

## **Explaining Gender Differences in Hookup Regret**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Researchers have noted gender differences in regret over hookups. Women tend to regret hookups more often than men do, and this regret is linked to negative emotional health outcomes. In this paper, we examine four mechanisms that may explain the gender difference in hookup regret: (1) interest in the hookup and a romantic relationship prior to hooking up, (2) initiation of the sexual behavior and sexual agency within the hookup, (3) having an orgasm within the hookup, and (4) inequality in orgasm within the hookup. We also examine a number of contexts in which the gender effect may be stronger, weaker, or nonexistent altogether. Results from the Online College Social Life Survey (N=13,722) provide evidence that gender difference in hookup regret is largely a function of gender differences in sexual initiation, sexual agency, and having orgasms. Women are more likely to regret hookups because they are less in control of the sexual activity in hookups and are less satisfied by the activity that takes place. Hookup regret is gendered only in hookups between people who did not know each other very well, first-time hookups with the partner, hookups that involved vaginal intercourse, hookups that respondents felt pressured or forced into, and hookups where the respondent did not have an orgasm.

Like many aspects of American family life, the courtship practices of young adults have undergone significant changes over the past 50 years. Dating is not dead, as some have argued; dating simply occurs *after* the commencement of an exclusive relationship, and those exclusive relationships often form as the result of a couple “hooking up” (England and Thomas 2007). Although its definition is (perhaps intentionally) ambiguous, a hookup is usually defined and understood as a casual physical encounter—ranging from kissing to sexual intercourse—between two people for whom there is no expectation of a committed relationship. Hooking up is commonplace on college campuses, though estimates of the percentage of college students who have hooked up range widely from about 40% of all women (Glenn and Marquardt 2001) to 72% of seniors (England, Fitzgibbons Shafer, and Fogarty 2007). About 40% of seniors who have hooked up did so three or fewer times, another 40% hooked up four to nine times, and just 20% hooked up 10 or more times (Armstrong, Hamilton, and England 2010).

Hooking up can produce both positive and negative outcomes. Both genders report higher positive reactions than negative ones to hooking up, such as feeling attractive, experiencing sexual pleasure, excitement, and meeting new friends or romantic partners (see Fielder et al. 2013). However, there are nontrivial negative outcomes tied to hookups. For example, hooking up is associated with depression (Grello, Welsh, and Harper 2006) and sexual regret (Eshbaugh and Gute 2008; Oswalt, Cameron, and Koob 2005), as well as sexual violence, sexually transmitted infections, and unintended pregnancies.

In this study, we focus on regret resulting from hookups. Hookup regret has been linked to negative emotional health outcomes. Students who report negative or ambivalent emotional reactions to their hookups are more likely to experience psychological distress than those with positive experiences hooking up (Owen et al. 2010). Regret after casual sex has also been linked

to depressive symptoms (Grello et al. 2006). Because of these negative associations, it is important to understand what factors contribute to hookup regret.

Hookup regret is clearly gendered: Women are significantly more likely to report regret than men (Eshbaugh and Gute 2008; Owen et al. 2010; Paul and Hayes 2002), while men more frequently report that they were glad they hooked up (Garcia and Reiber 2008; Garcia et al. 2012). In this study, we seek to contribute to this literature by examining different explanations for gender differences in hookup regret. Starting with the most distal and moving to the most proximal causal explanations, we test whether gender differences in hooking up a function of (1) different attitudes towards relationships, hooking up, and sex, (2) differences in sexual initiation and agency within hookups, (3) differences in the frequency of orgasm within hookups, and (4) differences in perceived inequality in orgasms during hookups.

Women and men may also prefer different contexts for hooking up, and in certain contexts the gender difference in regret may be nonexistent. We examine the moderating influence of the four mediating variables mentioned above, as well as four additional contexts: (1) how many drinks the student consumed prior to hooking up, (2) how well they knew their partner, (3) whether or not they had hooked up previously with their partner, and (4) whether or not the hookup included vaginal sex.

### **Explanations of Regret**

There are at least four explanations for why women may regret hookups more than men: (1) They may have different attitudes towards relationships, hooking up, and sex, (2) there may be differences in sexual initiation and agency within hookups, (3) there may be differences in the frequency of orgasm within hookups, and (4) there may be differences in perceived inequality in orgasms during hookups.

