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The Sexual Organization of the University: Women's Experiences of Sex and Relationships
on Two American College Campuses

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Sociology

by

Janelle Marissa Pham

Committee in charge:

Professor Beth Schneider, Co-Chair

Professor Verta Taylor, Co-Chair

Professor Sarah Thébaud

Professor Leila Rupp

June 2018

The dissertation of Janelle Marissa Pham is approved.

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May 2018

The Sexual Organization of the University: Women's Experiences of Sex and Relationships
on Two American College Campuses

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by

Janelle Marissa Pham

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full attention to this project.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to the fifty-four women interviewed for this study. You shared candidly with me about your experiences as students at your respective institutions, to include that which is most personal – your sexual lives. Your insights into what it was like to be a student at your respective institutions were thoughtful, funny, sad, angering and every emotion in-between. Without each of you this project would not have been possible.

VITA OF JANELLE M. PHAM
May 2018

EDUCATION

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Thesis: "The Other's Bedroom: Sexual Scripts and Heterosexual College Students' Conceptions of Same-sex Sexual Activity and Pleasurability"
Certificate, Teacher Development Program

2007   **B.A., History, Moravian College (summa cum laude)**

RESEARCH & TEACHING INTERESTS

Sexualities, Institutions, Stratification/Inequality, Race, Class and Gender, Culture, Quantitative & Qualitative Methods

RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

2017   University of California President's Dissertation Year Fellowship ($24,000)

2016   UC Santa Barbara Department of Sociology Student Research Grant ($1,000)

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2010   Lehigh University College of Arts and Sciences Strohl Summer Research Fellowship ($5,000)

PUBLICATIONS

2017   **Pham, Janelle M.** "Beyond Hook-up Culture: Current Trends in the Study of College Student Sex, and Where to Next." *Sociology Compass* 11 (8). doi: 10.1111/soc4.12499

2017   Schneider, Beth E., and **Janelle M. Pham.** "The Turn toward Socialist, Radical, and Lesbian Feminisms." Pp.89-108 in *The Oxford Handbook of US Women's Social Movement Activism*, edited by Holly J. McCammon, Verta

Taylor, Jo Reger, and Rachel L. Einwohner. New York: Oxford University Press.

2016 **Pham, Janelle M.** "The Limits of Heteronormative Sexual Scripting: College Student Development of Individual Sexual Scripts and Descriptions of Lesbian Sexual Behavior." *Frontiers in Sociology* 1 (7). doi: 10.3389/fsoc.2016.00007

CURRENT PROJECTS

Under review **Pham, Janelle M.** "Casual Sex in Context: Organizational Sagas and Women's Engagement in Hookups on Two American College Campuses" (*Sociological Forum*)

In preparation **Pham, Janelle M.** "Acts of Opportunity, Acts of Desire: Institutional, Subcultural and Individual Determinants of Genital versus Non-Genital Sexual Contact among College Women"

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2015-2017 Research Assistant, Multidisciplinary University Research Initiative (MURI), University of California Santa Barbara (Supervisor: Noah Friedkin)
> Supervised the primary data collection lab for this 6.25 million dollar grant funded by the Department of Defense, leading experiments that examine group influence in solving complex problems.

CONFERENCE ACTIVITY

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2017 Session Co-organizer (with Chris Wellin), "Papers in the Round: Undergraduate Research." Society for the Study of Social Problems Annual Meeting. Montreal, Canada

2016 "Sexual Contact between College Women: Institutional and Individual-Level Predictors." American Sociological Association Annual Meeting. Seattle, WA

2016 "Military Policy and Women's Sexual Autonomy in Post-9/11 War Zones." Society for the Study of Social Problems Annual Meeting. Seattle, WA

2016 "The Blog as Community Research Journal: Utilization of Student Blogs in a Qualitative Methods Class." Presented with Lillian Jungleib, UC Santa

Barbara. Society for the Study of Social Problems Annual Meeting. Seattle, WA

2014   "Sexual Decision-Making in Women's Relationships with Women." Society for the Study of Social Problems Annual Meeting. San Francisco, CA

2011   "Sexual Scripts and Heterosexual College Students' Conceptions of Same-Sex Sexual Activity and Related Pleasurability." Eastern Sociological Society Annual Meeting. Philadelphia, PA

2010   "Heterosexual Attitudes toward Homosexuals: A Literature Review." Eastern Sociological Society Annual Meeting. Boston, MA

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of California Santa Barbara
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Teaching Assistant: Sociology of Family, Organizations, Politics of Reproduction, Social Stratification, Methods of Research, Introduction to Sociology

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Instructor: Introduction to Sociology

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Journal Manuscript Reviewer
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Society for the Study of Social Problems
2017   Referee, Graduate Student Paper Competition, Sexual Behavior, Politics and Communities Division
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University of California Santa Barbara
2016-2017   Graduate Student Representative, Department of Sociology Executive
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           Responding to Sexual Violence and Sexual Assault, University of California
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2014-2016   Teaching Assistant Training Committee, Department of Sociology
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                    Conduct, Department of Judicial Affairs
2014-2015   Graduate Student Representative, Academic Senate Committee on Courses
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2014   Member, Graduate Student Association Excellence in Teaching Awards
                    Committee
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2013-2014   Graduate Student Representative, Undergraduate Program Council,
                    Department of Sociology
2013-2014   Chair, Mentorship Committee, Sociology Graduate Student Association

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2009-2011   Sociology & Anthropology Department Graduate Student Representative,
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PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

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ABSTRACT

The Sexual Organization of the University: Women's Experiences of Sex and Relationships
on Two American College Campuses

by

Janelle Marissa Pham

This dissertation examines the multi-level processes contributing to the organization and

experience of sexual life at two four-year universities in the United States, the University of

California Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania. Informed by and responsive

to macro-level theories of sexuality and the literature on collegiate hookup culture, this

study adopts a unique angle of approach to the study of campus sexual life, applying sexual

markets theory to illustrate how a university's institutional history, structural and cultural

features collectively contribute to the development of multiple, highly organized venues

coordinating the student search for sexual partners.

Combining archival research on both institutions with in-depth qualitative

interviews with fifty-four undergraduate women – twenty-seven at each school – I trace the

genesis and experience of three types of campus sexual markets: party markets, student of

color markets and queer student markets. I argue the genesis of each market type is rooted

in the dual process of organized student action and institutional change. Sexual markets are

both constructed by the collective actions of its members and constrained by the structural

and cultural conditions of the university environment. This tension, I argue, informs how

women experience the search for sexual partners on their respective campuses, and within different market types.

Rooted in the 18th century, when higher education was largely limited to the nation's wealthy, White male elite, the party sexual market is the largest sexual market at each institution, sustained by its wealthy student populations and organized around sociality, drinking and sexual partnership. As sites primarily controlled by White men, women on both campuses describe the importance of hegemonic feminine beauty, and its association with Whiteness, for unfettered access to parties. The organizing principles of both student of color and queer student sexual markets at UCSB and Penn, while principally designed to provide safe, supportive spaces for these populations, nevertheless reflect the omnipotence of White heteronormativity as these student populations negotiate different market environments and make sexual decisions. These demographic and cultural facets of both Penn's and UCSB's campuses were of consequence for how women negotiated the campus writ large, as well as how they came to understand their relationship to student of color and/or queer student communities, respectively. This study's examination of the sexual partnering strategies and approaches of women of color and queer women identifies the power of a racial and/or queer "authenticity work" for determining membership in minority student communities, with subsequent impacts on the search for sexual partners on each campus. The complex set of processes determining women's engagement with particular sexual markets reveal how the sexual lives of undergraduate women are doubly informed by the institutional environments they occupy and by their multiple, intersecting identities.

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Introduction

Tracy (Latina junior, UC Santa Barbara): I would say that in high school I

was definitely attracted more to the White Caucasian, tall male with colored

eyes. Brunette. But coming here to college I would see those males that I

was attracted to, I would sometimes in passing hear the conversations they

were having or see how they acted and I was turned off by the personal

image they gave... I have definitely felt like Latino and Hispanic men have

become more attractive just because I recognize that value of sharing that

culture is really important.

Stacey (White junior, University of Pennsylvania): I met my boyfriend

because I DFMO'ed with him at a [sorority] party. It was at our initiation

party for all the new members. And it was literally totally random. And

because he was so attractive I said to him you have to give me your number

because you are the most attractive person I have ever hooked up with and I

have to have your number. And he thought that was really funny.

Contrary to the view that sexual partnerships are wholly agentic, the experiences of the two

women above illustrate how individual motivations behind partner selection, as well as the

timing and circumstances facilitating sexual experiences, are negotiated within institutional

settings. As two women attending separate four-year universities in the United States,

Tracy and Stacey's experiences implicate the multi-level features of the university

environment – institutional structures, student organizations and associated social networks

– responsible for crafting the conditions within which students experience their respective

campus as a sexualized space. The respective narratives of these women are imbued with

both conscious and unconscious recognition of how their embeddedness in unique social environments shapes their sexual preferences or creates the possibilities for sexual partnership with proximate social actors.

Tracy describes a shift in her attraction to White males upon her arrival at UC Santa Barbara, suggesting a clash in values or priorities. "Are they serious about their future? Or are they just into the party scene?" she asked rhetorically. Tracy juxtaposes this position with an expressed desire for partnerships with Hispanic or Latino men on the basis of their shared cultural values. As a Latina woman attending an Hispanic Serving Institution[1], Tracy described ample opportunities to connect with co-ethnics within specific subsets of the university setting, including her membership in the Hispanic and Latino Christian ministry. At the time of my interview with Tracy she had recently ended an eight month relationship with Marco, a Latino male she met at a swing dancing event on campus. As practicing Christians, Tracy added that "we made it very clear that we did not want to have sexual intercourse... there were boundaries that we did break, but we did not have sexual intercourse."

Stacey, a White junior at the University of Pennsylvania, was still dating her boyfriend at the time of her interview. She attributes the beginnings of their relationship to happenstance, forged by their engagement in a DMFO – or "dance floor make-out" session – at her sorority's initiation party. Though Stacey described the context in which she met her boyfriend to be "literally, totally random," as a member of a Greek fraternity his invite to a sorority initiation party is less random than she suggests.

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[1] Hispanic Serving Institutions are nationally recognized as schools where Hispanic or Latino-identified students comprise 25% or more of the total student enrollment, graduate or undergraduate.

