I, Eliza M Weitbrecht, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Psychology.

It is entitled:
Investigating the “Hook Ups” of Emerging Adult College Students: Motivations, Expectations, Ideal and Actual Outcomes of Hook Ups

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Investigating the "Hook Ups" of Emerging Adult College Students: Motivations, Expectations,
Ideal and Actual Outcomes of Hook Ups

A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Cincinnati in partial fulfillment of
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This study examined emerging adults’ motivations for hooking up, their expected and ideal outcomes of hook ups, and gender differences within these three constructs. Using a two-wave prospective design, this study also investigated the actual outcomes of participants’ most recent hook ups, as well as whether ideal outcomes of these particular encounters were fulfilled. Participants were 348 university students who completed a two-part online survey containing various self-report measures on hooking up. Results showed that sexual pleasure was the most commonly endorsed motive for hooking up by the overall sample, but that several gender differences emerged across additional motives for hooking up. For both genders, the most commonly reported expected outcome of hook ups was a continued sexual relationship (i.e., further hook ups or friends-with-benefits). However, men and women differed significantly on their ideal outcomes of hook ups in general, with many women reporting a romantic relationship as ideal and many men reporting a continued sexual relationship as ideal. Follow-up reports on participants’ most recent hook ups revealed that the actual outcomes of these encounters varied considerably, with a continued sexual relationship the most commonly reported actual outcome. Approximately one third of the sample reported that the ideal outcome of their most recent hook up was fulfilled. Results suggest that men and women may have incompatible approaches toward hooking up, which may create limited opportunities for women to experience the types of sexual and romantic interactions they desire (e.g., a committed relationship; emotional intimacy), given that men appear to be less interested than women in finding committed partners and in forming long-term commitments during college.
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Investigating the “Hook Ups” of Emerging Adult College Students: Motivations, Expectations, and Ideal Outcomes Associated with Hooking Up

The gender and sexual revolutions that have taken place over the last half-century have shifted the dating, sexuality, and relationship practices of young adults (e.g., Bogle, 2008; Glenn & Marquardt, 2001). For instance, premarital sex is common and more widely accepted, and young adults are waiting to get married and often cohabiting before marriage (Jacobsen & Mather, 2010). As a result, dating scripts have changed dramatically. Formal dating and traditional courtship practices of previous generations (e.g., “going steady”) have drastically declined, and a hook up scene has emerged characterized by a “no strings attached” attitude toward dating and sex. “Hooking up,” a term coined by young adults, refers to causal sexual encounters ranging from kissing to sexual intercourse that occur between uncommitted partners not in a relationship (e.g. Bogle, 2008; Glenn & Marquardt, 2001; Paul, McManus, & Hayes, 2000). Compared to traditional dating, hook ups do not follow a specific and predictable script. For instance, young adults acknowledge their use of this term to refer to some type of physically intimate experience, the details of which may vary tremendously from encounter to encounter and partner to partner (e.g., Bogle, 2008). Hook ups might take place at parties, bars, dorms, or residences. Hook ups may occur between friends, ex-partners, acquaintances, or be “random” (Bogle, 2008), in which there is no connection to the person prior to hooking up. Yet, a hallmark feature of hook ups is their casual nature and partners’ lack of explicitly acknowledged expectations of any future commitment following a hook up.

Hooking up appears to have become an integral aspect of the college campus culture, with 50-75% of college students reporting that they have hooked up in the past year (e.g., Fielder & Carey, 2010; Garcia & Reiber, 2008; Paul et al., 2000). The ambiguity surrounding hook-ups,
especially regarding the relationship intent or expectations of the two individuals, may be reflective of the hallmark features of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2004). This developmental period ranging from years 18 to 25 is distinct and unique, in that emerging adults have greater freedom and autonomy than in adolescence but have yet to experience the stability and responsibilities of later adulthood (e.g., careers; child-rearing). The college environment in particular, with same-age peers and limited parental supervision, allows young adults the independence to explore many facets of their identities. Thus, hooking up may be especially appealing to emerging adult college students, as this is an ideal time for individuals to explore their social and sexual identities.

Yet, despite the prevalence of hooking up among emerging adult college students, their motivations and intentions for doing so remain unclear. Much of the existing literature on the subject is outdated, has focused on women only, or has included individuals in committed relationships, thereby potentially biasing reports of hook ups and poorly capturing the phenomenon. The overall objective of the present study is to address these gaps in the literature as well as expand our current knowledge on college student’s motivations for hooking up, their expectations of hook ups, and their ideal outcomes of such encounters. Moreover, the present study will be the first of its kind to use a prospective design to investigate the outcomes of college students’ hook ups by asking individuals to report on their most recent hook up encounter at initial data collection and the actual outcomes of these encounters at follow-up.

**Theory on Motivations for Hooking Up**

Existing theory on gender differences in sexuality indicate that men and women may differ considerably on reasons for engaging in casual sexual activity, and by extension, on motivations for hooking up. For instance, evolutionary theories posit that casual sex is simply
more advantageous for males than for females in terms of reproduction and genetic dissemination. Mating success for men is dependent on sex with many accessible and fertile women; however, reproduction is much more costly for women, who will therefore seek a mate with resources conducive to a long-term investment (Buss & Schmitt, 1993; Hatfield et al., 2010). As a result, men may prefer short-term sexual relationships more so than women and be motivated to hook up because of their casual and noncommittal nature. On the other hand, women may engage in short-term sexual encounters as an adaptive strategy to attract an appealing long-term mate, and therefore, be motivated to hook up in order to initiate a longer-term commitment.