### *Different attitudes towards relationships, hooking up, and sex*

Women are more likely to want their hookups to evolve into a relationship than are men (England, Fitzgibbons Shafer, and Fogarty 2007; Owen and Fincham 2011). Women's heightened desire for a relationship may stem from a bio-psychological risk aversion to casual sex. According to an evolutionary model of sexual behavior, men tend to have higher interest in uncommitted sex and are typically more interested in sex in a variety of contexts because the most effective strategy for perpetuating their genes is to have sex with as many partners as possible; conversely, women are more likely to prefer sex within committed relationships because the security of a committed relationship provides the best chance to perpetuate their genes—since they can only produce offspring at relatively infrequent intervals (Baumeister, Catanese, & Vohs, 2001). While contraception affords females greater control over reproduction and disconnects sexual behavior from childbearing, the effects of evolutionary mating psychology developed over millions of years are still felt today (see Garcia et al. 2012). If this explanation derived from evolutionary psychology is correct, women may regret their hookups more frequently because they are motivated by nonautonomous reasons (i.e., desiring a relationship), which is tied to regret (Vrangalova, 2014), and because they are less interested in hookups. Differences in regret could also result from women holding more conservative attitudes towards nonmarital sex (Petersen and Hyde 2010). These conservative attitudes may make females less willing to engage in uncommitted sexual activity than their male counterparts and translate into cognitive dissonance.

### *Initiation and agency*

An alternative explanation that could account for the gender differences in sexual regret revolves around initiation. Hookups are gendered, with men typically serving as the initiator (especially

within hookups involving intercourse), and men's sexual pleasure tends to be prioritized over women's (England, Fitzgibbons Shafer, and Fogarty 2007; Galperin et al. 2013). Sexual script theory contends that a set of "scripts" (especially gender normative ones) dictate human sexual behaviors (Simon and Gagnon 1984, 1986). The most prominent sexual script in society that is often purported by the media is the "heterosexual script," which serves to reinforce gender power inequality. According to this script, sexual behavior is central to male identity, and males are expected to be actively and aggressively pursue sex. Conversely, these scripts objectify females, who are often portrayed as sexually passive. Additionally, females are often judged by their sexual behavior, and considered sexual gatekeepers (Garcia et al. 2012; Kim et al. 2007). The sexual double standard also creates a higher reputational risk for women in these relationships than men (England et al. 2007). The gendered gap in hookup regret could stem from the fact that men disproportionately initiate sexual encounters and have more control over the circumstances of the interaction. In more extreme cases, men may use the power of initiation to pressure or force women into a hookup against their will. It could be this power differential that explains the gender gap in hookup regret.

#### *Orgasm during the hookup*

Differences in hookup regret between genders might also be attributed to differences in orgasm achievement. The gendered nature of hookups not only results in women achieving orgasms less frequently than men, but oftentimes both partners in a heterosexual hookup typically lack the knowledge of how to produce a female orgasm (Wade, Kremer, and Brown 2005). This generates an atmosphere where women's entitlement to pleasure in hookups is questioned by both men and women (Armstrong, England, and Fogarty 2012). Consequently, women may

experience higher levels of regret after hookups because they obtain less physical enjoyment from the exchange.

### *Orgasm inequality*

On the other hand, simple physical enjoyment may not be the true mechanism here. We propose it may be the *inequality* in physical enjoyment leads to regret, and we develop this hypothesis from previous studies on gender differences in hookup regret. Women are more likely to express regret because they felt used (Campbell 2008), so it could be the fact that their partner had an orgasm and they did not that leads to regret, not the fact that they did not have an orgasm themselves.

### *Contexts in which the gender difference in hookup regret may vary*

Given the explanations above, we hypothesize a number of contexts in which the gender difference in regret may be weak or nonexistent. In particular, we hypothesize that contexts in which women have less control over and less familiarity with the interaction will be characterized by large gender differences in regret, while circumstances in which women have more agency and a prior relationship with their partner will be characterized by small or nonexistent gender differences in regret. Thus, we would expect that gender differences would be strongest when more alcohol was consumed, when the parties involved did not know each other well prior to hooking up, when the partners were hooking up for the first time, when there was little or no prior interest in hooking, when there was little or no prior interest in a relationship, when the student believed premarital sex was wrong, when the hookup involved sexual intercourse, when the student was forced or pressured into sexual activity, and when the respondent did not have an orgasm.