Neither Tracy nor Stacey's sexual relationships were the product of totally random forces; rather, they were forged through these women's varied modes of engagement with a complex university environment. With an eye to untangling the "sexual organization of the university," this study adopts a unique angle of approach to the study of campus sexual life, attuned to how the structural and cultural features of university environments contribute to the development of multiple, highly organized venues, or "sexual markets" (Laumann, Ellingson, Mahay, Paik and Youm 2004) coordinating the student search for sexual partners. Drawing upon archival research and in-depth qualitative interviews with undergraduate women at two four-year universities in the United States – the University of California Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania – I illustrate how the institutional histories and structural arrangements of each school contributed to the development of multiple sexual markets within campus space, demarcated along racial, classed and sexual lines. The complex set of processes determining women's engagement with particular sexual markets informs their experiences of sex, dating and relationships on their respective campuses.

Colleges and universities are unique environments in which to study the organization of sexual life. Some liken these environments to "total institutions" (Wade 2017) in their provision of the basic needs of its students beyond an education, to include housing, food, social events and health and wellness services. The institutional environment that is the university also coordinates students' daily interaction with others of similar age and backgrounds through academic and social activities, as well as through proximate housing arrangements, cultivating a veritable "pool" of potential sexual partners from which to choose.

A rapidly growing body of research on college student sexual life attributes these institutional features to the development of campus "hookup cultures," marked by student engagement in casual sexual encounters ranging from kissing to intercourse (Bogle 2007; Epstein, Calzo, Smiler and Ward 2009; Holman and Sillars 2012). These encounters are often one-time affairs, and are not followed with any expectation for dates or a committed relationship (Berntson, Hoffman and Luff 2014; England, Shafer and Fogarty 2003; Wentland and Reissing 2014). Additional research on the prevalence of college hookups on campuses nationwide find varying rates of participation across racial, class, gendered and sexual identities (Barrios and Lundquist 2012; Eaton, Rose, Interligi, Fernandez and McHugh 2015; Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Kuperberg and Padgett 2015; Spell 2016).

Yet while scholars have explored how the university environment is structured to encourage students' participation in casual sex, the hookup literature often treats this sexual culture as monolithic, manifesting and shaping the student approach to sexual relationships similarly across institutional environments. Further, hookup culture is also described as if it were *the* (singular) sexual culture on camps, one which students summarily opt into or out of. Shifting focus to how sexual life is organized and experienced within local contexts, this study analyzes two different institutional environments to explicate how social and cultural contexts unique to a given university produce *multiple* sexual cultures across varied sexual markets, as well as how these markets inform women's negotiation of the various facets of sexual life. These facets include not only the spaces and conditions in which sexual partners are found, but also how individuals evaluate the desirability of potential sexual partners and understand their sexual subjectivity and perceived desirability to others (Green 2014).

Through a comparative, multi-level analysis, I analyze how the institutional environment of the four-year university informs undergraduate women's navigation and decision-making regarding sexual partnerships on their respective campuses and, further, how their experiences of the university as a site of sexual potential are mediated by their racial, class and sexual identities. Throughout this study I am guided by the following questions: how does institutional history, structure and culture matter for the development and organization of multiple sexual markets within the context of the 21st century, four-year university? What implications does this organization have for how undergraduate women experience the search for sexual partners within university space, and how are these experiences informed by their racial, class and sexual identities?

This study identifies the processes contributing to the development of multiple, organized sexual venues on a given campus. It identifies the combined influence of a university's development over its history, its resultant structuring in the present, its physical geography and the role of its student populations in the development of varied sexual markets. In particular, I identify three sexual market types – party sexual markets, student of color sexual markets, and queer student markets – and locate their emergence during periods of protest and challenge to the status quo in higher education. As a comparative study of two four-year universities, I further demonstrate how participants collectively produce cultural scripts and scenarios for sexual partnership unique to each market type, and how these dynamics differently manifest within particular institutional settings. The major findings of this study contribute to a broader body of sexualities research attuned to how structural-level forces organize sexual life at the collective level and inform individual experience of sexual partnership (Carrillo 2017; Green 2014; Laumann et al. 2004), and

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provides a nuanced contribution to the collegiate sexuality literature in its focus on the multiplicity of sexual cultures within and across university campus settings.

The University as a Sexual Marketplace

The robust body of scholarship examining sexual relationships between college students identifies features of the university setting contributing to a demonstrated rise in prominence of hookup culture, marked by student engagement in casual sexual relationships (Bogle 2008; Heldman and Wade 2010; Owen, Rhoades, Stanley and Fincham 2010; Paul and Hayes 2002; Wade 2017). Broader cultural trends, such as later age at first marriage and shifts in gendered sexual norms, are partially attributed to the popularity of hookups (Allison and Risman 2017; Allison and Risman 2014; Wilkins and Dalessandro 2013). Historically, the changing features of American university life crafted increased opportunities for heterosexual partnerships within campus spaces, to include the end of *in loco parentis* in the 1960s, which eased restrictions on mixed-sex interaction outside of college classrooms (Gumprecht 2008; Horowitz 1987). The growth in commercialization of the American university was an additional significant development, engaging schools in a competition for students and their tuition dollars. While sex sells, so does fun. Capitalizing on the popular image of college as a time for partying and drunken revelry, colleges and universities offer various forms of entertainment, such as athletics programs, Greek life and a bevy of extracurricular activities, attracting students on the basis of a school's social offerings as much as its academic ones (Bok 2003; Sperber 2000). At residential universities in particular, the housing of students of similar age in close proximity matched with this popular image of college as a time for "fun," collectively cultivate campus

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environments which encourage, and provide the settings for, heterosexual sexual partnerships (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Bogle 2008; Wade 2017).

The hookup culture literature explores how sexual partnerships are negotiated in a university environment marked by the (mostly false) perception that most students are seeking sex without the strings of a long-term commitment (Holman and Sillars 2012; Lambert, Kahn and Apple 2003). Scholars have explored how rates of participation in hookups vary across race (Eaton et al. 2015; Owen et al. 2010; Ray and Rosow 2010; Spell 2016), class (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Hamilton and Armstrong 2009), gender (Kuperberg and Padgett 2015) and sexual identities (Barrios and Lundquist 2012; Rupp and Taylor 2010; Rupp, Taylor, Regev-Messalem, Fogarty and England 2014), as well as how students who choose to "opt out" of hookup culture perceive their sexual options (Freitas 2008; Wade 2017). Nevertheless, most studies of college hookup cultures draw from the experiences of White, heterosexually-identified students (Allison and Risman 2013; Bogle 2008; Epstein, Calzo, Smiler and Ward 2009; Lewis, Atkins, Blayney, Dent and Kaysen 2013; Olmstead, Roberson, Pasley and Fincham 2015; Owen, Fincham and Moore 2011; Vrangalova 2015; Wentland and Reissing 2014). Further, as a scholarly trend, hookup culture is often made the center of focus for the study of student sexual life, often to the detriment of exploring student sexual life in a broader context – that is, beyond a focus on casual sexual relationships (Pham 2017). The privileging of the hookup in the study of university sexual life also raises questions about the uniformity of campus sexual cultures across different institutional contexts, and of the student experience with sexual partnerships across the diversity of campus environments.

What happens, then, when we decenter hookup culture as the focal point of inquiry and attune to how students search for sexual partners and negotiate sexual decisions within the context of the four-year university? This study contributes to a gap in the sexualities literature focused on the student experience in its examination of the localized social processes governing student negotiation of the university as a site of sexual partnership. I adopt a broadened examination of student sexual life, arguing for the existence of *multiple* sexual cultures on the university campus and connecting these to the sexual experiences of college women of varying race, class and sexual identity. We know that students are having sex, and that very often these encounters are negotiated within campus boundaries. However, less is known about how an institution's structure, culture and physical location contributes to the production of a matrix of sexual market options, nor of how these localized arrangements inform student's immersion in particular markets and their sexual experiences within them.

Recently developed sociological theories of sexuality, to include sexual fields and sexual markets theories, represent a shift from social constructionist explanations for sexual practice. While social constructionist theories, such as sexual script theory, attribute sexual decisions to the character of individuals themselves (Simon and Gagnon 1999), a structural approach views sexual life as collectively developed, highly organized and shaped by local conditions (Green 2014; Laumann et al. 2004). Geographers of sexuality have long approached the study of sexual life from this angle, cognizant of the organization of social space for the facilitation of sexual relationships (Bell, Binnie, Holliday, Longhurst and Peace 2001; Bell and Valentine 1995; Binnie 2000). Tying patterns of individual behavior to their enactment in space, geographers of sexuality that argue heterosexuality is an

invisible organizing feature of space, a taken-for-granted orientation between actors achieved through gendered and sexual performance (Browne, Lim and Brown 2007; Nusser and Anacker 2012).

Emerging in the 21st century, the sociological study of collective sexual life and its relationship to place has been later to develop, but contributes to the larger conversation on sexual behavior in its focus on the relationship between social structures and individual sexual identities, behaviors and desires (Green 2014). These scholars identify how different physical sites, to include cities (Brown Saracino 2018), neighborhoods (Laumann et al. 2004) or commercialized spaces such as bars, dance clubs or bathhouses (Hammers 2008a; Taylor 2008; Weinberg and Williams 2014) both shape and are shaped by the social actors who inhabit them, and, further, how their various subject positions across race, class, gender, sexual identity, ability, etc. produce a collective sexual life. The contextual obligations of social life and their imprint on the decisions of individuals as sexual actors broadens the scope of inquiry into the organization of sexual life across institutional, geographic and commercial environments.

I draw upon one of these structurally-focused theories of sexuality, sexual markets theory, to explicate the patterned organization of sexual life within the context of the 21st century university and, further, to examine how this organization differently shapes undergraduate women's search for sexual partners across class, racial and sexual identities. In its focus on local social and cultural structures as they inform sexual interaction, sexual markets theory deviates from an economic market-based study of sexual life, the latter of which tends to privilege individual-level characteristics as actors weigh the "costs and benefits" of potential sexual matches (Becker, Landes and Michael 1977; Becker 1973;

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Mortensen 1988). Instead, sexual markets theory examines the constellation of social forces organizing the search for sexual partners within a given social environment.

More specifically, Laumann and colleagues define the sexual market as a "spatially and culturally bounded arena in which searches for sex partners and a variety of exchanges or transactions are conducted" (2004:8). Interaction with potential sexual partners and the formation of sexual relationships are not merely the product of individual desires, but of multi-level forces creating the boundaries and conditions for potential partners to interact. Sexual markets theory specifically identifies the role that space, local organizations (e.g., churches, law enforcement), social networks and cultural scripts play in the development of multiple sexual markets within a given location (for example, a neighborhood, or a university campus), and the weight of these same variables for sorting individuals into certain market types over others. For example, Laumann and colleagues' (2004) study of Chicago's sexual markets identifies the cultivation of markets within and across neighborhoods, the boundaries of which are defined and designated by race and sexual orientation as well as by historic residential segregation. While individuals are certainly free to move within and across multiple markets, their engagement with similarly (or differently) positioned others and their interaction with the spaces, cultures and networks of a given market will determine their status and success in finding sexual partners.