Gender and social norms may also lead men and women to have differing motives for hooking up. For instance, women are socialized and reinforced to have a relational, partner-centered orientation that emphasizes emotional intimacy and attachment as an important component of a sexual relationship; in contrast, men are socialized to develop a recreational, body-centered orientation in which sex is viewed in recreational terms rather than in a relational framework of love and commitment (Impett & Peplau, 2003; Oliver & Hyde, 2010). As a result, more men than women endorse an interest in having casual sex, an interest in having multiple partners, and a desire to become involved in sexual relationships without emotional investment (reviewed by Okami & Shackelford, 2001). Moreover, women who hold positive attitudes and beliefs about engaging in casual sex also report feeling emotionally vulnerable and anxious about whether a casual sexual relationship will progress into anything long-term (Townsend, 1995). Thus, males and females may similarly desire casual sexual activity, but differ significantly in their desire to simultaneously experience an emotional connection, foster emotional intimacy, or form long-term commitments with their partners.
In fact, theories of emerging adulthood suggest that most young men and women are not interested in bonding on a deeper, more emotional level or in forming serious premarital relationships during college. They may, in fact, just wish to hook up for physical reasons, such as for pleasure and sexual desire. However, due to sociocultural influences, such as the sexual double standard, men may have an easier time of openly acknowledging physical reasons as a motive to hook up because it is more socially acceptable for men to engage in casual sexual activity and to have multiple partners (e.g., Crawford & Popp, 2003). In fact, women may be criticized or shamed for engaging in these behaviors, while men are praised and reinforced (e.g., Bogle, 2008). This may influence women’s motivations or intentions for hooking up, such that when they do hook up, it is considered one way to “find” a committed partner.

**Existing Research on Motivations for Hooking Up**

In line with theoretical perspectives, studies conducted over 25 years ago concluded that the majority of nonmarried women considered emotional involvement a prerequisite for sex and endorsed a lack of love or commitment as the primary reason for not having sex with a particular partner (Carroll et al., 1985; Simon et al., 1972). However, recent research suggests that commitment and emotional intimacy are no longer prerequisites for sexual activity for the majority of young adults. Among individuals who engage in casual sexual activity, sexual gratification has been found to be the most commonly reported motive (Aubrey & Smith, 2013; Garcia & Reiber, 2008; Regan & Dreyer, 1999). However, there is also evidence to suggest that in addition to sexual desire, hook ups may function as one pathway to relationship formation, and in particular, be considered by women a prospective way to meet relationship partners. In a previous study, significantly more women than men endorsed casual sex as a means of obtaining a long-term commitment; in contrast, more males than females reported casual sex as a way to
demonstrate their sexual prowess and enhance their social status (Regan & Dreyer, 1999). However, Garcia and Reiber (2008) found that equal numbers of men and women reported hooking up in order to initiate a traditional romantic relationship. Taken together, the majority of previous research suggests gender differences in motivations to hook up, with only one study finding contradictory evidence to indicate that men, like women, may also hook up as a way to obtain a romantic relationship. For those not motivated by the possibly of a relationship, however, research suggests that these individuals may hook up because they believe hook ups to be harmless and “not a big deal,” rather than because they explicitly wish to avoid commitment or consider hook ups a substitution for a committed relationship (Aubrey & Smith, 2013).

Fielder & Carey (2010) sampled first-semester female college students and found that the most common motive for hooking up was sexual desire, followed by spontaneous urge, partner’s attractiveness, intoxication, partner’s willingness, and the desire to feel attractive. Further, approximately forty percent of the sample was in a committed relationship, although the authors did not make clear whether women were reporting on hook ups with extradyadic partners or on sexual activity within their relationship. Consequently, we are left with an unclear picture of women’s motives for hookups specifically. A recent qualitative study (Kenney et al. 2013) found that the majority of first-year college women described hooking up to fulfill sexual desire and as a way to have fun, in addition to almost a quarter of the sample reporting engaging in hook ups to reduce feelings of loneliness, insecurity, or “to fill a void.” In contrast, in a qualitative study of only college males, peer group influences were found to be instrumental in men’s sexual decision-making, with awareness of peer approval and positive reinforcement a key factor in the decision to hook up (Kalish, 2013). Taken together, these studies demonstrate that in addition to sexual desire, individuals may hook up for multiple reasons. Because each study examined one
gender only, gender differences in motivations could not be tested; however, they suggest that women possibly hook up to feel desirable or decrease feelings of loneliness and men do so because of normative peer influence.

**Existing Research on Expected and Ideal Outcomes of Hook Ups**

In a study by Garcia and Reiber (2008), participants indicated their expected and ideal outcomes of hook ups. Equal numbers of men and women reported that the most common expectation of hook ups was further hook ups. However, results suggested that women and women may differ on their views of ideal outcomes of hook ups. The largest proportion of men (32%) reported that, ideally, they would like hook ups to lead to future hook ups. Yet, a similar proportion considered a traditional romantic relationship to be ideal (29%), followed by friendship (24%). For women, the greatest proportion (43%) indicated that a romantic relationship would be the ideal outcome of hook ups, followed by friendship (28%), and further hook ups (17%). Thus, patterns in men’s and women’s ideal outcomes may be similar. Yet, these findings also suggest that women may desire a romantic relationship more so than they desire future hook ups to result from hook up. With only study to date on expected and ideal outcomes, it’s difficult to make conclusions regarding gender differences and further research is needed to expand our knowledge in this area.

A significant limitation of existing research is that participants’ relationship status was not taken into account, with many samples including individuals who reported that they were involved in romantic relationships at the time of data collection (Aubrey & Smith, 2013; Fielder & Carey, 2010; Regan & Dreyer, 1999) and one study not accounting for relationship status at all (Garcia & Reiber, 2008). Thus, it is not known whether the sexual activity reported by participants occurred before, during, or after they entered into relationships, and as such, these
cases cannot be distinguished from infidelity or sexual activity that occurred in the context of a committed relationship, neither of which should be categorized as hooking up. Finally, the proportion of individuals endorsing a future commitment as an ideal outcome may have been overstated and included those whose hook ups may have already led to a relationship, therefore biasing participant’s reports (i.e., Garcia & Reiber, 2008). Similarly, because Aubrey and Smith (2013) also included individuals in relationships, an “anti-commitment” attitude may have been underreported—participants in relationships would be less likely to endorse a desire to avoid commitment, especially if their hook ups led to longer-term relationships.

The Present Study

In sum, existing research shows the wide range of motives emerging adults may have for hooking up and provides evidence to support the existence of gender differences in motivations. Beyond motivations for hooking up, however, very little is known about individuals’ expected and ideal outcomes of hook ups, as only one study to date (Garcia & Reiber, 2008) has investigated this topic. Thus, the primary aim of the present study was to extend the current literature by examining the hook ups of single, emerging adult college students in order to investigate their motivations for hooking up, their expected and ideal outcomes of hook ups, and whether these three constructs differ by gender. As an additional exploratory aim, this study was the first of its kind to use follow-up data to examine actual outcomes of individuals’ most recent hook ups, as well as whether or not ideal outcomes of these particular encounters were fulfilled.