## DATA

The data for this study are from the final version of Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS). These data are based on a 15-20 minute online survey completed by students at 21 different colleges and universities from 2005-2011. The  $N$  for the sample is 24,131. Students were recruited mostly from sociology classes, although sociology majors comprise only 11 percent of the sample used here. Other OCSLS users report little difference across majors on hookup items in the survey (Armstrong, England, and Fogarty 2012). Potential bias, however, is introduced by the fact that the data was collected in sociology classes. Nevertheless, the response rate among those recruited—owing to students receiving course credit for survey completion—is close to 100% (Armstrong et al.), and these data, by virtue of their size, collection across multiple college campuses, and in-depth coverage of hookups, are superior to most samples used to study college sexual behavior which are often small convenience samples from one or two universities.

Because we are interested in hookup regret, we limit our sample to those who have hooked up at some point during their college career. We further limit our analysis to those whose last hookup was with an opposite-sex partner. We also drop transsexual respondents and the small percentage of respondents who were not undergraduates. Lastly, we exclude those who had missing information on our dependent variable. Our working sample is 13,722 college students, including 9,418 women and 4,304 men. After applying the sample restrictions, we performed multiple imputation with the user-written *ice* and *mim* commands available for Stata. We imputed 10 datasets using all variables in the analysis, although missing values on the dependent variable were not imputed (Acock 2005).

## **MEASURES**

### **Dependent Variable**

The dependent variable for this study is a measure of how the respondent feels about their last hookup. Each respondent who hooked up was asked, “Looking back on this hookup, how do you feel about it?” Respondents could choose one of three responses, coded as follows: (1) I regret I did it, (2) I’m neither glad nor regret it, or (3) I’m glad I did it. We create a dummy variable that equals 1 for regret and 0 otherwise.

### **Key Independent Variable**

The key independent variable is a dichotomous measure of respondent sex. Respondents identified as either male (coded 0) or female (coded 1).

### **Key Mediating Variables**

We examine the mediating effects of a number of factors. Three are attitudinal in nature. The first of these is a measure of the respondent’s interest in hooking up with their partner prior to the hookup. Respondents were asked, “Were you interested in hooking up with the person you hooked up with before the day you two hooked up?” There are four response categories that we code as a system of binary variables. The first response, “No, I wasn’t interested at all,” is treated as the reference category. Dummies are included for each of the other three responses: “Possibly; I didn’t really know,” “Maybe; it had some appeal,” and “Yes, I was definitely interested.” Respondents were asked a similar question about their interest in a romantic relationship before the hookup. The response categories for this item were identical to the previous item and are coded similarly. Notably, those who said they did not know their partner at all when they hooked up with them were skipped out of these two questions. These respondents were coded as “not interested” for both items. The third attitudinal variable is a measure of attitudes toward

premarital sex. Respondents were asked if they believed sex before marriage was “always wrong,” “almost always wrong,” “wrong only sometimes,” or “not wrong at all.” We code these responses dichotomously with “always wrong” serving as the reference category.

We include two measures that tap the respondent’s control over the sexual activity in the hookup. The first is a measure of who initiated most of the sexual activity. With respect to their last hookup, respondents were asked, “Overall, who initiated more of the sexual activity?” Respondents could say either they did, they didn’t know or the other person did. Those who said the other person did are coded 1 on this variable; all others are coded 0. The second measure is a dichotomous measure of whether the respondent was either forced or pressured into sexual activity. Respondents who answered in the affirmative to any of the following five questions were coded 1 on this dummy variable: (1) “Did you have sexual intercourse that was physically forced on you?” (2) “Did someone try to physically force you to have sexual intercourse but you got out of the situation without having intercourse?” (3) “Did someone have sexual intercourse with you that you did not want when you were drunk, passed out, asleep drugged, or otherwise incapacitated?” (4) Did you have sexual intercourse that you did not want because someone verbally pressured you?” and (5) “Did you perform oral sex or hand stimulation of your partner because you did not want to have intercourse, but felt you should give them an orgasm?”

We also include different measures of orgasm. The first is a simple dichotomous variable indicating whether or not the respondent reports having an orgasm on their last hookup. The second is series of dummy variables indicating whether neither partner had an orgasm, both partners had an orgasm, only the respondent had an orgasm, and only the respondent’s partner had an orgasm. Neither partner having an orgasm serves as the reference category.

