= "hardly ever" to 6= "more than once a week"). The sum of the individual party scores indicated overall partying behavior ($M= 11.99$, $SD= 7.84$, Range= 0-49).

The variables for instances of drinking and being drunk in the past 30 days, past 2 week binge drinking, and partying were standardized and averaged to form a "Drinking & Partying" variable ($\alpha=.87$) for use as a control in structural equation modeling analyses.

Homosociality and Peer Relationship Quality

Four sets of variables (developed for this dissertation) assessed men's level of social engagement with other men and their sexual storytelling.

Male peer sex norms. Participants responded to five questions regarding their beliefs about the percentage of males in the United States who have done each of the

following behaviors by the time they turn 19 (i.e., generally finish their first year of college): have engaged in oral sex; had sexual intercourse at least once; have hooked up; have had sex on a hook up with a person they just met; had more than 10 sexual partners overall in their lifetime. Participants respond to each item on an 11-point scale (0= 0%, 10= 100%). Items were summed to compute a male peer sex norms score, with higher values indicating perceptions of high peer sexual experience ($\alpha = .86$, $M = 27.63$, $SD = 9.55$, Range= 0-60).

Involvement in traditional male contexts. Participants responded to five (Y=1/N=0) questions regarding whether they are currently or have been members of a fraternity (19.6%),⁵ an all male varsity or intramural sports team (59.0%), the military (e.g., ROTC, enlisted in the military; 1.4%), or whether they have attended an all male high school (6.6%). The fifth item was left open for participants to list other all- or predominantly-male contexts in which they have spent considerable time. Approximately 16% of the participants provided open-ended data, with the two most common contexts reported being mealtime and videogames. A count of the items was used to assess involvement in traditional male contexts ($M = 1.49$, $SD = 1.32$, Range=0-6).

“Bro time.” Participants indicated with how many different non-romantic male acquaintances (e.g., coworkers, teammates, classmates) and close friends they interact with on a regular basis. To exclude people that they might only see in classes, “regular basis” was defined as at least twice per week for more than two hours at a time. Participants were informed that these can include instances in which they only hang out with men, or they go out with men with the purpose of meeting potential hook up, sexual, or dating partners. Participants were also asked “How often do you generally hang out with your male acquaintances/close friends?” (rated on a three-point scale, 1= “Twice a week,” 2= “3-4 times a week,” 3= “Nearly every day”). The numbers given for acquaintances and close friends were multiplied by the respective frequencies of hanging out, and then combined as a measure of “bro time” ($M = 26.26$, $SD = 15.67$, Range= 0-72).

Storytelling. To capture sexual storytelling in homosocial contexts, participants

⁵ Based on information provided by the campus Office of Greek Life, approximately 16% of college males on the main campus targeted for recruitment are active members of fraternities.

indicated how often they discuss three different sexual and dating topics with close male friends: (1) desire to have sex, (2) past sexual experiences, and (3) people they find attractive (e.g., discussing attractive people, or ogling or catcalling people they find attractive). To ensure that storytelling across multiple contexts were assessed, participants were asked to indicate how often they discuss each topic with a close male friend, group of male friends or acquaintances, male classmates, coworkers, or colleagues within an organized sport or activity. Participants will be reminded that these instances can include discussion of their own experiences or those of others. Frequency for each storytelling topic for each type of audience was assessed on a four-point scale (0=never to 3=all the time). Items across context and topic were summed to compute a sexual storytelling score ($M= 6.08$, $SD= 3.52$, Range= 0-15).

Personality

Four different personality characteristics were assessed for use as controls in Study 1 and predictors in Study 2.

Shyness. Given the connections between shyness and delayed onset of dating and sexual behavior (Asendorpf, 2000), participants' shyness was assessed using the Revised Cheek and Buss Shyness Scale (Cheek, 1983). Participants indicate the extent to which each of 13 different statements is characteristic of their feelings and behavior (e.g., "I feel tense when I'm with people I don't know well," rating 1= "Very uncharacteristic or untrue, strongly disagree" to 5= "Very characteristic or true, strongly agree"). After reverse scoring appropriate items, scores for the items are summed to indicate a participant's level of shyness ($\alpha= .84$, $M= 36.18$, $SD= 8.80$, Range= 13-61).

Market value. Participants' self-perceived market value (i.e., self-perceived attractiveness and desirability) was assessed based on participants' responses to 12 items regarding how they see themselves in comparison to other young adults of their age and gender (ranked on a nine-point scale, -4= Much less than average to 4= much more than average). Seven items assess physical attractiveness (e.g., "Has an attractive face"), and five items assess sex appeal (e.g., "Someone who has had extensive sexual experience"). Items were summed and averaged to produce a market value score ($\alpha= .87$, $M= .11$, $SD= 1.22$, Range= -4 - 4).

Rejection sensitivity. Sensitivity to rejection was assessed using the 18-item Adult

Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaire (Downey & Feldman, 1996; Downey, 2008). Participants were presented with nine different hypothetical situations (e.g., “You ask your friend for a big favor”) and were asked to indicate their degree of anxiety and concern (six-point scale ranging from 1=very unconcerned to 6=very concerned) about the outcome of the event, and their expectations regarding whether the person in question will respond in an accepting or rejecting fashion (six-point scale ranging from 1=very accepting to 6=very rejecting). Scores were calculated by first reverse-scoring the expectancy of acceptance in order to calculate expectancy of rejection. The reverse score was multiplied by the score for the degree of anxiety or concern. The scores are then summed and divided by nine to derive a rejection sensitivity score ($\alpha = .59$, $M = 10.19$, $SD = 3.28$, Range = 2-26.67).

Social desirability. Because participants were asked to share personal, and potentially controversial information about their sexual behavior, attitudes, and beliefs, it is possible that participants could be motivated to provide socially desirable responses. To control for participant social desirability, participants also completed the Strahan-Gerbasi Social Desirability Scale (SDS, Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972). The SDS consists of 10 statements that describe culturally approved behaviors with low actual probabilities of occurrence (e.g., “I am always willing to admit it when I make a mistake”). Participants indicate whether each item is true or false. A count of the items marked as “true” comprises each participant’s SDS score, with higher scores representing a higher degree of socially desirable response ($\alpha = .59$, $M = 4.77$, $SD = 1.92$, Range = 0-10).

CHAPTER 3

VARIABLE- AND PATTERN-CENTERED APPROACHES TO UNDERSTANDING COLLEGE MEN'S SOCIOSEXUALITY

In this chapter I present the results from Studies 1 and 2 together. Both studies draw from the same survey dataset and use complementary (but wholly different) analyses to examine contributors to variability in college men's sociosexuality.

STUDY 1

The Direct and Indirect Effects of Attachment, Homosociality, and TMI on College Men's Sociosexuality

The goal of Study 1 was to examine the relative contributions of attachment, homosociality, and TMI to college men's sociosexuality. The hypothesized connections between the constructs are displayed in the conceptual model (see Figure 3.1). Based on the proposed model, three main hypotheses were tested:

H1: Controlling for relevant demographic, behavioral, and personality correlates, greater acceptance of sociosexuality (i.e., higher scores on sociosexual beliefs) and greater sociosexual desire were expected to predict greater levels of sociosexual behavior. Sociosexual desire was also expected to predict greater acceptance of sociosexuality.

H2: Greater TMI, homosociality, and attachment avoidance were expected to predict greater levels of sociosexual desire, beliefs, and behavior. Given the connections between attachment anxiety and desire for relationships, greater attachment anxiety was expected to predict lower levels of sociosexual desire, beliefs, and behavior.

H3: Homosociality and attachment were also expected to shape men's acceptance of TMI. Because homosocial relationships are theorized to be a primary context for the socialization and reinforcement of masculinity norms (Kimmel, 1994; Kimmel, 2008), men who are more engaged in homosocial contexts and activities were expected to exhibit greater acceptance of TMI. Additionally, given the overlap between attachment avoidance and the masculine norms regarding emotional restriction and independence

(Collins & Read, 1990; Shaver, Collins, & Clark, 1996), attachment avoidance was expected to predict greater levels of TMI. By contrast, because previous research has found correlations between attachment anxiety and femininity (Shaver et al., 1996), attachment anxiety was expected to predict lower levels of TMI. Taken together, TMI should partially mediate the associations between homosociality and sociosexuality and between attachment and sociosexuality.

In addition to examining these three core hypotheses, I also explored potential differences among the hypothesized pathways based on the sexual orientation of the participants. Consistent with previous literature, sexual minority participants were expected to exhibit lower levels of TMI and higher levels of sociosexual behavior (Lippa, 2008; Schmitt, 2006; Wade & Donis, 2007). Although sexual orientation was not expected to contribute to differences in attachment avoidance and anxiety, I expected some differences between sexual minority participants and heterosexual participants on dimensions of homosociality that could contribute to different associations among the constructs. For example, fear of sexual orientation-based harassment could result in sexual minority participants engaging in fewer traditional male contexts. Given the small number of sexual minority participants in the study sample, these analyses were largely exploratory.

Study 1 Analysis Plan

The distributions for all continuous measured variables were first examined for normality, kurtosis, and skewness and were found to be within acceptable ranges for structural equation modeling (SEM) techniques (Kline, 1998). Zero-order correlation analyses were then conducted to identify demographic, behavioral, and personality controls on sociosexual behavior, beliefs, and desire. Controlling for significant correlates (listed in Table 3.1), SEM was then used to examine the associations among attachment, homosociality, masculinity, and sociosexuality. SEM analysis provides simultaneous estimation of all hypothesized regressions using the covariance matrix (which is generated from the observed covariance matrix of the measured variables). All modeling was conducted in MPlus Version 5.21, an ideal program for SEM with a mixture of observed and latent variables (Muthen & Muthen, Los Angeles CA, 2007). Model fit was evaluated using the comparative fit index (CFI), the Tucker–Lewis Index

(TLI), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). Fit indices that exceed .95 and RMSEA and SRMR values that are .05 or below are indicative of an excellent fit (Fan & Sivo, 2005; Hooper, Coughlan, & Mullen, 2008; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Sharma, Mukherjee, Kumar, & Dillon, 2005), although additional research has found that CFI and TLI values that exceed .90, RMSEA values between .06 and .08, and SRMR values below .09 also represent an adequate fit (Browne & Cudek, 1993; Hu & Bentler, 1999; MacCallum, Brown, & Sugawara, 1996).⁶ First, measurement models were constructed separately for attachment, homosociality, masculinity ideologies, and sociosexuality. These models verified the latent constructs of each set of measures through confirmatory factor analysis. After estimating satisfactory measurement models, the hypothesized structural model was tested.

Indirect effects. As displayed in the conceptual model (Figure 3.1) and discussed in Hypothesis 3, I anticipated both direct and indirect effects, with masculinity ideologies serving as possible mediators of the effects of attachment and homosociality on sociosexuality. In order to examine indirect effects, I followed the recommendations of Preacher and Hayes (2008; see also Hayes, 2009) and utilized the MODEL INDIRECT command in Mplus and a bootstrapping method (with 5000 bootstrap re-samples). Bootstrapping is a nonparametric re-sampling procedure that generates an empirical approximation of the sampling distribution of a statistic from the available data. The bootstrapping procedure samples distributions of the indirect effects by taking random samples from the full data set and calculating the indirect effects in the re-samples. This procedure generates point estimates and 95% confidence intervals to estimate indirect effects. Point estimates of indirect effects are significant when zero is not contained in the confidence interval.

Procedures to account for missing data. Due to the length and sensitive nature of

⁶ Acceptable cut-offs for goodness-of-fit values have been the topic of much debate in latent variable modeling research (see Fan & Sivo, 2005; Fan, Thompson, & Wang, 1999). Given that several of the homosociality measures were newly created for this study and the complexity of the overall model, I opted to use less conservative criteria when accepting measurement models and evaluating the fit of the final structural equation model. It is important to note that the final model accepted in this dissertation still had an adequate fit to the data with regards to the CFI and TLI values, and an excellent fit to the data with regards to the RMSEA and SRMR values.

the survey, missingness was an immediate concern of the study. Overall, 36% of the participants were missing at least one data point from all of the key variables measured (determined via list-wise deletion in SPSS). Comparisons based on demographic characteristics, overall dating experience, virginity status, and social desirability between those without and with any missing data yielded no significant differences. Subsequent descriptive analyses in Mplus identified 43 patterns of missing data, nearly all of which were exhibited by just one participant. Only two patterns were demonstrated by at least 5% of the study sample (26 participants each), and thus indicated potentially problematic patterns of missing (Allison, 2001). Because both patterns consisted of missing data on the SOI-Beliefs items, it was possible that this represented a bias in reporting sociosexuality. Additional analyses indicated that those who exhibited these missing patterns did not differ from the other participants according to demographics, dating experience, virginity status, or social desirability. However, independent sample t-tests on composite SOI-Behavior and SOI-Desire measures indicated that these participants differed significantly from participants with complete data. Participants with missing on SOI-Beliefs items reported having more one-time and recent sexual partners ($M_{Missing}=10.34, SD=6.91, M_{Non-Missing}=6.34, SD=5.07; t(493)=-6.48, p<.001$) and greater sociosexual desire ($M_{Missing}=14.21, SD=5.84, M_{Non-Missing}=12.60, SD=5.78; t(476)=-2.39, p<.001$). SEM analyses were conducted with and without these participants to determine whether they biased the results. Both models fit the data very well and produced nearly identical associations between the study constructs. Based on the similarity of the results, all of the final models reported in this study included the 52 participants who were missing on either of the SOI-Beliefs variables. For the final analyses, missing data were handled using full information maximum likelihood (FIML) estimation. FIML is an automatic feature of Mplus and is a modern technique for accounting for missing data. Previous research has indicated that FIML is superior to more traditional techniques for handling missing data, such as maximum likelihood imputation and expectation maximization (e.g., Enders, 2006).

Study 1 Results and Discussion

Measurement Models

The original aim of the confirmatory factor analysis was to collapse the

independent constructs of homosociality and TMI into larger latent constructs. However, tests of model fit for each of these initial measurement models were poor, thus suggesting that the four components of homosociality and the two components of TMI do not load onto larger latent homosociality and TMI factors. In light of these results, each of the components of homosociality and TMI was assessed as independent constructs in the final structural equation model. Consistent with the goal of examining how attachment, homosociality, and TMI contribute to each unique dimension of sociosexuality, each of the sociosexuality dimensions was estimated as separate but correlated latent constructs. As displayed in Table 3.2, each of the measurement models fit the data adequately.

Testing Hypothesis 1

Demographic, behavioral, and personality controls. Figure 3.2 displays the results from the final model, with all significant paths displayed and the effects of controls listed next to each of the sociosexuality dimensions. Prior to examining the effects of the key constructs on college men's sociosexual beliefs, desire, and behaviors, I first identified and controlled for relevant demographic, behavioral, and personality correlates of sociosexuality. With regards to sociosexual behavior, individuals who are older, who drink more alcohol and attend more parties, who self-identify as a sexual minority, who report higher self-perceived market value, or who report greater levels of dating experience had a higher number of sexual partners. For sociosexual beliefs, individuals who drink more alcohol and party more, or who report greater self-perceived market value were more accepting of uncommitted sex. Not surprisingly, individuals who report greater religiosity reported less acceptance of uncommitted sex. Older age predicted greater levels of sociosexual desire, but greater levels of dating experience and higher scores on the social desirability scale predicted less desire to engage in uncommitted sex.

Collectively, these results are consistent with previous literature on the antecedents and correlates of uncommitted sex. With regards to the demographic effects, previous literature has also found evidence of greater sociosexual behavior among sexual minority men (Goodreau & Golden, 2007), and less acceptance of uncommitted sex among those who are more religious (Lippa, 2009). Because older students may have had more time to accrue sexual and dating experience, it seems logical they may report higher

numbers of sexual partners. Consistent with this expected trend, participants with greater levels of overall dating experience also reported having had more sexual partners. The connections between age and sociosexual desire seem surprising at first, especially given the expectation that maturation and relationship experience should lead men to become more desirous of committed relationships (Good & Sherrod, 1997; Seiffge-Krenke, 2003). Indeed, individuals with more dating experience reported less sociosexual desire. However, previous research on hooking up in college has suggested that as students approach graduation, they again become more likely to desire and engage in uncommitted sex because the upcoming transition makes forming long-term committed relationships inconvenient (Bogle, 2008).

The connections between drinking and partying and sociosexual behavior and beliefs are consistent with previous research on the central roles of alcohol use and the party context in college students' hook up scripts (Paul et al., 2000; Paul & Hayes, 2002). Although greater perceived market value predicted greater sociosexual behavior, it is possible that this association is bidirectional; individuals who have more sexual partners may see this as evidence of their physical attractiveness and sexual desirability. Self-perceived market value also predicted greater acceptance of uncommitted sex. In connection to the results regarding behavior, perhaps individuals who derive a greater sense of their market value from uncommitted sex are more likely to find uncommitted sex acceptable.

Associations among the sociosexuality dimensions. Controlling for these demographic, behavioral, and personality factors, I then evaluated the significant pathways in the model to identify support for the study hypotheses. The first hypothesis was that greater acceptance of sociosexuality and sociosexual desire would predict greater levels of sociosexual behavior. Greater sociosexual desire was also expected to predict greater acceptance of sociosexuality. Although neither beliefs nor desire predicted sociosexual behavior, greater sociosexual desire predicted greater acceptance of uncommitted sex. The results are consistent with the notion that holding positive views on uncommitted sex and desiring uncommitted sex do not necessarily enable an individual to have more uncommitted sexual partners. Overall, these findings speak to the uniqueness of each of the sociosexuality dimensions, and the utility of considering each

facet separately rather than combined under a global construct (Penke & Asendorpf, 2008). Above and beyond the effects of controls on the sociosexual dimensions, to what extent do the key study constructs of attachment, homosociality, TMI shape college men's sociosexual beliefs, behavior, and desire? I examined this question next by testing Hypothesis 2.

Testing Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis was that greater levels of attachment avoidance, homosociality, and TMI would predict greater levels of sociosexual behavior, beliefs, and desire. Attachment anxiety, however, was expected to predict lower levels of behavior, beliefs, and desire.

Attachment. Focusing first on the effects of attachment avoidance, I found no significant direct connections between attachment avoidance and any of the dimensions of sociosexuality. The lack of significant connections runs counter to previous research linking avoidance to more frequent one-night stands (Birnbaum, 2007; Davis et al., 2004; Feeney et al., 2000; Fraley & Shaver, 2000; Schachner & Shaver, 2004). However, one possible explanation for this result is that attachment avoidance might not operate as a motivator for uncommitted sex, but as a moderator of the types of sexual experiences men encounter. For example, individuals with greater attachment avoidance might be reluctant to pursue sexual and dating relationships, but when they do engage in sex and relationships, such experiences may become one-night stands due their fears of intimacy and emotional commitment.

Attachment anxiety predicted less acceptance of sociosexuality, as expected, but also greater desire for uncommitted sex. Although anxiously attached individuals have been found to have sex in order to facilitate an attachment (Cooper et al., 2006; Davis et al., 2004; Impett & Peplau, 2002; Schachner and Shaver, 2004), the items that comprised the sociosexual desire variable were focused specifically on sex outside the context of a committed relationship. Why might this result run counter to attachment theory? One possibility is that individuals with higher attachment anxiety interpreted the desire items differently from those with lower anxiety. For example, in reviewing the sociosexual desire items more closely, the item "How often do you have fantasies about having sex with someone with whom you do not have a committed romantic relationship?" does not

necessarily mean that a romantic relationship will never develop from such sexual activity. Thus, individuals with greater attachment anxiety might have interpreted the desire items as indicating desire to engage in actions to facilitate the development of a relationship.

Homosociality. Focusing next on the effects of homosociality on sociosexuality, I found some support for the second hypothesis. Participants who believed that their male peers were more sexually experienced (i.e., those with greater values on the NORMS variable) engaged in more uncommitted sexual behavior and exhibited greater sociosexual desire. The results for norms are consistent with previous literature on the effects of peer norms on college student sexual intentions and behavior (Hayes, 1987; Maticka-Tyndale, Herold, & Mewhinney, 1998). In addition, participants who engaged in more sexual storytelling with their male friends also exhibited greater sociosexual desire. This result lends quantitative support to qualitative research focused on the effects of sexual storytelling on boys and men's sexual beliefs and desires (Flood, 2008; Tolman et al., 2004). However, it is possible that this association is bi-directional. Desire for uncommitted sex may be both a motivator and outcome of discussions regarding personal and peer sexual experiences, potential sexual partners, and desire to have sex.

In contrast to my second hypothesis, engagement with traditional male contexts (TRADMALE) failed to predict conformity to TMI. Such results run counter to the extensive literature linking engagement with traditional male contexts, such as fraternities, sports teams, and the military, to the socialization of TMI and greater uncommitted sexual views, desires, and behaviors (Flood, 2008; Kimmel, 2008; Tolman et al., 2004). One possibility for the lack of effects may be the restriction of variance in the variable (68% reported engaging in 0-1 traditional male context).

In addition, participants who reported greater amounts of "brotime" actually exhibited *less* acceptance of sociosexuality. The effects of "brotime" contradict existing qualitative and theoretical literature, which often posits that time spent in homosocial contexts fosters uncommitted sexual beliefs, desire, and behavior (Flood, 2008; Kimmel, 2008). However, the assessment of "brotime" used in the current study does not take into account the qualities of participants' male peer groups or the activities engaged in with such peers. "Brotime" could be spent engaging in discussions about maintaining

relationships (e.g., seeking advice about what to do on a date, or advice about making up after a fight) or in shared activities with little direct connection to sexual and relationship outcomes (e.g., playing videogames).

TMI. The associations that emerged between TMI and sociosexuality supported the second hypothesis and were consistent with Good and Sherrod's (1997) theory. Men with higher scores on the Winning subscale of the CMNI (i.e., those who show greater embodiment of the competitiveness and status norms of TMI) exhibited greater levels of sociosexual behavior. Men with higher scores on the Playboy subscale of the CMNI (i.e., those who show greater embodiment of the uncommitted sex norm of TMI) exhibited greater acceptance of sociosexuality and greater sociosexual desire. Why are the effects of each facet of TMI specific to different sociosexuality dimensions? One possibility is that each TMI norm results in unique cognitive, behavioral, and motivational manifestations. For example, conforming to the competitive norm may encourage men to engage in actions to assert their statuses. One means of achieving status with regards to sexuality, then, is to have multiple sexual partners. However, because the competitive norm focuses on status-seeking and is not so directly focused on sexual behavior, it might not have strong direct effects on sociosexual beliefs and desires. By contrast, conformity to the uncommitted sex norm may more directly shape the cognitive and motivational dimensions of sociosexuality.

Overall, the results provide partial support for the second hypothesis. The results also highlight that different facets of attachment, homosociality, and TMI influence different dimensions of sociosexuality, thus demonstrating the importance of considering each dimension of sociosexuality and each facet of attachment, homosociality, and TMI separately.

Testing Hypothesis 3

In my third hypothesis I predicted that masculinity ideologies would partially mediate the effects of attachment and homosociality on sociosexuality. Indirect modeling techniques with bootstrapping identified some support for this hypothesis. As displayed in Table 3.3, the Winning dimension of TMI did not significantly mediate the effects of attachment avoidance, male peer sex norms, or sexual storytelling on sociosexual behavior. However, the Playboy dimension of TMI fully mediated the effects of

attachment avoidance and partially mediated the effects of peer sex norms and sexual storytelling on sociosexual beliefs. Thus, participants who are more avoidant, who believed that their male peers were more sexually experienced, or who engaged in greater sexual storytelling were more likely to endorse the uncommitted sex norm of TMI. Greater endorsement of this norm then predicted greater overall acceptance of sociosexuality. In addition, the Playboy dimension of TMI fully mediated the effects of attachment avoidance and partially mediated the effects of sexual storytelling on sociosexual desire. Men who were more avoidant and who engaged in more sexual storytelling were more likely to conform to the uncommitted sex norm, and thus more likely to desire uncommitted sex.

These results support Good and Sherrod's (2007) theory regarding the centrality of TMI in influencing men's uncommitted sexual beliefs and desires. The results also highlight the complex connections between attachment, homosociality, TMI, and sociosexuality—constructs that have never been studied simultaneously in one model.

Exploratory Analyses on Sexual Minority Participants

Because little research on college hook up experiences has focused on sexual minority participants, I next conducted several exploratory analyses to examine potential differences between heterosexual and sexual minority college men. To compare and contrast heterosexual and sexual minority participants, I first conducted independent samples t-tests on their mean levels of each of the key constructs. Results displayed in Table 3.4 indicate several significant differences between heterosexual and sexual minority participants. No differences were found in attachment avoidance, but sexual minority participants reported higher levels of attachment anxiety, which is consistent with previous research (Landolt et al., 2004). Next focusing on homosociality, I detected no differences in the perception of peer sex norms, thus indicating no differences in how heterosexual and sexual minority male college students view the level of sexual experience of their male college peers. However, sexual minority participants reported lower amounts of “brotime”, less sexual storytelling, and less engagement with traditional male contexts. With regards to TMI, sexual minority participants did not differ in their conformity to the Playboy norm, but they conformed to the Winning norm less than heterosexual participants. Finally, sexual minority participants did not differ from

heterosexual participants in their views on uncommitted sex, but did report greater levels of sociosexual behavior and desire.

To what extent might these differences impact the pattern of associations among the constructs for sexual minority men? Due to the small number of sexual minority participants in the sample, power limitations prevented me from accurately estimating a model separately for sexual minority participants, or from performing multi-group comparisons. However, because sexual minority participants comprised 17% of the sample, it is possible that any potential differences in the associations between constructs for the sexual minority participants might augment or suppress the number of significant paths detected in the model tested on the full sample. To examine this possibility, I estimated a separate model with sexual minority participants dropped. The model with sexual minority participants dropped had an adequate fit to the data ($\chi^2(382, 406) = 664.21, p < .001, CFI|TLI .95|.94, RMSEA = .04$). Based on substantial reductions in information criteria indices (e.g., Akaike Information Criterion, Bayesian Information Criterion, and BIC N-adjusted), the model also appeared to fit the data better when focused just on heterosexual participants rather than the full sample. In comparing the models, I found that regression weights for the majority of the pathways changed by only two to three hundredths of a standard unit. However, five of the significant paths disappeared in the new model (Anxiety and Brotime \rightarrow SOI Beliefs; Norms \rightarrow Winning and SOI Desire; Winning \rightarrow SOI Behavior), one new significant pathway emerged (Sexual Storytelling \rightarrow SOI Behavior), and one pathway became stronger (Playboy \rightarrow SOI Beliefs, $\beta \Delta = .06$).