The major contribution of sexual markets theory is its multi-level analysis of the process of sexual partnering. While sexual partnerships, on their face, appear to be the result of personal preferences – what an individual finds attractive, for example – who an individual comes into contact with, the conditions under which they develop sexual preferences and perceive their compatibility with other potential sexual partners are

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negotiated within specific social conditions and physical locations. My research draws upon

sexual markets theory to explore the sexual organization of the four-year American

university, an institution marked by rapid diversification of its institutional offerings and its

student populations.[2] I show how the characteristics unique to a given university – its

geography and relationship to surrounding communities, its campus culture, institutional

structures and local organizations – contribute to the development of multiple sexual

markets on its campus, effectively organizing the conditions and possibilities for sexual

partnership among its students. Building upon sexual markets theory for exploring the

organization of sexual life within institutions, I argue we must consider an additional factor

– an institution's history – to explain the physical development and cultural organization of

a university's sexual markets. As I will show, these variables collectively inform the

development of multiple sexual market types on the university campus, and impact how

women negotiate dating, sex and relationships as students.

The Study

To explore how sexual life is organized within institutions of higher education, I conducted

research at two four-year, coeducational universities in the United States: the University of

California Santa Barbara (UCSB) and the University of Pennsylvania (Penn). These schools

were chosen based on their similar institutional features, allowing a basis for comparison

for the development of sexual markets on each campus. UC Santa Barbara and the

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[2] In addition to the rapid expansion of institutions of higher education, to include the creation of more than 1,800 college campuses over the past fifty years (as cited in Niemi 2017), women's and racial/ethnic minority enrollment in colleges has increased significantly. As of 2015 women accounted for the gendered majority of students (56%) in degree-granting programs, and the percentage of U.S. residential college students who are Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander and Black college have all increased between 1976 and 2015 (Hispanics from 4% to 17%, Asian/Pacific Islander from 2% to 7%, Blacks from 10% to 14% (Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics 2018).

University of Pennsylvania are both top-ranked, research-intensive, co-ed residential universities boasting relatively liberal campus environments. Both schools have been recognized as two of the nation's most LGBT-friendly campuses, both rank among the top "party schools" in the nation and each admits a higher percentage of racial/ethnic minority students than the average degree-granting four-year institution in the United States[3]. At the same time, these schools represent two distinct types of institutions of higher education: the University of Pennsylvania as a highly-selective, private, Ivy League institution with an international reputation, UC Santa Barbara as a selective, public state university whose undergraduate population is overwhelmingly comprised of in-state students. While Penn is located in a large city, UCSB's campus is staunchly suburban. Finally, these schools diverge in cost of attendance, endowment and length of existence. A side-by-side comparison of both institutions can be found in Table 1.

University of Pennsylvania

Founded in 1740, the University of Pennsylvania is America's first university.[4] The University of Pennsylvania, or "Penn" as it's commonly known, has been associated with prestige and innovation throughout its 250+ year history. Benjamin Franklin founded the university for the purpose of educating men from all backgrounds for careers in business and government at a time when most higher education centered on religious doctrine (Syrett 2009). Comprised of four undergraduate and twelve graduate and professional schools, today Penn is home to over 21,000 students, approximately 9,700 of which are

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[3] As a percentage of total enrollment, both institutions enroll a higher percentage of Asian Americans and Latinos/Hispanics than the national average in 2014 (6% and 18%, respectively), and the percentage of students identifying as White at both schools is lower than the national average (57%). Source: National Center for Education Statistics, *Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups 2017*.
[4] Not to be confused with Harvard, America's first college.

undergraduates. A little over half of the undergraduate population (54%) reside in university-owed housing.

Penn's campus is located in western Philadelphia, a city of 1.57 million. Much of the central campus buildings represent a mashup of Gothic, Victorian and late medieval style architecture, a distinctive feature reflective of efforts to design Penn in the image of England's prestigious institutions, such as Oxford. Homage to the British university is also reflected in the medieval-style layout of its campus, a series of quadrangles creating a

Table 1. Campus Profiles of UC Santa Barbara and University of Pennsylvania

	University of California Santa Barbara	*University of Pennsylvania*
Type of institution	Public state-school	Private Ivy
Campus	Suburban, central California	Urban, western Philadelphia
Undergrad enrollment	21,574	10,019
Tuition	In-state: $12,294 Out of state: $38,976	$47,416
Acceptance rate	36%	9.4%
% White	38% White	44.3% White
% female	53%	50.8%
First generation	42%	12%
Pell Grant recipients	40%	15%
International students (%)	6%	11.5%
Living on campus	39%	54%
SAT Scores – reading & writing	610-700	680-750
SAT Scores – math	600-750	690-770
Graduation rate	81%	96%
% Greek affiliated	12%	30%
Endowment	265.9 million	10.7 billion

Notes: Figures refer to the 2016-2017 academic year; enrollment figures reflect both full- and part-time students; test scores refer to the middle 50% of admitted students; endowment figures reflect 2016 fiscal year

"linear, space-enclosing approach... not to create efficiencies, but for privacy and picturesqueness of effect" (Thomas and Brownlee 2000:93).

As an Ivy League institution, the University of Pennsylvania is highly selective in its admissions (admitting just 9.3% of its 40,000+ applicants in 2017), and its international renown draws students from over 100 countries and all fifty states. The school consistently ranks as a top 10 university nationwide, and is known for cutting-edge research across disciplines. Boasting an endowment of $10.7 billion for fiscal year 2016, the University of Pennsylvania prides itself on its "all-grant" based financial aid program, admitting students regardless of need and funding their education with grants instead of loans to meet the $47,000+ sticker price for a year of tuition. Despite this pledge, the student population at Penn is marked more by its wealth than by its financial need. According to a 2017 study, Penn enrolls more students from the top 1% of the socioeconomic bracket than from the bottom 60% (Aisch, Buchanan, Cox and Quealy 2017), with a sizable proportion of students having attended elite boarding and/or private schools across the United States and around the world. Legacy students comprised a larger share of the incoming freshman class during the 2016-2017 academic year (16%) than first-generation students (12%), Black students (7.3%) and students receiving Pell Grants (15%) (Trustman 2017). Whites were the highest represented racial group on campus during the 2016-2017 academic year (44.1%), though this figure is in dramatic distinction to the school's beginnings as a university educating America's wealthiest White males.

Consistent with its Ivy League status, students balance academics and social life via a "work hard, play hard" mentality. Students are expected to excel academically, to be involved in various student organizations and to hold coveted internships, cultivating impressive resumes for admittance to top-ranking graduate schools or for securing jobs in lucrative industries post-graduation. Outside of the classroom Greek life has a robust

presence, with 30% of students participating in this student subculture. Consistent with this social feature, Penn was ranked a top party school by Playboy in 2014, who declared that "smarties can party too, and UPenn puts other Ivies to shame with its union of brains, brewskies and bros."[5] While the University's football program enjoys a storied history as part of the Ivy League, the athletics program hauls in less revenue and viewership than larger, Division I schools.

University of California Santa Barbara

The University of California Santa Barbara was founded in 1891 as the Anna Blake School, a women's-only manual training school offering a curriculum focused on home economics and the arts. The school was named the fourth campus in the University of California system in 1944, amidst a period of rapid post-World War II growth. While the initial plan was for the campus to be the UC system's designated small liberal arts college with a maximum enrollment of 2,500, by the late 1960s UCSB had been established as a "general campus" of the UC system. With a graduate division, five schools and two professional schools, today UCSB is home to just under 24,000 students, the vast majority (88.4%) of which are undergraduates.

UC Santa Barbara's 1,000+ acre campus sits atop a picturesque coastal mesa on the edge of the Pacific Ocean, approximately an hour and a half north of Los Angeles. Palm trees line the campus walkways, its academic, administrative and residential buildings a mix of 1960s and more modern architectural styles, the product of the campus' growth in physical size and enrollment over its relatively short history. The eastern edges of its campus are flanked by the Pacific Ocean, its outermost academic and residential buildings

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[5] http://www.playboy.com/articles/playboys-top-party-schools

are steps away from the beach. UC Santa Barbara is bordered to the west by the college town of Isla Vista (pop. 23,096) and to the north by the city of Goleta, home to 30,850. The city of Santa Barbara is located approximately ten miles south via Highway 101.

A selective institution admitting roughly 36% of its applicants, UC Santa Barbara draws the vast majority of its domestic student population from within the state (96%), with transfer students from the state's community colleges and/or its California State schools comprising 29% of incoming undergraduates during the 2016-2017 academic year. A predominantly White institution throughout the 20th century (affirmative action reports from 1989 show that UC Santa Barbara was among the lowest of all UC campuses in percentages of minority students enrolled), the school has steadily grown its efforts to recruit and retain underrepresented student populations. In January 2015 UC Santa Barbara was named a Hispanic-Serving Institution by the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, a designation reserved for schools whose Hispanic enrollment is at least 25% of the school's total enrollment (undergraduate or graduate, full- or part-time). A large percentage of the school's total undergraduate enrollment (42%) identify as first-generation college students, and 40% are Pell Grant recipients. Tuition for in-state residents is approximately $12,300 per year, while out of state students can expect to pay an extra $26,000+ dollars in non-resident tuition fees.

UC Santa Barbara's campus evokes a quintessentially "SoCal" (Southern Californian), West Coast vibe. The Princeton Review designated UCSB the top "Green School" among public institutions in 2015, and the school's Chancellor pledged carbon neutrality for the campus by 2025. Bicycles and skateboards far outnumber cars on the campus and in the adjacent college town of Isla Vista, and students can be seen riding their

beach cruisers to the beach, surfboards in tow, on days when the waves are boasting a particularly good swell. Like Penn, UCSB has been named a top 10 party school (ranked #3 in the nation by The Princeton Review in 2015) though, compared to Penn, UC Santa Barbara's Greek presence is modest, with 12% of its students participating. Rather, the bulk of the school's party culture is geographically concentrated in Isla Vista, where a higher percentage of the school's students reside than in its university-owned residences. While its athletics program holds modest sway, with men's soccer grabbing the most attention, over 18,000 students actively participate in the school's intramural sports and outdoor adventure programs, taking full advantage of the campus' proximity to both the Pacific Ocean and the Santa Ynez Mountains. The school's active and outdoor-oriented student culture is in part owed to Santa Barbara's Mediterranean climate, which averages 300 sunny days a year.