There is some evidence to suggest that the ambiguity of hook ups extends to other types of relationships. Individuals use a wide-range of labels and terms to describe their romantic and sexual interactions, but overall, their language tends to distinguish between purely sexual relationships characterized by no commitment (e.g., a hook up) and other types of relationships.
involving emotional bonding, exclusivity, commitment, and expectations of longevity (Banker et al., 2010). In the former category, “friends-with-benefits” is a term commonly used to describe a regular sexual partner. A hallmark feature of friends-with-benefits is that, similar to hook ups, these relationships lack commitment and emotional attachment and are restricted to sexual activity. Young also use labels such as “hanging out,” “talking,” or “casually dating” to describe relationships that are not purely sexual and could develop in various directions, including toward a more committed relationship. Anecdotal and narrative findings (Bogle, 2008; Banker et al., 2010) suggest that hook ups may progress into these types of relationships. Whether hook ups function as one pathway to relationship formation in emerging adulthood is a theory that has been suggested but not rigorously tested by empirical research. No study to our knowledge has examined hook ups over time in order to investigate what types of relationships, if any, may result from these encounters.

Study Aims & Hypotheses

First Study Aim

Investigate college student’s general motivations for hooking up, as well as their expected and ideal outcomes of hook ups in general; examine potential gender differences across these three constructs.

**Hypothesis 1a.** Overall, participants will endorse sexual desire and pleasure as their primary motivation for hooking up.

**Hypothesis 1b.** However, a greater percentage of females than males will endorse initiating a committed relationship as an additional motivation.
**Hypothesis 1c.** A gender difference is expected in terms of *ideal* hook up outcomes, with more women than men indicating that ideally, they hoped hook ups would lead to a relationship; in contrast, more men will report that they hoped hook ups would lead to future hook ups.

**Second Study Aim**

Using Time 2 data, explore the outcomes of participants’ most recent hook ups (reported at Time 1), including the ideal outcomes of these encounters and whether or not they were fulfilled.

**Hypothesis 2.** Overall, more women than men will report that the ideal outcomes of their most recent hook up were not fulfilled.

**Method**

**Participants & Procedure**

Participants were 348 undergraduate students at the University of Cincinnati. Participants were mainly Introductory Psychology students recruited through the UC Psychology Research Participation System and were compensated with research credits to fulfill course requirements. Exclusion criteria included students who were married, engaged, or in a committed relationship, as well as students older than 25, as the study aimed to examine the experiences of emerging adults (ages 18-25). A larger sample was initially recruited ($n = 540$) but only individuals who reported engaging in hook ups were used in present analyses ($64.4\%; n = 348$). This percentage is consistent with previously reported prevalence rates of hooking up between 50% and 85% (e.g., Aubrey & Smith, 2013, Garcia & Reiber, 2008; Owen et al., 2010; Paul et al., 2000).

Demographic information was collected at Time 1. The sample was 65.5% female ($n = 228$) and 34.5% male ($n = 120$). Nearly everyone identified as heterosexual or straight (94%; $n = 327$). The majority of participants were Caucasian (82%; $n = 285$), followed by 7.2% African
American, 3.7% Asian, 4% Multiracial, and less than 1% Native American, American Indian, or Alaska Native or Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander; 2% did not identify with any of the aforesaid racial categories. Eleven participants identified as Hispanic or Latino (3.2%). The majority of participants were between 18- and 20-years old (85%), with nearly half of the overall sample 18 years of age (48.9% \( n = 170 \)). Many participants were in their first year of undergraduate studies (63.8%, \( n = 222 \)), although 15.8% were in their second year, 9.5% in their third year, 8.0% in their fourth year, and 2.6% in their fifth year or above. Participants lived in university housing (54.6%), in housing near campus (27.6%), or commuted to UC from the surrounding area (17.2%). Only two participants reported living in a fraternity or sorority house, although 15.2% of the sample reported being Greek affiliated (\( n = 53 \)). Participants mostly lived with roommates (75%), followed by parents or relatives (15.8%), or alone (9.2%). The majority of participants reported an estimated yearly income of under 4,999 (63.2%; \( n = 220 \)). Over half reported their parents’ estimated yearly income at over 70,000 (54.6%; \( n = 190 \)). Finally, the majority of the sample was sexually experienced, with 89.1% (\( n = 310 \)) and 83.9% (\( n = 292 \)) reporting that they had ever engaged in oral sex and sexual intercourse, respectively. No significant gender differences in these behaviors were found.

Participants completed a password-protected online survey via a web-based survey implementation program that contained an informed consent as well as self-report measures of various personal and relationship characteristics. Participants completed the Time 1 survey and received follow-up notification through email 8-10 weeks later to complete the Time 2 survey. Of the 348 participants who reported on their hook ups at Time 1, 112 of these participants completed the Time 2 survey. The Time 2 sample contained 32 males and 80 females. The majority of Time 2 participants were 18-years-old (46.2%; \( n = 109 \)). Most participants were
White (82.6%), followed by 5.9% African-American, 4.2% Asian, 3.8% Multiracial, and less than 1% as Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander or Native American, American Indian, or Alaska native. The majority of Time 2 participants were freshman (66.1%; n = 74), followed by 15.2% in their second-year, 8.9% in their third year, 8.0% in their fourth year, and 1.8% in their fifth year or above. Descriptive data presented on the ideal outcomes of participants’ most recent hook ups (reported at Time 1) includes only these 112 participants.

Next, we assessed for selection effects (i.e., whether the sample who completed Time 2 differed from those who did not on demographics or on their Time 1 reports of motivations, expectations, and ideal outcomes of hook ups—both in general and for most recent hook ups). There were no differences by gender, age (18 vs. all other ages), year in college (first vs. all other years), race (white vs. non-white), or motivations to hook up in general or for most recent hook ups ($p > .05$). However, group differences emerged in general expectations and ideal outcomes. Compared to those who did not complete Time 2, Time 2 participants were more likely to endorse friends-with-benefits as an expected outcome ($p = .01$), but a smaller proportion endorsed friendship as such ($p = .03$) and endorsed future hook ups as an ideal outcome ($p = .04$). Further group differences emerged such that a greater proportion of Time 1 than Time 2 participants expected nothing more ($p = .05$) and a committed relationship to result from their most recent hook ups, and a greater proportion of Time 2 than Time 1 expected future hook ups from these encounters ($p < .01$). Overall, only a minimal number of tests showed group differences, which was likely due to chance, indicating that the two groups were fairly similar.