To further explore how the transformed paths differed according to sexual orientation, I stratified the sample according to sexual orientation and conducted separate hierarchical regressions (controlling for relevant correlates) on the paths that disappeared, emerged, or changed. To examine whether the regression weights found in the stratified regressions actually differed, I then examined the effects of Sexual Orientation*Predictor Variable interactions in regression models conducted on the whole sample. Any significant t-values for interaction terms run in these latter models may indicate significant differences in the regression weights for heterosexual and sexual minority participants. These results, however, should be interpreted with some caution and should

be replicated as multi-group SEM comparisons in larger samples with adequate power.

According to the results from the stratified hierarchical regressions and tests for interaction, one of the regression paths predicting sociosexual beliefs and two of the regression paths predicting behavior differed significantly for heterosexual and sexual minority participants. Focusing first on predictors of sociosexual beliefs, I found that conformity to the Playboy norm significantly predicted sociosexual beliefs for heterosexual participants ($\beta = .38, p < .001$) but not sexual minority participants ($\beta = .19, p = \text{n.s.}; t = -2.38, p < .05$). For sociosexual behavior, conformity to the competitive norm predicted greater sociosexual behavior among sexual minority participants ($\beta = .35, p < .01$), but not heterosexual participants ($\beta = .00, p = \text{n.s.}; t = 3.74, p < .001$). By contrast, sexual storytelling predicted heterosexual men's sociosexual behavior ($\beta = .21, p < .001$), but not sexual minority participants' behavior ($\beta = -.01, p = \text{n.s.}; t = -2.07, p < .05$).

Thus, in contrast to sexual minority men, heterosexual men's sociosexual beliefs were shaped by their conformity to the uncommitted sex norm. However, masculinity norms still play a role in shaping sexual minority men's sociosexuality, as evidenced by the connections between greater conformity to the Winning norm and greater sociosexual behavior. It is possible that the lack of effects of sexual storytelling among the sexual minority participants is due to their overall lower levels of sexual storytelling in contrast to the heterosexual participants.

Study 1 Summary

The goal of this first study was to evaluate the applicability of Good and Sherrod's (1997) theory to the experiences of college men. Based on the theory and previous research, TMI was expected to predict sociosexual beliefs, behavior, and desire because TMI encourages restriction of emotion, drive for status, and uncommitted sex norms. Furthermore, greater attachment avoidance and greater levels of homosociality were expected to predict greater TMI and sociosexuality, whereas anxiety was expected to predict the opposite effects. Overall I found partial support for the hypotheses, as well as preliminary evidence that the key constructs may operate differently for heterosexual and sexual minority male college students.

The effects of "brotime" ran counter to expectations, and the effects of traditional

male contexts failed to emerge. There are several possible explanations for these surprise findings. Previous research linking homosociality to sociosexuality has often been qualitative and/or focused on men currently engaged in traditional male contexts (e.g., those in fraternities; Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Flood, 2008; Kimmel, 2008). In this study I attempted to quantify the theorized pathways suggested by previous qualitative work, as well as explore the effects of “brotime” in a sample that includes men who vary in their exposure to traditional male contexts. That “brotime” had an unexpected negative association with sociosexual beliefs suggests that more attention must be paid to the diverse activities engaged in during such “brotime”, and how some of those activities (e.g., discussing relationships) might foster less acceptance of uncommitted sex. The lack of a direct effect of traditional male contexts on both TMI and sociosexuality is also surprising and requires more detailed research. Perhaps the current treatment of “brotime” and traditional male context is a limitation of this study. Because most participants who engaged in traditional male contexts generally only engaged in one context, this variable might be conceptualized better as a moderator rather than a continuous predictor variable. It may also be important to disaggregate the traditional male contexts and examine specific effects. For example, the most common traditional male context selected by participants was sports/athletics. Because there are multiple types of sports participants can engage in, it is possible that participating in some sports, such as football, may lead to greater exposure to TMI and unrestricted sociosexual views than others, such as tennis or cross-country running. Greater refinement of the traditional male context variable (and the other novel homosociality variables created for this dissertation) is required for future research. Nevertheless, that the traditional male contexts variable failed to predict TMI suggests that previous qualitative research might overstate the significance of such homosocial contexts to the socialization of traditional masculine norms. Researchers focused on the role of traditional homosocial contexts in the socialization of TMI and unrestricted sociosexuality should exercise caution and not overgeneralize their findings to men who are not as involved in such contexts.

Although previous masculinity researchers have theorized strong connections between several of the constructs in my model (most notably homosociality to TMI), it is important to note that the majority of the effect sizes found in the tested model were

either weak or moderate (e.g., ranging .10-.50, Cohen, 1988). What might explain the modest effect sizes? One possibility is that the model is complex and any individual effects detected in the model are relative to the other paths estimated in the model. The model I tested simultaneously takes into account the effects of known demographic, behavioral, and personality correlates on sociosexuality in addition to testing the effects of the key study constructs (attachment, homosociality, and TMI). To my knowledge, no previous studies have examined contributors to sociosexual variability in such a comprehensive manner. It is possible that one of the limitations of the current model may be that I over-controlled for several of the factors influencing sociosexuality (e.g., drinking and partying, virginity status), thus limiting the amount of variance that can be explained by the key study constructs.

An additional hypothesis for the modest effects—and one of the primary motivations for Study 2—is that the effect sizes may be an artifact of the analytic approach applied in Study 1. By utilizing a nomothetic, variable-centered approach, I committed the analyses to the assumption that all of the hypothesized pathways in the model operate in the same way for all of the participants in the sample. As evidenced by the exploratory analyses comparing heterosexual and sexual minority participants, this assumption does not hold. Study 2 examines this hypothesis more closely by reanalyzing the survey data from a pattern-centered approach.

STUDY 2

Identifying, Comparing, and Contrasting Sociosexual Subgroups of College Men

The results from Study 1 are useful for understanding the general magnitude of the effects of TMI, homosociality, and attachment on college men's sociosexuality. Although most of the hypothesized pathways were supported, some of the anticipated pathways failed to emerge, and the overall effect sizes of TMI, homosociality, and attachment were modest. One possible explanation for the modest effects is that the key study constructs may “go together” for some college students better than for others. For example, had the sample consisted of men from fraternities, team sports, or the military—men who are more likely to be exposed to high levels of TMI socialization and who have often been the focus of previous research (e.g., Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Flood, 2008; Kimmel, 2008)—perhaps more of the hypothesized pathways would be significant and

the regression paths would be stronger. Testing this hypothesis requires reanalyzing the data from an idiographic, pattern-centered approach—one in which TMI, homosociality, attachment, and sociosexuality are viewed as simultaneous, but separate facets of an individual that may covary or diverge in different ways for different individuals.

Pattern-centered approaches identify groups of individuals who share particular attributes or relations among attributes. Such techniques are well suited for addressing questions that concern group differences in patterns of development (B. Muthén & L. Muthén, 2000). Although the data in this dissertation are cross-sectional, pattern-centered approaches may still uncover meaningful patterns of covariation in TMI, homosociality, attachment, and sociosexuality. Such an approach can be used to identify whether there are subgroups of men who demonstrate patterns consistent with the hypothesized model of Study 1 (i.e., high scores on one construct are connected to high scores on all other constructs). Moreover, detecting subgroups that exhibit diversity across constructs (e.g., high in sociosexuality, low in homosociality) could help explain the modest effect sizes in Study 1, as well as further highlight how TMI, homosociality, attachment, and sociosexuality may co-develop and reciprocally shape each other in diverse ways.

Based on my hypothesis that the model tested in Study 1 describes the experiences of some men better than others, I expected that there would be at least one subgroup characterized by high levels of TMI, homosociality, attachment avoidance, and sociosexuality, and one subgroup characterized by low levels across all constructs. In addition, because I hypothesized that the constructs are not congruent (i.e., universally high or low) for some men, I also expected that subgroups would emerge that exhibit discrepant patterns across constructs. Given that sociosexual desire and beliefs do not necessarily predict sociosexual behavior, it is possible that some men will exhibit high levels of sociosexual desire and beliefs, but low levels of sociosexual behavior. Alternatively, some men may exhibit high levels of sociosexuality in the absence of high levels of TMI, homosociality, and attachment avoidance. Given the number of constructs and the multiple ways they may be organized in relation to each other, I made no firm a priori hypotheses regarding the number or nature of these discrepant groups.

Following the identification of subgroups, a natural next step is establishing how they vary according to demographic, behavioral, and personality characteristics. I

hypothesized that factors consistent with reduced sexual behavior (e.g., religiosity, shyness) would predict membership to subgroups with lower levels of sociosexuality, and that factors associated with increased sexual behavior (e.g., sexual minority identity, market value, binge drinking and partying) would predict membership to subgroups with greater sociosexuality. To explore more deeply the implications of membership to certain subgroups, I also evaluated subgroup differences in the quality of their relationship and sexual experiences, and overall attitudes towards gender and sexuality. In particular, I focused on potential group differences in the endorsement of destructive sexual attitudes, such as the acceptance of sexual violence myths, adversarial gender beliefs, and endorsement of sexual double standards. Such attitudes have been found to be important determinants of relationship health, stability, and satisfaction (Yost & Zurbriggen, 2006). It was difficult to form a priori hypotheses regarding subgroup differences before knowing what subgroups would emerge, but I expected that profiles high in either homosocial contexts, TMI, or sociosexuality would be likely to display more negative sexual attitudes (e.g., acceptance of sexual harassment and rape myths, hostility towards women). Although greater amounts of sociosexual behavior could predict greater sexual satisfaction, I expected that this would only be true for profiles that also exhibit traits consistent with positive sociosexual views (e.g., greater sociosexual beliefs and desire, conformity to TMI, homosociality, and/or attachment avoidance).

Study 2 Analysis Plan

The first set of analyses aimed to identify subgroups within the sample regarding sociosexuality, homosociality, masculinity ideologies, and attachment. Subgroups were estimated using latent profile analysis (LPA) in Mplus Version 5.21 with standardized attachment, homosociality, masculinity, and sociosexuality variables used as indicators. LPA is a pattern-centered approach that utilizes a probabilistic grouping procedure to sort participants into groups of individuals who are similar to each other and different from those in other groups (B. Muthén & Muthén, 2000; Pastor, Barron, Miller, & Davis, 2007; Vermunt & Magidson, 2002). The method is ideal for examining diversity in patterns of development. LPA is a model-based procedure that allows researchers to evaluate the fit of different solutions to the data through various fit indices (Henson, Reise, & Kim, 2007; Lo, Mendell, & Rubin, 2001; McLachlan & Peel, 2000; Yang,

2006). The provision of such fit indices makes LPA superior to more exploratory techniques (e.g., cluster analysis, median splits, forced classification), which are more subjective and possibly more prone to over/underestimation of data patterns. However, because previous research cautions against the use of goodness-of-fit indices alone to determine the appropriate number of profiles (Marsh, Hau, & Wen 2004; Marsh, Hau, & Grayson, 2005; Nylund, Asparouhov, & Muthén, 2007), the final number of profiles analyzed in the study was also based on my hypotheses, interpretability, and parsimony (defined as setting minimum class membership size to 5% or greater of the study sample; Nylund et al., 2007).

To evaluate differences between the profiles, a categorical class membership variable was assigned to participants based on their probabilities of being in each class. Analyses of variance (ANOVA) were first run to compare the profiles on their attachment, homosociality, TMI, and sociosexuality characteristics. Comparisons were then made using multinomial logistic regression to identify demographic, behavioral, and personality predictors of profile membership.⁷ Finally, analyses of covariance (ANCOVA) with post-hoc pair-wise comparisons and a Bonferonni correction were run to examine satisfaction and sexual attitude differences between the profiles.

Study 2 Results

Identifying Profiles

Latent profile analysis. To determine the final number of profiles I estimated 2-7 latent profile solutions and compared the fit indices and the interpretability of the N and $N-1$ profile solutions. Based upon the recommendations of L. Muthen and B. Muthen (2008), I also increased the number of random sets of starting values to 1,000, the number of iterations to 20, and the number of final-stage optimizations to 100 in order to address the potential problem of local maxima (i.e., convergence on values that do not best fit the data). Fit indices for the estimated models are displayed in Table 3.5. Although the fit statistics were slightly better in the 4 profile solution in comparison to the 5 profile solution, I determined that the 5 profile solution was superior because of the better

⁷ Prior to testing the logistic regression models, I also tested the assumption of a linear relationship between the continuous predictors in the model and the log odds of the outcome—profile membership—by performing the Box-Tidwell test. Nonlinearity was not detected and thus all continuous predictors were modeled as linear covariates.

distribution of participants across classes, the variability in profile levels and shapes, the interpretability of the solution, and the acceptable fit indices. I examined the stability of this solution by increasing the number of random starts to 5,000, the number of iterations to 100, and the number of final-stage optimizations to 500. The solution and fit indices were replicated.

Figure 3.3 illustrates the 5 patterns identified through LPA with scores on the key constructs represented in standard deviation units. Table 3.6 displays between-profile mean differences on the key constructs (determined via one-way ANOVA). As expected one group emerged that was above average on all dimensions of sociosexuality, homosociality, TMI, and attachment avoidance ($n= 49$). This group appears to represent the traditional masculine stereotype of being competitive, valuing and engaging frequently in uncommitted sex, and disliking emotional intimacy. It is important to note that this subgroup of the sample—which closely resembles the portrayals of college men put forth by previous researchers and the popular media (Kimmel, 2008)—only represented 10% of the sample. Due to this profile’s high sociosexuality, homosociality, masculinity, and avoidance scores, I labeled this subgroup the *Players*, borrowing the term from previous research on men who display similar qualities to this profile (Anderson, 1989; Giordano et al., 2009).

In contrast to the *Players*, one profile also emerged that was consistently below average on all constructs ($n=149$; 30%). This was the second largest profile in the sample. Due to their overall restricted sociosexual profile (below average sociosexual beliefs, desire, and behavior), I labeled this subgroup *Restricted*. In comparison to the other profiles, the *Restricted*s appear to conform to traditional masculinity norms less than the other participants, are the least avoidant, and are less engaged in homosocial contexts. Taken together, the *Player* and *Restricted* subgroups indicate that for at least 40% of the sample the key constructs are congruent with one another. It is perhaps for these participants that Good and Sherrod’s (1997) theory and the model tested in Study 1 fit best.

However, three additional profiles emerged displaying incongruity across constructs, thus suggesting that for 60% of the participants the constructs do not always “go together.” The largest profile in the data set ($n=180$, 36% of the sample) exhibited a

similar pattern to the “Players” in terms of sociosexual beliefs and desire, homosociality, TMI, and attachment avoidance, but also displayed less than average levels of sociosexual behavior. I labeled this subgroup the *Wannabes* given their overall similarities to the Players, but the absence of “Player-level” sexual experience. A second profile emerged that was low on all constructs, but exhibited greater than average attachment avoidance (hence the label *Avoidant*, $n=79$, 16%). The last profile to emerge exhibited wide variability and seeming inconsistency across constructs (thus the label *Discrepant*, $n= 38$, 8%). This latter group is particularly interesting given their greater than average sociosexual behavior, lower than average sociosexual desire, and below average conformity to the uncommitted sex norm.

Predicting Profile Membership

The second set of analyses examined potential predictors and correlates of profile membership. Table 3.7 displays the demographic, behavioral, and personality characteristics of each profile with ANOVA statistics to compare between-profile differences on the continuous variables. Focusing first on demographic variables, I found that Discrepant were significantly older than those in the other profiles. The Players appear to be the least ethnically diverse (84% White), whereas approximately 40% of the members each of the other profiles are minority participants. With regards to sexual orientation, almost half of the Discrepant profile participants self-identify as sexual minorities (although this only comprises 19.8% of the sexual minorities in the overall sample). Although all the profiles generally report low levels of religiosity, participants in the Restricted and Avoidant profiles were more religious than the other participants.

Focusing next on behavioral data, I found that Players binge drink and party the most, followed by the Wannabes and Discrepant (who did not differ significantly from each other). Not surprisingly, the three profiles with above average scores on any of the sociosexuality dimensions reported more binge drinking and partying. This finding is in line with the existing literature linking alcohol consumption, partying and hooking up (Bogle, 2008; Maticka-Tyndale, Herold, & Mewhinney, 1998). Also not surprising, I found that nearly all of the participants in the Players and Discrepant profiles are non-virgins. However, the percentage of Discrepant currently dating at the time of the survey is comparable to the Restricteds (approximately 40%). This raises the question of

whether the Discrepant participants' below average scores on some of the constructs results in them exhibiting the same relationship prevalence as the Restricteds in spite of their high levels of uncommitted sex. The Avoidant participants stand out as having the least amount of dating and sexual experience. Only 10% of the Avoidants were currently involved in a relationship at the time of the survey, and nearly 75% were virgins.

Examining last the descriptive statistics on the personality variables, I found that the Players reported the highest self-perceived market value (although it is important to note that participants from all profiles rank their self-perceived attractiveness and sex appeal as average). The personality data may explain the Avoidant participants' overall lower levels of sexual and dating experience in that Avoidants reported the highest levels of rejection sensitivity and shyness. With regards to social desirability scores, it appears that Wannabes were the least biased towards responding to questions in a socially desirable fashion.

To determine whether the previously described demographic, behavioral, and personality differences actually distinguish between membership to different profiles, I next conducted multinomial logistic regressions in Mplus. Because the Restricted profile was both large and uniformly low on all of the key constructs, they were an ideal comparison group for the analysis and were thus set as the referent group. Due to multicollinearity between age and grade level (i.e., variance inflation factor greater than 5), freshman status was dropped from the model.

Table 3.8 displays the results from the multinomial logistic regression with statistically significant odds ratios (O.R.) in bold. Focusing first on the Players, I found that being an ethnic minority and being in a relationship at the time of the survey were associated with dramatically reduced odds of being in the Players profile versus the Restricted profile. However, each unit increase in age was associated with a 1.48 times the odds increase of being in the Players profile versus the Restricted profile. Additionally, binge drinking and partying were associated with 1.64 and 1.31 times the odds of being in the Players profile versus the Restricted profile. With regards to sexual experience, non-virgins had over 16 times the odds of being in the Player profile versus the Restricted profile. Finally, each unit increase in self-perceived market value was associated with a three-fold increase in the odds of being in the Players profile versus the

Restricted profile.

The pattern of results appears very similar to those distinguishing the Discrepant profile from the Restricted profile. In terms of the Discrepant profile, the results indicate that each unit increase in age was associated with a 1.57 times increase in the odds of being in the Discrepant profile versus the Restricted profile. In addition, being a sexual minority was associated with more than a threefold increase in the odds of being in the Discrepant profile versus the Restricted profile. As was the case with the Players, binge drinking increased the odds of being in the Discrepant profile versus the Restricted profile, and being a non-virgin was associated with nearly a 30-fold increase in the odds of being in the Discrepant profile versus the Restricted profile. Overall, these results match the results from the initial descriptive analyses.

Focusing next on the Wannabes, I found that binge drinking and partying were associated with greater odds of being in the Wannabes profile versus the Restricted profile, whereas currently dating was associated with reduced odds of being in the Wannabes profile. Consistent with apparent religiosity differences, being more religious was associated with reduced odds of being in the Wannabes profile versus the Restricted profile. Collectively these odds ratios are consistent with Wannabes' lack of sexual and dating experience, but also their greater immersion in the college party and hook up context.

Because the Avoidant and Restricted participants appear similar in their overall sociosexuality, homosociality, and TMI, it is not surprising that few significant variables emerged predicting membership to the Avoidant profile versus the Restricted profile. However, religiosity and currently dating were each associated with reduced odds of being in the Avoidant profile versus the Restricted profile. Additionally, each unit increase in shyness was associated with a 1.05 increase in the odds of being in the Avoidant profile versus the Restricted profile. These results bolster the descriptive analyses regarding the relationship status and personality traits of the Avoidant participants. The differences regarding religiosity also further support the possibility that the restricted sociosexuality of the Avoidant and Restricted participants may stem from different underlying motivations. It is possible that the restricted sociosexuality of the Restricteds may be volitional (e.g., due to religious conviction or preference for committed

relationships) and that the restricted sociosexuality of the Avoidants may be circumstantial (e.g., due to difficulty approaching potential partners).

Secondary logistic regressions. Given the similarities between the Players and Wannabes across nearly all constructs, and the similarities between the Discrepant and Players on sociosexual behavior, additional binomial logistic regressions were run comparing membership to the Players profile instead of the Wannabes profile, and membership to the Discrepant profile instead of the Players profile. In distinguishing the Players from the Wannabes, I found that being an ethnic minority was associated with dramatically reduced odds of being in the Players profile versus the Wannabes profile ($B = -2.61$, $SE B = .80$, $p < .01$, $O.R. = .07$). Being a sexual minority was associated with a five-fold increase in the odds of being in the Players profile versus the Wannabes profile ($B = 1.73$, $SE B = .82$, $p < .05$, $O.R. = 5.66$).

With regards to behavioral and personality predictors, partying was associated with 1.12 times the odds ($B = .11$, $SE B = .04$, $p < .01$) of being a Player versus a Wannabe, being a non-virgin with 12.47 times the odds ($B = 2.52$, $SE B = .87$, $p < .01$) of being a Player versus a Wannabe, and market value with 3.66 times the odds ($B = 1.30$, $SE B = .36$, $p < .001$) of being a Player versus a Wannabe. In distinguishing the Discrepant participants from the Players, the only significant predictor was ethnic minority status, which was associated with a 26-fold increase in the odds of being in the Discrepant profile versus the Players profile ($B = 3.26$, $SE B = 1.11$, $p < .01$).

Profile Differences in Satisfaction and Sexual Attitudes

The logistic regression results provide important information regarding predictors and correlates of profile membership, but what are some of the implications of belonging to one subgroup versus another? The final set of analyses aimed to examine (1) potential profile differences in dating and sexual satisfaction and (2) profile differences in endorsement of various negative sexual attitudes. Because of the complexity of the profiles the analyses were largely exploratory. However, I hypothesized that the Wannabe participants would report lower levels of dating and sexual satisfaction than the other profiles due to their low levels of sociosexual behavior and high levels of sociosexual beliefs and desire.

Table 3.9 displays individual profile means and ANCOVA results comparing the

profiles on levels of satisfaction and sexual attitudes. Because participants currently in relationships reported greater satisfaction with dating experiences ($M_{In\ Relationship}= 4.25$, $SD=.84$, $M_{Single}=2.85$, $SD=1.03$, $t(322)=-12.93$, $p < .001$) and sexual experiences ($M_{In\ Relationship}=4.00$, $SD=.94$, $M_{Single}=3.30$, $SD=1.01$, $t(320)=-6.25$, $p < .001$), level of dating and sexual experience and current relationship status were entered as covariates for the satisfaction comparisons. Significant demographic and personality correlates of the satisfaction and sexual attitude variables were also entered as covariates depending upon the analysis.

Focusing first on dating satisfaction, I found no significant between-profile differences. However, differences emerged when comparing profiles on sexual satisfaction. As predicted, Wannabes were the least sexually satisfied. Although Avoidant individuals did not differ from Wannabes on their levels of sexual satisfaction, they also did not differ from the Players, Restricted, and Discrepant profile participants.

To what extent does profile membership predict differences in endorsement of destructive sexual attitudes and beliefs? Examining first acceptance of sexual harassment myths, I found that Avoidant participants reported the lowest levels of acceptance, although they did not differ significantly from the Restricted and Discrepant participants. With regards to acceptance of rape myths, the Restricted and Avoidant participants reported the lowest levels of acceptance, and the Players, Wannabes, and Discrepant participants reported the highest.

Although no differences were found regarding hostility towards men, Wannabes, Players, and Discrepant participants reported the highest levels of hostility towards women. Finally, focusing on endorsement of sexual double standards, I found that Players, Wannabes, and Discrepant participants indicated the highest levels of endorsement of sexual double standards. The Discrepant participants, however, did not significantly differ from the Restricted and Avoidant participants.

In reviewing the pattern of results, nearly all of the differences seemed to fall in line with between-profile differences in TMI. To further examine the extent to which the differences previously described were due to profile differences in TMI, a second series of ANCOVAs were conducted controlling for composite TMI scores (i.e., the Winning and Playboy scales from the CMNI). Significant between-profile differences disappeared

regarding acceptance of sexual harassment myths, hostility towards women, and endorsement of sexual double standards. However, the Avoidant participants were still found to endorse rape myths less than the Players ($M_{Avoidant}= 33.11$, $SE=1.58$, $M_{Players}= 40.83$, $SE=2.13$, $p < .05$). Additionally, Discrepant participants were found to exhibit greater hostility towards men than the Players ($M_{Discrepant}=8.93$, $SE=.44$, $M_{Players}= 7.16$, $SE=.41$, $p < .05$).

Study 2 Discussion

Building from the results of Study 1, the goals of Study 2 were to explore more deeply the nuances of college men's sociosexuality and the forces that shape it. To that end, I sought to examine whether there were subgroups of men who fit the hypothesized model tested in Study 1 (i.e., congruency among the constructs measured), and to identify whether there were other subgroups of men who are incongruous across the constructs. Subsequent analyses of demographic, behavioral, and personality correlates of subgroup membership, as well as analyses of between-subgroup differences in sexual satisfaction and endorsement of sexual attitudes demonstrated the relevance of the diverse subgroups and further justified the utility of adopting a pattern-centered approach to understanding college men's sociosexuality. Utilizing LPA, I detected two subgroups of men that exhibited congruency across constructs—the Players and Restricteds. Three additional subgroups emerged—the Wannabes, Avoidants, and Discrepants—that demonstrated discordance across constructs. These results evince that attachment, homosociality, TMI, and sociosexuality may operate as interrelated, but independent facets within individuals that can be organized in multiple converging or diverging ways.