### **Key Moderating Variables**

We examine the moderating effects of each of the mediating variables above, and we also test for moderating effects of additional variables. The first of these additional variables is the number of drinks consumed prior to the hookup. We break this into four categories: (1) none, (2) ½ – 3 drinks, (3) 4 – 6 drinks, and (4) 7 or more drinks. We then explore the moderating effect of prior relationship to one’s partner. This variable has five categories: (1) Didn’t know partner at all, (2) Knew partner a little bit, (3) Knew partner somewhat, (4) Knew partner moderately well, and (5) Knew partner very well. We also include a dichotomous measure of whether the respondent had hooked up with their partner previously, and a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not the respondent had vaginal intercourse during the hookup.

### **Control Variables**

We include controls for race-ethnicity (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Other race), year in school (freshman, sophomore, junior, senior), and mother’s education (less than high school degree, high school degree, some college, bachelor’s degree, and graduate degree).

Table 1 about here

Descriptive statistics for all study variables are displayed in Table 1 for the overall sample and split by gender. Since all variables are dichotomous, only the proportions are presented. Table 1 yields a number of noteworthy findings. To begin, hookup regret is a relatively rare experience in terms of the proportion of people that regret their last hookup. Only 14% of respondents regret their last hookup, and the gender difference in regret is modest: Roughly 15% of women and 12% of men regret their last hookup.

Gender differences are evident across many—but not all—of the key mediating and moderating variables as well. For example, women are less likely than men (.35 vs. .45) to not be at all interested in a relationship and more likely to definitely be interested in a relationship prior

to hooking up (.21 vs. .15). Women are also far more likely to report that their partner initiated most of the sexual activity in the hookup (.62 vs. .30) and that they were forced or pressured into sexual activity (.11 vs. .06). Men were much more likely to report having an orgasm (.43 vs. .21). Men were also much less likely to say that their partner was the only one to have an orgasm (.20 vs. .05) and more likely to say that only they had an orgasm (.10 vs. .02). They also were far more likely to report mutual orgasm (.33 vs. .18).

Similar percentages of men and women (34%) report not drinking at all prior to hooking up, but men are more likely to drink excessively (seven or more drinks) than are women (.40 vs. .22), with women more likely to drink between half a drink and six drinks. Women also claim to have a closer relationship with their partner prior to hooking up and to have hooked up previously with their partner.

Women and men appear fairly equal in their interest in hooking up, their attitudes about premarital sex, and whether or not they had vaginal intercourse during their hookup.

## **METHODS**

We begin by examining the mediating effects of attitudes, initiation and agency, orgasm, and orgasm inequality. We do this using a model-building logistic regression approach in Table 2. Table 2 presents odds ratios from models predicting regret. The main objective of Table 2 is to explain away the effect of gender on hookup regret by adding the mediators in successive models. The first model of Table 2 is just the bivariate association between gender and hookup regret; Model 2 adds the control variables. In Model 3, we add the three attitudes variables, then we add the initiation and agency variables (in Model 4), the orgasm variable (in Model 5), and the orgasm inequality measures (in Model 6).

Then, in Table 3, we explore moderating effects, or the contexts in which the gender effect may be stronger or weaker (or nonexistent altogether). We present the marginal effect of female for each subgroup, which are calculated from models similar to Model 2 of Table 2, but which also include the interaction term between female and the variable in question, as well as the variable in question itself. Significant interaction terms are denoted and described in the table notes.

Table 2 about here

## **RESULTS**

Table 2 displays odds ratios from logistic regression models predicting the odds of respondents' regretting their last hookup. Model 1, which includes only the gender variable, shows that women have 29% higher odds than men of regretting their hookup. The controls introduced in Model 2 do not alter the effect at all. Model 2 also shows that Asians have higher odds than Whites of regretting their last hookup.

Model 3 introduces the attitudinal variables. All of these variables are negatively associated with hookup regret in Table 2. Compared to those who were not at all interested in a hookup with their partner the day before the encounter, those who were possibly, maybe or definitely interested in a hookup had lower odds of regretting the hookup. This suggests that hookups that are more intentional are also less likely to be regretted. Moreover, those who say they were interested in a relationship with their partner prior to hooking up have lower odds of regretting their hookup, suggesting that even though students' motivation may be utilitarian, it does not lead to regret. Finally, more liberal attitudes about premarital sex are also negatively associated with hookup regret. Compared to those who believe premarital sex is always wrong, other respondents have lower odds of regretting the hookup. Importantly, for our purposes, the

inclusion of these three attitudinal variables does not reduce the gender gap in hookup regret. Instead, the gender gap is suppressed by these variables; once they are added into the model, women have 43% higher odds than men of expressing regret about their last hookup. In light of the similarity between men and women in prior interest in hooking up and attitudes about premarital sex, and women's heightened interest in a relationship (which is negatively associated with regret)—seen in Table 1—this suppression effect makes sense.