**Survey Materials**

Participants completed a questionnaire at Time 1 of data collection that assessed lifetime sexual history and a wide range of characteristics of hook up behaviors. However, only measures
relevant to the aims of the present study are described below. In line with previous literature (e.g., Garcia & Reiber, 2008; Owen et al., 2010), participants were provided with a broad definition of hooking up: “Some people say that a hook up is when two people get together for a physical encounter and don’t necessarily expect anything further. Some physical interaction is typical but may or may not include sexual intercourse.” Participants were asked to report whether they had ever hooked up or not (“yes/no”), and those who answered affirmatively became the subset of individuals used for the current study.

**Motivations, expected outcomes, and ideal outcomes.** At Time 1, participants responded to three items that assessed general motivations, expectations, and ideal outcomes of hook-ups. Participants were asked, "In general, why do you hook up?" and were given a list of motivations adapted from the previous literature (Garcia & Reiber, 2009; Regan & Dreyer, 1999). These included general motives such as sexual desire, for sexual experimentation or exploration, or as a way to initiate a romantic relationship. To assess expectations of hook-ups and ideal outcomes of hook-ups, participants were asked "In general, how do you expect most of your hook-ups to end?" and "Ideally, how would you like most of your hook-ups to end?"

Participants reported on their expected and ideal outcomes of hook-ups by choosing from a list of outcomes adapted from the previous literature (i.e., Garcia & Reiber, 2008), which included: (1) nothing more, (2) future hook-ups, (3) friendship, (4) a friends-with-benefits arrangement, (5) talking/exploring the idea of starting a relationship, (6) a casual dating relationship, (7) a committed relationship.

**Participants’ most recent hook-ups.** At Time 1, participants also reported on their most recent hook up encounter. They were asked to give their hook up partner a code name so that they may report on this specific interaction again at Time 2. Participants were given the same list
of general motives and types of outcomes and asked to indicate their motives for engaging in this specific hook up, as well as how they expected this hook up to end and how they ideally hoped it would end. Approximately 8-10 weeks later at Time 2, participants completed follow-up questions on their specific hook up encounters reported at Time 1. In the follow-up email for the Time 2 survey, participants were reminded of the unique codename that they had given their partners and were asked to report on the outcome of the hook up by selecting from the same list of outcomes offered at Time 1 (e.g., nothing more, friends-with-benefits, a committed relationship). Furthermore, participants reported how “happy” they were with the outcome of this hook up and how “satisfied” they are with the current status of this relationship using a 5-point Likert-type scale (e.g., 1 = not at all satisfied or not at all happy; 5 = completely satisfied or extremely happy).

Results

General Motivations for Hooking Up

To address the first study aim, descriptive statistics were run to examine participants’ motivations for engaging in hook ups, and Pearson’s Chi-square tests were run to test for gender differences in the endorsement of each motive. This information is presented in Table 1, in order of the most frequently to the least frequently endorsed motivation in the full sample (i.e., including men and women). On average, participants selected four motives in response to why they generally hook up. In line with hypotheses, the most commonly endorsed motive was sexual pleasure and desire (91.7%; n = 319). Although many additional motivations for engaging in hook ups were endorsed, no other single motive was endorsed as frequently—by either men or women—as was sexual pleasure and desire. In comparison, the second most commonly reported
motive (i.e., to feel attractive and/or desirable) was endorsed by just half of the overall sample (49.7%).

Also as expected, there were considerable gender differences in motivations for hooking up. In fact, men and women differed significantly on their endorsement of nearly every motive, with the exception of hooking up due to the influence of alcohol or drugs, which was endorsed by 46% of women and 43% of men, and hooking up due to loneliness, endorsed by 27% of women versus 19% of men (although this difference approached significance, $p = .08$). For example, despite the high proportion of women who reported being motivated to hook up for sexual pleasure, the proportion of males who endorsed this motivation was significantly higher than the proportion of females who did so. In fact, only three male participants did not endorse this as a motive for hooking up. Men were also more likely than women to report that they generally hook up because there are no long-term obligations or commitment (55% vs 37%, respectively), for sexual experimentation (47.5% vs 35%, respectively), to gain sexual experience (54% vs 27%), to increase their social status (27.1% vs 5%), and because of peer influences (21% vs 7.5%). In contrast, significantly more women (52%) than men (37%) were motivated to hook up in order to initiate a romantic relationship, and because it makes them feel attractive and desirable (54% vs 41%, respectively).

**Expected and Ideal Outcomes of Hook Ups in General**

Second, descriptive statistics were run to examine participants’ reports of how they generally expect their hook ups to end, as well as how they would ideally like these encounters to end. This information is presented in Table 2. Additionally, in order to explore patterns of results and develop a more comprehensive picture of findings, outcomes were also combined to include similar relationship types. Specifically, outcomes of a talking relationship, a casual dating
relationship, and a committed relationship were grouped together to represent an outcome reflective of any type of romantic relationship. Similarly, outcomes of further hook ups and friends-with-benefits were combined to create a category of a continued sexual relationship. Outcomes of nothing more and friendship remained separate and distinct categories. Separate chi-square tests were run to examine whether the proportion of participants who endorsed each expected or ideal outcome (and broader classifications of outcome) differed by gender.

For both genders, the most commonly endorsed expected outcome of hook ups was a continued sexual relationship (i.e., further hook ups or friends-with-benefits), although men expected this outcome more often (48%) than women (37%). Interestingly, very few men and women actually expect their hook ups to end in a either a casual dating or committed relationship. In fact, only two males and thirteen females in the entire sample reported that they expected their hook ups to end in casual dating relationships, with even fewer (four women, four men) reporting that they expected them to end in an exclusive, committed relationship. These rates did not differ by gender. However, there was a gender difference in the proportion of participants who expected that hook ups would lead to a talking relationship, with 25.4% of women reporting this as the expectation compared to only 9.2% of men. This difference appears to account for the higher proportion of women endorsing an expectation of any type of romantic relationship more often than men. Lastly, about 27% of participants expected “nothing more” and 7% expected friendship to result from hook ups, with no gender differences observed within these outcomes.