Subgroups of Sociosexuality

Prior research on gender differences in hooking up (Bogle, 2008; Paul & Hayes, 2002), limited research on college men's sociosexuality (Kimmel, 2008), and coverage by the popular press (Denizet-Lewis, 2004; Hermann & Rackl, 2005; Stepp, 2007) has helped to propagate the stereotype that college men are macho, sex-driven, and bound by the gender and sexuality norms of their male peers. The results from this LPA suggest that college men's sexuality is much more variegated and nuanced than this "men want sex and will do anything to get it" portrayal. Only 10% of the men in this study (i.e., the Players) seem to match this stereotypical characterization. However, the largest subgroup

of the sample was the Wannabes, thus suggesting that although not all men may conform to the college player stereotype, a significant portion of men may aspire to it. The second and third largest subgroups in the sample (the Restricted and Avoidant profiles, respectively) were generally below average in their sociosexuality and on all other constructs. The identification of the Restricted and Avoidant subgroups bolsters findings from other researchers who found that not all adolescent and college men conform to TMI or age-graded uncommitted sex norms (England & Thomas, 2006; Giordano et al., 2006).

The findings indicate that there may be multiple pathways to restricted sociosexuality. The existence of the Avoidant and Restricted profiles suggests evidence of developmental equifinality, whereby exposure to different contexts, experiences, or perspectives on sex manifest in the same behavioral outcome. The Avoidant and Restricted participants did not differ in their sociosexual behavior, but their differences on attachment avoidance reveal that their restricted sociosexuality may be influenced by different beliefs and motivations. It is possible that the restricted sociosexual orientation among the Restricteds is a result of a preference for committed relationships, and the restricted sociosexual orientation among the Avoidants is a result of fear of intimacy, sensitivity to rejection, or shyness. The emergence of the Discrepant subgroup also suggests that there may be multiple pathways to unrestricted sociosexuality. That the Discrepant participants exhibit high levels of sociosexual behavior in the absence of commensurate sociosexual beliefs and desires, or consistently high homosociality, TMI, and attachment avoidance, indicates that the processes contributing to unrestricted sociosexuality among college men are not as straightforward as the model in Study 1 anticipated.

Predictors of Subgroups

Are Wannabes just Players in the making, or do they exhibit different traits and preferences that result in their below average sociosexual behavior? What behavioral and psychological traits distinguish the Players—who show uniformity across sociosexuality dimensions and all other constructs—from the Discrepant participants—who are discordant across sociosexuality and all other constructs? Analyses of the demographic, behavioral, and personality characteristics of the profiles helped clarify these issues. Descriptive analyses and logistic regression results revealed critical between-profile

differences on demographic, behavioral, and personality characteristics. Factors that distinguished membership to one profile versus another were generally intuitive. Being a non-virgin predicted membership to the profiles high in levels of uncommitted sexual behavior—the Players and Discrepant profiles. Additionally, binge drinking and partying—key elements of college hook up scripts (Bogle, 2008; Paul et al., 2000)—predicted membership to the three profiles high on any of the dimensions of sociosexuality—the Players, Discrepant, and Wannabes profiles. Being in a relationship predicted membership to the Restricted profile, thus suggesting that their restricted sociosexuality stems from a preference for relationships. By contrast, shyness—a potential impediment to both dating and sexual experience—predicted membership to the Avoidant profile.

The effects of ethnic minority identity, however, are more complex and require deeper investigation. Being an ethnic minority was associated with dramatically reduced odds of being in the Players profile versus the Wannabes profile. Previous researchers have found evidence of ethnic group differences in male college student hook up experiences, with Black/African-American college males often reporting the most past hook up partners and Asian/Pacific Islander college males reporting the least (England, Shafer, & Fogarty, 2008; England & Thomas, 2006). Unfortunately, due to the small number of ethnic minority participants across profiles, I was unable to perform valid tests with individual ethnic subgroups entered as predictors in my regression models. Thus, the aggregate “Ethnic Minority” variable used in my regression models may have obscured variance in the effects of different ethnic subgroup identities (e.g., one group may cancel out the effect of another). Nevertheless, the results found in this analysis suggest that being a Player may strongly depend either on participants’ racial or ethnic background, or factors connected to race/ethnicity (e.g., class; Hamilton & Armstrong, 2009). This possibility is even more pronounced in the logistic regression comparing the Discrepant and Players profiles. Because similar proportions of the Discrepant and Restricted participants are currently in relationships, I expected that relationship status would distinguish the Discrepant from the Players. Instead, only ethnic minority identity distinguished the Discrepant from the Players. Ethnic minority participants had 26 times the odds of being in the Discrepant profile than the Players profile, again speaking to the

lack of ethnic diversity in the Players profile.

Interestingly, early research on the “player” identity hypothesized that this identity was linked to poverty and ethnic minority status (Anderson, 1989). Based on his research on disadvantaged Black youth, Anderson (1989) found that players adopt such an identity as a means of recuperating their sense of self-esteem. By viewing sex as a game and competing against their male peers, such youth were able to gain social status. The profile that consisted of the largest proportion of African-American participants in the current study was the Discrepant profile (16% of the Discrepant self-identified as African American). Although it is possible that those participants are engaging in uncommitted sex to attain social status (i.e., Discrepant did not differ from Players on the Winning subscale of the CMNI), it is also possible that their sociosexual behavior is determined by a different set of contextual dynamics than was outlined by Anderson or that affect students of other racial/ethnic groups. Previous researchers of college hook up behavior have found that the high levels of hooking up among African-American college men may be due more to gender imbalances among African-American college student populations (African-American females vastly outnumber African-American males on most college campuses), and the often strong preference among African-American females to only date African-American men (Bogle, 2008; Kimmel, 2008).

Limited research suggests that it is actually not so surprising that White participants comprise the majority of the Player profile. In their Toledo Adolescent Relationships study, Giordano and colleagues (2009) found that 66% of the adolescent boys and young men who believed that others would identify them as players were not disadvantaged African-American youths. Similarly, Kimmel (2008) argued that White male college students also adopt the player identity and player behaviors as means of recuperating their self-esteem. In his book *Guyland*, Kimmel (2008) argues that college-bound White males develop in a society that fosters beliefs in their entitlement to power and status. However, when such men enter college environments, this sense of entitlement is challenged by exposure to institutional policies, peer attitudes, and competition that promotes gender, class, and racial/ethnic egalitarianism. By conforming to TMI, immersing themselves in traditional homosocial networks, and objectifying and exploiting female college students, White male college students are able to restore their

senses of power and control. Focused research on the sexual motivations of men in the Players profile can examine whether this hypothesis holds. However, it is important to note that only 13% of the White participants in this dissertation study were classified to the Players profile.

The results regarding sexual minority identity were also somewhat complex. Sexual minority identity distinguished the Discrepant from the Restricted, but it did not distinguish the Discrepant from the Players. This is surprising given that 46% of the Discrepant participants (versus 27% of the Players) self-identify as a sexual minority. Yet, looking at the number of sexual minority participants within each profile it appears that sexual minority participants were generally evenly distributed across profiles. Although these data are descriptive, they support the argument that sexual minority participants may be more similar to heterosexual participants overall. It is possible that one reason the Discrepant profile consists of a higher proportion of sexual minority participants is due to sexual minority participants overall lower conformity to TMI and homosocial engagement in comparison to heterosexual participants.

Implications of Subgroup Membership

What are the implications of membership to the different subgroups? Are some college men more satisfied by the level and quality of their sexual and dating experiences than others? Surprisingly, there were no between profile differences in dating satisfaction. As expected, the Wannabes were the least sexually satisfied, which seems consistent with their below average sociosexual behavior, but above average sociosexual desire. Nevertheless, the lack of multiple significant comparisons is important in that it demonstrates that uncommitted sexual experiences alone do not determine men's sexual satisfaction. The Players and Discrepant participants were just as satisfied with their sexual experiences as the Restricted and Avoidant participants. However, this interpretation should be accepted with some caution given that participants across all profiles reported, on average, being neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with either their dating experiences or sexual experiences.

The implications of profile membership were also examined by exploring potential profile differences in the endorsement of destructive sexual attitudes. Controlling for multiple covariates—most notably social desirability—few significant

between-profile comparisons emerged. Those that did emerge seemed to fall in line with between-profile variability in conformity to TMI. Indeed, previous research has found that TMI is connected to a host of negative attitudes towards women and greater acceptance of sexual violence (Levant & Richmond, 2007). After controlling for TMI, nearly all the significant differences disappeared. Interestingly, the Avoidant participants accepted rape myths less than did the Players, and the Discrepant participants exhibited greater hostility towards men than the did the Players. Although it is possible that between profile differences in homosociality and TMI could explain the difference in rape myth acceptance, it is interesting that the Players profile did not also differ from the Restricted participants. The difference in hostility towards men is also interesting. Because the Discrepant participants also report the highest level of hostility towards women (although not significantly so), it is possible that this group simply holds more hostile views towards both men and women in general. However, given that hostility scores can reach a maximum of 20, and that both Players and Discrepant participants indicate low to moderate hostility towards men, this significant difference may be theoretically insignificant.

Conclusions and Introducing Study 3

The detection of groups with incongruent patterns supports the interpretation put forth to explain the modest effects in Study 1—that connections between constructs may be modest because the constructs do not always “go together” for all participants. Unfortunately, the number and size of the subgroups prevents me from actually verifying whether the model in Study 1 fits some groups (i.e., the Players and Restricteds) significantly better than others (i.e., the Wannabes, Avoidants, and Discrepants). This step can be completed in future research that surveys a larger sample of students, preferably from multiple types of college campuses. Such studies can determine whether the number and structure of the sociosexual subgroups replicates, and take advantage of added power to conduct multi-group comparisons in SEM.

However, the complexity of the results from this study suggest that more focused research is required first on evaluating the actual processes and mechanisms that shape college men’s sociosexuality, rather than just on which factors are most strongly associated with sociosexuality. The model tested in Study 1 drew heavily from research

on TMI and links between TMI and homosociality and attachment. Based on evidence of potential equifinality derived from the LPA, it seems possible that there are alternative models that can contribute to restricted or unrestricted sociosexuality among college men. TMI, homosociality, and attachment may still be relevant in shaping diverse sociosexual perspectives, but they may interact in multiple, nuanced ways for different sets of men. Research on processes can help refine the model tested in Study 1, as well as help develop additional alternative models to test.

The quantitative approaches applied in Studies 1 and 2 are limited in their ability to describe the actual processes by which attachment, homosociality, and TMI shape college men's sociosexuality. In what ways do each of these constructs influence how men approach, enact, and construct meaning from their sexual and relationship experiences? Do other psychological, social, or contextual factors figure more prominently in influencing men's sexual and relationship decision-making? Do college men actually exhibit distinct styles of thinking about and approaching uncommitted sex, and to what extent do these perspectives match up to those subgroups identified in my quantitative analysis?

In order to answer some of these questions and to capture the complex story behind the quantitative findings, my third dissertation study employed qualitative methods to explore more deeply the connections between attachment, homosociality, TMI, and sociosexuality in men's intimate lives. Focused interviews with men about their motivations for and experiences with committed and uncommitted sex are a direct way to examine the real-world applicability of the quantitatively derived subgroups of men. Through qualitative analysis on participants' responses I hoped to further clarify both the overt and subtle ways in which attachment, homosociality, and TMI influence men's views and experiences with uncommitted sex. Such techniques can also identify how the constructs interact with each other and with other elements of the college context to further refine future research questions on college men's sociosexuality.

CHAPTER 4

PERSPECTIVES ON HOOKING UP AND DATING IN MEN'S OWN WORDS

Although the quantitative analyses of Studies 1 and 2 suggest that attachment, homosociality, and TMI contribute to men's sociosexuality, multiple new questions emerge. How do college men themselves think their views on sex and relationships are shaped? Are attachment, time spent with bros, and beliefs about masculinity primary influences, or do men see other forces at work? Will participants from each profile describe past experiences and current preferences that are consistent with their profiles? And if the "types" derived from the LPA demonstrate validity, to what extent are they stable?

As demonstrated in the masculinity and homosociality literatures, qualitative methods are a powerful tool for assessing the complexity of men's sexual lives. To bring to life the quantitative findings from Studies 1 and 2, I employed individual semi-structured interviews to assess how men conceptualize their views and experiences with committed and uncommitted sex. Additional questions allowed the participants to express in their own words how their beliefs and expectations about uncommitted sex are shaped, whether they think their beliefs about sex and relationships have changed, and if and how they envision their views as changing in the future. Three lines of inquiry guided the coding of interviews:

1. The extant literature suggests that the dominant model of college men's sexuality consists of strong preferences for uncommitted sex and either fear or dislike of emotional commitment. However, the quantitative analyses from Study 2 suggest that there may be multiple patterns of uncommitted sexual beliefs, desire, and behavior among college men. In men's own words, are there alternative coherent models of college men's sex and relationships?

2. What forces underlie college men's views and experiences with committed and uncommitted sex? To what extent do attachment, homosociality, and TMI underlie men's perspectives? Are there additional forces and motivations at work?

3. Do participants think their perspectives on sex and relationships are stable? How might perspectives change as participants enter college and/or accrue more sexual and relationship experience? Do the participants think that their perspectives on sex and relationships will change in the future?

Method

Participants

At the end of the online survey participants had the opportunity to submit their name and e-mail addresses to participate in a paid interview about their experiences. A total of 257 participants (52% of the sample) volunteered to be contacted for the interview. Those who volunteered did not differ demographically from those who did not volunteer, nor were there significant differences with regards to sociosexual beliefs, perceived male peer sex norms, engagement in traditional male contexts, sexual storytelling, TMI, or attachment anxiety or avoidance. However, those who volunteered reported less sociosexual behavior ($M_{Volunteer}=6.24$, $SD=5.26$, $M_{Non-Volunteer}=8.06$, $SD=5.98$, $t(491)=-3.58$, $p < .001$), less sociosexual desire ($M_{Volunteer}=12.53$, $SD=5.99$, $M_{Non-Volunteer}=13.87$, $SD=5.48$, $t(454)=-2.49$, $p < .05$), and more “Brotime” ($M_{Volunteer}=28.26$, $SD=16.44$, $M_{Non-Volunteer}=24.10$, $SD=14.47$, $t(440)=2.81$, $p < .01$).

Demographic data from the volunteers and their categorical profile membership codes from Study 2 were exported into a separate data file. From this sub-sample of volunteers, I then employed theoretical sampling procedures to recruit a target sample of 16 participants.⁸ Theoretical sampling procedures allow the researcher to pre-structure data in order to ensure adequate variation in the experiences and perspectives collected in the interviews (Padilla, 2008). Recruitment via theoretical sampling is based on axes of diversity, which represent theoretically relevant dimensions along which the researcher believes participants’ experiences will vary. In small studies researchers should limit the number of axes to no more four (Padilla, 2008). In this study I prioritized profile membership and relationship status in order to ensure that participants from each profile and with varying degrees of relationship experience were represented in the data set. I also prioritized sexual orientation and race/ethnicity to help enrich the scope of the experiences discussed in the interview, and to capture potentially unique experiences or

⁸ I determined this target recruitment number based on fiscal and time constraints.

trends that may not have come to light in the larger quantitative analyses. A total of 26 participants were contacted until 16 enrolled in the study. Efforts were made to include at least two men from each of the possible categories within the prioritized axes (e.g., two Asian/Pacific Islander men, two men from the Avoidant profile).

Of the 16 participants scheduled to participate, one participant (from the Players profile) did not attend his scheduled interview and did not respond to requests to reschedule. In total, 15 participants participated in the interview study. Characteristics of the interview participants are provided in Table 4.1. The sample had an average age of 19.60 years, was predominantly White (60%) and heterosexual (60%). One-third of the participants were currently dating someone at the time of the survey study, and 20% reported being a virgin at the time of the survey.

Procedure

Participants were administered a one-hour semi-structured interview about their sexual and dating experiences. A copy of the interview protocol can be found in the Appendix. As a semi-structured interview, questions were added and omitted to suit the responses of the participant. Participants were paid \$25 for their participation. All interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed by a professional transcriptionist.

Given my primary role in designing the study and my previous experience in conducting clinical interviews and focus groups, I conducted all of the interviews for this study. It is important to recognize the potential advantages and disadvantages of this decision. As a 28-year-old male, my age and gender may have made the participants more comfortable relating and discussing their experiences. However, as an Asian-American who self-identifies as gay and a feminist, it is possible that these marginalized or political facets of my identity may have made it difficult for me and or the heterosexual participants to achieve rapport (due to potential differences in identities or opposing social viewpoints). These facets of my identity could have also introduced bias into how I interpreted participants' accounts. Several procedures were implemented to address these potential disadvantages. Participants were informed that the interview was completely confidential (participants provided a pseudonym for the duration of the interview). Participants were also instructed that they could choose to share as much or as little as they wanted and that they could skip any questions if the questions made them

feel uncomfortable or did not apply. Finally, participants were told that they should feel comfortable sharing *as much* as they wanted, that they need not worry about sounding “harsh or crass,” and that their responses would be accepted without offense or judgment. Because it is possible that knowing participants’ assigned profiles in advance could bias how I interviewed them, an undergraduate research assistant was placed in charge of participant recruitment, correspondence, and scheduling. Participants’ assigned profiles and demographics were merged only after interviews were transcribed, biographical summaries were generated, and summaries were coded for themes. In order to remain cognizant of reflexivity—or my own role in constructing, interpreting, and representing the experiences of the participants (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser 1998)—I kept a diary of field notes that tracked my reactions to the data collection experience, my assumptions about the participants, and my train of thought and decision-making during the coding process. An undergraduate research assistant also read all of the transcripts and kept track of her initial assumptions and reactions to participants’ accounts. These notes were compared during the coding process, thus allowing me to further check whether my assumptions or biases might have limited my analysis of the data.

Analysis Plan

Interview transcripts were analyzed through a combination of open and focused coding. To develop the coding categories and themes analyzed in this study, both an undergraduate research assistant and I first independently read the same three interviews and generated biographical summaries for each participant. Summaries consisted of all excerpts from the transcripts that touched on the three lines of inquiry guiding this study. Summaries were compared to ensure that the same content was highlighted for each participant. After achieving consensus on the first three interviews, I then individually generated biographies for the remaining 12 interviews. Each biography was analyzed using principles of Grounded Theory to identify relevant themes in how participants had responded (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). After coding each transcript for themes, themes across transcripts were compared and combined to produce broader coding categories. Rare themes were either dropped or merged with other categories.

In addition to coding transcripts for emerging themes, transcripts were also coded

holistically with regards to whether the participants' description of their perspectives on committed and uncommitted sex matched the profiles they were assigned to in Study 2. Whether participants interview responses matched their assigned profiles was determined based on information provided throughout the interview, and by their responses to the following target question posed at the end of the interview:

As we've been conducting these interviews, it seems that we've encountered different types of guys who have different views on hooking up. For example, we've had some guys who hook up and generally have positive attitudes about it [Players]. We've had other guys who hook up but also like relationships [Discrepant]. We've also seen men who want to hook up, but probably have not hooked up as much as they'd like [Wannabes], guys who don't hook up at all and would rather be in relationships [Restricted], and others who might not be actively pursuing sex or relationships at the moment [Avoidant]. Do you think any of those types applies to you at this stage in your life? Which one, and why? If not, how would you describe yourself?

Results

A list of the final coding categories and themes (as well as brief definitions and illustrative quotes) are provided in Tables 4.2-4.4. A description of the theory linking these categories is described below.

Diverse Perspectives on Hooking Up and Dating

The first goal of this study was to investigate whether perspectives similar to those identified in Study 2 emerged from men's personal accounts. This goal was addressed in two ways.⁹ Prior to linking transcripts to the profiles assigned in Study 2, both an undergraduate research assistant and I coded each participant with a profile that we thought best matched our overall impressions of the participant's reported experiences and beliefs. Inter-rater agreement was 73%, with disagreements generally being between whether a participant was Avoidant or Restricted, or Wannabe or Discrepant. After discussing disagreements and settling on a final list of codes, we next compared our codes to the actual profiles to which participants were assigned. This resulted in 86.7% concordance, with discrepancies, again, generally being between whether a participant

⁹ Formal tests of inter-rater reliability are generally inappropriate when interpreting and coding for emerging themes (Ahuvia, 2001). However, because one of the goals of this study was to verify that the experiences and beliefs of participants would match with my interpretations of the profiles in Study 2, I report the percentage of agreement between my own and the research assistants' holistic ratings of participants, and our consolidated list of ratings and the actual profile assignments.

was Avoidant or Restricted, or Wannabe or Discrepant. Overall the profiles identified in Study 2 appear to match the respective perspectives and experiences described by the interviewed participants.

I next employed Grounded Theory methods to examine men's perspectives on hooking up and dating in their own words. Overall, two broad categories of perspectives emerged that corresponded to a current preference for either relationships or hooking up (displayed in Table 4.2). Although participants from all profiles described beliefs and experiences that gave rise to the Relationship-Oriented and Hook Up-Oriented categories, nearly all participants who predominantly reported Relationship-Oriented perspectives were from the Restricted and Avoidant profiles, and those who predominantly reported Hook Up-Oriented perspectives were from the Wannabe, Player, and Discrepant profiles.

Relationship-Oriented Perspectives

The first Relationship-Oriented perspective was marked by disagreement with “sleeping around” and a general preference for being emotionally connected to partners prior to engaging in any sexual activity (*Don't Hook Up, Prefer Relationships*). A common thread in this perspective was the notion that sex is not just a physical act, but one that brings partners closer together. As described by Billy,

[I: What do you mean by “meaningful sex”?]

Billy: Like what I was kind of referencing like before, earlier in the interview along the lines of sex that is centered on becoming closer with a person, that's centered on um pleasing another person, that's centered on growing deeper in your relationship with another person. Um yeah so I think you get emotional payoffs from that, whereas with hooking up you get a lot of physical payoffs, and the emotional payoffs you get might just be from oh wow I get to be close with somebody for one night, or oh I feel good about myself cause I was able to hook up with somebody...

The second Relationship-Oriented perspective was characterized by either a current preference for relationships (but some hook up experience in the past), or a current preference for relationships and openness to hooking up in the future (*Don't Hook Up, But Open to It*). For some participants, negative hook up experiences were the primary reason for a current preference for relationships:

Clark: I would say I prefer a dating situation. Because some of the hook-ups that I have had—if I could go back in time—I probably wouldn't have done them again. Just because—guilt is the wrong word...it's just there's

something a little empty about it, for me.

Clark further clarified that the lack of emotional connections in hook ups is a primary reason for avoiding hook ups altogether.

What good is sex or some lesser-level of hooking-up if there is no emotional connection? You could just be fucking a blow-up doll with a voice box or something like that.

An additional common explanation for those participants who are open to hooking up in the future (but who are not hooking up at the moment) was a lack of engagement in contexts where hook ups are possible. For example, Han Solo stated that he would hook up “if the opportunity were to come up even though I don’t place myself in those situations.” By “situations,” Han Solo and others often meant party contexts. Such settings are either avoided because of personal preferences (e.g., dislike of Greek life on campus, not attending parties), or exclusion from such settings (e.g., not being invited to parties).

Hook Up-Oriented Perspectives

In contrast to Relationship-Oriented perspectives, Hook Up-Oriented perspectives were characterized by a current preference for uncommitted sex. However, all but one of the men of who reported Hook Up-Oriented perspectives had either had committed relationships in the past, or desired committed relationships in the future. The first perspective centered on the use of hook ups as a means of assuaging sexual desire while simultaneously screening potential partners in the search for the perfect relationship (*Will Hook Up Until the Perfect Partner Comes Along*). Generally, this search for the perfect partner is not an active one, as articulated by Jonathan,

Um I feel like looking for somebody is a, is a way to get it wrong, you know I feel like you just have to kinda go about your stuff and they’ll find you. I mean if you start looking for stuff then a lot of times you, you’ll not just come off desperate but you’ll settle for something less than what you want so. I’m just kinda go about my business and it’ll happen sometime.

Several key issues emerge in Jonathan’s response. The first is that actively pursuing a relationship makes one appear “desperate,” which is viewed as a negative. The second is that hooking up and “going about one’s business” in the meantime allows one to keep options open, either for when that perfect partner comes along, or for the next hook up.

Steve also raised this issue in his description of the convenience of hooking up:

I mean way less time devoted to one person to fuck, and like fuck, having sex is a lot of fun. And if you can have a lot of sex with a lot of different people that uh the other hand of, like well I, verse like that versus uh a relationship, like that relationship you're gonna have with that person has to be stronger than like, like strong as shit to trump that.

The second Hook Up-Oriented perspective to emerge was *Selective Hooking Up*, or desiring uncommitted sex only with particular partners. Generally this selectivity manifested itself as a desire to know more about the partner and to establish some familiarity before commencing the hook up. As described by Zac:

...a lot of people just go out you know trying to get some I guess you could say, and that's not really my philosophy, I don't just go out randomly looking for people. I, I usually like to have a, not a relationship but you know, know em.

Interestingly, Zac was assigned to the Wannabes profile in Study 2. Although this profile was interpreted as consisting primarily of individuals who desire hook ups—but are unable to achieve them—it seems that Zac's response offers an alternative explanation. For some Wannabes, the disconnect between high levels of sociosexual desire and low levels of sociosexual behavior may not be due to an inability to hook up, but due to selectivity regarding hook up partners.

The third Hook Up-Oriented perspective to emerge was that of hooking up as being a game (*Hooking Up is a Game/Conquest*). In this game, men can either “score” through sexual frequency or by hooking up with the most desirable partners. Some men who report this perspective engage in sex with few restrictions (e.g., “I just don't really care who I have sex with as long as I wrap it.” [Steve]). Others report having sex that is neither ideal nor satisfying. For example, Louis said,

You're trying to strike when the opportunity presents itself. Sometimes the only time for it is not truly the ideal scenario. For example, in that, what I recall was I was extremely tired. We came in at four, in the morning or three, in the morning—I hadn't been drinking much but they had. It probably led to an extended period before they climaxed...which can be taxing on a hook-up session. You can imagine what that does to one's jaw or friction.

This perspective is also characterized by a seeming lack of concern for the sexual

satisfaction of the partner, and often the reduction of partners to being mere sexual objects. In describing a recent hook up experience, Steve recounted,

[I: Were you satisfied with how things turned out?]

Steve: Yeah I got head.