Data and Sample Recruitment

In this study I argue that the unique histories, structures and geographies of UC Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania inform the cultivation of multiple sexual markets on their respective campuses, with subsequent effects on how women of varying race, class and sexual identities experience the search for sexual partners. Data for this study consists of archival research of both institutions, identifying the multi-level social forces contributing to the development of multiple sexual markets on each campus. I join the historical narratives of each institution developed from the archival data to women's experiences of the university as a site of sexual potential in the present day through in-depth qualitative interviews. In total I interviewed fifty-four undergraduate women, twenty-seven from each school. Participants were recruited for this study through in-person advertising in undergraduate Sociology courses, flyering in campus public spaces, print ads in student

newspapers and social media posts on Facebook. Participants were eligible for the study if they were an undergraduate woman enrolled at least part-time at the University of Pennsylvania or the University of California Santa Barbara. Advertisements provided the email address and cell phone number of the researcher, and interested participants were asked to contact the researcher directly to setup an interview. Interviews with undergraduate women at UC Santa Barbara were conducted in a private office on campus, or in a public area of their choosing. Depending on the timing of their interview, women at the University of Pennsylvania were interviewed in public spaces on campus of their choosing, in their apartments, via Skype or telephone. Interviews were conducted between April 2016 and September 2017. The names of all participants are pseudonyms. See Appendix B for a full breakdown of the sample.

As two underrepresented populations within the collegiate sexuality literature, I deliberately oversampled for women of color and LGBQ-identified women (which represent 57% and 50% of the overall sample, respectively), enabling an in-depth analysis of their experiences on par with that of their White and/or heterosexually-identified peers. Racial and sexual heterogeneity of the sample also allowed me to explore how women navigate sexual partnerships within the context of their respective campus environments, and with respect to their multiple, intersecting identities. My decision to interview undergraduate women only allowed for a depth of analysis with respect to race and sexual identity by holding gender constant. However, this decision was also steeped in the collegiate sexuality literature's demonstration of the power that men wield on campus over the timing and conditions of sexual interactions. In particular, men with ample financial and social capital – such as those who belong to historically White Greek life or athletics

programs – are often the hosts of large college parties where sexual liaisons are more apt to be facilitated (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Martin 2016; Wade 2017). College women who engage in casual sexual relationships are also more likely to report less than desirable hookup encounters (Armstrong, England and Fogarty 2012; Jozkowski and Satinsky 2013) and are more likely to be judged negatively, or to perceive negative judgement, for their sexual decisions than men (Allison and Risman 2014; Currier 2013). With recognition for these gendered dynamics, I chose to focus on how college women navigate the university as a space of potential sexual partnership, and to explore how their experiences vary across racial and sexual identities. The racial and sexual diversity of the sample, coupled with the archival data on each institution, enabled the identification of multiple sexual marketplaces on each campus, and a close analysis of the dynamics enveloped within each. I explicate my research methodology further in Appendix A.

In its representation of the lived experiences of women across varied racial, class and sexual identities, this study contributes to a college sexuality literature predominantly focused on the experiences of heterosexual, White, class-privileged students. Mining the archival record to piece together the respective institutional developments of UC Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania reveals how these histories inform the sexual landscape of each university today, while the interview data shows how women of varying identities approach sexual partnerships and negotiate different campus sexual markets. As a comparative study of two four-year universities, the findings of this study are not generalizable to all four-year institutions in the United States. However, the strength of this study lies in its novel approach to the study of student sexual life, foregrounding the

significance of an institution's historical developments for organizing the parameters of student sexual life on campuses in the present day.

Overview of the Study

In this study I identify three distinct types of sexual markets present on the campuses of the University of Pennsylvania and UC Santa Barbara – party sexual markets, student of color sexual markets and queer student sexual markets. I argue that the genesis of each market type is rooted in particular historical moments and identify the main mechanisms spurring the development of each, namely the dual processes of organized student action and of institutional change. Finally, I explore the implications of these developments for how women navigate each of these markets in the present. In similar fashion to Armstrong and Hamilton's (2013) identification of "college pathways" guiding the student experience and their class trajectories, I identify the multi-level social forces which guide women into certain sexual markets and, conversely, how multi-level social forces serve to discourage their participation in others. Sexual markets are both constructed by the collective actions of its members and constrained by the structural and cultural conditions of the university environment. This tension, I argue, informs how women experience the search for sexual partners on their respective campuses, and within different market types.

This study is comprised of five chapters and a methodological appendix. Chapter One introduces the sexual market typology and traces the historic foundations of each sexual market type as they align with broader shifts in the institution of higher education in America. The seeds of the party sexual market were sown during the 18th century, when higher education was largely limited to the nation's wealthy, White male elite. Their social and financial power oversaw the development of party markets organized around sociality,

drinking and sexual partnership. Next, I consider the institutional and cultural forces driving the development of multiple student of color sexual markets on university campuses during the Civil Rights Era. Organized resistance to the university as a predominantly White institution cultivated a critical mass of racial/ethnic minority students needed to develop communities of support and, within them, sexual markets. Finally, I consider the subsequent development of queer student sexual markets in the early 1970s, as gay and lesbian students drew upon the momentum of student of color organizing during the 1960s. Asserting their presence on campus, the cultivation of LGBTQ student communities primarily functioned as spaces of support, and secondarily as sites of sexual partnership.

I open Chapter Two by tracing the evolution of the party market on the University of California Santa Barbara's and the University of Pennsylvania's campuses. I draw upon the interview data to detail the multi-level processes guiding women into their school's respective party market and their experiences of this market as a site of sexual partnership. The party market's dominant sexual logic confers women different levels of access to parties and gatherings predominantly hosted by White heterosexual men. These varied levels of access reflect the cultivation of a hierarchy of sexual desirability (Green 2014), with subsequent effects on where, how and with whom women are able to sexually partner.

In juxtaposition to the hypervisibility of the party market, I open Chapter Three by tracing the development of student of color sexual markets on Penn's and UCSB's campuses, respectively. I explore how women of color at both schools experience the university as a predominantly White space, both socially and sexually. I focus particular attention on the multi-level processes connecting these women to communities occupied by other co-ethnics, and how these members collectively contribute to market cultures where

sustained membership is predicated upon women's performance of a racial authenticity. These dynamics, in tandem with the institutional milieu of their respective school, differently inform how Latina, Asian-American and Black women experience and navigate the sexual market on their campus.

Chapter Four examines the queer student sexual market at both schools. As two of the nation's most LGBT friendly campuses, the histories of UC Santa Barbara's and the University of Pennsylvania's queer student markets offer two examples of how endogenous and exogenous social forces coalesce in the development of new markets within existing institutional space. This chapter reviews the experiences of non-heterosexually-identified women and women with same-sex desire as they navigate the university as a site of potential sexual partnership. In ways similar to that of women of color, opportunities for engagement in the queer sexual market are steeped in assertion of an authentically queer identity. Women's perceived level of exuding this authenticity governed their levels of engagement with the LGBT community and informed their search for sexual partners. I draw upon these women's narratives to illustrate how post-gay identity politics (Ghaziani 2011) demarcate the boundaries of queer student sexual markets and markers for inclusion or exclusion in these spaces.

I conclude in Chapter Five with a review of the major findings of the study and its implications for the study of the organization of sexual life within institutions. I identify the power of both intercommunity and intracommunity dynamics as they informed the sexual decision-making and partnering process for the women in my study. A focus on the organization of sexual life also reveals how broader social forces – institutional arrangements, as well as interpersonal relationships – reproduce the segregation of

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populations along racial, class and sexual identities. I place this study in conversation with the burgeoning body of research on place and sexual life, and suggest a framework for the study of sexual life attuned to the particularities of place and institutional history as they organize and orient individual action.

Chapter 1: Higher Education and the Evolution of Campus Sexual Markets

As physical and social sites organizing the process of sexual partnership, sexual markets are the product of the material and social conditions wherein similarly positioned actors interact and mutually assess their sexual compatibility. This study's examination of the development and experience of various sexual markets on university campuses interrogates how institutional features implicate the organization of sexual life, to include the emergence of multiple, distinctive sexual markets. Ultimately the timing and development of a given sexual market is tied to broader processes of institutional change.

This chapter discusses the major trends and shifts in American higher education from the 19th century to the present, and theorizes the development of three distinct types of sexual markets on university campuses: party sexual markets, student of color sexual markets and queer student sexual markets.[6] I argue each market type emerged at a critical turning point in modern higher education, spurred by the dual process of organized student action and institutional adaptation in response to this action. The three sexual market types, the era of their emergence and the main mechanism driving their development are illustrated in Figure 1.

I argue that the blueprint for the establishment of sexual markets formed within campus party cultures, or "party sexual markets," was born in the 18th century on the campuses of America's earliest colleges and universities. The establishment of the Greek fraternal system, the development of athletics programs and the diversification of extracurricular activities were the products of student efforts to have greater control over

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[6] In referencing the history of higher education and the development of sexual market types, I treat with the broader patterns found on predominantly White four-year colleges and universities in the United States. The development of sexual life across different institutional types – at Historically Black Colleges and Universities or at two-year institutions, for example – may be different. I consider the applicability of this market typology across different educational environments in Chapter 5.

their college experience. Significantly, it was America's earliest students – primarily wealthy White men – who planted the seeds of the party market in their "rebellion" against university authorities. I contend that it was the *critical clout* of these men – evident in their procurement

Figure 1. Typology of Campus Sexual Markets

Campus Sexual Markets

market type	party markets	student of color markets	queer student markets
mechanism	critical clout	critical mass	critical visibility
time period	18th century	1960s-1970s	1970s
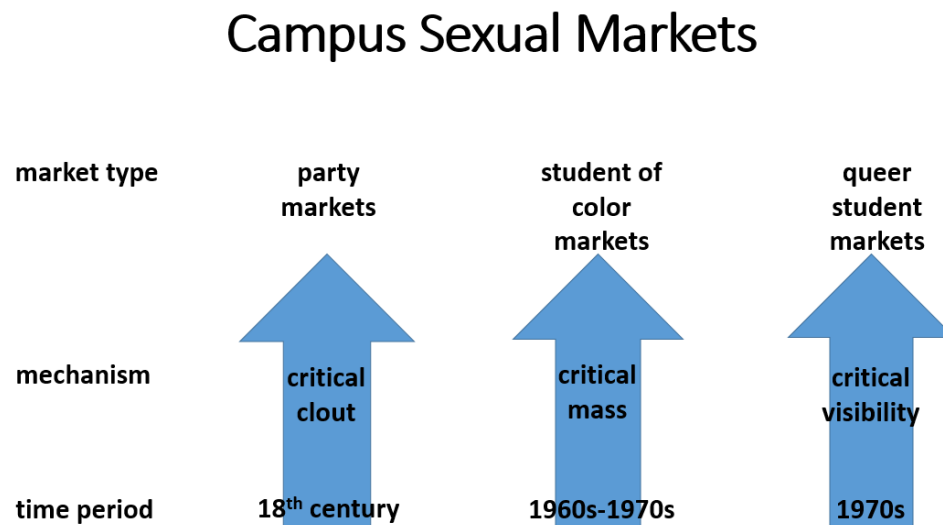
of physical space, development of a socially-oriented student subculture, and cultivated appeal of a party-heavy college experience – which contributed the building blocks of what is today the largest and most visible sexual market on college campuses.