Interestingly, although men and women appeared to have similar expectations for hook ups, they differed quite significantly on how they ideally hoped for these encounters to end. For instance, the proportion of individuals who reported that they ideally hope for most of their hook
ups to evolve into some type of romantic relationship was strikingly different across gender, with 64.5% of women reporting this outcome as ideal compared to only 35.1% of men. Within this broader category, a talking relationship was the most commonly endorsed ideal outcome by women (30.7%), followed by a committed relationship (21.5%). In contrast, the most frequently endorsed ideal outcome of hook ups reported by men was a continued sexual relationship (47.5%). A gender difference emerged in the endorsement of this outcome, as well as when examining each of the subcategories of friends-with-benefits and future hook ups separately by gender. Many more men than women reported that they would ideally like their hooks up to end in a friends-with-benefits arrangement or in future hook ups. Furthermore, significantly more men (19.2%) than women (10.1%) also reported nothing more as a desirable outcome. Thus, as expected, findings demonstrated that significantly more women than men hope that ideally, their hook ups will evolve into a romantic relationship. Interestingly, in comparison to their expectations, it appears that women rarely expect their hook ups to end this way, but that ideally, a romantic relationship is a desired outcome for many.

Motivations and Expected and Ideal Outcomes of Participants’ Most Recent Hook Ups

Descriptive statistics and chi-square tests were run to examine participants’ reports on their most recent hook ups. Overall, motivations for single hook up encounters were similar to general motivations, with the exception that some gender differences did not persist, most likely due to a smaller sample size and limited power to detect such differences. For instance, no gender differences were found in men’s and women’s reports of hooking up with their most recent partner due to feelings of loneliness, intoxication, or because of peer influences. However, in line with results regarding general motivations, the majority of participants (91.7%) reported hooking up with their most recent partner for sexual pleasure and desire, and, more women than
men were motivated to hook up with their most recent partners due to the possibility of initiating a romantic relationship. Because patterns were similar to those of general motivations, these results are not presented in a table.

When asked how participants expected their most recent hook up to end, responses were also similar to expected outcomes of hook ups in general. The most frequently reported expectation of recent hook ups was a continued sexual relationship (i.e., either future hook ups or friends-with-benefits), which was endorsed by 42% of the sample, though significantly more so by males (56.3%) than by females (36.3%; \( p = .05 \)). Many women also reported that they expected some type of romantic relationship to result from their most recent hook up (33.8%), with talking the most commonly endorsed expected outcome in this category (22.5%). Similar to general expectations, significantly more women than men expected a talking relationship to result from their most recent hook ups, \( \chi^2(1) = 4.14, p = .04, \) and few women or men expected a casual dating or committed relationship, with no observed gender differences in these outcomes (10% vs 3.1%, \( p = .23 \); 1.3% vs 3.1%, \( p = .50 \)).

Participants’ reports of their ideal outcomes for this specific hook up were also examined. The proportion of men and women who endorsed each type of ideal outcome for their most recent hook up, as well as chi-square tests for gender differences across these categories, are presented in Table 3 along with actual outcomes of these encounters (discussed below). Similar to ideal outcomes of hook ups in general, striking gender differences emerged in men’s and women’s reports of ideal outcomes for their most recent hook ups. For men, the most commonly endorsed ideal outcome was a continued sexual relationship with that particular partner (62.5%), including future hook ups with or a friends-with-benefits arrangement. In contrast, only 11.3% of women hoped for a continued sexual relationship with their most recent partner. In fact, for
women, the most commonly reported ideal outcome for their most recent hook up was a romantic relationship (60.1%), and within this category, a talking relationship was endorsed by many. In contrast, only 12.5% of males endorsed any type of romantic relationship as the desired outcome for their most recent hook up.

**Actual Outcomes of Participants’ Most Recent Hook Ups**

In order to examine the actual outcomes of participants’ most recent hook ups, descriptive analyses were run using participants’ Time 2 reports of how these encounters ended (See Table 3). A great deal of variation was observed in reports of actual outcomes. A continued sexual relationship was the most frequently reported actual outcome of recent hook ups (32%), followed by friendship (28%), any type of romantic relationship (23%), and nothing more (17%), suggesting that there is not one outcome in particular that commonly results from hook ups. Overall, proportions of actual outcomes were largely incongruent with participants’ reports of their ideal outcomes of these hook ups. About 46% of participants reported that a romantic relationship with their most recent partner would be ideal, but only 23% reported that a romantic relationship actually resulted. In the opposite direction, only a small number indicated that friendship would be ideal (10%), but close to 30% reported that this was the actual outcome of recent hook ups. The only consistent pattern emerged for “nothing more,” in which equal proportions reported this as an ideal and actual outcome. Chi-squares tests demonstrated few gender differences, likely due to the small number of participants who endorsed each outcome and minimal power to detect such differences.

**Fulfillment of Ideal Outcomes**

In order to examine whether the desired outcomes of participants’ most recent hook ups were fulfilled, we compared participants’ ideal outcomes of these specific encounters to their
follow-up reports of the actual outcomes of these hook ups. Specifically, if an individual’s ideal outcome reported at Time 1 corresponded to his or her Time 2 report of the actual outcome of this hook up, the desired outcome was considered to have been fulfilled. Results demonstrated that the vast majority of participants did not experience their desired outcome for their most recent hook up (see Table 4). Specifically, across all outcome types that participants could endorse as ideal, the proportion of participants who reported that the desired outcome of their most recent hook up was actually fulfilled was only 17% (n = 19). Additional descriptives analyses were also run to examine proportion of fulfillment within each outcome type. Findings showed that individuals who reported a particular outcome as ideal seldom reported that this was the actual outcome of their most recent hook up. For instance, for the broader category of any romantic relationship (i.e., a committed relationship, casual dating, and “talking”), only nine of fifty-two individuals reported at follow-up that this ideal outcome came to fruition. Moreover, of the 14 participants (1 male, 13 females) who reported that they ideally would have liked for their most recent hook up to lead to a committed relationship, only one individual reported at follow-up that this desired outcome was fulfilled. Although gender differences in fulfillment were hypothesized, none were found (p = .45), which was not surprising given the very small number of men (n = 15) and women (n = 14) who reported fulfilled outcomes of the exact outcome they were hoping for. Finally, we also examined participants’ experiences of “partial fulfillment,” in which actual outcomes aligned with broader categories of ideal outcomes. For example, if an individual reported that they ideally wanted a romantic relationship to result from their most recent hook up, we considered that desire to be fulfilled if at follow-up, they reported that any type of romantic relationship resulted (i.e., talking, casual dating, or a committed relationship). We then compared actual and ideal outcomes across the four broader categories (i.e., nothing
more, friendship, a sexual relationship, and a committed relationship) and re-ran frequencies of fulfilled versus unfulfilled outcomes. When examining fulfillment more broadly in this manner, rates of fulfilled outcomes increased, and we found that 36% of individuals experienced fulfilled outcomes.