[I: Was she satisfied?]

Steve: Yeah, uh I have no idea, probably, I don't know, she, she's not that cute, she doesn't really make me super attracted to her because when she kisses it's like the most unemotional kiss you have ever felt, like you're kissing like a, like, I don't know it's just weird...

The sex described by Steve seems far from ideal. A closer reading of Steve's language (e.g., "she doesn't really make me super attracted") suggests that even though Steve feels no responsibility for his partner's pleasure, he himself feels entitled to pleasure, and believes that it is the partner's responsibility to provide him gratification. Although Steve notes that "unemotional kiss[es]" make it difficult for him to feel aroused, it is questionable whether "unemotional" refers to lack of emotional depth or just lack of passion or enthusiasm.

Factors Underlying the Diverse Perspectives

College men's perspectives on hooking up and dating were shaped by multiple factors. A list of the emerging categories and subcategories of factors is provided in Table 4.3.

Personality and Demographic Characteristics

First, a notable connection emerged between men's perspectives on hooking up and dating and more enduring individual characteristics, such as personality and demographics. With regards to *Personality*, individuals who reported being more introverted, quiet, observant, and reserved seemed more likely to report Relationship-Oriented perspectives. Those who describe themselves as fickle, risk-taking, or extroverted seemed more likely to report Hook Up-Oriented perspectives. Consistent with previous research on demographic differences in sociosexuality, several participants highlighted that their views are also tied to being raised with more conservative cultural or religious values (*Cultural or Religious Socialization*).

Although heterosexual and sexual minority participants reported few differences in their perspectives on uncommitted sex, minority sexual orientation (*Sexual Orientation Identity Development*) was found to influence experiences with uncommitted sex in at

least three ways. One of the key differences is tied to the fact that heterosexual men have sex with women and sexual minority men primarily have sex with men. Nico noted, “Um...well for the gay guy—it’s two guys. So probably, he’s probably more apt to hook-up.” Billy further articulated,

I think there’s very much a double standard in society where men are allowed to be sexual publicly and women um more so now are allowed to be but not, not nearly as much as men still. Um so when you’ve got an atmosphere of almost all men um there’s not that fear of like oh people are gonna see me and think I’m a, a slut as much, I mean they’re still, there is still some of that but um much less than for women.

Thus, because sexual minority men hook up and have relationships with other men, their overall sociosexual behavior may appear to be less restricted. Second, heterosexual and sexual minority men may approach hooking up with different intentions in mind. Luke explains,

I think that a lot of heterosexual guys that are hooking-up with people are doing it to prove something—to prove their heterosexuality—what a guy’s guy they are. And I think that homosexual guys that are hooking-up are in it for hooking-up. They want to be hooking-up and are interested in hooking-up. But I think as far as I’ve interacted with straight guys—they want to hook-up so they have another notch on their bedposts.

Whether heterosexual men are more prone to hook up out of competitive motives is worthy of further research.

A third difference that emerges due to sexual orientation is that during young adulthood, sexual minority men are often working to establish their sexual minority identities (Calzo, Antonucci, Mays, & Cochran, under review; Floyd & Bakeman, 2006; Floyd & Stein, 2002). In particular, if an individual is not “out,” this may impact the types of sexual and relationship experiences he pursues, as well as the progress of relationship development. In recalling how long his most recent relationship lasted, Billy said,

Not very long, um we like kinda knew we liked each other and were like kinda acting like that for about a month and a half and then we made it official if you will, and then that lasted for only like a week before the guy kinda got freaked out cause he wasn’t fully out with his sexuality and he kinda ended things.

Luke also reported being unable to pursue a long-term relationship given that “there is only so close that you could be to someone without meeting their family.” Luke is not currently out to his parents, and given their conservative views on homosexuality, he fears they will not fund his college education if they find out about his sexual orientation.

Emerging Adult/College Contexts

The second category of underlying factors is tied to the Emerging Adult and College Contexts. Many men reported that hook ups are a convenient alternative to dating and relationships (*Convenience*), which may be more time consuming and may interfere with other key tasks of emerging adulthood and college, such as gaining new skills and preparing for a career. Second, some participants reported that hook ups are an essential part of “*The College Experience*.” Hooking up may be a facet of “the college experience” specifically because college presents men with new opportunities that were not available in high school, such as the greater availability of potential sexual partners and freedom from parental monitoring. In pursuit of these new opportunities, four of the men reported breaking up with their long-term high school girlfriends.

However, not all of the participants defined hooking up as part of “the college experience.” Just as college can be a time for exploring sexuality with multiple partners, college is also a time for developing comfort with intimacy, experiencing committed relationships, and fostering new connections to parents and peers. For example, Mike said,

Mike: I’ve been in a relationship for three years. And I don’t think I’ve been denied the fullest college experience.

[I: So what is it that defines the college experience to you?]

Mike: I’d say you have to have a close group of friends. And just be able to have fun with them. Go out and do activities—whether it be parties, go out to movies or just going to our football games. College experience is struggling with grades, balancing and going out to our football games and just being chill to your parents.

Mike’s response suggests that some men may prioritize different aspects of their social development (e.g., peer relationships) over sexual exploration. It is also possible that by having a steady dating and sexual partner, some men are able to focus on non-sexual aspects of their social development.

Closely related to “the college experience” argument is the recognition that

hooking up is tied to the college partying and drinking culture (*Party Context/Alcohol*). For example, Clark explains,

I've never been to a frat party. And maybe that's why I have this idea. But the idea of a frat party is just like—a bunch of people with a similar intellect and similar interests—football and beer. And just going nuts and doing whatever they want and hooking-up.

Clark references fraternity parties, but other participants note that hook ups and the pressure to hook up accompany other partying contexts where alcohol is available, such as dance clubs and bars. Again, whether men engage in partying or drinking, or attend the specific party and drinking contexts conducive to hooking up, may be determined by factors such as personality and peer connections.

To summarize, it appears that men's capacity for hooking up may be tied, in part, to their social priorities in college and their level of engagement in contexts where hook ups most likely occur.

Homosociality

The third broad category of underlying factors to emerge was related to aspects of men's homosociality. Peers play a crucial role in shaping men's perspectives on uncommitted sex. As noted in previous literature (Flood, 2008; Kimmel, 2008; Wight, 1996), participants reported instances in which male peer friendships were given priority over connections to romantic or sexual partners (*Bros Before Hoes*). This theme was manifested in multiple ways, including "brotime" interfering with time spent with partners, men sharing desirable sexual partners, and the agreement that men will not "rat" on each other or do anything to interfere with the sexual pursuits of their peers. Collectively, these factors serve as both an obstacle to the establishment of committed relationships and enablers of uncommitted sex.

Male peers also employ classic *Peer Pressure* in order to motivate each other to engage in uncommitted sexual acts. On a deeper level, such peer pressure may be rooted in shared beliefs about masculine uncommitted sex norms. On a more superficial level, peers seemed to motivate each other's uncommitted sexual behavior for entertainment. Participants succumbed to such pressure likely out of a desire to meet peer approval and also to strengthen the bonds of friendship. However, such peer pressure often led participants to engage in uncommitted sex against their will or personal judgment. For

example, Zac described a scene when he and his friends attended a house party,

Yeah we knew, we knew everyone there, and um one of the guys who lives there, his girlfriend brought over a bunch of her friends and so uh there was this uh, a little bigger girl and uh everyone was telling my friend to uh hook up with her, and he was like no way, no way, and uh by the end of the night he was really drunk and he ended up um getting a blow job from her, and uh he ended up running out of the house. So like he, afterwards he just got up and then just ran out of the house... Um yeah people still make fun of him for it.

Perhaps the alcohol use made this friend more susceptible to peer influence. Upon further discussion, Zac noted that although his friend may be the occasional target of jokes, he did not incur a bad reputation from the hook up. In some ways, the teasing may be part of the reward because it contributes to the entertainment of the peer group. Indeed, revisiting the story and laughing about it may be one way for the peers to show their esteem for the fulfillment of a dare. Although Zac did not know about the resulting reputation of the “little bigger girl,” one can only assume that the outcome was not as positive.

Sometimes the peer pressure is not so overt. For example, Billy—who describes himself as a relationship-oriented person—explained why he made out with a stranger at a club by saying,

I was with a new group of people that I had never gone out with before who I knew were more experienced. Um so I think part of the reason that I did that was because I wanted to like fit in with them and like impress them sort of thing.

Whether the peers he went out with actually expected Billy to make out with a stranger is uncertain, but this example demonstrates the power of perceived norms on an individual’s sexual behavior. Indeed, it appears that the *perceived* behaviors and perspectives of an individual’s peer group, rather than the *actual* behaviors and perspectives held by the peers, are a key component in how men decide what behaviors are acceptable.

It is also possible that men choose peer groups that resonate with their own personal perspectives or level of engagement in hooking up and dating. Matt observed,

I think the guys put the pressure on themselves. I don’t know if it’s an equal amount but there are guys in my hall that don’t hook-up with girls.

And they don't want to. And they don't want to be in the whole drinking scene. And there are just as many that want to go out and party and go with girls. And there are also people who like to drink and party but they don't want to hook-up with a girl who is a whore... like fraternities—you see them wanting to hook-up with girls and stuff like that. But the rest of us—my group that I hang-out with in college—three of us have steady girlfriends, a couple of guys try to hook-up with girls regularly and the other ones don't really. And if they do, it's because they actually liked them.

Matt's observation highlights that there are multiple types of men in college. Thus, men might choose to affiliate primarily with certain types of men in college, and this selected peer group could reinforce a man's pre-existing perspectives on hooking up and dating.

One of the key ways peers exert pressure and inculcate sexual norms is through storytelling (*Storytelling Reinforces Norms*). Storytelling transmits and reinforces uncommitted sex norms in several ways. First, nearly all of the participants noted that one of the primary motivations for talking about sex and relationships is to entertain each other. Only novel experiences—such as those that occur with new hook up partners—are sufficiently interesting for storytelling. Louis explained, "...in a long-term relationship, traditionally, you don't have too much new to share because the information is pretty standard...you share it once and that's all you've got." Indeed, as Clark notes, "if it's just like—a romantic movie and everything goes perfectly and smoothly and there are no weird sounds or smells—there's not that much to share." Thus, an added reward of hooking up or pursuing outrageous sexual experiences is having new stories to share for peer enjoyment.

For men who do not have much sexual experience, or among peer groups where members are reluctant to share personal experiences, sexual jokes are a common form of sexual conversation. As noted by Han Solo, "I've never had that experience where um I'm with a group of guys um and we talk about sowing our wild oats or stuff like that... Mostly it's just jokes, a lot of sexual jokes." Because humor is the main goal of jokes, it is possible that joke-driven sexual discourse may motivate uncommitted sex norms by making sex sound like more of a trivial event. Jokes may also be useful because they can serve as a way of safely broaching the topic of sexuality and gauging the sexual knowledge and beliefs of one's peers without seeming inordinately curious or inexperienced.

Naturally, another function of sexual storytelling is to brag about one's sexual prowess. Blaine explains,

Uh I mean I think it, I think it all is just like an ego booster for most of them... there's a few of them when I talk they actually just, they just care and want to know what's going on in my life. But uh whenever we're in a big group, like the ten or twelve of us like and people are sharing it's not cause they care it's more of like oh I'm gonna top that story, I did this.

Blaine indicates that bragging may be limited to certain homosocial contexts. Indeed, multiple participants noted when talking to female friends or with a small, select group of male friends, discussions about sex can take on a more emotional tone. However, once the storytelling audience reaches a critical mass, discussions about sex transition to a more competitive, "bragging" tone. In these contexts men are more likely to show off, often highlighting their sexual prowess and ability to remain emotionally detached. As Silver Hawk states, "[It's] mostly showing off, 'oh yeah I got her she's nothing, I bagged her, and I don't call her no more' ... just showing off like you kinda big player on campus or some shit." Several participants acknowledge that men may even fabricate stories in order to impress their peers:

Steve: Cause guys always talk about sex. And you can tell when they're lying... cause you just know their personality and when they're telling a story they're not like excited about it, they're like thinking of like what they're gonna say next, you know like what happens next.

Overall, it appears that men are rewarded for engaging in uncommitted sex because such experiences are the basis of entertaining stories and evidence to increase their social standing within the peer group.

However, the extent to which men actually discuss sex and relationships, and the content of those discussions, also appears to be tied to the level of experience, current relationship statuses, and overall sexual and relationship perspectives of the peer group. For example, Blaine states,

There's some awkward people that like I care about friend-wise but I can't talk to them about that cause they haven't done much...for instance um my friend he uh has never done anything with a girl, not even kissed, he's 22. And uh he once confided in me that his like, his one like deepest wish is to just have a girl and lay in bed with her and hold her and nothing sexual just hold her. And I felt so bad that after Nicole and I broke up, a week and a, or three weeks later I was

sleeping in a bed with a girl and he had never done that, so I just feel so awkward after him talking about those kind of things cause yeah he's never had a girl.

Other participants noted that if peers are inexperienced, are in relationships, or hold negative views about hooking up, there is often little discussion of novel sexual experiences or bragging about past exploits.

Storytelling also provides men with a forum to receive advice and feedback. By sharing and listening to stories about sex and relationships, men are able to keep track of their own progress in comparison to their peers, or as Luke states, “make sure we’re all kind of on the same track.” By sharing stories, peers also provide advice about how to interpret experiences or negotiate complicated sexual or relationship situations. As summarized by Clark,

I mean feedback if it's something like---is this really weird to you? And even if it hasn't happened they'll say, "I don't think it's that weird." I think it's hot or whatever...that kind of thing...whether you need reassurance or just opinions. Most of the time if I initiate the sharing—it's usually, I'm having doubts about whether I actually want to be with this person? Is it going to work out? If the fact that they're insane is a problem...that's usually what motivates it. If I need someone else's input.

However, in providing feedback and advice, peers can inadvertently reinforce the negative aspects of relationships. Nearly all participants highlighted that relationships are only discussed when something negative occurs. Nico notes, “It’s easier—as you know—to focus on negatives.” Jonathan also describes the nature of relationship talks as, “usually, if it’s just the guys, we talk about how pussy-whipped the other ones are.”

This theme becomes even more apparent when participants described discussions about break ups or reactions to rejection. In these instances, male peers reinforce the restriction of emotion and punish each other for confessing desires to reconnect or maintain connections to partners. Such feedback ranges from simple ridiculing remarks, such as “you’re so sappy” (Silver Hawk) to more blatant attacks on emotionality, as was noted by Steve when describing his experience of being cheated upon by his ex-girlfriend, Allison:

I was talking with my hockey friends and it was just like, they could see I was just so torn up about it cause I liked her so much. In that case, like

when you see a guy that likes a girl so much and it isn't within the first six months, it's over like a year, you can see like okay. There's a, there's a limit cause like it was like right after we broke up, but like if I was like that for two weeks after it's like what the fuck are you doing get over it, she's a trick ass bitch. Just one of my friends is with like on and off with a girl and he just won't drop her, like he's so dependent on her and it's just sickening, and we like tried to get him away from her but he's just such a dependent little bitch that we just given up, just given up like what are you, it's just sad. Never have a, never had another person that much control over your life, I think, it's just stupid.

Based on Steve's account there appear to be limitations to the level of support men will provide each other in coping with emotional turmoil. Grieving or suffering beyond those limits—in other words, breaking with traditional masculine norms—is perceived as sickening, a sign of clinginess and dependence, and grounds for either demotion within or expulsion from the social network of bros. Moreover, such attacks on the concept of intimacy and emotional connection may motivate men to become less emotionally invested in their future relationships. The lack of opportunities to discuss feelings with one's peers may also contribute to stereotypical gender differences in alexithymia (i.e., the inability to understand, process, or describe emotions; Levant & Richmond, 2007; Sifneos, 1973).

Emotion Regulation Strategies

A fourth set of underlying factors to emerge centered on men's emotion regulation strategies. Indeed the extent to which men are Relationship- or Hook Up-Oriented may be tied to their capacity to remain emotionally detached from short-term partners, and to deal with rejection and the negative aspects of committed relationships (e.g., emotional demands of the partner, interpersonal conflict).

Some men noted that becoming emotionally detached from hook ups takes practice (*Have More Sex, Become More Detached*). As Silver Hawk states, "I'm saying I don't do it anymore but I've done it a couple times and you become numb right, cause you don't have feelings for those people, so you're able to disconnect yourself from the other people." Thus, by having more sexual partners, one is better able to pursue future uncommitted sex. However, such a regulation technique may come at a cost, as expressed by Blaine in his observation of the "players" in his dorm,

Um I, they just don't know how to act, uh act towards a girl when um, when they actually start liking them I think, they're, I feel like it's too hard for them to, like if

they do it a lot, if they hook up a lot, have a lot of like one night stands or a lot of girls that they just don't care about, when they find a girl that they actually come upon that they like and like maybe want a relationship with they don't know how to act towards 'em.

Another strategy for maintaining emotional distance from hook up partners is to simply *Avoid Clingy Types*. This strategy is also applied when seeking relationship partners, as clinginess may be perceived as a warning sign of frustrating emotional demands from a partner.

Men's capacities for uncommitted sex also seem tied to their abilities to handle being rejected, as well as their success at rejecting or moderating the advances of others. Although some men respond to rejection by focusing on what aspects of themselves or their strategies require improvement, others respond by *Rationalizing Rejection*. Those who rationalize often attribute the reason for rejection to the potential partner, rather than to a personal flaw or error. By not taking rejection personally, men who rationalize can avoid negative emotions and more easily move on to the next partner, or as Steve states, "Fuck the bitch, just keep rolling."

When cutting connections with hook up or relationship partners, few men actually report applying direct approaches (*Be Direct*), such as being honest about their feelings and wishes to break up. Instead, the participants in this study reported using multiple indirect strategies (*Be Indirect*). One unexpected way that men reject partners or regulate the development of a relationship is through the use of electronic media. Texting, in particular, was an oft-cited method of either pursuing potential partners without appearing emotionally invested, or breaking off connections without being exposed to emotions such as anger, jealousy, or guilt. One participant, Nico, even went so far as to say "I think the college experience is more that they don't talk on the phone. I think that they text all the time. That's their main communication now." Participants noted that texts are useful for pursuing partners because they are limited in length, exchanged sporadically, and are often ambiguous. Thus, it may be difficult to determine the sincerity or intentions of the person sending the text: "it's not the same as real life conversation, so apparently texting, I mean if you text kind of like flirty stuff or whatever it's just texting. So yeah it's really kind of nebulous..." said Han Solo. Cutting off a needy hook up partner may be as easy as ignoring their texts. Some participants even report breaking up

via text in order to avoid confrontations altogether.

In addition to texting, participants also remarked that social networking sites, such as Facebook, are a useful tool for conversing with a potential partner before pursuing a hook up or a relationship. Facebook also appears to be the predominate method by which participants verify the veracity of a committed relationship. As Luke states, “it’s not official until it’s on Facebook.” Thus, until a relationship is announced publicly on Facebook, the security of the relationship and the emotional connection may remain open to question.

Another emotion regulation method that emerged in the analysis was the use of *Humor*. By joking about a hook up incident with that hook up partner, men can emphasize that the experience was a trivial event. This is particularly useful when hooking up with a friend. Humor may allow men to acknowledge the hook up in future conversations with that friend without addressing whether or not they desire a deeper connection with that friend. Several participants also report using humor as a way of broaching sensitive topics, such as whether a potential hook up partner has been tested for STDs (e.g., making a joke about herpes).

Finally, men report that by *Being a Dick* or a jerk they can often avoid directly rejecting a partner. Such behavior takes the form of ignoring the partner, flirting with someone else in front of the partner, ridiculing the partner, or being deliberately ambiguous about one’s intentions for interacting with the partner. As implied by the name applied to this strategy, such behavior may inadvertently reinforce negative stereotypes about men’s interpersonal emotional capacities. Overall, each of the indirect strategies allows men to regulate or cut connections with partners without directly confronting emotionally painful scenarios or expending significant effort.

Capacity for Objectification

The final category of factors underlying men’s perspectives on sex and relationships centers on men’s capacity for objectification. Whether men are currently Relationship- or Hook Up-Oriented seems tied to how much they objectify their partners. Although participants report the importance of physical attractiveness for both hook up and relationship partners, potential relationship partners possess vibrant personalities and other traits (e.g., intelligence, sense of humor) that enable the establishment of an

emotional connection. Clark explains,

I guess one indicator is—this sounds bad but am I actually interested in them, as a person. Do I really want to hear what they have to say? Do I have any interest in seeing them again, in a non-sexual context? And usually if I do—[starting a relationship] happens. And if I don't—it doesn't.

Those that do not elicit an emotional connection are objectified and possibly subject to use for personal gain. Even Restricted profile participants, such as Billy, acknowledge this dichotomy:

...I mean again hook ups are, hook ups are so um, or a lot of the time for people so not emotionally based and so physically based that I guess there isn't necessarily a problem with the fact that I just wanted to use him in order, in order to make myself look good but like I don't like to use people like that in general, so like I kind of um even though it was just a hook up and even though he wasn't looking for anything serious and I wasn't looking for anything serious I still felt bad that it, at some level that I used him um physically in order to like further myself in some way.

As objects, Silver Hawk explains, “[If you] decide to not hook up with em anymore, not be with em, just push em off cause it's, it's a object, you throw objects away easily, throw a bottle in the trash like nothing.”

The participants in this study almost universally indicated that a partner's personality is a crucial factor in determining whether an emotional connection develops. Unfortunately, in many of the popular contexts in which participants meet partners (i.e., parties), personality is often difficult to ascertain. Physical appearance, however, is readily apparent. Matt explains,

I mean I definitely think that at a party—like between Thursday and Saturday—the girls are really different than they are during the week. During the week, we're at school where it is academically oriented. I'd say most of the girls here have to be, at least, pretty smart. And they focus on their studies. But I feel on the weekends, they let loose. And you see a lot of sluttier outfits come out. They dress up to go out. There is one girl in my class who I didn't even recognize almost.

In such contexts it may be difficult for men to see partners as anything beyond their physical appearance, thus further encouraging men to objectify their partners.

However, it is not just the qualities of the partner that determine whether men

objectify their partners. One theme that emerged in the interviews was that some men are more sensitive to a partner's emotional needs. Thus, capacity for emotional connection and comfort with emotional stimuli may determine the extent to which participants are prone to objectification. This becomes particularly clear when participants describe instances of encountering conflicts and obstacles during the initial stages of a relationship. Individuals from the Player and Avoidant profiles seemed most likely to describe instances of dropping partners at the first sign of emotional distress. For example, Clark described breaking up with a partner he had been seeing for a month when she suffered a major depressive episode: "I barely have time for a stable girl. I cannot handle this." In contrast, Blaine, who had also been seeing a partner for a month, was willing to stand by patiently as his partner confronted emotional issues related to previous relationships. Blaine explains:

I mean she's gotta come over the trust issues and whatever happened with her ex-boyfriend and so. Um she told me she doesn't know what she wants and uh honestly I don't know if I'm ready for a relationship yet cause it's only been two months since our three and a half year relationship. But in the future like another three months down the road like I could see myself dating her, and I would want to date her.

Interestingly, Clark was classified to the Avoidant profile in Study 2, and Blaine to the Restricted profile.

To summarize, many sets of factors emerged that shape men's beliefs, motivations, and opportunities to engage in committed and uncommitted sex. Given the diversity of the underlying factors and their potential to influence men's lives at different points over time, it is likely that men's perspectives on hooking up and dating shift and transform throughout college.

Perceived Changes in Perspectives on Hooking Up and Dating

In the final stage of coding I synthesized the findings regarding men's current perspectives and underlying factors, and analyzed participants' responses to the final questions of the interview (which focused on general beliefs and perspectives prior to college and expectations for the future) to examine whether and how participants perceived their perspectives as changing during college. Several patterns of perceived stability and change emerged (displayed in Table 4.4).

No Change in Approach

First, some participants perceived their perspectives as being stable overall. Individuals who reported such stability were often content with their current relationship status and provided responses that indicated harmony between their beliefs and behavior. Restricted individuals, those who report hooking up selectively, and those who report conservative sexual socialization (e.g., based on cultural or religious upbringing) tended to fit this pattern.

Change with New Experiences

A second pattern to emerge concerned those whose perspectives shift after new experiences. This pattern manifested itself in three ways. First, change appeared to accompany a willingness to explore new possibilities (*Exploring*), which may bring about a change in behavior or beliefs. Such change was motivated specifically by curiosity. A second pattern of change to emerge focused on *Learning from Negative Experiences*. These negative events could happen personally or experienced vicariously. As Blaine states,

I mean if something drastic happened like maybe I got really hurt by someone or uh like I just stopped trusting people I might stop looking for a relationship and just go out and have a good time and maybe hook up sometimes. But uh unless something drastic happened I don't see myself changing.

Such negative events may bring about the recognition that a current perspective on sex and relationships is no longer successful, and may thus lead to a change in strategies. This particularly seemed to be the case for men who report losing their virginity in the course of a hook up.

Luke: I think mostly because originally, I was very interested in like having sex with somebody and seeing what that was like because I hadn't done it. I was a virgin. And getting to that point—and then getting to that point—it wasn't as rewarding as I thought it would be. And so it was kind of like—okay, I'm alright with doing less. Less is more for me now.

Cycling

The third pattern to emerge was one in which men appear to oscillate between periods of committed and uncommitted sex. Louis, who is currently in a committed relationship, explains,

[I: So how do you view hooking up now?]

Louis: I still think it's hot. I still would want to do it but can't and won't.

[I: Can't and won't—what do you mean by that?]

Louis: My relationship situation doesn't provide for that. And I don't—that didn't come off well [laughing]. Um...I'm not at the point in my life where I need or want or can have hook-ups and so I won't. When I was younger, I thought that I wanted to have sex with as many people, as possible... whoever I thought was attractive. And I've tempered that a bit.

He later added,

Certain times in my life, I prefer the hook-up approach because it is less pressure. It's less responsibility. It's more freeing but it becomes old. It gets old very quickly because it's not satisfying. As satisfying as a relationship with someone who you truly know better.

Louis' account highlights that the Cycling pattern is connected to relationship status. Because Louis is currently in a committed relationship, his sociosexual behavior and desire are restricted. When out of a relationship, he engages in uncommitted sex because it is “hot.” Eventually he will settle back into a relationship.