Model 4 adds the initiation and agency variables. Both are positively associated with hookup regret in Table 2. Those whose partner initiated more of the sexual activity in the hookup, as opposed to the activity being mutually initiated or mostly self-initiated, have 53% higher odds of hookup regret. Those who felt pressured or were forced into the sexual activity were far more likely—with more than three times the odds—to regret the hookup. Moreover, the odds ratio for females is substantially reduced in Model 4 with the inclusion of these variables. As opposed to having 43% higher odds of regretting their hookup in Model 3, in Model 4 women having only 15% higher odds in Model 4. (In ancillary analyses, the two mediating variables were entered separately. The partner initiation variable reduces the female odds ratio to 1.21, and the force/pressure variable reduces it to 1.31. Thus, both appear to play a mediating role here.) Importantly, the initiation and agency variables have these effects net of the attitude variables added in Model 3. The effects seen in Model 4 are not explained by the fact that respondents might be acting out of step with their morals. Rather, women regret not being in control of the sexual activity on hookups, even though that activity is not something they necessarily oppose in principle.

Model 5 adds the orgasm variable. Experiencing an orgasm during the hookup is associated with a 29% reduction in the odds of reporting regret. The female odds ratio is also

reduced in Model 5 (to 1.06) and is no longer statistically significant. Thus, differential orgasm rates between men and women explain the remainder of the difference between men and women in their hookup regret. Notably, when the orgasm variable is added in a model *without* the initiation and agency variables, the female odds ratio is reduced (from 1.43 in Model 3) to 1.34, but is still significantly different at  $p < .001$ . Orgasm alone does not explain the gender difference; rather, all three factors—initiation, agency, and orgasm—explain the difference.

Model 6 adds a series of dummy variables examining whether one's perception of orgasm inequality affects hookup regret. Mutual orgasm is clearly associated with less hookup regret—reducing the odds of regret by 34% compared to those hookups where neither partner had an orgasm. Respondents who did not orgasm but whose partner did had 26% higher odds of regretting their hookup. No difference is observed for those who had an orgasm but whose partner did not. Despite the nuance provided by these variables and the fact that women are far more likely to report their partner was the only one to orgasm, this series of dummies does not seem to explain any more of the gender difference in regret than the simple binary variable for whether or not the respondent had an orgasm.

Table 3 about here

Table 3 presents odds ratios showing the marginal effects for women on regret for the independent variables. These results are produced from models including the gender variable, the relevant independent variable, the control variables, and interaction terms between the independent variable and the gender variable. The gender effect on regret is generally consistent across categories of drinking (i.e., none of the interaction terms are significant). There is one significant difference among the categories of how well the respondent knew their partner when they hooked up. For most situations—not knowing the partner at all, knowing the partner a little

bit, knowing the partner somewhat, and knowing the partner moderately well—the gender effect holds. But in situations where the respondents know their hookup partner well (23% of hookups), there is no gender difference in regret.

Similarly, women do not regret hookups any more than men when it is a repeat occurrence with that partner. Rather, the difference in regret is concentrated among those for whom it was the first time hooking up with their partner (47% of all hookups). Differences in the effect of gender on regret also appear based on the sexual activity taking place during the hookups. Women and men do not differ significantly in their regret when there was no vaginal intercourse on the hookup, but they do when the respondent had intercourse (41% of hookups). Notably, women and men do not differ once the moderating effect of sexual initiation is considered. Moreover, the gender difference is not present for those who did not feel forced or pressured into sexual activity (90% of hookups). Finally, women do not have higher odds of hookup regret vis-à-vis men when they have an orgasm. In fact, when the woman reports that she was the only one to have an orgasm, she is less likely to report regret than a man who reports that he was the only one to have an orgasm. Of course, it should be remembered that women report being the only one to have an orgasm in only 2% of their hookups.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The results from the OCSLS reveal a number of important findings. To begin, it is important to remember that gender differences in hookup regret among college students are small. We are not talking about wholly different reactions to hooking up among men and women, but on average women are more likely to regret hooking up. Secondly, we should keep in mind that hookup regret is the result of a minority of hookups. The modal response to hooking is actually positive, with another large group reporting a neutral reaction (results not shown).