The later emergence of two additional types of sexual markets – student of color and queer student sexual markets – was the product of student organizing in opposition to a predominantly White, heterosexual university. The call for racial/ethnic diversification of the American college and university in the 1960s and 1970s, and the subsequent increase in their enrollment on campuses across the nation, contributed a *critical mass* of students of color needed to develop multiple, racially segregated sexual markets. Similarly, a separate

wave of LGBT student organizing across campuses in the late 1960s and early 1970s

cultivated a *critical visibility* of non-heterosexual student populations, and initiated the

development of queer student sexual markets. In both instances organized student resistance

to the status quo eventuated the creation of university programs, initiatives and policies

contributing to the development of racially- and sexually-segregated sexual markets

separate of the party sexual market. In this chapter I introduce each sexual market type and

describe the circumstances of its development within the broader context of the history of

the American university. I consider how the mechanism driving each market's emergence –

the critical clout, critical mass or critical visibility of its respective student populations –

triggered institutional changes resulting in the spaces, local organizations, cultural scenarios

and social networks needed to create and sustain a sexual market. A review of the current

literature further orients how each of these sexual market types organizes and informs

sexual partnerships between students today.

The Foundations of the Party Sexual Market

The foundations of the college-based party sexual market – an organized grouping of both

public and private campus spaces, formal student organizations and informal student

networks organized to facilitate sexual interaction – trace back to the nation's first

institutions of higher education. Students in the 18th century, most of whom were the sons

of wealthy families, battled with administrators and faculty for greater control over the

conditions of university life. The outcomes of these struggles, I argue, laid the foundations

for the development of a campus sexual market formed within collegiate party cultures. The

physical and social boundaries of the party sexual market became more pronounced as

higher education diversified after the Civil War and wealthy White males sought to

maintain their social dominance on campus. I contend that it is the symbiotic relationship between the university and its wealthy student populace which contributed to the development, and continued popularity of, the party sexual market.

The Rise of the American University and Collegiate Culture

What is understood today as "mainstream" undergraduate culture – a culture marked by an emphasis on socializing, drinking and play – is descended from the interests of the wealthy White men who comprised the student majority during the 19th century (Horowitz 1987). Most of these men enrolled in college in preparation for careers in business, or simply because an education "suited their station as gentlemen" (Syrett 2009:15). The anti-faculty, anti-establishment sensibilities of this population was in contradistinction to that of the minority of students from more modest backgrounds, most of whom were preparing for the priesthood. These young men reveled in the discipline and focus of the university setting (Sperber 2000).

The earliest student "rebellions" initiated by the sons of the landed gentry included violence and threats to faculty and administrators over disputes about disciplinary actions or course curriculum. Universities responded in kind by developing stricter rules and expelling offending students, a direct reflection of the *in loco parentis* orientation of the nation's earliest schools (Broadhurst 2014). The development of the college fraternity as a socially-oriented organization was one outcome of this struggle between students and faculty for greater control over the student experience (Syrett 2009; Torbenson 2009). The earliest prototype of the college fraternity was established at William and Mary College in 1776. Other chapters cropped up across the southern United States before spreading to Northeastern schools in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The emphasis on fun and

fellowship found in Greek fraternities matched the orientation of the rich toward college, and became another means from which to challenge institutional authority (Sperber 2000).

Along with the establishment of fraternities, the rise in popularity of collegiate athletics played a prominent role in the development of the "college life" subculture, the bastion of class-privileged men who disdained academics and valued male bonding and entertainment (Horowitz 1987). By the 1830s, fraternities had become an "established movement" in pursuance of these values, replacing the academic orientation of the earliest literary societies from which modern Greek life derived (Torbenson 2012). Athletics played a similar role, presenting an additional option for recreation outside of the classroom, away from faculty oversight and control (Syrett 2009). The first intercollegiate sports competition consisted of a rowing race between Harvard and Yale's crews in 1852, and was followed at the end of the 19th century with the development of baseball, football and track and field programs (Chudacoff 2015). While initially lamented, Greek life and athletics grew to become a valued asset for college administrations, drawing large endowments and support from alumni. The subsequent investment in athletic programs and Greek life reflects university efforts to cash in on the growing popularity of these features of college life, the result of which was the creation of a dominant "collegiate subculture" by the end of the 19th century (Horowitz 1987).

The demographics of the nation's college-bound population shifted after the Civil War, with rapid industrialization acting as a major force increasing student enrollment among the middle-classes (Maurrasse 2001). As higher education's presence shifted southward and westward men from more modest backgrounds left family farms to enroll in college. The number of women enrolled in higher education also increased, though their

initial relegation to seminaries whose curriculum emphasized morality, piety and obedience reflected the administration's view of this population as intellectually inferior. Between 1870 and 1920, the number of institutions of higher education expanded from 500 to 1,400 and enrollment increased by 5,000%, with over 1.1 million students enrolled by the 1920s (Peterson, Blackburn, Gamson, Arce, Davenport and Mingle 1978). The shift toward coeducational institutions of higher education began collecting steam in the 1870s, with 71% of the nation's colleges enrolling both men and women by 1900 (Evans 2007).

The "diversification and democratization" of higher education presented a direct threat to the White male elite, who had enjoyed the run of the campus up until this point (Graham and Diamond 1997). Seeking to maintain their status position, White male Greeks revised their criterion for membership, which had previously been based purely on one's class status, to include race and religious affiliation. This was a concerted effort to segregate themselves from their less affluent, non-White and/or non-Christian peers. The establishment of houses exclusively for fraternity members was also a product of their efforts to self-segregate – by the 1920s, more than 700 fraternity chapters owned their own houses (Syrett 2009). Undeterred, less wealthy students found their own ways to participate in the collegiate subculture. Dubbing themselves Gamma Delta Iotas, or "God Damn Independents," these students partied and rallied around campus athletics (Sperber 2000), adapting their campus houses to mimic those of their more extravagant Greek counterparts. GDIs sought the same college experience as fraternity men, with a shared bond as non-Greeks who partied.

While college campuses are also home to students who shun the party lifestyle, the collegiate subculture continues to be the largest and most influential student culture on

campuses today (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Clark and Trow 1966; Horowitz 1987). As White male collegians shifted the tone of campus life beginning in the first half of the 20th century, Greek life, athletics programs and extracurricular activities emerged as university-supported features of college life affording students greater control over, and varied options for, crafting their college experience. The collegiate subculture's collective success in cultivating a campus milieu emphasizing fun and peer bonding is reflected in popular media images of college life today. Movies such as *Animal House*, *Old School*, and *Van Wilder* channel the collegiate experience, crafting humorous depictions of what it means to be a college student in the modern era.

The Structural Elements of the University Party Sexual Market

The *critical clout* of America's earliest students was key to the development of party cultures on college campuses and, within these spaces, the beginnings of a sexual market where similarly positioned actors attend large social gatherings marked by an abundance of alcohol and drugs. The party culture's growth in visibility and appeal received another boost following World War II, as decreased state funding and increased enrollments prompted colleges and universities to become increasingly more market driven in their competition for students (Geiger 2002). While schools compete for the highest-achieving students in order to grow or maintain their prestige, the development of "edutainment," or a series of non-academic university offerings designed to attract potential students, is another means from which to ensure a university's revenue stream.

One outcome of this shift towards edutainment, argues Sperber (2000), was the development of "beer and circus," or the institutionally-supported cultivation of campus party cultures spurred by university investment in "big-time" college sports (namely, men's

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basketball and football programs) at large, research-intensive schools. Creating a built-in form of entertainment for students, "beer and circus" also pays dividends for schools in the form of student recruitment, retention and subsequent alumni donations. In similar fashion, Armstrong and Hamilton (2013) detail the development of multiple student "pathways" within the modern university, the largest and most robust of which is the "party pathway," sustained in part by institutional support for student sociality and partying. In the cultivation of party pathways, the authors argue, universities capitalize on (usually class-privileged) students looking for four years of fun, and families with the means to pay full sticker price for tuition.

Of course, exceptions do exist. Schools such as Brigham Young or the United States Military Academy, whose institutional missions are steeped in religious principles or preparedness for military service, respectively, most likely recruit and attract students with a different orientation toward college life than their party-heavy peers at large schools with major athletics programs, such as Penn State or the University of Michigan. Yet while these exceptions exist, the vast majority of four-year, residential American campuses *do* possess the spaces (e.g., "party dorms," proximate college towns, etc.) and the socially oriented student populations contributing to the hypervisibility and accessibility of the campus party culture. On campuses where Greek life is nonexistent or less robust, other student populations may fill the role of hosting parties. On campuses where the athletics program is not prominent, other reasons to gather and celebrate will be found. That is, how party cultures manifest on college campuses is informed by, and adaptive to, localized conditions (Browne, Lim and Brown 2007; Wade 2017). These conditions inform the development of

a sexual market within the prominent party culture and, in turn, student's sexual interactions within it.

The Party Market and Sexual Life

Given the earliest schools' statuses as male-only institutions, it was the increasing admittance of women to colleges and universities in the early half of the 20th century that perhaps had the biggest effect on creating an insular collegiate subculture emphasizing co-ed interaction, heavy drinking and sex. The coeducational institution provoked an adaptation of the homosocial, male student orientation to "college life," to include opportunities for heterosexual partnership, dating and sex between students living on the same campus. The end of *in loco parentis* on post-World War II campuses further contributed to the conditions for increased sexual interaction between students, namely in doing away with curfews and restrictions on male-female visitation (Gumprecht 2008). As a keystone of the collegiate student subculture, Greek life was one important medium organizing student access to members of the opposite sex, and membership in a Greek chapter rendered students more desirable dates. While sexual modesty was still highly valued for women heading into the latter half of the 20th century, these standards were nevertheless laxer than in decades prior, as the "coeducational campus became the scene of heterosexual play – at the soda fountain, the movies, and college dances" (Horowitz 1987:127).

Beyond their educational mission, colleges and universities became sites in which to find a suitable mate. The development of informal college "partnerships" on single-sex campuses assert the historic premise of this orientation. For example, the Seven Sisters – a grouping of prestigious women's liberal arts colleges in the Northeast – were at one time

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unofficially matched with their (at the time, all-male) Ivy League equivalent. These pairings

included Radcliffe with Harvard, Smith College with Yale, and Bryn Mawr with Princeton,

providing a built-in network of eligible mates who were proximally close and of similar

class background. References to women's attainment of an "Mrs." degree in the post-World

War II era corresponded with the view of higher education as ideal spaces from which to

find an eligible man to marry. In this era, choosing a mate who would further one's social

position was key. Sociologist Willard Waller termed this phenomenon the "Rating and

Dating Complex," where an individual's appearance, group affiliation (e.g., their

membership in a fraternity or sorority), and family background served to determine one's

pool of eligible mates. Attendant in this process of matching like pairs was a courtship

period, to include sexual activity. Waller described the Rating and Dating Complex as a

marked departure from more "formal mores of courtship... Whether we approve or not,

courtship practices today allow for a great deal of pure thrill-seeking. Dancing, petting,

necking, the automobile, the amusement park... permit or facilitate thrill-seeking behavior"

(1937:727-728). In essence, the modern American co-ed university has long been

considered a prime site of heterosexual partnership.