One variant of cycling is changing one's approach to sex and dating specifically to counter feelings of insecurity or inferiority. For example, Rolando left a relationship of six years and was suddenly confronted with the opportunity to explore hooking up.

However, he indicates,

And after I got out of my relationship—it's not as if I all of a sudden was like—you know I mean I didn't have the—I wouldn't know what to do. I don't know how you would go about initiating that? It's kind of a weird way to say it like that but you know? I guess you could say [laughs] my game isn't up to par.

Later he adds,

I don't know. It just seems like right now I feel that the big thing pushing me is just insecurity. I mean there is obviously a physical aspect as well but—well, I guess there is a physical. I think that the physical aspect would push me as well. But I think now the insecurity is pushing me harder, I guess.

This pattern of Cycling is unique because uncommitted sex seems more like a temporary disturbance or one-time period in the lifespan. Rolando noted that the goal is to prove to himself that he *can* hook up; ultimately he would prefer to be in a relationship.

Hooking Up Until You Hook “The One”

The final pattern of perceived change to emerge—and one that has already been described as one of the Hook Up-Oriented perspectives—is hooking up until the perfect partner (i.e., “the one”) comes along. At first this pattern seemed similar to Cycling. However, in analyzing the factors that contribute to this pattern, it appears that such men claim to hook up to identify potential relationship partners, but at the same time they have nearly impossible standards for that desired partner. Steve indicated,

Like the first three months I was here I was like slayin' pussy man, but like, like it's a lot of fun, once you haven't done it awhile it's so much fun, I love it, but like after a while it's just like, on any cycle you get into it gets boring for me, and it's just a cycle, predictable, you see the course of action where and you just get tired of it. And then, and then you start thinking of like it all, if I like run into a girl that like it meets my like standards, like I really like I could see dating her.

However, Steve has already identified a girl who meets those standards—his ex-girlfriend, Allison:

I gotta say this but she's one in probably a hundred, I mean she's really, like really hot, like not just by my standards but like a lot of peoples standards. She's really, really smart, 35 ACT, no studying, is gonna, if she gets into Yale, probably will, she has a spot on their soccer team already...yeah she's like America's fuckin girl. And it's, it's tough dating a girl like that you know cause she's so perfect and you're just like really good versus like perfect, and you just look like shit compared to her but then you're just like, you don't give a fuck cause you love her.

Steve further added,

Steve: *Uh man I don't know. Like if I don't, if like Allison dies or I'm not with her anymore I could just see myself going to hook ups for years, not getting married till I'm 30, 33.*

[I: *Then you would change?]*

Steve: *I mean yeah cause then you just look stupid, you gotta settle down sometime.*

Individuals who perceived this pattern of change acknowledge that they will settle down eventually, which is a socio-cultural and age-graded expectation. In the meantime this rationalization provides them with license to engage in multiple short-term sexual relationships. They can excuse their behaviors to judgmental outsiders by proclaiming that they have not yet met the “right person.” Conveniently for Steve, that “right person” is not available.

However, it appears that Steve's ongoing preference for uncommitted sex may also be a reaction to the dissolution of his relationship with Allison. As I previously highlighted in presenting the *Storytelling* category of themes, Steve broke up with Allison after she cheated on him. Steve's friends only allowed him to grieve for a short period after the break up before moving on, which is a testament to the power of TMI and homosocial bonds as forces that quash men's emotional processing and socio-emotional development. Furthermore, given Steve's peer network, Steve's "slayin [of] pussy" could be viewed as a traditionally masculine approach for reclaiming his own self-esteem and the esteem of his peers.

Interestingly, nearly all participants—regardless of the general orientation or perceived stability of their perspectives—used the phrase "I'm not like other guys" when describing their current or eventual desire to enter a relationship. Such pluralistic ignorance (i.e., a situation in which most people privately reject a norm, but erroneously assume that most others accept it; Katz & Allport, 1931) demonstrates how deeply engrained the dictates of TMI are in men's psyches, even among men who, themselves, might not conform highly to TMI. Overall, unless men already exhibit a Relationship-Oriented perspective, it seems that most men's perspectives gravitate towards being in a relationship at some later point in life (generally by the end of college or shortly thereafter). Negative events, such as break ups or infidelity, the recognition of insecurity or inferiority, or encountering an ideal relationship partner can serve as the impetus for change in men's relationship strategies. However, as the example of Steve illustrates, the direction of change may be heavily influenced by internalized TMI or homosocial dynamics.

Discussion

The purposes of this study were to (1) verify whether the quantitatively-derived types identified in Study 2 also emerge when openly coding men's personal accounts about sex and relationships; (2) examine how attachment, TMI, homosociality, and additional emerging factors shape men's perspectives on committed and uncommitted sex; and (3) explore the perceived stability of the perspectives. There were three key sets of findings:

1. Themes related to men's perspectives on committed and uncommitted sex clustered around two categories—Relationship-Oriented perspectives and Hook Up-Oriented perspectives. Relationship-Oriented perspectives varied according to openness to hooking up and Hook Up-Oriented perspectives varied according to motivations for hooking up. Participants from the Avoidant and Restricted profiles seemed more likely to offer Relationship-Oriented perspectives, and participants from the Wannabe, Player, and Discrepant profiles were generally more likely to offer Hook Up-Oriented perspectives.

2. Multiple factors emerged that may underlie men's perspectives. Beyond the effects of personality traits (e.g., introversion) and demographics (e.g., ethnicity, sexual orientation), and the links between hooking up and engagement with hook up-conducive contexts (e.g., parties), homosociality, emotion regulation strategies, and capacity for objectification also emerged as prominent factors underlying men's perspectives.

3. Based on men's accounts of how their views and experiences changed since high school, and the changes they anticipate throughout college and beyond, four potential patterns of change emerged: no change in approach, change with new experiences, cycling between committed and uncommitted sexual relationships, and hooking up until one finds the perfect partner.

Perspectives on Hooking Up and Dating

By first coding transcripts holistically, I found that the participants generally matched their respective profiles from Study 2. The concordance rate indicates that the interpretation of profiles in Study 2 was fairly accurate, but not perfect. Discrepancies between how transcripts were coded in this study and the assigned profiles from Study 2 may be accounted for by within-profile heterogeneity and between-profile similarities among the profiles in Study 2. Indeed, mismatches between the profiles in Study 2 and the coded transcripts in this study were limited to whether participants were in the Avoidant or Restricted profiles (two profiles marked by low levels of sociosexual beliefs, behavior, and desire), or in the Wannabe or Discrepant profiles (two profiles characterized by discordant levels of sociosexual beliefs, behavior, and desire).

Beyond supporting the results of Study 2, the qualitative analyses in Study 3 also enabled me to examine if additional “types” or organizations of perspectives emerged, or if the profiles derived in Study 2 could be interpreted in additional ways. Rather than

identifying a five-pattern structure, the results from this study suggest that men's perspectives on committed and uncommitted sex can be simplified into a two-category structure—Relationship-Oriented perspectives and Hook Up-Oriented perspectives. Relationship-Oriented perspectives varied according to openness to hooking up, suggesting that a preference for relationships may be a product of both choice and circumstance. Although several men indicated either a strong preference for relationships, or a preference for relationships stemming from negative past hook up experiences, others indicated not engaging in hook ups due to various personality factors (e.g., introversion) or lack of engagement in contexts typically conducive to hooking up (e.g., parties).

Motivations were key in distinguishing variability among the Hook Up-Oriented perspectives. Consistent with previous research (Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010; Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003), some men provided accounts supporting the hypothesis that hooking up is motivated by masculine uncommitted sex norms, such as the pursuit of the status that accompanies having many or the most desirable sexual partners (*Hooking Up is a Game/Conquest*). By contrast, men who offered accounts consistent with the *Selective Hooking Up* perspective proclaimed a desire to hook up that was moderated by selectivity. Those who exhibited this perspective generally proclaimed a need to know the hook up partner at least as an acquaintance before commencing the hook up. This requirement of establishing an interpersonal history before hooking up could mean that such men engage in fewer hook ups. Such suppression could be an alternate explanation for men who exhibit the Wannabe pattern in Study 2—their lack of Player-level hook up experience may not necessarily result from an inability to hook up, but possibly from their greater discretion in selecting sexual partners. In comparison to the *Game/Conquest* perspective on hooking up, those who hooked up with greater selectivity also seemed less likely to hook up in order to impress their peers or to attain social status.

A final theme that emerged was *Hooking Up Until the Perfect Partner Comes Along*. This perspective is intriguing in that the quest for “the one” or one's soul mate is a cultural archetype with which many observers and critics of hooking up may empathize. Appealing to this archetype may provide some men with a convenient excuse for frequently hooking up, or for disregarding and denying their own or their partners'

desires for greater intimacy. Interestingly, individuals who emulated this perspective were also likely to display accounts consistent with the *Game/Conquest* perspective.

Results indicated that there is a diversity of interpretable, meaningful perspectives on hooking up and dating among college men. Although these perspectives are discussed as discrete categories, it is important to note that all of the men interviewed reported having some level of hook up experience (ranging from kissing to intercourse) and some level of relationship experience. Most men also offered views or described experiences that could fit under both the Relationship- and Hook Up-Oriented categories of perspectives. It is possible that men draw from both the Relationship-Oriented and Hook Up-Oriented categories of perspectives in order to generate a meaningful narrative of the variety of committed and uncommitted sexual experiences they encounter throughout college. Nevertheless, based on the finding that Restricted and Avoidant participants provided accounts that were mostly Relationship-Oriented, and that Wannabes, Players, and Discrepant participants provided accounts that were mostly Hook Up-Oriented, it appears that men generally prefer committed sex over uncommitted sex and vice versa.

Factors Underlying Men's Perspectives

By analyzing men's personal accounts I was also able to observe how TMI, homosociality, and attachment influence men's perspectives. TMI did not emerge as an obvious, separate category of themes, but it was ubiquitous throughout the data. For example, when describing current or future desire to be in a relationship—a clear violation of TMI uncommitted sex norms—nearly all participants added the qualifier “I'm not like other guys.” This qualifier is fascinating because it implies that pluralistic ignorance may induce pressure on college men to conform to uncommitted sex norms and to hide or minimize emotional connections to partners. Even participants who presented consistent Relationship-Oriented perspectives and behaviors throughout their interviews used this qualifier, thus indicating that TMI may affect all men to some degree.

Another way that TMI shaped men's sociosexual perspectives was by influencing the structure of homosocial dynamics. Catalano and Hawkins' (1996) Social Development Model provides a useful gestalt for conceptualizing the complex

connections between TMI, homosociality, and men's perspectives on hooking up and dating. According to the Social Development Model, socialization agents within one's context (e.g, peers) shape engagement in a behavior by controlling opportunities for experiencing the behavior and by socializing either permissive or restrictive attitudes towards that behavior. Engaging with peers who conform to TMI may place men in situations conducive to uncommitted sex as well as reinforce uncommitted sex norms. One of the prominent homosocial themes to emerge was *Bros Before Hoes*, or the notion that ties to male friends, their norms, and their perspectives on sex and relationships take precedence over any intimate relationship with a sexual or dating partner. Men who conform to this guideline may be more likely to engage in uncommitted sex given that a committed relationship could sever ties with bros, can prevent a man from fulfilling uncommitted sex norms, and goes against the traditional perspective that men should have sex with as many partners as possible.

However, a number of the interview participants in this study reported not adopting the *Bros Before Hoes* standard. Men who indicated strong personal preferences against uncommitted sex, or who affiliated with peers who neither conform to TMI nor hook up, seemed most likely to reject this guideline. Such a phenomenon suggests that men may choose to affiliate with peers who share similar perspectives on hooking up and dating. Indeed, several participants indicated there are multiple types of friends, including those with whom one primarily just shares activities (e.g., sports, video games), those one can party with and aid in the quest for hook ups (i.e., "wing men"), and those one can turn to for emotional support (these categories are not mutually exclusive). "Activity-type" and "wing men" friends may reinforce uncommitted sexual views by denying men the opportunity to discuss emotions or intimacy, or by limiting the amount of time men can spend with relationship partners. As discovered when analyzing sexual storytelling, sexual discussions with friends who are uncomfortable broaching emotional topics tended to focus on bragging, sexual competition, and the negative aspects of committed relationships. Such interactions can further reinforce acceptance of uncommitted sex and reinforce the sexual conquest and competitive norms of TMI. By contrast, having friends who are more open to providing emotional support may help foster more relationship-oriented views by providing a forum where emotions and intimacy can be discussed.

Such a social network may also be more supportive and respectful of time devoted to romantic partners.

Beyond socializing views regarding committed and uncommitted sex, homosocial bonds also affect men's perspectives by influencing how men interpret the meaning of their sexual and relationship experiences. The Social Developmental Model may apply here as well in that friends' perceptions of sex and relationships may affect the types of advice and feedback they provide. Friends who conform to TMI may discourage men from developing emotional attachments to sexual or dating partners, such as by calling men in relationships "pussy-whipped," or ridiculing men who are upset over a break up. By downplaying the emotional aspects of sexual experiences—which may be perceived as being feminine—male peers can also encourage men to think of sex as just a physical act, and one in which sexual partners are merely sexual objects (Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010). Left with limited outlets, some participants involved in such homosocial networks indicated only being able to talk with close female friends or ex-girlfriends about the emotional aspects of their sexual encounters. The lack of opportunities to discuss feelings with one's peers may contribute to stereotypical gender differences in alexithymia (i.e., the inability to understand, process, or describe emotions; Levant & Richmond, 2007; Sifneos, 1973).

The notion of homosocial bonds fostering uncommitted sexual behavior has been noted in previous research (Flood, 2008; Kimmel, 2008; Wight, 1994, 1996), but the role of homosocial bonds in also fostering relationship-oriented perspectives requires further research. One question that is difficult to address in the current study is whether men select into homosocial bonds that resonate with their current perspectives on sex and relationships, or if these homosocial bonds socialize men's perspectives. An additional question is whether the influence of homosociality on men's perspectives changes as individuals and their peers accrue more hook up and committed relationship experience.

Although neither an attachment avoidance nor attachment anxiety category emerged, the influence of attachment on men's perspectives seems to be captured best by the *Emotion Regulation Strategies* and *Capacity for Objectification* categories of underlying factors. Men who exhibited Hook Up-Oriented perspectives seemed to exhibit multiple strategies for limiting direct confrontation with past hook up partners. These

strategies may be motivated by a desire to avoid developing an emotional connection to a partner, and a desire to avoid being exposed to negative emotions, particularly guilt or regret. Few men report rejecting partners outright. Instead, men often reported using electronic media (e.g., texts versus a phone call or face-to-face interaction), jokes (as opposed to honest, direct, conversation), and even being rude or ignoring a partner altogether in order to regulate how intimate their relationships become. Furthermore, by objectifying partners, men can more easily divorce the physical act of sex from the emotional attachment aspect of sex. Reducing a sexual partner to the status of a sexual object enabled some participants to discard or avoid the sexual partner with little emotional cost. Most interesting was the recognition by some men that having sex frequently with different partners enables them to become more detached in future situations. At least one participant described a situation in which a friend used this strategy and then later found himself unable to pursue a partner he genuinely liked. Such an account is consistent with Good and Sherrod's (1997) theory that a consequence of frequent uncommitted sex is future difficulty in building or maintaining a committed relationship in the future. As suggested by Study 1, attachment avoidance and TMI may underlie some men's motivations for wanting to learn how to become more detached. Collectively, employing these emotion regulation strategies or objectifying partners reinforces stereotypes about male caddishness and game playing.

The open coding process also allowed me to investigate more directly how demographic, personality, and contextual factors influence men's perspectives, as well as to consider additional factors not previously addressed in Studies 1 and 2. One interesting underlying factor to emerge was the concept of "*The College Experience*," which encapsulates what participants view as the point or key sets of goals in college. If partying was considered a primary feature of the college experience, participants seemed more likely to report Hook Up-Oriented perspectives. By contrast, participants who reported currently being in a relationship seemed to define the college experience as focusing more on education, career development, and developing friendships. These multiple goals are consistent with the tasks of emerging adulthood, among which are gaining sexual experience and exposure to adult romantic relationships, and developing the skills necessary to enter the work force and establish financial independence. Some

participants indicated that relationships may interfere with schoolwork, and thus they pursued uncommitted sex as a means of satisfying their sexual needs without compromising the amount of time devoted to school. Other participants viewed hooking up as an impediment to romantic relationships or a distraction from time and effort allocated towards schoolwork. Future research can further address how college priorities and goals are set, and how these priorities and goals shape men's sexual and dating perspectives and vice versa.

The most interesting demographic factor to emerge was sexual orientation. Although gay participants reported no noticeable differences in their beliefs and desire for uncommitted sex, sexual orientation identity development appears to play a prominent role in shaping some gay men's uncommitted sexual experiences. Participants who reported not being fully "out of the closet" (or who reported pursuing partners who, themselves, have limited identity disclosure) indicated that a lack of disclosure limits the progression of a romantic relationship. Additionally, fear of rejection by parents (who may be paying college tuition) may also affect whether gay men pursue committed relationships in college. Uncommitted sexual experiences and short-term relationships could be the default for many sexual minority young men who have not disclosed their identities or who are not fully comfortable with their identities.

Beyond the influence of identity development, there also appear to be several qualitative differences between the hook ups of gay male college students and heterosexual male college students. For example, acknowledging that men overall are more accepting of uncommitted sex than women, all of the gay participants interviewed noted that gay college students may hook up more frequently and with fewer expectations for emotional commitment. This recognition suggests that gender, not sexual orientation, may drive sexual orientation differences in sexual minority and heterosexual men's levels of uncommitted sex. An additional difference alluded to by only one participant is that hook ups among gay college students may involve considerable planning. According to this testimonial, spontaneous hook ups generally occur only in venues where gay men can be reasonably certain of the sexual orientation of their partners (e.g., gay clubs and bars). In addition to these spontaneous hook ups, the participant noted that he and many of his friends utilize gay social networking sites focused on arranging uncommitted sexual

encounters (e.g., Manhunt, Gay Romeo). Such services allow men to pursue hook up partners when desired, screen potential partners, negotiate safe sex precautions (e.g., STD/HIV status, who will supply condoms), and arrange a meeting time and place. One interpretation of the existence of such Internet services, and of the finding that gay participants may have more hook up partners, could be that gay college students are more hook up-oriented. However, I do not think this would be an accurate interpretation. I only interviewed four gay participants, but two of these participants were from the Restricted profile and reported relationship-oriented perspectives, and one participant was in the Discrepant profile, but indicated currently being in a three-year committed relationship.

Perceived Stability and Change in Perspectives

The final questions in the interview centered on whether participants' perceived their perspectives on hooking up and dating as being stable. Those who reported Relationship-Oriented perspectives often indicated that they have always been relationship-oriented, and will pursue committed relationships in the future. Factors such as introversion, the internalization of sexually-conservative cultural values (e.g., based on ethnic or religious socialization), lack of engagement in hook up-oriented contexts (e.g., parties, situations involving alcohol), and belonging to friendship networks in which peers are in relationships or conform less to TMI seemed to foster this stable, relationship focused perspective. Such stable perspectives can be temporarily disturbed, however, by negative relationship events (e.g., partner infidelity), or witnessing a negative relationship event in someone else's life. For some participants, periods of uncommitted sex are more predictable in that they tend to follow the dissolution of long-term committed relationships. Individuals who report this cycling pattern exhibited oscillations in sociosexuality that have been documented extensively in previous research. For example, Tennov (1979) noted that sociosexual desire tends to increase following the absence of passionate love for a partner (which often precedes the end of a relationship). Such a cycling pattern may give rise to the Discrepant pattern of sociosexuality observed in Study 2, in that such participants generally report below average sociosexual desire but the second highest level of sociosexual behavior.

All but one interview participant indicated that they either currently prefer committed relationships or that they would like a committed relationship in the future.

Analyzing participants' testimonials further indicated that there may be many paths towards commitment. For some men, hooking up is viewed as a natural part of sexual exploration. Such behavior is consistent with arguments by developmentalists that both hooking up and committed relationships are key ways for young adults to learn how to negotiate the physical and emotional aspects of adult sexuality (Brown, 1999; Erikson, 1963). With the increase in available sexual partners and the lack of adult monitoring of sexual behavior, college is a perfect opportunity for youth to experiment with uncommitted sex. Other men report pursuing hooking up as a means of addressing feelings of insecurity. Although such men also report a preference for committed relationships, hooking up seems to be related more to their identity development than to physical or emotional gratification. This pattern of change could be related to some men's desires to conform to traditional masculinity norms.

The last pattern of change to emerge has already been discussed—that change in a stable cycle of hooking up will only occur when the perfect partner comes along. Although this pattern seems similar to the cycling pattern, the standards of perfection demanded of the desired relationship partner are often incredibly high. Such standards do not necessarily mean that such partners do not exist. Two participants who reported this pattern of change reported that this perfect partner was either an ex-girlfriend or a friend who does not reciprocate interest. The improbability of entering a relationship with such partners, however, almost seems to guarantee that uncommitted sex will persist. What gives rise to such pickiness and desire for perfection? Synthesizing the themes that emerged in this study, it seems possible that this pattern of change may be a product of the internalization of traditional masculine norms regarding competitiveness and uncommitted sex, and entrenchment in homosocial networks that reinforce those norms. Only the perfect, “trophy” partner can sufficiently justify breaking with the uncommitted sex norm while still allowing a man to out-compete his friends. Indeed, as Steve noted, if the perfect partner does not come along, only age-graded norms will make him stop hooking up. Future research is required to examine when in the lifespan men believe hook ups are no longer acceptable, and whether men who hook up until this transition point are able build or maintain committed relationships when they do decide to settle down. Based on evidence in this study that frequent uncommitted sex brings about

emotional detachment with future partners, I expect that men who hook up past college will have greater difficulty transitioning to committed relationships in the future.

To summarize, nearly all interview participants reported desiring a committed relationship in the future. However, several patterns of perceived change emerged suggesting that the paths towards committed relationships may vary. Hooking up is generally viewed as a time-limited phenomenon among men, but as indicated by the “the one” pattern of change, it seems possible that some men may hook up more frequently in and beyond college. The consequences of such a perspective require further research.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study provided additional clarity regarding the diversity of college men’s perspectives on committed and uncommitted sex and the multiple factors that may underlie those perspectives. Employing qualitative methods allowed me to explore in greater depth several of the questions raised in Studies 1 and 2 and to generate new questions and hypotheses for future research. As with all research, however, this study exhibited several limitations. Although the interview methodology enabled me to explore the nuances of men’s perspectives, the number of goals and questions in the interview limited the amount of time I could devote to follow up questions. Such questions could have allowed me to build more sophisticated connections among the emerging themes in the interview transcripts. Second, as with many qualitative studies, only a limited number of participants were interviewed. Preliminary analyses indicated that the participants interviewed even exhibited some sociosexual and homosocial differences from the larger survey sample. The lack of representativeness may call into question the generalizability of the views and themes discovered in this research. Nevertheless, this study provides intriguing information about the diversity of perspectives that exist even among a small subset of college men at just one university, and also yields detailed information about the complex processes that may shape those diverse perspectives. Third, one of the goals of this study was to examine changes in perspectives, but this study was not longitudinal. Interviewing participants over time, particularly directly after they experience hook ups or enter and leave committed relationships is essential for confirming the potential patterns of change and stability identified in this study.

Interestingly, several factors that are often proposed as culprits for the high prevalence of uncommitted sex among college students did not emerge as prominent themes. For example, some social scientists and journalists have argued that the “hook up epidemic” is due to witnessing parental conflict, high national rates of divorce, or ubiquitous portrayals of uncommitted sex in the media (Owen, Rhoades, Stanley, & Fincham, 2010; Stinson, 2010). Only one participant mentioned each of these factors in his passing comments. Also, only two participants mentioned fear of sexually transmitted diseases as a factor discouraging them from engaging in uncommitted sex. Although these factors did not emerge as prominent themes in the qualitative analysis, it is still possible that they influence men’s perspectives on an implicit or unconscious level. Future interviews that specifically target these potential factors can shed greater light on their level of influence on college men’s perspectives on hooking up and dating.

Finally, it is important to note that Grounded Theory analysis is a reflexive process and that personal hypotheses and biases may have influenced the generation and interpretation of results. After reviewing my field notes I must recognize that it was difficult to *not* classify participants into one of the five profiles whilst conducting the interviews. Such mid-interview classifications were often based on observable personality traits (e.g., shyness), appearance (e.g., wearing a fraternity t-shirt), or initial information about relationship status (e.g., in a committed relationship). It is possible these initial impressions may have biased the types of follow-up questions I asked of the participants, my tone, or how I coded the participants’ transcripts. However, upon reviewing the coding notes kept by the research assistant, it was remarkable that she generally independently made the same assumptions about participants based on the texts of the transcripts alone (e.g., a participant with a fraternity shirt was noted as “sounds like he’s in a fraternity”).

It is also possible that participants’ perceptions of my identity and beliefs might have biased how they responded to the questions. For example, although I did not disclose my own sexual minority identity, perceptions of my identity may have made sexual minority participants feel more comfortable disclosing how their sexual orientation or sexual identity development influences their sexual relationships. Because I introduced myself outright as a gender and sex researcher (ideally to help participants

feel comfortable discussing any aspects of their sexual experiences), some participants may have felt uncomfortable disclosing the details of their personal experiences out of fears of judgment (or as one participant noted, “are you psychoanalyzing me?”). However, as each interview progressed, all participants became more relaxed and willing to elaborate beyond the original questions posed (e.g., with regards to sexual storytelling with male peers). Nevertheless, it is possible that because questions regarding personal hook up and dating experiences were posed 10-15 minutes into the interview, participants were still somewhat reserved in reporting the details of their experiences and their emotional reactions. Longer interviews with more time allocated to rapport building can remedy this limitation.