**Satisfaction Ratings of Actual Hook Up Outcomes**

Given the low rates of fulfillment, it is somewhat surprising that participants overall appeared to be relatively pleased with these outcomes. On a scale from 1 to 5 of "how happy" they were the outcome of their most recent hook up, participants on average reported that they were "moderately happy" (30.4%; M = 3.67, SD = 1.15). When asked "how satisfied" they were the "current status of things with this person," most reported being "moderately satisfied" (31.3%; M = 3.67, SD = 1.23). Independent samples t-tests were conducted to examine whether fulfillment of ideal outcomes was associated with satisfaction ratings. Individuals who experienced fulfilled outcomes (within the broader categories) reported feeling more satisfied (M = 4.05, SD = 1.07) with the current status of things with their partners, t(110) = 4.16, p = .04, and happier (M = 4.24, SD = 0.79) with the outcome, t(110) = 8.13, p < .01, compared to those whose ideal outcomes were unfulfilled.

**Discussion**

**Summary of Overall Findings**

The present study sought to expand the current literature on hook ups by investigating college student’s motivations for hooking up, their expected and ideal outcomes of hook ups, and gender differences in these three constructs. Based on existing theory and research, we expected men and women to similarly endorse physical reasons as a common motivation for hooking up but for gender differences to emerge in their endorsement of additional motives, including that a
greater proportion of women than men would endorse a committed relationship as a motive for hooking up. We also expected to find a gender difference in terms of ideal hook up outcomes, with more women hoping hook ups would lead to a relationship and more men hoping they would lead to future hook ups. Results supported study hypotheses, and overall, general patterns of findings demonstrated striking gender differences in these domains. Main findings were that men and women largely differed on motivations for hooking up: more men than women endorsed sexual satisfaction, peer influences, sexual experimentation, gaining sexual experience, and lack of future obligations as common motives for engaging in hook ups, and in contrast, more women than men reported hooking up in order to feel attractive and desirable, to decrease feelings of loneliness, and to initiate a romantic relationship. Second, men and women reported similar expectations for hook ups but very different ideal outcomes, such that both genders rarely expected hook ups to result in committed relationships, but more women than men indicated that this would be ideal. Third, ideal and actual outcomes of participants’ most recent hook ups were largely incongruent, and as such, individuals generally reported low rates of fulfillment of desired outcomes for these encounters. Finally, results showed that the most commonly endorsed actual outcome of participants’ most recent hook ups was a continued sexual relationship.

Motivations for Hooking Up

Findings on general motivations for hooking up were largely consistent with previous research. For instance, over 90% of our sample reported hooking up for sexual pleasure and desire, a rate almost identical to ones found in previous studies (e.g., Garcia & Reiber, 2008; Regan & Dreyer, 1999). This strengthens our confidence to conclude that emerging adults are highly motivated to hook up for this reason. Yet, men still endorsed this as a motivating factor more so than did women, and only three males in the entire sample did not report this as a reason
for engaging in hook ups. Thus, men appear to be highly motivated by sexual desire, which is unsurprising given that males typically report greater libido and levels of sexual desire than do women (reviewed by Okami, 2001). A sizeable proportion of women too endorsed sexual desire as a motive to hook up, mirroring recent conclusions in the literature that the sexual and gender revolutions have allowed women today to be more open about their sexual desires and needs than women of past generations (e.g., Peterson & Hyde, 2010).

Consistent with evolutionary and socialization theories, results support the notion that men desire casual sexual activity without emotional involvement and women, in contrast, prefer casual sexual interactions in the context of a romantic relationship. For instance, men indicated more so than women that they were motivated to hook up because “there is no long-term obligations or commitment.” Compared to women, men also reported being motivated less often to hook up to initiate a relationship. Finally, they also indicated more often than women that a sexual relationship or nothing more (rather than any type of relationship) would be the ideal outcome of hook ups. In contrast, 54% of women reported hooking up because “at the time, [they] generally think that it may be the start of a romantic relationship with the person.”

Similarly, over half of women also indicated that a romantic relationship would be the ideal outcome of hook ups. Together with previous findings, (Fielder & Carey, 2010; Regan & Dreyer, 1999), there is considerable evidence to suggest that women are often motivated, at least in part, to engage in short-term sexual encounters as a way to initiate a romantic relationship, while this is not the case for men. In contrast, present findings contradict those of Garcia and Reiber (2008), who found that “a traditional romantic relationship” was endorsed as a motive and as an ideal hook up outcome by similar proportions of men and women. However, these authors likely
obtained artificially high rates of this motivation among men because they included those who may have been reporting on sexual activity with their girlfriends.

**Expected, Ideal, and Actual Outcomes of Hook Ups**

Although many women appear to hook up as an avenue towards a romantic relationship, findings indicate that they do not actually expect this to happen nor do they actually experience such a result. Women’s expected outcomes of hook ups were largely incongruent from their overall desires for a relationship. First, although 54% of women considered a romantic relationship to be the ideal outcome of hook ups, only 23% reported that they actually expected this type of outcome to occur. Second, findings on actual outcomes of participants’ most recent hook ups suggest that a high proportion of women (60%) endorsed a romantic relationship as the ideal outcome of their most recent hook up, but only about 24% of women’s hook ups resulted this way. Of those who indicated a relationship as ideal, only a minor subset of these women (8%) actually experienced a fulfilled outcome. In contrast to men, approximately 62%

considered a sexual relationship to be the desired result of their most recent hook up and 47% reported at follow-up that these specific hook up encounters progressed into such a relationship, suggesting that the overall experiences of men are more in line with what they prefer to happen.

In fact, a sexual relationship was the most commonly reported outcome of participants’ most recent hook ups, even though it was not the preferred one by women. Actual outcomes of participants’ most recent hook ups greatly varied, and no single outcome type was endorsed substantially more often than the other. Results showed that in addition to a sexual relationship, many hook ups end in friendship, with individuals remaining friends but no longer hooking up. No further contact with partners was also endorsed by close to a fifth of participants (17%), demonstrating that individuals may have limited contact with a intimate partners or hook up with
"random" individuals they did not previously know. Findings also support the notion that hook ups are generally unpredictable and do not follow a specific script.