Nevertheless, differences in hookup regret are evident. The key factors explaining gender differences in regret are sexual initiation, sexual agency, and orgasm experience. Women are more likely to experience regret because they are not in control of the physical activity taking place, and because they do not orgasm as frequently as men. In other words, the gendered nature of hookups, which give men more power to determine the hookup script and to prioritize their sexual experience, explains why they are less likely to regret the encounter. It does not appear that women are any less interested in hooking up than men, nor in this sample do they hold more liberal views about premarital sex than men do. They are more interested in a relationship with their hookup partner, but interest in a relationship is actually negatively associated with hookup regret. Thus, attitudes do little to explain gender differences in regret. Moreover, orgasm inequality does not explain any more of the gender gap in regret than does a simple measure of having an orgasm.

There are, however, signs that the sexual strategies theory is still at work in explaining hookup regret. While women are not uninterested in hooking up, they seem to regret it equally as men when it occurs in situations where they know their partner very well, they have hooked up with their partner previously, when they do not have vaginal intercourse, when they are an equal or primary initiator of the sexual activity, when they were not forced or pressured into sexual activity, and when they had an orgasm. This suggests that there remains a distinctly gendered approach to sexual relationships among college students. While the distinction between men and women may not be about differences in interest in hooking up, there is a distinction between men and women in what the best context for hookups is and what sexual activity is optimal during the hookup. As sexual strategies theory would suggest, women are more likely to react positively to hookups with known partners and hookups not involving vaginal sex. Still, the fact that women

are equally interested in hookups suggests that any biologically-rooted difference between men's and women's approaches to sexual relationships is subject to cultural and structural influence.

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Table 1. Proportions for all Study Variables, Overall and by Gender

	Overall	Women	Men
Regret last hookup	.14	.15	.12
Female	.69	----	----
White	.70	.70	.70
Black	.06	.05	.07
Hispanic	.10	.10	.09
Asian	.10	.10	.10
Other race	.05	.05	.04
Freshman	.30	.30	.29
Sophomore	.25	.24	.26
Junior	.21	.21	.22
Senior	.24	.24	.24
Mother has less than high school degree	.06	.06	.05
Mother has high school degree	.17	.17	.16
Mother has some college	.25	.25	.24
Mother has bachelor's degree	.31	.31	.31
Mother has graduate degree	.22	.21	.24
Not at all interested in hookup day before	.22	.21	.24
Possibly interested in hookup day before; didn't know	.21	.21	.20
Maybe interested in hookup day before; had appeal	.24	.25	.24
Definitely interested in hookup day before	.33	.33	.32
Not at all interested in relationship before	.38	.35	.45
Possibly interested in relationship before; didn't know	.24	.24	.23
Maybe interested in relationship before; had appeal	.19	.20	.17
Definitely interested in relationship before	.19	.21	.15
Premarital sex always wrong	.03	.03	.04
Premarital sex almost always wrong	.03	.03	.04
Premarital sex wrong only sometimes	.19	.19	.18
Premarital sex not wrong at all	.75	.75	.74
P initiated most of the sexual activity	.52	.62	.30
P forced/pressured R into sexual activity	.10	.11	.06
R had orgasm	.28	.21	.43
Neither R nor P had orgasm	.57	.59	.52
Both R and P had orgasm	.23	.18	.33
R only had orgasm	.05	.02	.10
P only had orgasm	.16	.20	.05
No drinks prior to hooking up	.34	.34	.34
½ – 3 drinks prior to hooking up	.14	.17	.09
4-6 drinks prior to hooking up	.24	.27	.17
7+ drinks prior to hooking up	.28	.22	.40
Didn't know partner at all	.13	.11	.15
Knew partner a little bit	.20	.18	.24
Knew partner somewhat	.21	.21	.20
Knew partner moderately well	.24	.25	.22
Knew partner very well	.23	.24	.19
Hooked up with partner previously	.53	.54	.49
Had vaginal intercourse	.41	.40	.43

Notes: N=13,722 for full sample. N=9,418 for women. N=4,304 for men. R=Respondent. P=Partner. All variables are dichotomous.