In spite of these limitations, the current study offers several new insights into the diversity of college men’s perspectives on hooking up and dating, and the multiple factors and processes that may give rise to those perspectives. That distinct Relationship- and Hook Up-Oriented perspectives emerged bolsters the findings from Study 2 that not all men conform to the Player ideal. Furthermore, not all men reported engaging in hooking up out of a sense of competition or a need to fulfill uncommitted sex norms. One of the key findings from this study is that the sexual experiences and perspectives of one’s peers may enable opportunities for either committed or uncommitted sex, as well as play a critical role in the socialization of men’s perspectives on hooking up and dating. Such a process is similar to that outlined by the Social Development Model. Whether men select peers that resonate with their perspectives, or whether the perspectives are an outcome of peer socialization requires further research. Finally, nearly all participants reported either a current preference for committed relationships, or a desire to enter committed relationships in the future. Several potential trajectories towards such commitment were identified through men’s accounts and can be furthered verified through longitudinal research.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Accumulating evidence indicates that there is considerable within-gender variability in men's sociosexuality (Giordano et al., 2006; Giordano et al., 2009; Herold & Mewhinney, 1993; Manning et al., 2006; Petersen & Hyde, 2010; Townsend, 1995). In light of such evidence, it is curious that much of the existing research and popular press on college sociosexuality portrays men as predominantly desiring uncommitted sex and benefiting from those encounters (Bogle, 2008; Denizet-Lewis, 2004; Hermann & Rackl, 2005; Kimmel, 2008; Paul & Hayes, 2002; Stepp, 2007). Such a perspective is consistent with research on the high prevalence of hooking up in the general college population, data documenting gender differences in sociosexuality, and the wealth of research and theory connecting TMI to both uncommitted sex and diminished capacity for committed relationships. The overarching goal of this dissertation was not to debunk previous research altogether, but rather to demonstrate that college men's sociosexuality is much more diverse than has been previously portrayed.

Building from existing research and theory on gender differences in sociosexuality, I investigated TMI as a driving force shaping college men's experiences with uncommitted sex. I expanded upon previous research by also focusing on two factors that might influence how much men endorse the competitive and uncommitted sex norms of TMI—attachment avoidance and homosociality. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, I examined the magnitude of the contributions of TMI, attachment, and homosociality to men's sociosexuality, and delved into the complex ways each of these factors shape men's perspectives on committed and uncommitted sex in the college environment. What resulted was an incredibly nuanced set of findings regarding the diversity in college men's sociosexuality. Very few men actually fit the playboy image as outlined by TMI. Instead, participants exhibited a range of patterns of committed and uncommitted sex at the time of the survey. I found that large percentages of men report uncommitted sexual beliefs, desires, and behaviors that are below average

in comparison to their same-gender peers. Furthermore, qualitative results indicate that hooking up is not always motivated by the quest to embody traditional masculine ideals.

In this general discussion I first revisit the aims of the dissertation and summarize the key findings for each aim. I also discuss unsupported hypotheses and speculate on potential reasons why those predictions were not borne out. After discussing the developmental implications of the results, I acknowledge some of limitations of the studies and provide suggestions for future research.

Summary of the Findings for Each Aim

This dissertation addressed three aims via a mixed-methods approach. Such an approach allowed me to take advantage of both quantitative and qualitative techniques for assessing the diversity in men's sociosexuality and the range of factors that underlie men's sociosexual orientations.

Aim 1: Uncover the overall relative contributions of TMI, homosociality, and attachment to men's sociosexual beliefs, desires, and behaviors. Consistent with previous research on the connections between attachment, homosociality, TMI, and sociosexuality, I anticipated that greater levels of attachment avoidance, homosociality, and TMI would predict greater sociosexual beliefs, desire, and behavior. I hypothesized that TMI would play a central role in mediating the associations between attachment and homosociality and sociosexuality. In exploratory analyses, I also examined whether the predicted associations would differ for sexual minority men. The following results emerged:

- Controlling for relevant personality (e.g., shyness), demographic (e.g., ethnicity), and behavioral (e.g., drinking) correlates of sociosexuality, I found that peer sex norms, sexual storytelling, and conformity to the competitive and playboy norms of TMI predicted unrestricted sociosexuality. TMI partially mediated the associations of peer norms and sexual storytelling with sociosexuality, and fully mediated the associations of attachment avoidance with sociosexuality. Consistent with the attachment literature, attachment anxiety predicted less endorsement of uncommitted sex.

- Exploratory analyses comparing the regression paths for heterosexual and sexual minority participants indicate that the key constructs may be related differently depending on sexual orientation. For example, the playboy norm predicted sociosexual

beliefs among heterosexual participants, but not among sexual minority participants. The competitive norm predicted greater sociosexual behavior among the sexual minority participants, but not the heterosexual participants. Additionally, sexual storytelling predicted sociosexual behavior among the heterosexual participants, but not the sexual minority participants.

- Analyses of interviews regarding men’s sexual and relationship beliefs and experiences identified that several key sets of factors may underlie their perspectives on committed and uncommitted sex. These sets were: personality and demographic factors, such as shyness and ethnicity; young adult social development in the college context, such as establishing academic priorities and attending parties; dynamics within male peer relationships, such as peer pressure and storytelling; the use of different emotion regulation strategies, such as using humor to trivialize a hook up event; and capacity for objectification. These latter two sets of factors may be two outward manifestations of attachment avoidance. Collectively, the qualitative results further clarify the processes by which TMI, homosociality, and attachment influence sociosexuality, and provide new topic areas for quantitative research.

Aim 2: Identify sociosexual “types” of college men by using pattern-centered analyses to better understand the diverse ways in which TMI, homosociality, attachment, and sociosexuality are organized within individuals. I hypothesized that at least two subgroups would emerge—those who are high on all of the key constructs, and those who are low on all of the key constructs. I also hypothesized that there would be subgroups that were discrepant across constructs (e.g., low in sociosexuality, high in TMI), but did not make a firm hypothesis about the number of these latter subgroups. LPA results indicated the following:

- Five profiles emerged demonstrating diversity across constructs according to level (i.e., high or low on all constructs) and shape (i.e., discrepant levels across constructs). In support of the first hypothesis, one profile emerged that was high on all constructs (the Players), and one emerged that was low on all constructs (Restricted). Three profiles emerged with discrepant patterns: Wannabes (below average in sociosexual behavior, but above average on all other factors), Avoidant (above average in attachment avoidance, but below average on all other factors), and Discrepant (wide

variability across constructs). There were several notable demographic, personality, and behavioral differences between the profiles (e.g., Players were the least ethnically diverse, nearly 50% of the Discrepant self-identified as sexual minorities, the Restricteds were the most religious).

- Although only 10% of the participants were classified to the Players profile, 36% were classified to the Wannabes profile, potentially indicating that many young men aspire to the playboy masculinity ideal. However, qualitative analyses indicate that men who fit the Wannabe profile may not necessarily desire to be playboys; they may just exhibit a different approach to hooking up (e.g., selective hooking up). Nearly 1/3 of participants were classified to the Restricted profile, and 16% were classified to the Avoidant profile, thus implying that over 40% of the men in the sample were not only below average in their sociosexual beliefs, behavior, and desire, but also below average in their TMI, homosociality, and (in the case of Restricted participants) attachment avoidance. Qualitative analyses suggest that preferences for emotional connection with partners, or factors such as shyness and exclusion from hooking up contexts could contribute to patterns of low engagement in uncommitted sex. Less engagement with homosocial contexts—possibly due to relationship status or exclusion from/avoidance of such social contexts—could also explain the low levels of TMI among the Restricteds and Avoidants. Finally, the Discrepant participants comprised 8% of the sample and were unique in that they demonstrated discrepancies not only between global factors (i.e., overall sociosexuality, overall homosociality), but also within factors (e.g., above average sociosexual behavior, but below average sociosexual desire). As with the Wannabes, qualitative analyses indicate that there may be several explanations for the Discrepant pattern, such as a tendency to cycle between periods of committed and uncommitted sex. The large proportion of ethnic and sexual minorities within the Discrepant profile also suggest that their high levels of sociosexual behavior may be shaped by different processes and dynamics than those that shape the high sociosexual behavior of the more ethnically and sexually homogenous Players.

- The conceptual model tested in Study 1 fit the data, but many of the associations in the model were modest in size. As suggested by the pattern-centered analysis, one explanation for the modest associations may be that the key constructs do not always “go

together,” and that the model may fit some men better than others as a result. Indeed, the types of men about whom the Study 1 model was conceived—men who exhibit general congruency across constructs—represented only 40% of the sample. Three subgroups (Avoidant, Wannabe, and Discrepant) exhibited incongruent patterns. The existence of congruent and incongruent patterns not only suggests that the constructs are imperfectly correlated, but also that TMI, homosociality, and attachment may shape sociosexuality in different ways for different men. Although the small size of the subgroups prevents me from estimating separate SEM models for each subgroup, future studies can examine whether the subgroups emerge in larger samples and take advantage of additional power to conduct multi-group comparisons.

- To supplement and verify the results of the LPA, Grounded Theory methods were also used to examine variability in men’s perspectives on dating and sex. In men’s own words, 2 broad categories emerged—Relationship-Oriented and Hook Up-Oriented. Relationship-Oriented perspectives varied in openness to hooking up. Hook Up-Oriented perspectives varied in motivations for hooking up. Although only 15 participants were interviewed, it is notable that participants from the Avoidant and Restricted profiles seemed most inclined to offer testimonials consistent with the Relationship-Oriented perspectives, and participants from the Wannabes, Discrepant, and Players profiles seemed most inclined to offer testimonials consistent with the Hook Up-Oriented perspectives.

Aim 3: Explore the relevance of these sociosexual “types” by examining how they differ in their sexual beliefs and satisfaction with sexual and romantic relationships.

- There were no between-profile differences in satisfaction with the overall level and quality of dating experience. Wannabes and Avoidant participants were the least satisfied with the overall level and quality of their sexual experiences.

- With regards to endorsement of potentially destructive sexual beliefs, between-profile differences in attitudes emerged, but they appeared to follow between-profile differences in TMI. Overall, the Players, Wannabes, and Discrepant participants—those in profiles with above average levels of aspects of homosociality and/or dimensions of TMI—were generally more accepting of sexual harassment and rape myths, expressed

more hostility towards women, and reported higher scores on the sexual double standards scale. Nearly all of these differences disappeared after controlling for TMI.

In addition to these aims-specific findings, a number of additional, intriguing findings emerged. The qualitative data analysis highlighted that several of the variables used as controls in Study 1 and predictors in Study 2 may actually serve as important moderators of men's sociosexuality. Most notably, partying and alcohol use may moderate the associations between TMI, homosociality, attachment, and sociosexuality. High levels of TMI, homosociality, and/or attachment avoidance may not necessarily contribute to sociosexual behavior in the absence of partying and drinking. It is also possible that partying and drinking alone do not contribute to sociosexual behavior, beliefs, or desire in the absence of homosocial forces, conformity to TMI, or attachment avoidance. Future models may test these possibilities.

Further examination of the heterogeneity of the profiles also suggests that sociosexuality may be shaped by different sets of factors for different men. Focusing on the characteristics of each subgroup provides some preliminary evidence for this proposition. For example, the Discrepant are a clear case in which the key constructs do not "go together" but individuals still engage in above average levels of sociosexual behavior. However, this subgroup was older and comprised of a large percentage of Black/African-American participants and sexual minorities, all of which are demographic traits that have been connected to greater levels of lifetime uncommitted sex partners independently of TMI (England et al., 2008; England & Thomas, 2006; Goodreau & Golden, 2007). It is possible that the Discrepant profile is comprised of all the men who exhibit high levels of sociosexual behavior, but who otherwise do not conform to the TMI-focused model tested in Study 1. More focused research is required on larger samples of students from all grade levels and on specific racial/ethnic and sexual orientation subgroups in order to understand what alternative models and underlying factors may contribute to high levels of sociosexual behavior. The results from Study 3 highlight some possible underlying factors that can be incorporated into such alternative models (e.g., milestones of sexual orientation identity development).

Over 40% of participants were classified into either the Restricted or Avoidant profiles, and thus exhibited below average levels of hook up experience. Looking at the

characteristics of these two profiles, it appears that several models can also lead to equifinality in restricted sociosexuality. Whereas the Restricted participants exhibit characteristics that indicate that their restricted sociosexuality may be volitional (e.g., religiosity, currently being in a relationship), the Avoidant participants exhibited traits that indicate that their restricted sociosexuality may be circumstantial (e.g., shyness, sensitivity to rejection).

Unsupported Hypotheses

Overall, the results support the hypotheses of the three aims of the dissertation. However, several predictions in Studies 1 and 2 received either modest or no support.

Study 1. In Study 1, “Brotime” actually predicted less acceptance of uncommitted sex. Additionally, engagement in Traditional Male Contexts predicted neither TMI nor sociosexuality. These two findings are surprising given the extensive qualitative research suggesting that time spent in homosocial contexts plays a major role in generating uncommitted sexual beliefs, desire, and reinforcing uncommitted sexual behavior (Flood, 2008; Kimmel, 2008; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010; Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003; Wight, 1994, 1996). Indeed, consistent with such qualitative work, “Brotime” and Traditional Male Contexts *did* emerge as notable contributors to unrestricted sociosexuality in Study 3.

After examining the survey itself and the results, I believe the discrepancy between the findings of previous qualitative research and the quantitative findings of this dissertation may be due to flaws in measurement of homosociality. The “Brotime” variable used in this dissertation focused on the number of male peers and the amount of time spent in their company, not the type of male peers or the activities engaged in with those peers. Thus, if the “Brotime” is spent engaging in activities not directly related to sexuality or relationships (e.g., playing videogames), or discussing relationships in a positive light (e.g., talking about current partners or desire to date), this could explain the negative association with sociosexual beliefs. Although the Traditional Male Context variable more directly assessed engagement with traditional homosocial contexts (e.g., fraternities), it also incorporated an open-ended component, and was ultimately treated as a count variable in Studies 1 and 2. Rather than serving as a predictor of sociosexuality, perhaps the Traditional Male Context variable should be conceptualized as a moderator

variable. As a moderator I would expect that the hypothesized paths in Study 1 would be stronger among men who are involved in fraternities, the military, or sports than among those who do not partake in such contexts. In future survey research, the use of better measures and different treatment of the variables may make it possible to find statistical support for the connections between “Brottime,” Traditional Male Contexts, and sociosexuality.

Study 2. No between-profile differences were found regarding dating satisfaction, and no large differences were found regarding sexual satisfaction. In some respects the lack of large between-profile differences in satisfaction is promising in that it demonstrates that men need not engage in frequent uncommitted sex in order to be satisfied (e.g., the Players did not differ significantly in their sexual or dating satisfaction from the Restricted participants). However, the overall average scores for each profile suggest that all the men in the sample, regardless of profile membership, are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with their dating or sexual experiences. The broad scope of the satisfaction variables may have suppressed variability in men’s responses. Differences in dating and sexual satisfaction may have become more apparent if participants were asked to focus on either their current or most recent sexual or romantic relationship.

What Insights Does the Research Provide About Development?

In the absence of longitudinal data, the results of Study 3 are particularly useful for highlighting the potential developmental implications of the research. Before discussing such implications, I will first revisit the theories that guided the dissertation studies. Building from research on TMI and making links to theories of early adult development (e.g., Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1963), I drew primarily from Good and Sherrod’s (1997) theory of uncommitted sex as a psychosocial developmental stage unique to men. As discussed in the introduction to the dissertation, developmental theorists propose that one of the tasks of young adulthood is learning to negotiate the interpersonal and emotional demands of adult sexual and romantic relationships. One of the ways to accomplish this task is to engage in both long-term and short-term sexual relationships. Because uncommitted sex is also a key component of TMI, Good and Sherrod (1997) propose that men who conform to TMI may be more likely to engage in

only short-term uncommitted sex, and to not develop the necessary skills to build or maintain committed relationships.

My research supports Good and Sherrod's (1997) theory inasmuch as I detected multiple subgroups of men in my sample—a small portion of who (i.e., the Players, those with Hook up-Oriented perspectives) certainly appear to engage in uncommitted sex at high levels and who might have difficulty forming committed relationships in the future. However, all but one of the interview participants desired to be in a relationship in the future. Given that entering committed relationships appears to be a common goal among men, one interpretation of the multiple subgroups is that they may represent men in different phases of a common developmental stage model of committed relationships. Based on Good and Sherrod's (1997) model, Wannabes and Avoidants may represent men with limited sexual and relationship experience, Players may represent men currently engaged in the uncommitted sexual psychosocial stage, Discrepant may represent men transitioning towards committed relationships, and Restricteds may represent men who either successfully resolved uncommitted sex or avoided it entirely. However, because each of the subgroups has unique demographic, personality, and behavioral characteristics, I propose that the subgroups are actually evidence of multiple trajectories towards committed relationships. Rather than a common developmental stage model, entry into committed relationships later in life may be the product of developmental equifinality. Thus, variability in the success of later committed relationships may be tied to diversity in the trajectories of development towards those relationships. Longitudinal work is required to determine whether the subgroups represent distinct developmental groups and to understand better the antecedents of subgroup membership. Such evidence would have important implications for redefining existing, grand theories of adolescent and young adult romantic relationship development (e.g., Brown, 1999).

Looking to the results of Study 3, I am particularly concerned with the men who abide by the perspective that they will hook up until “the one” perfect partner comes along. Such reasoning draws from the popular social discourse against “settling” for less than you desire, but it appears that some men use the argument as an excuse for their uncommitted sexual behavior. I do not doubt that these men desire committed

relationships in the future, but according to one participant this desire may be motivated more by age-norms than a desire for commitment. At what age such men think it is no longer acceptable to hook up, and whether they will be successful in forging stable, healthy, committed relationships during that transition, are topics worthy of future research. It is also possible that “the one” sentiment actually represents a critical stage in the development of some men’s conceptions of sex and relationships, and that it does not necessarily represent an excuse for caddish behavior or an impediment to socio-emotional development. Other researchers who have detected similar sentiments among young men in qualitative interviews, such as Mooney-Somers and Ussher (2010), have proposed that “the one” sentiment actually represents progress from a state of thinking about sex as “just for fun” or a “physical thing” to an understanding of sex as meaning something deeper and more emotionally-oriented. Longitudinal survey and qualitative research focused on “the one” sentiment can further examine these topics and propositions.

Surprisingly, *all* of the participants interviewed indicated that although hook ups are sometimes fun and instantly gratifying, they are ultimately empty, meaningless, and dissatisfying. So why do some college men hook up frequently in the first place? Attachment avoidance, TMI, and homosociality certainly shape their propensities to hook up, but additional factors emerged in the qualitative analysis that developmental researchers must address. One intriguing factor to emerge in Study 3 is how men define the purpose of their college experience. Indeed, this “definition” may be the master narrative by which men make sense of attachment, TMI, homosociality, and other conscious and unconscious forces and motivations influencing their social and sexual decision-making in college. Examining sociosexuality as one component of “the college experience” also forces researchers to recognize that sociosexuality is tied to developmental contexts. College is a period in which young adults develop in multiple social and psychological domains. Beyond focusing on learning the skills necessary to pursue a successful career, young adults are also allocating time and effort to developing their identities, socializing and forging new peer relationships, exploring their sexuality, and experiencing adult relationships. College students may also be pursuing or increasing their engagement in various risk behaviors—most notably binge drinking (Schulenberg,

O'Malley, Bachman, Wadsworth, & Johnston, 1996; Schulenberg, Wadsworth, O'Malley, Backman, & Johnston; 1996)—that may introduce a multitude of social opportunities (e.g., hooking up, partying, making friends) or consequences (e.g., unwanted sex, alcohol poisoning; Locke & Mahalik, 2005). How men prioritize these different domains and define their college experience may ultimately shape their philosophy on college relationships and the range of committed and uncommitted sexual experiences available to them.

To a certain extent these priorities may be set consciously. For example, an incoming freshman might prioritize building his social circle and initially allocate more time and effort to his bros. Depending on the types of bros he associates with (i.e., those who party vs. those who study), such a decision may interfere with his ability to also pursue relationships. If his friends are the partying type, time focused on facilitating a committed relationship might interfere with other social goals and obligations (i.e., “bros before hoes”). However, by pursuing uncommitted sexual partners he may be able to satisfy his sexual desire and simultaneously win peer approval. Such a strategy is consistent with Brown's (1999) developmental model of romantic relationships in that one of the earliest stages of development involves pursuing sexual and relationship partners with peer opinion and status goals in mind. As became clear in Study 3, the pursuit of novel sexual experiences and the discussion of those experiences was one way to connect with one's male peers. Several men in Study 3 indicated that they broke up with their long-term high school girlfriends at the start of college. Such an action not only provided them with the freedom to pursue new partners, but also the freedom to forge new friendships with other men. Given that each of these participants had previously engaged in committed relationships, it is possible that prioritizing peers at the start of college also led to a regression in their relationship skills development. Whether the college environment causes the course of romantic relationship development to “reset” is an intriguing question for future research. It is possible that men who had committed relationships prior to college may be better able to enter committed relationships after an initial period of hooking up than men without such previous relationship experience. Another interesting question for future research is whether hooking up and sexual

storytelling become less necessary for male bonding as homosocial friendships develop or as male peers enter relationships of their own.

For some men, the priorities that comprise the “definitions” of their college experiences may be set circumstantially, rather than by their own volition. Examining heterogeneity among the profiles provides evidence of this case. For example, shyness and sensitivity to rejection (i.e., such as that displayed by the Avoidant participants) might serve as impediments to the formation of peer relationships as well as obstacles to both committed and uncommitted sexual relationships. Sexual minority identity development is another instance in which development in one domain (i.e., identity development) may unwillingly take precedence over other domains. Overall, sexual minority men did not differ in their sociosexual beliefs from heterosexual participants, but they did exhibit greater sociosexual desire and behavior. Sexual minority men who are not out may have to focus first on negotiating identity disclosure before they can be fully committed to a partner’s needs or the responsibilities of a relationship. As a result, they may engage in a greater number of short-term relationships. An alternative developmental explanation for the higher levels of sociosexual desire and behavior among the sexual minority participants is that the college environment may represent an even more dramatic shift in terms of the availability of potential partners than it does for heterosexual men.

Thus far I have discussed such prioritizations in simplistic terms. In truth, men’s priorities likely shift and change throughout college, and men might prioritize several domains simultaneously. How these priorities accompany or influence shifts in sociosexuality is a promising new direction for research.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

The three studies in this dissertation examined men’s sociosexuality with considerable breadth and depth. However, as with all research, there were several limitations that future research can address. First, although the sample was both large and diverse, it is important to note that it was a convenience sample and nearly all of the participants were recruited from the same, elite, Midwestern university. Within this particular university setting, there were several notable differences between the study sample and the population of male undergraduates (e.g., greater ethnic diversity and

possibly higher percentages of sexual minorities in the study sample versus the university population). Such greater diversity may actually be an asset, however, in that a greater range of experiences and viewpoints may be represented in the data than those typically captured by introductory psychology subject pool samples. Because most of the participants were recruited from a single campus, it is possible that the findings are localized to this single campus, rather than indicative of sociosexuality among college men in general. However, I believe that this limitation does not diminish the theoretical significance of the results. TMI, homosociality, and attachment are relevant domains in all men's lives, whether they attend large four-year universities, private liberal arts colleges, or community colleges. Thus, the findings still provide invaluable information about the processes that shape college men's sociosexuality. Furthermore, that at least five distinct subgroups of men were detected on a single college campus provides powerful evidence that college men's sociosexuality is incredibly diverse and shaped by myriad factors. A larger sample collected from multiple sites and different types of universities can easily address such limitations.

Despite the greater percentage of ethnic minorities in the study sample, an additional limitation to the research is in regards to the small size of the ethnic minority subgroups. One of the recruitment goals was to over-sample ethnic minority participants in an effort to examine whether the processes shaping sociosexuality differed according to ethnicity. The numbers recruited did not provide adequate power to conduct multi-group comparisons or to examine the potential effects of the intersectionality of ethnic and sexual-minority identities. Consistent with prior research, ethnic identity was a significant correlate of several key variables in this dissertation (e.g., Asian/Pacific Islander identity was associated with less sociosexual behavior), and it appears that sociosexuality may be shaped differently depending on ethnic/racial subgroup (e.g., the relatively high proportion of Black/African-American men in the Discrepant group). Future research focused on specific ethnic-minority subgroups can more appropriately explore whether the processes shaping sociosexuality differ for ethnic-minority subgroups.

An additional set of limitations concerns the online survey used in Studies 1 and 2. Because participants completed the survey at their convenience and from personal

computers, it is difficult to ensure that they carefully considered all of the questions and complied with all of the instructions. Furthermore, as an hour-long survey, it is likely that fatigue or boredom might have affected participants' responses. Although steps were taken to remove obviously unreliable data prior to analysis, a better procedure would be to provide participants with a shorter survey instrument outright. Future research to replicate and expand upon the results in this dissertation should begin with pilot testing shorter survey instruments.

Finally, the interview study focused on the testimonials of just 15 men—a number that was limited both by time and fiscal constraints. Interviewing more men and from a greater range of grade-levels and levels of dating and sexual experience might help identify additional perspectives on committed and uncommitted sex, and factors underlying those perspectives. Additional testimonials could also contribute to the refinement and interpretation of the current emergent themes.

Beyond conducting research to address the previously mentioned limitations, a number of additional extensions and future directions for the research emerge. A natural first step for future research is to study the diversity of college men's sociosexuality using longitudinal designs. Tracking men even once a year can provide valuable information about how their social and sexual priorities change across their college careers. Longitudinal analyses can also further enrich the findings from my pattern-centered analyses. Not only would such analyses allow me to test the stability of the profiles, but also to examine questions of directionality of effects such as, "Is it the sociosexual behavior, beliefs, and desire that give rise to the identity (e.g., Player, Wannabe, Restricted), or the identity that gives rise to the sociosexual behavior, beliefs, and desire?" Supplementary ancillary interviews following relevant experiences (e.g., what happens upon entering and leaving committed and uncommitted sexual experiences) can also provide more in-depth information about how perspectives on sex and relationships are constructed. One particular subgroup of men that may be relevant to follow across college using both quantitative and qualitative methods is sexual minority men. This dissertation provides intriguing evidence about how their sexual orientation identity development may affect their opportunities for committed and uncommitted sex. How

their sociosexual beliefs, behaviors, and desires change throughout the course of their identity development is an exciting frontier for future research.