This certainly continues to be true today, though scholars argue a hookup culture

which emphasizes non-committed casual sex between partners has replaced more

traditional forms of courtship and dating (Bogle 2007). Some attribute this trend in part to a

cultural shift in gendered expectations for sexual behavior, to include more permissive

attitudes towards women's engagement in sex before marriage, as well as men's and

women's later age at first marriage (Allison and Risman 2017; Allison and Risman 2014;

Wilkins and Dalessandro 2013). Others link the unique institutional context of the

American university to the popularity of casual sex. Namely, students of similar age who reside in on-campus dormitories spend a great deal of time interacting with each other in various campus settings (Bogle 2008; Wade 2017). Exogenous forces also inform how sexual life is experienced on the 21st century campus. The National Minimum Drinking Age Act, passed by Congress in 1984, required states to raise their drinking age to twenty-one. This impacted how students partied or drank on campus, most significantly by shifting the consumption of alcohol to spaces relatively immune from administrative control, such as fraternity houses or off-campus rentals in nearby college towns (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Gumprecht 2008).

Not surprisingly, those student populations which were critical to the development of the collegiate subculture beginning in the 19th century continue to hold immense sway over the dynamics of campus party cultures today. Most notable of these is historically White Greek fraternities, whose chapter houses and ample financial resources afford members the space and the funds needed to host large parties. While membership in a Greek fraternity or sorority is not a prerequisite to participation in the college party culture, students in these formalized social networks enjoy greater opportunities to access to these party environments than their non-Greek peers (Chambliss and Takacs 2014). The power White heterosexual males continue to wield over the timing and location of parties, as well as decisions about who is granted entry, also have implications for student engagement with the hookup culture (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Martin 2016).

The hookup culture, and the organizational spaces and institutional focus on partying which support it, align with the interests of class-privileged, heterosexual collegiate males. As spaces primarily oriented toward sexual opportunity, fraternity houses

are synonymous with the party sexual market, at the same time that they operate as spaces of White male privilege. Both within and outside of Greek contexts, the collective conditions of party environments – large crowds of similarly-aged students, ample supplies of drugs and alcohol and environments encouraging close dancing or touching between partygoers – are demonstrated contributors to consensual sexual encounters (Bogle 2008; Currier 2013; LaBrie, Hummer, Ghaidarov, Lac and Kenney 2014; Reid, Elliott and Webber 2011; Wade 2017). Unsurprisingly, these same environments harbor incidences of unwanted touching or sexual assault, usually perpetrated against women who attend parties thrown by men (Martin 2016). Armstrong, Hamilton and Sweeney (2006) identify women's deferment to men in exchange for free booze as a gendered effect of the campus party scene and a related contributor to instances of unwanted sexual advances or sexual assault. These dangers are particularly acute for women in Greek life, where regular attendance at fraternity parties places these women squarely in the center of the campus party culture. A study of Greek members at a large, Midwestern school found White sorority women viewed White fraternities as key assets of their social life, and White fraternity men as their most eligible sexual partners (Black, Belknap and Ginsburg 2012). However, these same women were also more likely to report fear of stranger rape compared to their non-White or non-Greek counterparts.

The gendered dynamics undergirding the campus party culture, and the sexual market contained within it, also inform how women experience sexual encounters with men. College women who engage in heterosexual hookups are more likely to report feelings of shame or embarrassment following the encounter (England and Bearak 2014; Littleton et al. 2009) and less pleasurable sexual experiences (Armstrong, England and

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Fogarty 2012; Jozkowski and Satinsky 2013), than their male counterparts. Partnered with these feelings and experiences is the continued gendered double standard for sexual behavior, such that men are more likely to disrespect a woman for having "a lot" of sex than they are to disrespect a man with a similar sexual background (Allison and Risman 2013).

Certainly a culture of disrespect for women is not consistent across all university subcultures or populations. Sweeney's (2014) study of masculine identities on one Midwestern campus juxtaposed the orientations of fraternity men, who adopted "sexual performer" identities focused on bedding as many women as possible, with men residing in a known "alternative" residential hall, who viewed themselves as "sexual protectors" of women. Similar studies examine the experience of college sexual relationships at the intersections of race and gender, and the power that White men wield on campuses as the racial majority. In particular, Ray and Rosow's (2010) study of Black and White fraternity men found White fraternity men were more apt to adopt sexually objectifying approaches toward women than their Black male counterparts. As the racial minority on campus, Black men adopted romantic approaches toward women in an effort to protect their reputations within the Black community.

To be sure, men also face social pressures to prove their sexual prowess to other men. One study of men's and women's use of the term "hookup" (which can mean anything from kissing to intercourse) (Bogle 2007; Lewis, Atkins, Blayney, Dent and Kaysen 2013) found the gendered benefits of this ambiguity. For women, stating that they have "hooked up" leaves the details of the act unspecified, protecting them from stigmatized status as sluts. For men, the ambiguity of the term enables them to assert their sexual competency by

naming any form of sexual contact a "hookup" (Currier 2013). Further, while men are often

painted as the sole beneficiaries of the hookup culture, multiple studies find that men are

just as susceptible as women to hurt and disappointment within a hookup culture which

downplays emotions and commitments (Epstein, Calzo, Smiler and Ward 2009; Wade

2017). Additional scholars find that, despite the continuance of a gendered double standard,

some women view hookups as a positive feature of college life, namely as a means from

which to have sexual relationships while focusing on their own self-development (Hamilton

and Armstrong 2009; Wilkins and Delassandro 2013). However, scholars continue to

debate the positive and negative effects of a culture of casual sex on today's college

campuses for both men and women.

       Formed within the campus party culture, the party sexual market effectively

organizes the process of sexual partnering, whether students choose to engage it or not. As

the public face of the modern college experience, the ubiquity of the party culture belies the

racial, gendered, classed and heteronormative dynamics which are steeped in its

construction. Significantly, students possessing social, cultural and financial forms of

capital are most closely associated with a party-based orientation to college life (Allison

and Risman 2013; Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Hamilton 2007; Wade 2017). Armstrong

and Hamilton (2013) identify the importance of social and cultural capital for women's

access to campus parties. Women from upper-middle-class backgrounds possess the right

forms of capital to fully participate in the collegiate party sexual market, to include exuding

an appearance that will garner favor with men looking for hookups or relationships. These

"socialites," possessing the fashion sense and disposable income needed to attract male

attention in party environments, differ markedly from "wannabes," or women whose lack of

financial capital and social knowhow make for a very different party experience (or for outright rejection from these spaces) (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013). These same forms of capital also privilege women looking to join socially influential student subcultures, such as sororities, where access to parties is guaranteed. In party sexual markets, then, hegemonic femininity – and, further, its association with Whiteness and a heterosexual identity – operates as a form of "erotic capital," or the value a given body accrues based on collective valuations of what constitutes attractiveness in a given space or social venue (Scheim, Adam and Marshall 2017). Women exuding the "right" look in party market settings attract sexual attention from the White, class-privileged men who tend to control these spaces.

Not surprisingly, scholars find that a predominantly White campus party culture tends to be avoided by students of color. Participants in the party sexual market collectively create spaces which are raced and sexualized (Held and Leach 2008). Party cultures are primarily oriented toward sexual partnering, with the class-privileged populations dictating the conditions of the party sexual market, to include determining which bodies are rendered desirable or undesirable. For example, Winkle-Wagner's (2009) study of the experiences of Black women on one college campus found these women perceived their White peers to view them as more aggressive or assertive than White women. The association of White femininity with "docility" assigned greater erotic capital to White women within the dating market, to include Black women's perceptions that Black men preferred White women for these reasons. In their study of Latina college women, Muro and Martinez (2016) find these women prefer to partner with co-ethnics who shared similar culture and values. These preferences were accompanied by the perception that White men would not find them attractive. An additional study of women's perceived desirability of men found that women

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of all races are less apt to partner with Asian males, who must work to counter the model minority stereotype that paints them as "nerdy" and less aligned with hegemonic masculinity (Wen-Chu Chen 2009). A similar study of college dating practices found Asian men to be the least likely to date or have a steady girlfriend during their sophomore year of college compared to students of any other race, male or female (Charles, Fischer, Mooney and Massey 2009. As I will argue, these same racialized dynamics on college campuses contribute to the development of student of color sexual markets separate of party sexual markets.

The documented experiences of students who engage in campus party cultures illustrates the close association of these environments with sexual interaction. In their participation, these students reify the association of college as a time for fun and sociality, an association dating back to the White male collegians of the 18th and early 19th century. Sustained support for the party culture by both university administrators and students alike demonstrates a vested interest in its continuation for both constituencies. The campus party culture contains all the elements of a sexual market: spaces in which to hold large gatherings, local organizations and student subcultures to organize these events, and a shared culture of celebration and mixed-gender interaction. While the largest and most visible of the campus sexual markets, access to and experience of this market is based on erotic, social and cultural forms of capital, where Whiteness, upper-middle-class status and hegemonic masculinity and femininity hold the greatest market value.

The Foundations of Student of Color Sexual Markets

While party sexual markets have their origins in the 18th century, historically White university, student of color sexual markets had their beginnings in the Civil Rights era. The

1960s and 1970s witnessed demographic shifts in student populations and the establishment

of designated spaces and services for students of color as universities confronted issues of

diversity and multiculturalism on their campuses. These marked changes to the university

environment, I argue, contributed the elements needed to develop multiple student of color

sexual markets.

Both external and internal pressures placed on universities to diversify their

institutions subsequently bolstered racial/ethnic minority enrollments, a crucial prerequisite

to the development of student of color sexual markets. I draw upon Astin and colleagues'

(1975) "critical mass hypothesis" in the identification of this key mechanism driving the

formation of multiple student of color sexual markets on university campuses. The critical

mass hypothesis attributes the likelihood of effective student demonstrations on campuses

during the 1960s and 1970s to the relative size of a school's undergraduate student body.

Examining the incidence of Black student protests on campus, Astin and colleagues identify

the importance of *absolute* numbers of Black students, as opposed to proportions, in the

organization process. Similarly, in their study of the effects of increased Black enrollments

on college campuses between 1968 and 1972, Gamson and Arce (1978) specify a "critical

mass" of about 50 Black students needed for effective organizing on campus. For my

purposes, I do not identify a specific numerical threshold needed for a sexual market to

form. Rather, I consider the totality of structural and demographic shifts on college

campuses to the development of sexual markets within racial/ethnic student communities.