Table 2. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression Models Predicting Feelings About Last Hookup (N=13,722)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Female	1.29***	1.29***	1.43***	1.15*	1.06	1.06
Black		.88	.72**	.70**	.71**	.70**
Hispanic		.89	.81*	.81*	.82*	.82
Asian		1.47***	1.22*	1.19*	1.19	1.19*
Other race		.88	.72*	.72*	.72*	.72*
Sophomore		1.02	1.15*	1.16*	1.17*	1.15*
Junior		.97	1.10	1.07	1.08	1.07
Senior		1.10	1.28***	1.27**	1.30***	1.28**
Mother has high school degree		.95	1.11	1.13	1.14	1.15
Mother has some college		1.01	1.15	1.19	1.19	1.20
Mother has bachelor's degree		.79	.90	.91	.91	.91
Mother has graduate degree		.85	.97	.97	.97	.98
Possibly interested in hookup day before; didn't know			.71***	.71***	.73***	.72***
Maybe interested in hookup day before; had appeal			.50***	.53***	.55***	.54***
Definitely interested in hookup day before			.23***	.25***	.27***	.26***
Possibly interested in relationship before; didn't know			.63***	.63***	.63***	.63***
Maybe interested in relationship before; had appeal			.49***	.49***	.49***	.49***
Definitely interested in relationship before			.59***	.60***	.61***	.62***
Premarital sex almost always wrong			.69*	.65*	.65*	.64*
Premarital sex wrong only sometimes			.58***	.58***	.58***	.58***
Premarital sex not wrong at all			.38***	.39***	.40***	.39***
P initiated most of the sexual activity				1.53***	1.53***	1.54***
P forced/pressured R into sexual activity				3.29***	3.33***	3.23***
R had orgasm					.71***	
Both R and P had orgasm						.66***
R only had orgasm						1.18
P only had orgasm						1.26**

\*\*\* p < .001 \*\* p < .01 \* p < .05

Notes: R=Respondent. P=Partner. Reference categories are White, freshman, mother has less than high school degree, not interested at all in hookup the day before, not interested at all in relationship the day before, premarital sex always wrong, and neither R nor P had orgasm.

Table 3. Odds Ratios Reporting Marginal Effect of Female for Subgroups (N=13,722)

No drinks prior to hooking up	1.41**
½ – 3 drinks prior to hooking up	1.36
4-6 drinks prior to hooking up	1.38*
7+ drinks prior to hooking up	1.55***
Didn't know partner at all	1.56**
Knew partner a little bit	1.83***
Knew partner somewhat	1.30*
Knew partner moderately well	1.44**
Knew partner very well	.79 <sup>a</sup>
Hooked up with partner previously	1.09
First time hooking up with partner	1.53*** <sup>b</sup>
Not interested in hookup	1.39***
Possibly interested in hookup	1.46**
Maybe interested in hookup	1.19
Definitely interested in hookup	1.37*
Not interested in relationship	1.38***
Possibly interested in relationship	1.55**
Maybe interested in relationship	1.75**
Definitely interested in relationship	2.20**
Premarital sex always wrong	1.28
Premarital sex almost always wrong	1.10
Premarital sex wrong only sometimes	1.15
Premarital sex not wrong at all	1.38***
Had vaginal intercourse	1.53***
Did not have vaginal intercourse	1.15 <sup>c</sup>
P initiated most of sexual activity	1.06
R initiated most of sexual activity or unsure	1.04
P forced/pressured R into sexual activity	1.69*** <sup>d</sup>
P not forced/pressured R into sexual activity	1.11
R had orgasm	.84 <sup>e</sup>
R did not have orgasm	1.28***
Neither R nor P had orgasm	1.23**
Both R and P had orgasm	1.07
R only had orgasm	.53* <sup>f</sup>
P only had orgasm	1.44

\*\*\* p < .001 \*\* p < .01 \* p < .05

Notes: R=Respondent. P=Partner. Controls for race, year in school, and mother's education are included in models.

<sup>a</sup> Effect differs from all other categories of partner relationship prior to hookup at p < .001 or p < .01

<sup>b</sup> Effect differs from hooked up with partner previously at p < .01

<sup>c</sup> Effect differs from had vaginal intercourse at p < .05

<sup>d</sup> Effect differs from forced/pressured at p < .05

<sup>e</sup> Effect differs from R had orgasm at p < .01

<sup>f</sup> Effect differs from all other categories of orgasm at p < .01 or p < .05