Future research can also examine more specific aspects of homosocial dynamics, such as by disaggregating the different dimensions of “Brottime.” What types of friends are men spending time with? What activities are they engaging in? How do these different types of interactions shape each of the dimensions of sociosexuality? Focused qualitative research on such questions can also help lead to the construction of better homosociality measures for survey research. The scope of homosocial measures must also be expanded. For example, the influence of brothers, fathers, and male non-parental adult figures (e.g., coaches) on men’s sociosexuality must be incorporated into the research. Young men may learn valuable lessons vicariously about the benefits and consequences of committed and uncommitted sex by observing the relationships of male family members. It is also important to recognize that young men may also be heavily engaged in *heterosocial* contexts, and that non-sexual social connections to female peers (i.e., “Ladytime”) may contribute to men’s sociosexuality, TMI, and homosociality.

Finally, the number of dimensions that were used to compare the different profiles in Study 2 was rather limited. Still unaddressed is whether the different profiles differ in their mental and physical health. Future research should evaluate profile differences on measures of psychological well being (e.g., self-esteem, mental health) and physical health (e.g., sexual health). In addition, because one of the ultimate concerns of my research is to identify men at risk for unstable and unsatisfying committed relationships, it may also be relevant to examine how the profiles differ according to conflict within relationships, or in engagement in destructive behaviors, such as sexual coercion.

Conclusions: What is the Bottom Line?

At the conclusion of each interview most of the participants were curious as to what I was discovering about college men’s sexuality. Additionally, 53% of the survey participants requested a summary of the dissertation results. It is difficult to synthesize all of the significant findings in this dissertation into a simple set of take-away messages, but several prominent pieces of information emerged across the studies that I believe would be valuable to college men. Were I to repackage this dissertation into a guidebook for incoming freshmen males, these are five of the tips I would like to provide to readers:

Tip 1: Hook up if you want to, but know that not every guy is doing it. College presents men and women with greater opportunities to engage in uncommitted sex. Indeed, over 75% of college students will hook up at least once during college (England & Thomas, 2006; Glenn & Marquardt, 2001; Paul et al., 2000). The availability of hook up partners combined with traditional gender role expectations may pressure some men to believe that they should be hooking up at every opportunity. The results from each of the three studies demonstrate that not all men endorse TMI, and that large percentages of college men either avoid or engage in hook ups at below average levels than their same-gender peers. Notably, only 10% of men fit the Player profile, and these men were *not* any more satisfied with their level of dating or sexual experience than those in the Restricted profile. The least satisfied individuals, however, were those who aspire to traditional masculine norms and who exhibit disparities between actual and desired levels of hook up experience (i.e., the Wannabes). Also dissatisfied were men in the interview study who reported losing their virginities in the course of a hook up. These findings do not necessarily condemn uncommitted sex; however, they do suggest that men should reflect first on their motivations for desiring and engaging in uncommitted sex. Those men who pursue uncommitted sex in order to fulfill an ideal or to meet peer expectations may have less positive hook up experiences than those who are motivated more by pleasure-seeking or personal curiosity.

Tip 2: If you don't want to see someone anymore, just be honest and direct. Men were found to use at least three broad sets of indirect rejection strategies when dealing with partners who desired a more committed relationship. Such strategies include breaking up via text, joking about previous experiences, and just “being a dick.” Based on such strategies, it is no wonder that negative stereotypes abound regarding men’s interpersonal emotional capacities. Ironically, being indirect and sending mixed messages may be counter-productive and actually perpetuate uncomfortable contact with unwanted partners. Being direct when rejecting a partner may not only be more respectful, but may also limit the amount of future conflict and “game playing.” Directly communicating with a partner can also provide men with practice in negotiating the emotional aspects and responsibilities of intimate interpersonal interactions.

Tip 3: Dating is not dead. At some point in college you should give a traditional relationship a try (just don't do it too early). Although it may be the case that most college students will hook up at least once during their college careers, the perspective of most of the participants interviewed was that dating is not dead. Nevertheless, I was surprised that most of the interview participants made the disclaimer “but I’m not like other guys” when discussing their desire for a relationship or their positive views on commitment. Such pluralistic ignorance not only perpetuates negative stereotypes about college men’s sociosexuality, but it may also induce pressure to conform to uncommitted sex norms and foster unwarranted feelings of alienation when pursuing a committed relationship.

Just as uncommitted sex is one way to learn about the sexual self, experimenting with committed relationships may provide men with valuable information about how to recognize and negotiate the emotional demands of adult relationships. It may be useful to know that the participants in this dissertation who were currently in relationships also reported greater sexual satisfaction than those not in relationships. Furthermore, the consensus among the interview participants was that sex in the context of a committed relationship is consistently more satisfying than sex with a hook up partner.

I add the caveat that men should not enter relationships too early in their college careers. The first year of college may be a critical period for building a social network; entering a relationship too early may make it difficult to allocate time and effort to forging new friendships. However, this caveat should not be interpreted as a “Bros before hoes” recommendation.

Tip 4: Don't let your bros get in the way of your relationships. Building from Tip 3, men should not allow their bros to interfere with a good romantic relationship. Qualitative analyses suggest men’s perspectives on committed and uncommitted sex change as they accrue additional sexual and relationship experience. Entering a committed relationship could be a turning point, causing men to spend less time with their bros. A new relationship may increase conflict with peers or lead men to distance themselves temporarily from their friendships. The tradeoff is that the new relationship may enable them to develop unique interpersonal social skills that may be absent in their homosocial relationships, such as developing comfort with intimacy and recognizing and

processing interpersonal emotions. Romantic partners may also be among the limited number of individuals that some men can open up to regarding their personal insecurities and doubts. Thus, dating partners may be a more reliable source of social support than bros.

Peer pressure, conformity to TMI, or attachment avoidance, however, may make other men less likely to experience relationships in the first place. Men who feel pressure from their peers to avoid a relationship (or to spend less time with a relationship partner) should take solace in the fact that nearly all of the men in Study 3—even the most caddish of the Players—desire a relationship.

This recommendation should not be interpreted as an “anti-bro” message. Bros are an important component of young men’s social lives. Although bros have the potential to reinforce destructive aspects of TMI or contribute to the demise of committed relationships, they are also a much-needed source of entertainment and social support in the demanding college environment. It is important to recognize that being in a relationship may exclude men from relevant activities and rituals that are fundamental for building and maintaining bonds to bros, such as talking about novel sexual experiences. However, as emerged in the qualitative analysis, men can still engage with their bros in sexual storytelling by providing feedback on others’ sexual stories, or by telling sexual jokes.

Tip 5: Introduce variety into your friendship group. Peers play a powerful role in shaping men’s sociosexuality. Friendship groups socialize beliefs and expectations about gender and uncommitted sex, structure opportunities for engaging in uncommitted sex, and help construct the meaning of those experiences. Although peers are a powerful socialization agent, men may have some control in selecting the peers with whom they want to associate. Not all peer networks operate in the same fashion, and one of the key findings from this dissertation is that some types of male peers may be more likely to endorse uncommitted sex than others. Given the variability in possible peers, men can potentially construct social networks that exhibit a variety of committed and uncommitted sexual viewpoints. Thus, my final piece of advice for incoming college men is to seek variety when building their friendship networks. Not only should men sample from the multiple types of bros available (e.g., academic bros, partying/drinking bros,

sports bros), but they should also build a friendship network that includes men who are hook up-oriented and men who are relationship-oriented. Such a network will help ensure that men receive adequate support when seeking either committed and uncommitted sexual experiences, as well as support in pursuing other relevant domains of social development (e.g., academics, identity development). Heterosexual men should also allocate effort towards building non-sexual, opposite-gender relationships. In the absence of bros who are comfortable discussing emotions, female peers were often the only outlet for discussing personal doubts, insecurities, and hopes regarding sex and relationships.

At first glimpse these five tips may seem somewhat trite, but after analyzing the survey data and men's testimonials, it seems that many men would benefit from reading these findings. Before assuming that they should hook up because it is the norm in college, men should recognize that there are many sociosexual types of men and multiple ways of defining and achieving a meaningful college experience. Being a Player is just *one* way—and by no means the most common or satisfying way—of exploring sexuality or taking advantage of new social opportunities in the college environment.

Table 2.1
Demographic Characteristics of the Survey Sample

	M(SD) or %(N)
Demographics	
Age	19.28 (1.46)
<i>Year in College</i>	
First	32.4% (160)
Second	23.7% (117)
Third	24.9% (123)
Fourth	13.0% (64)
Fifth+	5.5% (30)
<i>Ethnicity</i>	
White	62.0% (307)
Asian/Pacific Islander	19.8% (98)
Black	6.9% (34)
Latino	3.8% (19)
Bi/Multi-Racial	7.5% (37)
<i>Sexual Orientation</i>	
No Response/Not Sure	1.8% (9)
Exclusively Homosexual	9.5% (47)
Mostly Homosexual	1.8% (9)
Bisexual	1.4% (7)
Mostly Heterosexual	3.8% (19)
Exclusively Heterosexual	81.6% (404)

Table 3.1
Study 1: Significant Zero-Order Correlations for Demographic, Behavioral, and Personality Controls on Sociosexuality

	Behavior	Beliefs	Desire
Demographics			
Age	.20 ^{***}		
Mother's Education			
Father's Education			
Sexual Minority	.23 ^{***}		.11 [*]
Asian/Pacific Islander	-.18 ^{***}	-.15 ^{***}	-.10 [*]
Black/African-American			
Latino			
Bi-/Multi-Racial			
Religiosity	-.13 ^{**}	-.33 ^{***}	
Behaviors			
Dating Experience	.24 ^{***}		
Currently Dating			-.25 ^{***}
Non-Virgin	.57 ^{***}	.28 ^{***}	.09 [*]
Drinking & Partying	.43 ^{***}	.43 ^{***}	.34 ^{***}
Personality			
Market Value	.42 ^{***}	.30 ^{***}	.21 ^{***}
Shyness	-.20 ^{***}		
Rejection Sensitivity	-.16 ^{***}		
Social Desirability		-.21 ^{**}	-.20 ^{**}

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

Table 3.2
Study 1: Fit Indices for Measurement Models of Attachment, Homosociality, Masculinity, and Sociosexuality

Construct Set	No. Latent Variables	N	df	χ^2 Value	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
Attachment	2	485	8	19.45	1.00	.99	.05	.04
Homosociality	1	491	9	21.56	.98	.97	.05	.04
Masculinity Ideologies	2	483	1	5.89	.99	.91	.08	.07
Sociosexuality	3	495	11	22.27	.99	.98	.04	.03

Table 3.3

Study 1: Tests for Indirect Effects of Attachment and Homosociality on Sociosexuality through Masculinity Ideologies (N=495, 5000 Bootstrap Samples)

Independent Variable	Mediator	Dependent Sociosexuality Variable	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	Point Estimate	95% C.I.*	
						Lower	Upper
1. Avoidance	Winning	Behavior	.10	.02	.02	-.00	.03
2. Avoidance	Playboy	Beliefs	-.09	.23	.12	.23	.35
3. Avoidance	Playboy	Beliefs	-	.03	.05	.03	.06
	Desire		-	-	-	-	-
4. Avoidance	Playboy	Desire	.06	.11	.11	.02	.19
5. Norms	Winning	Behavior	.11	.02	.02	-.00	.04
6. Norms	Playboy	Beliefs	-.01	.07	.07	.01	.13
7. Norms	Playboy	Beliefs	-	.01	.01	-.00	.02
	Desire		-	-	-	-	-
8. Norms	Playboy	Desire	.11	.03	.03	-.00	.07
9. Storytelling	Winning	Behavior	.10	.04	.04	.00	.08
10. Storytelling	Playboy	Beliefs	-.12	.20	.20	.10	.30
11. Storytelling	Playboy	Beliefs	-	.02	.02	.00	.05
	Desire		-	-	-	-	-
12. Storytelling	Playboy	Desire	.37	.09	.09	.02	.16

*Confidence intervals containing zero are considered not significant. Instances of significant mediation are in bold.

Table 3.4

Study 1: Mean Differences Between Heterosexual and Sexual Minority Participants on Attachment, Homosociality, Masculinity Ideologies, and Sociosexuality

	M(SD)		t-value(df)
	Heterosexual N=404	Sexual Minority N=86	
Attachment			
Avoidance	3.03(.93)	3.13(1.08)	-1.43(476)
Anxiety	3.66(.92)	4.16(1.04)	-4.42(476) ^{***}
Homosociality			
Brotime	27.69(15.59)	19.96(14.48)	4.00(438) ^{***}
Norms	27.45(9.25)	28.41(10.14)	-.84(463)
Sexual Storytelling	6.42(3.54)	4.65(2.96)	4.19(464) ^{***}
Traditional Male Contexts	1.60(1.33)	1.04(1.17)	3.49(464) ^{**}
Masculinity Ideologies			
Winning	1.82(.51)	1.67(.62)	2.38(476) [*]
Playboy	1.13(.69)	1.08(.73)	.55(476)
Sociosexuality			
Desire	12.94(5.84)	14.53(5.10)	-2.25(451) [*]
Beliefs	11.07(6.30)	12.05(5.39)	-1.27(437)
Behavior	6.50(5.09)	9.97(7.17)	-5.30(488) ^{***}

^{*} $p < .05$, ^{**} $p < .01$, ^{***} $p < .001$

Table 3.5

Study 2: Latent Profile Analysis Fit Indices (Chosen Solution is in Bold)

Profiles	No. free parameters	Loglikelihood	AIC	BIC	BIC (N-adj.)	LMR p BLRT p	Entropy	No. profiles with n < 5% of sample
2	34	-7091.46	14250.91	14393.86	14285.95	.00 .00	.97	0
3	46	-6960.90	14013.80	14207.21	14061.20	.00 .00	.80	0
4	58	-6920.83	13957.66	14201.52	14017.43	.60 .00	.82	0
5	70	-6885.73	13911.46	14205.78	13983.60	.43 .00	.79	0
6	82	-6853.09	13870.18	14214.95	13954.68	.34 .00	.80	0
7	94	-6819.82	13827.64	14222.87	13924.51	.17 .00	.81	1

Table 3.6

Study 2: Between-Profile Mean Differences on the Key Constructs (Based on ANOVA)

	<i>M(SD)</i>					Multivariate	
	Players (<i>N</i> =49)	Wannabes (<i>N</i> =180)	Restricted (<i>N</i> =149)	Avoidant (<i>N</i> =79)	Discrepant (<i>N</i> =38)	df	<i>F</i>
Sociosexuality							
Behavior	19.98(3.49) ^a	5.52(2.57) ^b	4.42(1.78) ^c	3.92(2.02) ^c	15.55(3.00) ^d	4,490	557.53 ^{***}
Beliefs	16.29(4.21) ^a	14.95(5.03) ^a	5.80(3.96) ^b	11.48(4.60) ^c	12.03(5.10) ^c	4,439	89.25 ^{***}
Desire	17.68(3.66) ^a	16.43(4.06) ^a	10.01(5.14) ^b	10.26(5.82) ^b	11.23(5.63) ^b	4,453	52.03 ^{***}
Homosociality							
Norms	31.21(10.31) ^a	28.35(8.98) ^{ab}	26.11(8.57) ^{bc}	24.74(10.85) ^c	32.00(9.21) ^a	4,465	6.55 ^{***}
T.M. Contexts	2.12(1.25) ^a	1.70(1.43) ^{ab}	1.28(1.20) ^c	1.14(1.09) ^c	1.25(1.32) ^{bc}	4,466	6.31 ^{***}
Brottime	38.90(19.95) ^a	29.82(14.48) ^b	24.35(13.38) ^c	17.04(12.10) ^d	18.97(15.27) ^{cd}	4,439	19.85 ^{***}
Storytelling	9.14(3.58) ^a	8.07(2.67) ^a	4.51(2.70) ^b	2.62(1.97) ^c	6.41(3.25) ^d	4,466	79.48 ^{***}
Masc. Ideologies							
Winning	2.09(.47) ^a	1.95(.44) ^a	1.68(.50) ^b	1.36(.59) ^c	1.94(.48) ^{ab}	4,478	26.77 ^{***}
Playboy	1.73(.70) ^a	1.42(.53) ^b	.52(.47) ^c	1.18(.65) ^d	1.11(.61) ^d	4,478	69.03 ^{***}
Attachment							
Avoidance	3.74(.91) ^a	3.20(.82) ^b	2.34(.68) ^c	3.81(.80) ^a	2.73(.77) ^c	4,478	59.49 ^{***}
Anxiety	3.83(.89)	3.72(.90)	3.65(1.07)	3.97(.74)	3.68(1.16)	4,478	1.61

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ ^a significantly different from ^{b, c, d}, ^b significantly different from ^{a, c, d}, etc.

Table 3.7

Study 2: Demographic, Behavioral, and Personality Descriptions of the Five Profiles (with ANOVA Results for Continuous Variables)

	<i>M(SD) or Column % (N)</i>					Multivariate	
	Players (N=49)	Wannabes (N=180)	Restricted (N=149)	Avoidant (N=79)	Discrepant (N=38)	df	F
Demographics							
Age	19.63 (1.69) ^a	19.03 (1.22) ^a	19.14 (1.30) ^a	19.41 (1.52) ^a	20.37 (2.07) ^b	4,490	8.23 ^{***}
1 st Year Student	28.6% (14)	32.4% (58)	35.6% (53)	31.6% (25)	26.3% (10)		
Race/Ethnicity							
White	83.7% (41)	62.8% (113)	57.7% (86)	55.7% (44)	60.5% (23)		
Asian/P.I.	10.2% (5)	17.8% (32)	26.2% (39)	24% (19)	7.9% (3)		
Black	4.1% (2)	6.1% (11)	6% (9)	7.6% (6)	15.8% (6)		
Latino	0% (0)	3.9% (7)	4.7% (7)	2.5% (2)	7.9% (3)		
Bi-/Multi-Racial	2% (1)	9.4% (17)	5.4% (8)	10.1% (8)	7.9% (3)		
Sexual Minority	27.1% (13)	11.2% (20)	10.7% (16)	26% (20)	45.9% (17)		
Religiosity	2.25 (.89) ^a	2.45 (1.07) ^b	2.94 (1.32) ^c	2.27 (1.28) ^c	2.34 (1.17) ^b	4,490	6.87 ^{***}
Behaviors							
<i>Party Culture</i>							
Binge Drinking	2.82 (1.47) ^a	1.94 (1.54) ^b	.69 (1.25) ^c	.73 (1.33) ^c	1.53 (1.56) ^{bc}	4,439	28.19 ^{***}
Partying	21.02 (10.86) ^a	14.34 (6.79) ^b	7.87 (5.09) ^c	8.09 (5.52) ^c	14.44 (7.45) ^b	4,465	45.84 ^{***}
<i>Relationships & Sex</i>							
Currently Dating	14.3% (7)	21.1% (38)	42.3% (63)	10.1% (8)	39.5% (15)		
Non-Virgin	95.9% (47)	53.9% (97)	43% (64)	25.3% (20)	97.4% (37)		
Personality							
Market Value	1.44 (1.06) ^a	.28 (1.00) ^b	-.23 (1.04) ^c	-.64 (1.26) ^c	.62 (1.29) ^b	4,462	35.36 ^{***}
Rejection Sensitivity	9.25 (3.11) ^a	10.03 (3.06) ^a	10.02 (3.21) ^a	11.83 (3.47) ^b	9.24 (3.43) ^a	4,460	6.74 ^{***}
Social Desirability	4.48 (2.29) ^a	4.35 (1.71) ^b	5.36 (1.80) ^a	4.81 (2.12) ^a	4.86 (1.90) ^a	4,460	5.94 ^{***}
Shyness	32.14 (8.90) ^a	35.83 (7.42) ^a	36.01 (9.25) ^a	40.74 (8.49) ^b	33.49 (10.16) ^a	4,462	8.74 ^{***}

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

^a significantly different from ^{b, c, d}, ^b significantly different from ^{a, c, d}, etc.

Table 3.8

Study 2: Multinomial Logistic Regression Results Predicting Profile Membership with the Restricted Profile as the Reference Group

Variable	<u>Players (N=49)</u>			<u>Wannabes (N=180)</u>			<u>Avoidant (N=79)</u>			<u>Discrepant (N=38)</u>		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	O.R.	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	O.R.	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	O.R.	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	O.R.
Demographics												
Age	.39*	.19	1.48	.06	.12	1.06	.23	.12	1.25	.45**	.16	1.57
Ethnic Minority	-2.47***	.70	.08	-.06	.30	.94	-.13	.36	.88	-.43	.50	.65
Sexual Minority	.27	.79	1.31	-.53	.50	.59	.33	.47	1.39	1.34*	.68	3.81
Religiosity	-.44	.25	.64	-.37**	.13	.69	-.35*	.15	.70	-.24	.23	.79
Behaviors												
Binge Drinking	.50**	.18	1.64	.30**	.11	1.35	-.00	.16	1.00	.19	.18	1.21
Partying	.27***	.05	1.31	.17***	.03	1.18	.06	.04	1.06	.22***	.05	1.24
Currently Dating	-2.12**	.71	.12	-1.44***	.40	.24	-1.43**	.55	.24	-1.13	.61	.32
Non-Virgin	2.79**	.99	16.27	.33	.36	1.38	-.48	.43	.62	3.37***	1.15	29.18
Personality												
Market Value	1.19***	.30	3.38	.24	.18	1.28	.04	.18	1.04	.35	.31	1.42
Rejection Sensitivity	-.00	.09	.99	.02	.05	1.02	.10	.05	1.10	-.07	.09	.93
Social Desirability	-.12	.16	.88	-.26	.08	.77	-.10	.10	.91	-.03	.13	.97
Shyness	.02	.04	1.02	.02	.02	1.02	.05*	.02	1.05	.04	.03	1.04
Loglikelihood	-1410.92											
AIC	2933.85											
BIC	3162.32											
BIC (N-Adj.)	2984.61											

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 3.9

Study 2: Results from Analyses of Covariance on Satisfaction and Sexual Attitude Variables

Variable	<i>M(SD)</i>					Multivariate	
	Players (<i>N</i> = 49)	Wannabes (<i>N</i> = 180)	Restricted (<i>N</i> = 149)	Avoidant (<i>N</i> = 79)	Discrepant (<i>N</i> = 38)	df	<i>F</i>
Satisfaction							
Dating	3.60 (.20)	3.22 (.09)	3.57 (.10)	3.30 (.16)	3.57 (.20)	4, 288	2.35
Sexual	3.93 (.20) ^a	3.27 (.09) ^b	3.78 (.10) ^a	3.43 (.15) ^{ab}	3.89 (.18) ^a	4, 288	5.81 ^{***}
Sexual Attitudes							
Sexual Harassment Myths	27.70 (1.23) ^a	26.21 (.60) ^a	23.78 (.67) ^{ab}	22.74 (.92) ^b	24.48 (1.41) ^{ab}	4, 455	4.61 ^{**}
Rape Myth Acceptance	42.90 (2.03) ^a	37.74 (.99) ^a	33.13 (1.10) ^b	32.04 (1.51) ^b	37.96 (2.30) ^{ab}	4, 458	7.30 ^{***}
Hostility Towards Men	7.50 (.39)	8.47 (.19)	7.79 (.21)	7.70 (.28)	9.05 (.44)	4, 439	3.75 ^{**}
Hostility Towards Women	9.36 (.47) ^{ab}	10.15 (.23) ^a	9.12 (.25) ^b	8.84 (.34) ^b	10.14 (.51) ^{ab}	4, 451	4.03 ^{**}
Sexual Double Standards	23.49 (.94) ^a	22.74 (.46) ^a	19.68 (.50) ^b	19.45 (.69) ^b	20.54 (1.08) ^{ab}	4, 445	8.30 ^{***}

Note: Covariates entered into the model for dating and sexual satisfaction include level of dating and sexual experience and current relationship status. Covariates entered into the model for sexual attitudes included (depending upon the analysis) age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religiosity, and social desirability.

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

^a significantly different from ^{b, c, d}, ^b significantly different from ^{a, c, d}, etc.

Table 4.1
Study 3: Characteristic of the Interview Participants

Pseudonym	Profile	Age	Sexual Orientation	Race/ Ethnicity	Year in College	Level of Dating Experience²	In Relationship³	Virgin
Brian ¹	Avoidant	21	Heterosexual	Asian/P.I.	3	3	Yes	Yes
Clark	Avoidant	19	Heterosexual	White	2	2		
Han Solo	Avoidant	19	Mostly Hetero.	White	2	3		
Billy	Restricted	19	Gay	White	2	2		Yes
Blaine	Restricted	18	Heterosexual	White	1	4		
Nico	Restricted	21	Gay	Black	4	2		Yes
Luke	Wannabes	18	Gay	White	1	2		
Mike	Wannabes	20	Heterosexual	Latino	4	4	Yes	
Rolando	Wannabes	21	Mostly Hetero.	Asian/P.I.	4	3	Yes	
Zach White	Wannabes	18	Heterosexual	White	1	3		
Jonathan	Players	19	Heterosexual	White	2	3		
Steve	Players	18	Heterosexual	Asian/White	1	3		
Louis	Discrepant	25	Gay	White	5	4	Yes	
Matt	Discrepant	18	Heterosexual	White	1	5	Yes	
Silver Hawk	Discrepant	20	Heterosexual	Black	2	4		

¹Interview terminated after 30 minutes due to fire alarm

²Level of Dating Experience: 0=None; 1=Some dating, no exclusive relationships; 2=One or more exclusive relationships, but none lasting more than 3 months; 3=1-2 dating relationships lasting 3+ mos.; 4=3-5 exclusive dating relationships lasting 3+ mos.; 5=5+ dating relationships lasting 3+ mos.