Adapting the critical mass hypothesis to examine on-campus sexual market formation, I

argue that the diversification of university student populations in the post-Civil Rights Era

contributed a *critical mass* of students of color and triggered institutional developments,

such as the designation of campus spaces and academic and social support systems for racial/ethnic minority populations. These variables collectively contributed to the formation of multiple, racially separate sexual markets.

Racial and Ethnic Minorities in the Ivory Tower: A Brief History

As discussed previously, the pre-20th century American university was a predominantly wealthy, White, male university. Very few of the roughly 250 colleges which existed prior to the Civil War were open to Blacks, with Oberlin College in Ohio and Cheyney University in Pennsylvania among the rare exceptions (Evans 2007). The racial demographics of the nation's college-bound population began to shift, albeit gradually, following the Land-Grant College Act. Signed by President Lincoln in 1862, the Land Grant College Act resulted in a proliferation of large public universities in the American south (e.g., Clemson University, Texas A & M) and in its heartland (e.g., University of Michigan, University of Wisconsin). A significant number of Historically Black Colleges and Universities were also the product of this Act – Spelman, founded in 1881 in Georgia, became the first college founded for Black women in the United States.

The post-Civil War era was accompanied by an increasing number of Catholics, Jews, African Americans and Asian Americans on college campuses, though some institutions were able to resist admitting students of color. The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1890 proclaimed that any state receiving federal funds must show that race was not a barrier to admission at their universities or colleges. The Morrill Act enabled schools to skirt this requirement provided they offer a separate land-grant school for persons of color (Maurrasse 2001). Most states chose the latter option rather than to racially integrate their

campuses, a move which contributed to a proliferation of historically Black colleges and universities during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Those few predominantly White institutions that did admit Blacks and other racial/ethnic minorities instituted exclusionary policies dictating where its students of color could eat, sleep and study (Rogers 2012). Black students continued to be the exception to the rule at historically White colleges and universities into the early twentieth century, and those who were enrolled found themselves isolated and segregated from their White classmates, barred from joining student clubs, fraternities and sororities. Historically Black Greek Letter Organizations (HBGLOs) were an outgrowth of this isolation and segregation, with Alpha Phi Alpha established as the first African American intercollegiate Greek-letter fraternity, founded at Cornell University in 1906 (Rogers 2012). The nation's first Black sorority was established at Howard University two years later. Seven other HBGLOs would develop over time, with this grouping collectively referred to as the Divine Nine. While designed to offer spaces for Blacks to meet on predominantly White campuses, HBGLOs eventually broadened their missions to include civic involvement, emphasizing the importance of community service "as a mechanism of racial uplift" (Washington and Nunez 2012:164).

Racial integration on America's campuses was slow to materialize into the first half of the 20th century. By 1927, only 1,500 Black students had attended a predominantly White college in the United States (Torbenson 2012), and in 1957 over 90% of Black students were educated at historically Black colleges (Willie 2003). Access to higher education was also minimal for Latinos, particularly in the American South where they

were subject to Jim Crow laws (Massey, Charles, Lundy and Fischer 2003). Asian and Native Americans faced similar barriers to access due to segregation.

However, racial minority enrollments at historically White American universities increased dramatically following World War II, aided by the GI Bill for veterans and a series of legislative acts. Examples of the latter include the Defense Education Act of 1958, which promoted postsecondary education via increased funding to schools. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 followed suit, Title VI of which prohibited discrimination by colleges and universities against prospective students on the basis of race, color, religion and sex. Finally, the Higher Education Act of 1965 provided additional financial assistance and resources to America's colleges and universities to meet the needs of its students, to include the establishment of College Work-Study, Educational Opportunity Grants and Guaranteed Student Loan Programs.

The changing composition of the student population on predominantly White college campuses, particularly post-Civil Rights Act, was both the product of and the continued stimulus for student activism around issues of inclusion, representation and equal opportunity. While Rogers (2012) coins activism by Black nationalists during the late 60s and early 1970s the *Black Campus Movement*, he also asserts the long history of Black student organizing on college campuses prior to World War I. "Black student sit-ins in 1960 were not the *beginning* of any movement," Rogers writes. Rather, "they were the *crowning* of mounting civil rights student protest waves." (2012:49). The assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968 marked a turning point in student organizing, placing greater pressure on college and university administrations at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) to increase their student of color enrollments (Peterson et al. 1978).

Banded by racial solidarity, Black student activists and formalized campus groups such as Black Student Unions issued lists of demands to the administrations of PWIs, such as Black student and faculty quotas and the establishment of Black Studies programs. Building takeovers and calls for one-on-one meetings with university administrators were just a few of the tactics utilized by Black students to have their grievances heard (Astin, Astin, Bayer and Biconti 1975; Gamson and Arce 1978; Yamane 2001).

As the Civil Rights movement became increasingly diffuse, the Chicano, gay and lesbian and women's movements of the 1960s and 1970s all made their presence known on campuses across the nation, manifest in a series of sit-ins, demonstrations and calls on university administrations to institute changes that would increase access to higher education and contribute to safe campus environments for all. Mexican American and Chicano organizing on campuses in the Western United States proliferated in the late 1960s, and included reclamation of the Chicano term as an identity for Mexican Americans (Rhoads 1998). Institutional initiatives like affirmative action increased Latino representation on college campuses, and the Asian American presence also proliferated with the passage of the Immigration and Reform Act in 1965. A distinctive "Asian American" identity emerged as the children of highly educated immigrants sought higher education in the late 1960s, organizing students around a shared experience of racial discrimination while asserting their status as Americans (Wen-Chu Chen 2009).

This flurry of activity on campuses across the nation gave way to a late 1970s campus which proved comparatively quiet as university administrators and student groups alike worked to bring change to fruition. These efforts resulted in the creation of Women's Centers, Black Student Unions, and gay and lesbian formal organizations on campuses

across the nation (Vellela 1988). Over half a century after the development of Black Greek Letter organizations, Latino/a and Asian Greek chapters began to appear on campuses, with the most significant decades of growth between the 1970s and 1990s (Munoz and Guardia 2009). Guided by the same principles as Historically Black Greek Letter Organizations, Latino/a and Asian Greek organizations were essential for creating safe spaces and making marginalized student voices heard on predominantly White campuses.

As David Yamane (2001) argues in his history of student activism, post-World War II shifts in America's demographics, coupled with social movements organized by students of color, had a ripple effect across campuses, materializing in a general trend toward instituting multicultural general education requirements in the late 1980s. These changes to the curriculum represent just one facet of university life that has been crucially examined as campuses have diversified. Citing 1960s student activism as the primary impetus driving issues of multiculturalism in the late 20th century, Yamane identifies admissions policies, cultural centers, ethnic studies programs and faculty recruitment as other issues brought to the fore of the campus conversation by student groups. Resisting assimilation to the White mainstream university, underrepresented student populations demanded representation and visibility of their history and culture in the curriculum, and formal recognition and funding of their student organizations.

Recent Literature on the Student of Color Experience on US Campuses

Studies show that an institution's success at cultivating supportive campus environments for underrepresented student populations is directly related to its history of exclusion and initial efforts to address these disparities (Hurtado 1992). Hurtado and colleagues (1998) identify four elements contributing to an institution's climate around issues of racial/ethnic

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diversity: the institution's history of exclusion or inclusion of racial/ethnic groups, racial/ethnic representation measured numerically, the "psychological climate" as measured by perceptions and attitudes toward and between groups, and intergroup relations. The "trickle down" effect of university and college responses to issues of diversity and multiculturalism are important to understanding the experiences of racial/ethnic minority students over fifty years after the campus movements of the Civil Rights era.

Of course, how students experience the transition to college is informed by factors prior to their enrollment, such as the neighborhoods in which they grew up and their schooling experiences with peers of similar or different background (Charles, Fischer, Mooney and Massey 2009). In their study of college admissions data at selective institutions, Massey and colleagues (2003) found that students across racial identities had experienced little interracial contact before college. Blacks and Latinos who grew up in racially segregated areas felt themselves to be the most socially distant from their White peers, while Asians had backgrounds more similar to Whites than Latinos or Blacks.

Once on campus, peer formation has subsequent effects on students' felt levels of support and integration into the fabric of college life. McCabe's (2016) study of student friendship networks at a large public research university in the Midwest found that Black and Latino students were more likely to form tight-knit social networks, marked by one cohesive group of friends who all know one another, while Whites were more likely to be "compartmentalizers," boasting multiple friendship clusters. Consistent with studies of friendship networks formed around shared class identities (Aires 2008), McCabe conjectures that the racial isolation experienced by her Black and Latino subjects led them to seek out monoracial social networks that would provide a sense of "home" on campus.

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For some, this was garnered by joining formal student organizations, or by creating

informal friendship groups. Other scholars of higher education find that students of color

and students from working-class backgrounds are more likely to maintain social ties to

friends off campus or from home than their wealthy White counterparts, the latter of which

arrive on campus expecting to become involved in campus social life and form broad

friendship networks (Chambliss and Takacs 2014; Stuber 2011).

Additional studies find students of color must balance desires for acceptance from

both White and racially-similar peers. Winkle-Wagner's (2009) study of Black women at a

predominantly White institution describes these competing pressures as the "unchosen me."

The women in this study struggled to strike a balance between being viewed as "too White"

or "too ghetto" amongst their Black peers, at the same time that they experienced a culture

shock transitioning into a White-centered space. Between these competing demands, the

women in this study believed their racial identities to be shaped by external factors more

than by their own determinations. Aires' (2008) study of White and Black students at an

elite private institution describes a classed dynamic where Blacks arriving on campus from

private high schools were well-versed in the "world of White wealth" (p. 5). However, 30%

of Blacks in Aires' study reported feeling uncomfortable with some Black students on

campus regardless of their class status. She attributes this finding to the multiple factors

which influence Black student peer formation on predominantly White campuses, to

include skin tone, social class and how strongly they identified with a Black identity.