Overall, patterns of findings demonstrated that the ideal and actual outcomes of individuals' most recent hook ups were largely incongruent, and subsequently, resulted in low rates of fulfillment. The overall rate of fulfillment was 36%, suggesting that about two thirds of participants did not experience the outcome they had hoped to. We hypothesized that men and women would differ on fulfilled outcomes but had inadequate statistical power to detect such differences. Due to the small numbers of individuals who endorsed each type of outcome, it is difficult to draw conclusions on patterns of fulfillment and whether they differ by gender. However, some patterns did emerge that support our overall conclusions that men and women differ quite significantly on their ideal outcomes of hook ups. First, very few men (only four of 32) reported that they even wished for their most recent hook up to evolve into a romantic relationship, compared to 48 women out of 80. Only nine individuals (and all women) reported that a relationship actually occurred, suggesting two things. Although women appeared to experience greater fulfillment in terms of a romantic relationship, they also endorsed a relationship as ideal more so than men. Second, the chances of obtaining a relationship from a single hook up encounter are minimal.

Despite general lack of fulfillment, however, women and men reported being relatively satisfied with the outcomes of their most recent hook ups. This counterintuitive finding may reflect that emerging adult women are quite aware that the hook up culture does not favor their desires for relationships, and consequently, they do not actually expect these outcomes to occur. Further, these realistic expectations may influence their emotional reactions regarding hook up, such that they are not disappointed when their ideal outcomes do not unfold. This line of
thinking is supported by previous research that women (and men) have more positive than
negative emotional reactions toward hook ups (Owen & Fincham, 2011). Perhaps individuals
who hook up are keenly aware that the ambiguous and unpredictable nature of these encounters
affords little guarantees for future promises, and as such, experience little disappointment when
their ideal outcomes are not fulfilled.

Overall Conclusions

Together, an overall picture emerges from findings on motivations, expected outcomes,
and ideal outcomes of hook ups, which suggests that the hook up experiences of men and women
may be quite different. For instance, in addition to hooking up to fulfill sexual desire, to explore
their sexuality, and to gain sexual experience (all motives endorsed by men more than women),
men also expected and desired their hook ups to result in further sexual interactions. This
suggests that, in line with evolutionary and social theories, the appeal of short-term, casual
sexual encounters with little personal investment and minimal emotional involvement is a
contributing factor in the sexual decision-making of men and likely influences their participation
in the hook up culture. Moreover, consistent with socialization theories that women tend to
romanticize sexual activity, preferring it to occur in the context of emotional intimacy (e.g.,
Peterson & Hyde, 2010; Townsend, 1995), college women may hook up because they consider
sexual activity, even that which occurs with a short-term partner, an opportunity to 1) receive
positive reinforcement from their partners, thereby making them feel sexually attractive and
desirable, and 2) experience physical closeness, and perhaps emotional closeness, thereby
decreasing short-term feelings of loneliness.

Present findings also suggest that the casual, noncommittal, and short-term nature of
hook ups are more favorable to men’s motives, expectations, and ideal outcomes of hook ups
than women's. Men were more motivated to hook up for sexual satisfaction, to gain sexual experience, and to sexually experiment, as well as expected and preferred hook ups to evolve into continued sexual relationships or nothing at all. They were also more likely to hook up because of the lack of long-term commitments or obligations, and, compared to women, were much less likely to expect or desire hook ups to lead to a romantic relationship. Thus, the "no-strings attached" component inherent to hook ups is much more in line with the overall objectives of men compared to women, and as such, creates an environment in which men have more opportunities to pursue these ambitions. Customs inherent to traditional dating scripts of the past-- such as timing of sexual activity and the effort required to pursue partners and go on dates-- are not conducive to the hook up motives of men, such as gaining sexual experience, sexually experimenting, or evading obligations and long-term commitments. Although traditional dating is less common among today's emerging adult college students, dating scripts are more favorable to women's romantic and sexual intentions, as sexual activity with a dating partner increases opportunities for emotional intimacy and for obtaining long-term partners.

Finally, these findings highlight how, due sociocultural influences, including widespread social and gender norms, women may be subjected to a sexual double standard and may receive the message that casual sexual activity is "bad" and deserving of criticism or shame. Yet, given that a "no-strings attached" attitude toward sexual and romantic interactions is normative among emerging adult college students (Bradshaw & Saville, 2010; Bogle, 2008), women may feel pressured to participate in the hook up scene even if they don't necessarily favor its casual and noncommittal nature. Thus, if women aren't engaging in hook ups, they may be hard pressed to find opportunities for romantic or sexual activity, given that men appear to be less interested than
women in finding committed partners and in forging long-term commitments during their college years.

This offers a somewhat discouraging picture for women, in which they minimally expect to obtain what they might truly wish for (i.e., a relationship), and appear to also experience unfulfilled desires when they do hook up. With repeated exposure, this may elicit feelings of helplessness and resignation. Consistent with this idea is the trend that more women than men were motivated to hook up because they felt lonely. Together with findings from a previous qualitative study (e.g., Kenney et al, 2010), results support the possibility that women may hook up as a way to regulate their emotions or to “fill a void.” Lower emotional well-being, including depressive symptoms and emotional vulnerability, has been associated with hooking up for women (e.g., Owen, Rhoades, Stanley, and Fincham, 2010; Townsend & Wasserman, 2011). However, it remains unclear whether hooking up places women at risk for experiencing detriments to their well-being, or, if women who are experiencing lower emotional well-being are more likely to engage in hook ups. Present findings offer evidence for the latter conclusion. Two prospective studies aimed to shed further light on this question but found mixed evidence to support either claim (Fielder & Carey, 2010; Owen & Fincham, 2011). Thus, future longitudinal research is needed in order to understand the association between negative emotionality and hooking up among women. Finally, it is also important to keep in mind that approximately half of women did not indicate that a desire for a romantic relationship influenced their motives, expectations, or ideal outcomes of hook ups. Therefore, it would be problematic to conclude that all women are at a disadvantage regarding romantic and sexual interactions during emerging adulthood, or that all women disfavor the hook up culture.

**Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions**
Several limitations exist in the present study, the most notable of which is the small sample size at Time 2 ($n = 112$; 32 men), which limits the ability to make definitive conclusions regarding the outcomes of their hook ups or gender differences in those outcomes. It would have been ideal to examine gender differences in lack of fulfillment, and specifically, whether or not women more than men experience unfulfilled outcomes. An additional limitation is that we did not gather information on when the actual outcome of hook ups occurred, and therefore, participants may have already known the outcome of their hook up at Time 1 but reported on it several weeks later. Related, we only collected information on a single hook up encounter, and therefore, are only capturing a snapshot of the overall picture on the outcomes of these encounters. Moreover, all data was collected using predominantly White university students, which may limit generalizability of findings to non-college emerging adults and those of other racial and ethnic backgrounds. Finally, very few participants identified as a sexual minority, and thus, future research should evaluate whether current findings on hooking up generalize to gay or lesbian individuals, as well as how gender differences generalize to hook ups with partners of the same sex.

Despite these limitations, the current study furthered the literature in several important ways. First, we addressed a common drawback of previous research by using a sample of only singles, thereby obtaining a more accurate picture of hooking up in emerging adulthood that is not contaminated by reports of sexual activity within relationships. We also recruited a large sample of emerging adults with greater diversity in age and year in college than has been done in previous studies. This increases the likelihood that study findings are generalizable to average college students who engage in hook ups. Additionally, the present study offers new and novel findings to the current body of literature on hooking up. This study was the first of its kind to use
a prospective design to follow-up on the actual outcomes of college student's most recent hook ups. No study to date has investigated what actually happens, if anything, after two individuals hook up, nor investigated whether individuals' ideal hook up outcomes are fulfilled.

Future research may benefit from extending the study timeframe over an entire academic year or several semesters in order to capture possible changes in the status of hook ups and other types of sexual relationships. Although the majority of hook ups did not result in a romantic relationship, it's possible that the follow-up period of 8-10 weeks did not allow us enough time to accurately capture this progression. In addition, for individuals who hook up with multiple partners, it would be interesting to learn their possible motivations and intentions for each of these hook ups and whether these differ by gender. For instance, do women who hook up more frequently or with multiple partners do so to increase their chances of obtaining a relationship? Addressing questions such as these would reinforce conclusions on gender differences in motivations and ideal outcomes of hook ups. Only by studying the outcomes of individuals' casual sexual interactions, such as hook ups, can we determine whether these interactions serve as a means by which young adults find and obtain long-term relationship partners.
References


Table 1

Proportion (in Percentages) of Participants Endorsing each General Motivation for Hooking Up and Gender Differences within Motivations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivation</th>
<th>Overall (n = 348)</th>
<th>Males (n = 120)</th>
<th>Females (n = 228)</th>
<th>Gender Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual pleasure/desire</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>97.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To feel attractive and/or desirable</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunk and/or high</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To initiate a romantic relationship with the person</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No long-term obligations or commitment</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual experimentation</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gain sexual experience</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loneliness</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase social status and/or demonstrate sexual prowess</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of pressure from friends or peers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because others are doing it</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001. †p < .10.
Table 2

Proportions (in Percentages) of Participants Endorsing Specific and Broad Categories of Expected and Ideal Outcomes of Hook Ups in General, and Gender Differences within Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expected Outcome</th>
<th>Males (n = 120)</th>
<th>Females (n = 228)</th>
<th>Overall (n = 348)</th>
<th>Gender Difference $\chi^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A Romantic Relationship</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>13.10***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual Dating</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed Relationship</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Continued Sexual Relationship</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends-with-benefits</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future hook ups</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing more</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Ideal Outcome                    |                 |                   |                   |                           |
| **A Romantic Relationship**      |                 |                   |                   |                           |
| Talking                          | 16.7%           | 30.7%             | 25.9%             | 8.08**                    |
| Casual Dating                    | 6.7%            | 12.3%             | 10.3%             | 2.67                      |
| Committed Relationship           | 11.7%           | 21.5%             | 18.1%             | 5.12*                     |
| **Continued Sexual Relationship**|                 |                   |                   |                           |
| Friends-with-benefits            | 21.7%           | 10.5%             | 14.4%             | 7.93**                    |
| Future hook ups                  | 15.8%           | 5.3%              | 8.9%              | 10.83***                  |
| Nothing more                     | 19.2%           | 10.1%             | 13.2%             | 5.65*                     |
| Friendship                       | 8.3%            | 9.6%              | 9.2%              | 0.16                      |

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.
Table 3

Proportions (in Percentages) of Participants' Ideal and Actual Outcomes of Most Recent Hook Ups, and Gender Differences within Outcome Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males (n = 32)</th>
<th>Females (n = 80)</th>
<th>Overall (n = 112)</th>
<th>Gender Difference $\chi^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ideal Outcome</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>A Romantic Relationship</em></td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>60.1%</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
<td>20.73**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>7.74**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual Dating</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed Relationship</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>3.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Continued Sexual Relationship</strong></td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>31.29***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future hook ups</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>25.38***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends-with-benefits</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>4.60†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing more</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actual Outcome</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>A Romantic Relationship</em></td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual Dating</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed Relationship</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Continued Sexual Relationship</strong></td>
<td>46.9%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>32.2%</td>
<td>4.46*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future hook ups</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>7.18**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends-with-benefits</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing more</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. †Denotes significance at p < .05 using Fisher's Exact Test when expected cell counts were less 5.
Table 4

Proportion of Participants Experiencing Fulfilled Outcomes of Most Recent Hook Ups and Gender Differences in Fulfillment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>Endorsed as ideal</th>
<th>Proportion fulfilled</th>
<th>Gender Diff in Fulfillment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall n = 112</td>
<td>Men n = 32</td>
<td>Women n = 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic Relationship</td>
<td>52 4 48</td>
<td>9 8.0 0 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Relationship</td>
<td>29 20 9</td>
<td>4 13.8 3 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing more</td>
<td>20 6 14</td>
<td>6 30.0 1 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>11 2 9</td>
<td>0 0.0 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Any Outcome, Specific</strong></td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>19 17.0 4 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Any Outcome, Broad</strong></td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>41 36.6 13 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Proportion of participants experiencing complete fulfillment, in which actual hook up outcomes were exactly aligned with ideal outcomes. \(^b\)Proportion of participants experiencing partial fulfillment, in which actual outcomes aligned with broader categories of ideal outcomes.