³In a relationship at the time of survey

Table 4.2

Study 3: College Men's Current Perspectives on Hooking Up and Dating

Current Perspective	Examples
RELATIONSHIP-ORIENTED	
<i>Don't Hook Up, Prefer Relationships</i>	I said I like it to be more emotional level before moving past that, I, I couldn't bring someone back home that I didn't know and do stuff with them. (Blaine)
<i>Don't Hook Up, But Open To It</i>	... I haven't hooked up yet and, but if it, if the opportunity were to come up even though I don't place myself in those situations... if I was in a situation and it came up... I probably wouldn't um stop, stop myself. (Han Solo)
HOOK UP ORIENTED	
<i>Waiting for Perfect Partner</i>	Um I guess um you have to be more patient for the dating partner you know but I think its well worth with it. And you can do you know your impatient stuff in the meantime. (Jonathan)
<i>Selective Hooking Up</i>	I think some people are just interested in the number factor. I'm interested in hooking-up with people that are worthy of hooking-up with... I like to hook-up but I don't want to lower my standards in order to do so. (Luke)
<i>Hooking Up Is a Game/Conquest</i>	... the hook-up desire comes from—after you've been in a relationship for a long-time—it's almost as though you are trying to get it out, of your system... the desire to... a drive for sexual conquests. Meaning that people that I desire or find attractive—the knowledge or desire that they are attracted to me, too and I can hook-up with them at my pleasure or discretion (Louis)

Table 4.3

Study 3: Factors Underlying Perspectives on Hooking Up and Dating

Factor	Examples
PERSONALITY AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS	
<i>Personality</i>	I try to be... mindful of what I do and observant. [Pause] fickle... throw that in there, too. [<i>I: In what way?</i>] Just referring to—actually relationship stuff where I tend to get bored quickly. I can lose interest at the drop of a hat. (Clark)
<i>Cultural or Religious Socialization</i>	I'm from Asia and I think in Asia it's a bit different. They don't really pressurize you like peers do pressure you here. (Brian) I was raised that you're not supposed to have sex till you're married, and although I obviously didn't hold to that um I still believe it, like you shouldn't have sex unless you're really close to someone. (Blaine)
<i>Sexual Orientation Identity Development</i>	I'm not entirely sure because I haven't had a lot of relationships. Um...but I guess, yeah, because it's hard to be completely out there with someone if you aren't entirely comfortable being yourself. (Luke)
EMERGING ADULT/COLLEGE CONTEXT	
<i>Convenience</i>	I'd rather be hooking-up. It takes a lot of energy to be in a relationship. And it's a lot of mental capacity. There was a lot of time out of my day that was focused on that... And to me it wasn't really worth it. (Luke)
<i>“The College Experience”</i>	But you gotta understand it's college. [<i>I: So what do you mean by its college?</i>] It's, I mean in high school you were, you were usually like a lot of people were tied down with like the person whatever and there's just gonna be so much like built up sexual what's out there, it's just gonna happen I think. (Steve)
<i>Party Context/Alcohol</i>	So I've never um been to a party and this is how people usually hook up. But I've never been to a party and then either drunkenly or not drunkenly made out with or had intercourse with a girl or guy, whatever. (Han Solo)

Table 4.3 (Continued)

HOMOSOCIALITY

Bros Before Hoes

[upon discovering his hook up partner was now hooking up with his friend] So I find her by the stairwell with my bro, I'm like all right, all right you know whatever that's cool, like I know you really wanted to hook up with Emily and, so anyway, I know you really wanted to hook up with her but I thought you had a girlfriend but whatever I'm not gonna rat on, like bros before hoes, right. (Steve)

Peer Pressure

The peer pressure is amazing, you would not believe how many time I've gotten texts from people who know I don't like to do hook ups and shit, like bro wanna go get girls tonight, I'm like what the fuck, no I don't... (Silver Hawk)

Storytelling Reinforces Norms

Entertainment and Bragging

... some of them just like to brag, um Jack didn't, wouldn't shut up when he had a threesome for about a good month, I think he still brags about it. (Blaine)

Focus on Negative Aspects of Relationships

Um...there is occasionally, expression of satisfaction—just satisfaction or problems. Because it's just like you discuss something else. Just sources of stress or what might be weighing on your mind...and relationships can be a source of that. (Louis)

Reinforce Restriction of Emotion

[I: How do your friends handle the emotional talk?]
They open to it to but they always call me sappy... (Silver Hawk)

Advice/Feedback

Um like kind of trying to find out how normal is my experience, slash talk, telling people about how like oh 'm starting to become more normal, or not normal. (Billy)

EMOTION REGULATION METHODS

Have More Sex, Become More Detached

I mean I think with practice yes, but I think if you're not uh, I mean if you have it a lot, with a lot of different people I think it becomes something that you don't get emotional attached to. (Blaine)

Table 4.3 (Continued)

<i>Avoid Clingy Types</i>	<i>[I: what do you look for in a sex partner?]</i> I would say independence. Not too clingy—but still showing interest. (Clark)
<i>Rationalizing Rejection</i>	... you just gotta understand there's a lot of things that go on in girls head, she could have a boyfriend, she could be on her period, she could be really pissed off her mom died and just went out cause she wanted to forget about it. So you just pick one of those, say it's not you and just keep rollin. <i>[I: And so for the guys that normally do dwell on it?]</i> I mean pussies, I don't know, like oh shit, I mean they probably won't try it again that night, running away like a dog with its tail between its legs. (Steve)
<i>Be Direct</i>	I'm pretty clear, I mean maybe not all the time but I try to be as clear as I possibly can uh so I'm, I'm pretty clear. Like if I tell somebody I like you its cause I like you and I want to be you know what I'm saying... (Silver Hawk)
<i>Be Indirect</i>	
Via Electronic Media	Yeah over the phone, if I was in person she might of did something stupid or tried to fuck me... (Silver Hawk)
Humor	Oh it was awkward at first for a minute, oh yeah cause you know we're friends, it was like hooking up with your best friend like, you like ha, ha, ha, so how was it? You know, you, you joking around, making little awkward jokes to try to calm the mood out. But then uh you know it became normal just like we was just friends you know, got back to watching the movie... <i>[I: Okay, but she has a similar attitude about it, you know joking?]</i> Yeah, yeah, she jokes about it. And sometimes more than me, I'm like damn okay; uh it was good ha, ha... sometimes I'm not sure if she really likes me more than she should or you know whatever. (Silver Hawk)
Be a Dick	I might use some body language myself to you know maybe not pay as much attention to her and definitely not you know take em for a one night stand, cause I try to avoid those... You know, being a dick, I guess. (Jonathan)

Table 4.3 (Continued)

CAPACITY FOR OBJECTIFICATION	Sometimes, a hook-up, in part, is about using someone for sexual pleasure—whether they've got much going on upstairs or not. (Louis)
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Table 4.4

Study 3: Participants' Perceptions of Change and Stability in Their Perspectives on Hooking Up and Dating

Nature of Change	Examples
NO CHANGE IN APPROACH	Um let see my views, my views haven't changed, I mean in high school I was a romantic kinda, you know I didn't um, I didn't want like this, this kinda drunken, I didn't want this like drunken encounter with this incredibly ugly girl who was attractive with beer goggles on though and then to find, and then she's pregnant. Um but, and then, and once college came I was still with my uh high school girlfriend, and then we broke up, and I'm, but I haven't um gone out and partied really hard and tried to uh get laid yet, and in the future I don't, in the future if I were to, in the future I'd probably have another long term relationship. (Han Solo)
CHANGE WITH NEW EXPERIENCES	
<i>Exploration</i>	...I could see it [hooking up] as possible that I get a little more comfortable with it in the future. (Billy)
<i>Learning from Negative Experiences</i>	I mean if something drastic happened like maybe I got really hurt by someone or uh like I just stopped trusting people I might stop looking for a relationship and just go out and have a good time and maybe hook up sometimes. (Blaine)
CYCLING BETWEEN COMMITTED AND UNCOMMITTED SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS	Certain times in my life, I prefer the hook-up approach because it is less pressure. It's less responsibility. It's more freeing but it becomes old. It gets old very quickly because it's not satisfying. As satisfying as a relationship with someone who you truly know better. (Louis)
HOOKING UP UNTIL YOU HOOK "THE ONE"	Um I'm very picky so you know if the girl isn't perfect then it's never more than short term. (Jonathan)

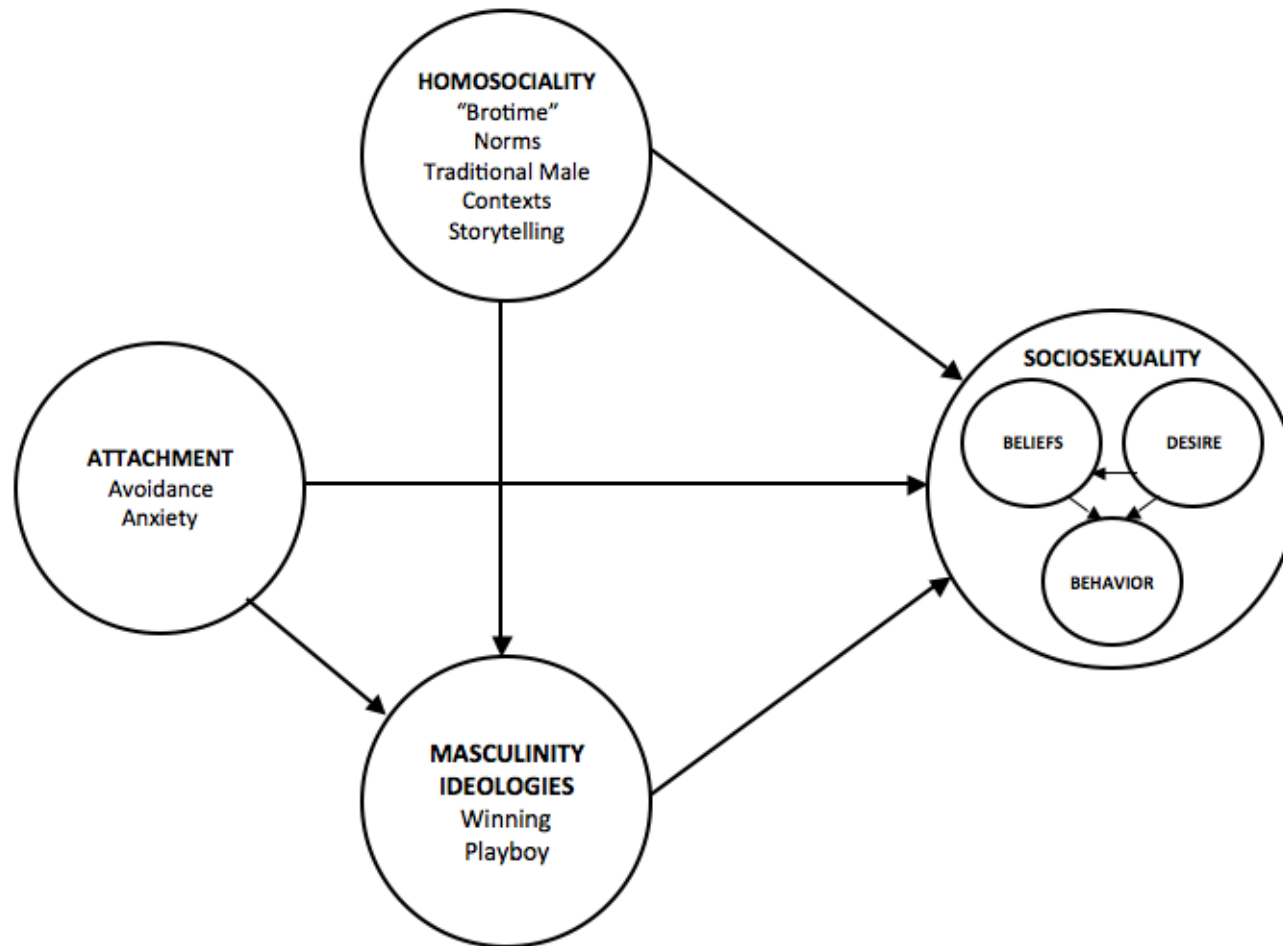


Figure 3.1. Study 1: Conceptual model demonstrating the hypothesized links between attachment, homosociality, masculinity ideologies, and sociosexuality. Also displayed are the hypothesized links between the three dimensions of sociosexuality.

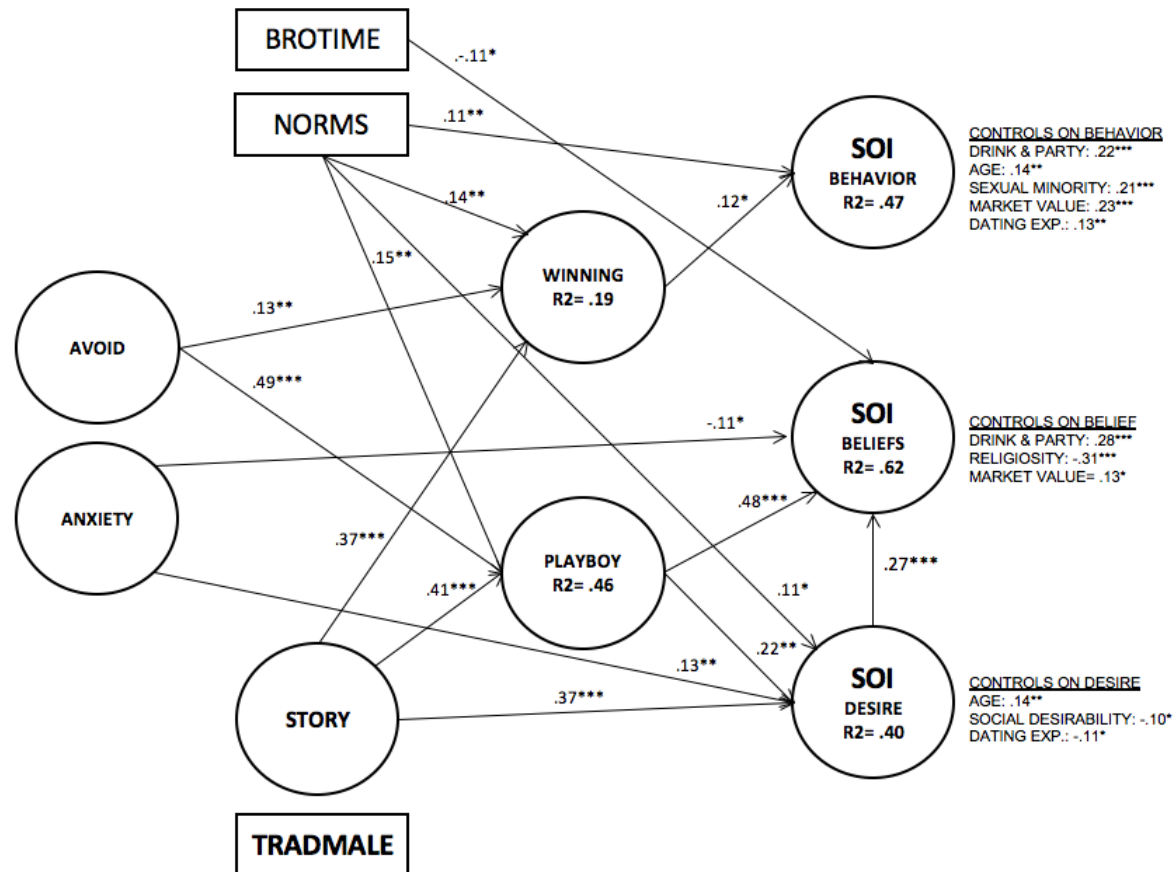


Figure 3.2. Study 1: Final structural equation model. AVOID= Avoidance; ANXIETY= Anxiety; BROTIME= Brotime, NORMS= Male Peer Sexual Norms; STORY= Sexual Storytelling; TRADMALE= Traditional Male Contexts; WINNING= Winning Subscale from the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory (CMNI); PLAYBOY= Playboy Subscale from the CMNI; SOI BEHAVIOR= Behavior Subscale from the Sociosexual Orientation Inventory (SOI); SOI BELIEF= SOI Beliefs Subscale; SOI DESIRE= SOI Desire and Subscale. Non-significant paths, covariances between latent constructs, and error and disturbance terms are not shown. Model fit: $\chi^2(401, 495) = 743.00, p < .001, CFI | TLI = .95 | .94, RMSEA = .04, SRMR = .04.$

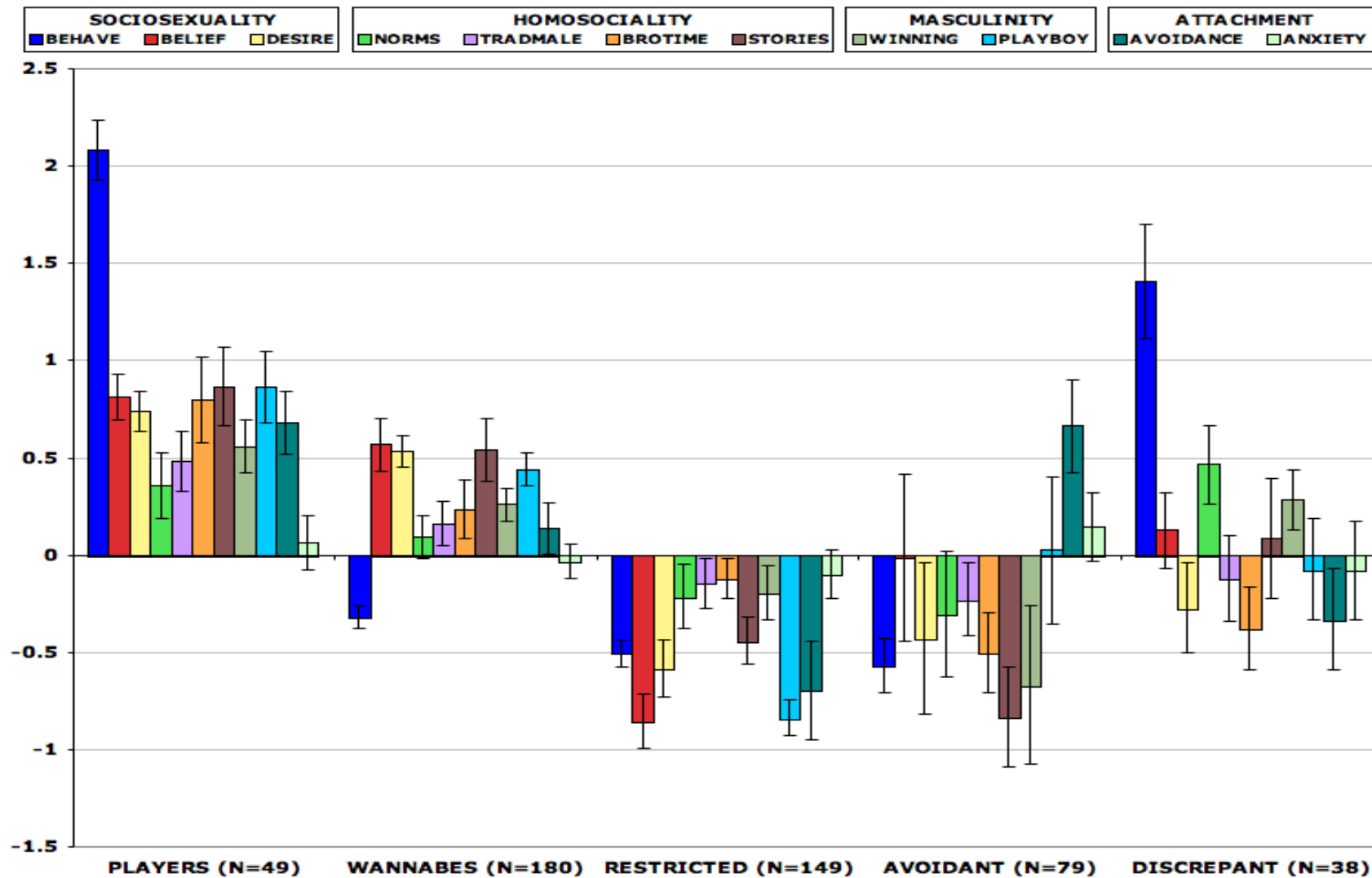


Figure 3.3. Study 2: Standardized scores for the sociosexuality, homosociality, masculinity, and attachment of the five latent profiles.

APPENDIX
STUDY 3 INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

MEN'S EXPERIENCES WITH SEX AND RELATIONSHIPS INTERVIEW

BACKGROUND

- How old are you? What year in school are you? What's your major? What do you plan to do with that major?
- How would your best friend describe you?
 - Is there anything you'd like to add to those descriptions?

DEFINING SEX AND LEVEL OF EXPERIENCE

- When you talk about sex, what behaviors are you talking about?
 - Is manual stimulation (like a hand job) sex? What about oral sex? Anal sex?
 - Are there other terms that you use to mean sex?
- Based on the information you have described to me, would you say that you have had sexual experience?

IF YES:

-In your previous experiences, were you generally with women, men, or have you had experiences both with women and men?

-Just as a reference point, thinking about your last sexual partner, was this just a one-time thing, someone you were dating, or someone you're in a relationship with?

IF NO:

-If you were to have sex, would you have sex with women, men, or both?

-Do you want to have sex at this point in your life? (**If they say no:**

-What are some of your reasons for not having sex? Do you think this will change?).

- What do you look for in a sexual partner?

HOOKING UP

- Have you ever hooked up?

IF THEY HAVE NOT HOOKED UP: Do you want to hook up?

If no: What are some of the reasons why you don't want to hook up?

If yes: What are some of the reasons why you have not hooked up?

-What are you looking for in a hook up partner?

IF THEY HAVE HOOKED UP: I'd like you to take a minute to think about the last time you hooked up. (If they can't remember, have them discuss the most memorable hook up)

-What was the context?

-How long did you know the person?

CLARIFY: Was this a friend, someone you previously dated, someone you're currently dating, someone you hooked up with before?

-Can you tell me the story of what happened from the time you met until you hooked up? Like, how did you go from noticing that you wanted to hook up with this guy/girl to actually doing it? Did you have to get together a couple of times or wait for a few days? How'd you let this person know you wanted to hook up? How did he/she let you know that they wanted to hook up with you?

CLARIFY: Were either of you drinking or using drugs when you met, decided to hook up, or during the hook up? Is that what normally happens?

-What sexual behaviors did you engage in during your hook up?

-Why did you want to hook up at that time?

-Before, during, or after the hook up did you ever think about wanting to date or pursue a relationship with this person?

-Were you satisfied with how things turned out? Was your partner satisfied?

- Was there anything that could have happened to make it better?
- Did the two of you use protection of some kind? What kind?
- Is that what you usually do? How'd you decide on that method of protection?
- Are you still in contact with this person? (If no, clarify who decided not to see the other person)
- Do you want to see him/her again (Clarify in what capacity)?
Will you? Why/Why not?
- Would you say the experience you described is typical of your previous hook ups (or if this is their only one, of hook ups in general)? Why or why not?

DATING

- Lately there has been a lot of discussion that college students no longer date; they hook up instead. Do you think this is true? Why?
- How is dating different from hooking up?
 - Are there rules about whom one should date? About exclusivity? About sex or seeing other people during dating?
 - CLARIFY:** Does “dating” mean “being in a relationship”? (If not, what defines being in a relationship?)
- What do you typically look for in a dating partner (looks, personality, etc.)? Does this differ from what you look for in a hook up partner?
- Can hooking up turn into dating? Has this happened to you before?
- I'd like you to take a minute to think about that person/the person you're currently dating or the person you've dated most recently (**Note:** if the person has dated a hook up partner, focus on that partner).
 - How did you meet/How do you know this person? What made you decide you wanted to date this person? (**If from hook up:** How did it transition from a hook up to dating?)
 - What did you do on your first date?
 - Did you engage in any sexual activity on the first date?

- Did you go on a second date? What made you decide to go on that second date?
- Are you still dating this person?

IF STILL DATING:

- Have you had sex? **IF YES**, how long into dating?
- IF NO**, will you? When?
- Are you exclusive? If so, how did you decide?
- IF NOT EXCLUSIVE**: Why are you not exclusive? Do you date others at the same time? Does he/she know about it? Does he/she do the same thing?
- What do you see in your future with that person?

IF NO LONGER DATING: Why did you stop dating? Who decided to end it? Did you learn anything from that experience (e.g., about relationships, about men/women, about yourself?)

- Between hooking up and dating, what type of relationship do you/would you prefer to engage in? Why? (**IF HAS HU & DATE EXP.:** What have you had the most experience with overall?)
- Can you tell me a time when you were rejected by someone you wanted to hook up with or date?
 - What was the situation? Why do you think it didn't work out? What reasons did they give? How did that make you feel? Did you decide to do anything differently based on the experience?

TALKING ABOUT EXPERIENCES

- Do you and your guy friends ever talk to each other about your sexual experiences?
- What are some of the things you or your friends talk about?
 - PROBE**: past experiences, desire to have sex, checking out girls, etc.
 - When talking about past experiences, do you ever show each other information about current, past, or desired partners? (e.g., texts, booty calls, photos)? Tell me about the last time that happened.
 - What motivates you or your friends to show each other these things?
- Do you ever talk about long-term relationships or things going on with dating partners?

IF THEY INDICATED NO SEXUAL EXPERIENCE

-Think about the last time you talked with a close male friend or a group of male friends about sex or sexual experiences...

-Who was there?

-What were you doing? (e.g., at a bar, playing videogames, etc.)

-What did you talk about?

-What did you think/how did you feel about the things discussed?

IF THEY INDICATED HAVING HAD SEX OR HOOKING UP

-Did you talk to anyone ever about your last sexual/hook up partner?

(focus on hook up)

-Who did you talk to?

-What were you doing at the time of the convo? (e.g., at a bar, playing videogames, etc.)

-What did you tell them?

-What did they say?

-How did what they say make you feel?

-Do you normally talk to this person/group about sex?

- When you talk about sex with your friends, could you describe a time when you ever tried to make them think that you are *more* experienced than you actually are? Why did you do that? What was the context? Can you think of a time when you tried to make them think that you are *less* experienced?
- Do you think you talk about sex differently when you are with just men, just women, or in a mixed group of friends? How?

CLOSING

- As we've been conducting these interviews, it seems that we've encountered different types of guys who have different views on hooking up. For example, we've had some guys who hook up and generally have positive attitudes about it [*Players*]. We've had other guys who hook up but also like relationships [*Discrepant*]. We've also seen men who want to hook up, but probably have not hooked up as much as they'd like [*Wannabes*], guys who don't hook up at all and would rather be in relationships

[*Restricted*], and others who might not be actively pursuing sex or relationships at the moment [*Avoidant*]. Do you think any of those types applies to you at this stage in your life? Which one, and why? If not, how would you describe yourself?

- In closing, do you see yourself—your dating, your sexuality differently now than when you were growing up? How so?
- Do you see yourself—your dating, your sexuality as changing in the future? How so?
- Anything else you'd like to say or clarify today?

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