The body of research on race-based, intracommunity dynamics extends beyond the

White/non-White binary on predominantly White campuses to examine how immersion in

these campus environments also creates pressures for racial minority students to "prove"

their racial authenticity to their co-ethnics. In his ethnographic study of the Black community in Harlem, Jackson (2001) examines how racial authenticity is achieved through performance. The central role of everyday behavior for proving one's racial authenticity challenges race as purely phenotypical or biologically-linked (one-drop rule); rather, Jackson writes, "you are not Black because you are (in essence) Black; you are Black... because of how you act" (188). Styles of dress, comportment, tastes in music or movies, language, friendships, or participation in certain organizations, collectively, are all parts of an authenticity work affirming an individual's place in the racial community ("one of us") or, in instances of failed performances, cracks in the façade opening one's identity to scrutiny or dismissal. These dynamics become further complicated in marked White spaces. For instance, Willie's (2003) study of Blacks who attended a predominantly White campus between 1967 and 1989 found evidence for intracommunity sanctions, to include being labeled an "Oreo" or a "sellout," for a host of behaviors deemed to be at odds with the values of the Black community. As the Black community on campus collectively determines what is considered a racially authentic identity, Willie writes, loyalty to one's race is measured more by "behavior and association and less by color or ancestry" (2003:52).

Similarly, Jones, Castellanos and Cole's (2002) focus groups with Black, Asian, Chicano/Latino and Native American students details in-group pressures to behave a certain way, to include showing loyalty to their racial/ethnic communities. These students described segregation from their White peers, as well as segregation between ethnic communities. For those involved in race or ethnic-specific student organizations, membership was driven by a feeling of "otherness" in non-ethnic (read, predominantly

White) organizations. Significantly, biracial students in this study were more apt to describe feeling like outsiders within their own ethnic groups. In this way, student organizations or campus centers organized around racial or ethnic identities operate at least partially through a "reinforcement of identity for some students and a disenfranchisement for others" (Jones, Castellanos and Cole 2002:33). An additional study of biracial and mixed-race students details a relationship between one's immersion in different student subcultures and their racial identity (Renn 2004), further asserting the power of peer networks for orienting individual behaviors and identities.

Pressures from within one's racial/ethnic minority community to behave or identify in particular ways reflect long-waged struggles for these populations to assert their place in higher education. In the process, a struggle for a politics of recognition has been replaced with an identity politics creating divisions within racial/ethnic communities (Fraser 2000). As they seek to form a collective identity that is "authentic, self-affirming and self-generated," subordinated populations subsequently place pressure on their individual members to reflect a single, unified identity, obscuring the complexity and diversity of these populations in the process (Fraser 2000:6). Perhaps more importantly, Fraser locates these pressures to exude an "authentic" collective representation in the desire for racial/ethnic minority groups to avoid challenges from those in power. In this way, racial inequality begets an intracommunity politics of respectability (Moore 2011), informing how individuals should portray themselves and act as part of a broader community. Respectability politics are steeped in a collective understanding of what is an authentic racial identity, impacting how individuals negotiate relationships with both co-ethnics and

Whites. This authenticity work permeates to all forms of expression and behavior and spans the public/private divide.

For racial and ethnic minority men and women alike, decisions around sexual behavior are part of an on-campus authenticity work. Dancy's (2012) interviews with African American men in college found these men feel pressure from their community to exude an African American model of manhood which is at odds with the expectations placed on them at White institutions. At the same time, betraying the "Brother Code" may also be met with intracommunity sanctions, to include the questioning of one's Black authenticity or their heterosexual identity. Further, Ray and Rosow's (2010) study of Black and White fraternity men link Black men's sexual behaviors on predominantly White campuses to the size of the Black community. Black fraternity men were more likely to adopt romantic, respectful approaches toward women, ensuring their reputations within the community would not be compromised. Given the significantly higher population of White women on campus, White fraternity males were able to adopt more sexualized approaches without compromising their reputations or dwindling their pool of potential sexual partners.

Women of color negotiate their sexual lives at the intersections of race and gender in a culture which has historically labeled Black, Latina and Asian women as hypersexual and, in effect, middle-class White women as the sexual moral standard (Collins 2005; Garcia 2012; Moore 2011). The effect of these legacies continue to reveal themselves in the current literature on college women's sexual behaviors, to include their decisions regarding participation in the hookup culture. While all women are subject to the gendered double standard, White women enjoy greater flexibility in negotiating their sexual lives. Multiple studies of White college women document their preference for hookups over relationships

given their view of college as a time for self-development (Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Wilkins and Dalessandro 2013). Women of color, however, are more likely to opt out of hookup culture or to engage in fewer hookups than their White counterparts, recognizing their sexual behaviors to be open to greater scrutiny and more likely to be taken as representative of their entire communities (Currier 2013; Kimmel 2008; Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014; Wade 2017; Winkle-Wagner 2009).

These dynamics are supported by multiple studies detailing racial homophily in student sexual partnerships. McClintock's (2010) study of sexual and romantic relationships at an elite university connects sexual partnerships to social networks and organizational participation. Blacks were the least likely to date outside of their race, a finding matched by other studies of student dating preferences on campus (Charles et al 2009; Field, Kimuna and Straus 2013). McClintock connects these sexual decisions to, in part, the strength of racial group identity. While Blacks possess the strongest group identity, tied to ongoing levels of discrimination, Asian and Hispanic group identity weakens during college and is strongest among recent immigrants. Subsequently, Asians were more likely to have interracial hookups than their Black counterparts, and to have more racially integrated friendship networks despite similar levels of race-specific organizational participation to Blacks. However, across all races, the preference for racial homophily increases as relationship commitment increases (from a hookup to a relationship situation, for example). At the same time, the ability to date within one's race is also shaped by campus demographics. For example, Winkle-Wagner's (2009) study of the experiences of Black women on a predominantly White campus found frustration with a campus dating market in which Black men were believed to be few. These women perceived Black men as

more attracted to less assertive White women, thus further dwindling their dating options. Despite this gender imbalance, Black women are more apt to be sanctioned for dating outside of their race, leaving them with fewer options on predominantly White campuses (Charles et al. 2009).

Student of Color Markets and Sexual Relationships on Predominantly White Campuses

I argue that the institutional and demographic shifts in the four-year university since the Civil Rights Era created the conditions sufficient for the development of multiple racial/ethnic minority sexual markets within campus space. Namely, mounting pressures for colleges and universities to increase their racial minority enrollments resulted in a *critical mass* of students needed for multiple, racially separate sexual markets to emerge and endure. As student of color representation increased in the latter half of the 20th century, so too did a number of student- and university-led initiatives to create programs and spaces designed to meet the needs of these underrepresented populations. Special-interest housing, cultural centers and academic programs and departments, such as Black Studies or Asian American Studies, were some of the products of these initiatives. Student organizations such as Black Student Unions and multicultural fraternities and sororities also proliferated. Taken together, these developments within the boundaries of the university campus contributed the basic building blocks of sexual markets: space, local organizations, social networks and culture.

Racial and ethnic minority populations make strategic use of campus space, student organizations, university programming and deliberately formed social networks to find belongingness and community in predominantly White institutional environments. Consistent with the history behind their development, student of color sexual markets are

not directly oriented toward sexual interaction – rather, they act as *mediated sexual marketplaces,* or sites that where facilitation of the search for a sexual partner is a secondary feature (Laumann et al 2004). I argue that student of color sexual markets are demarcated along racial lines (Black sexual market, Latino/a sexual market, etc.), and exist separate of the party sexual market.

The work of racially underrepresented students to create safe and supportive spaces within the university environment also contributes to a market dynamic marked by a politics of racial authenticity. Racial authenticity may be measured bodily in the form of skin tone, hair style or dress, or based on credentials such as social class, generational status, peer groups, levels of activism or embeddedness within racial/ethnic student organizations. As Carter (2003) argues in her theory of cultural status positioning, the authenticity work involved within racial and ethnic communities on campus informs where individuals are made to feel they belong (or not) across various campus spaces.

The Foundations of Queer Student Sexual Markets

As with the development of student of color markets on college campuses, student activism around issues of gay and lesbian identity during the late 1960s and early 1970s also set in motion the eventual establishment of university resources, allocation of designated spaces and recognition of student organizations which made the development of queer sexual markets possible. While student of color markets formed from the *critical mass* needed to develop and sustain a market infrastructure, I argue that the genesis of queer sexual markets followed from a *critical visibility* of LGBTQ[7] students on campus. That is, whether by

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[7] The LGBTQ acronym used throughout this section does not necessarily connote that issues of transgenderism, bisexuality or queerness were present throughout the student movements beginning in the 1960s and 1970s. To be sure, reclamation of the queer identity would not become a firmly entrenched part of

asserting their similarities to or differences from heterosexuals, LGBTQ student

populations nevertheless commanded the attention of university administrators and their

peers alike. "Gay is good," and, later, "we're here, we're queer," served as rallying mantras

for student activists around LGBTQ issues, demanding formal recognition of their student

organizations and their right to safe living and learning environments.

The broader gay and lesbian social movement of the 1970s, and the manifestation of

this movement on college campuses, laid the groundwork for the development of queer

student sexual markets[8] in concert with university responses to the unique struggles and

challenges of its non-heterosexually-identified student populace. This campus movement

followed from the racial/ethnic minority student movement and, as I will show, drew upon

some of its tactics. The resultant *critical visibility* wrought from student organizing around

a homosexual identity prompted university responses in the form of gay and lesbian faculty

hires, development of resource centers and/or support services for LGBTQ populations, and

the proliferation of student organizations focused on issues of sexual orientation.

Queers on Campus: A Brief History

Non-heterosexual students have presumably always been present on college campuses,

though the impetus to keep one's sexual proclivities private is tied to the development of

the homosexual as a distinct type of individual. Canaday (2009) connects interest in and

regulation of homosexual identity in the United States to the growth of the bureaucratic

state, with subsequent efforts to include sexual identity as the basis for (or denial of)

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the movement until the 1980s, with increased support for trans* rights following later. However, as a point of standardization, I refer to the "LGBTQ" movement throughout this chapter.

[8] As a note, I refer to "queer student markets" to mean those markets that are developed by, and participated in, by students who identify as other-than-heterosexual. While the term "queer" can also be used to encompass non-binary conceptions of gender identity, given the data collected for this study, I treat with the experiences of cis-women who self-identify their sexual orientation as something other than straight/heterosexual. This includes women who identify as questioning or unsure.

citizenship. Similar developments occurred within higher education, where students suspected of harboring same-sex attractions were subject to dismissal during the postwar and Cold War eras. Examples of this type of *in loco parentis* discipline in the mid-20th century included a New England women's college with a reputation for separating roommates suspected of lesbianism and the expulsion of several men from Baylor University for "conduct unbecoming a student," which included non-heterosexual sexual behavior (D'Emilio 1992; Dilley 2002a). During the 1950s institutions began to shift responsibility for non-heterosexual students from the administration to mental health practitioners, whose charge it was to "treat" the illness of homosexuality.

Students played a critical role in the broader LGBT movement, with organized gay activism present on a handful of campuses prior to the Stonewall riots of 1969. The Student Homophile League marked the first gay student organization on a college campus, founded at Columbia University in 1967; Cornell University followed suit with its own chapter in 1968. These organizations helped to build important coalitions with other student activists, ensuring a broader base of support for gay liberation both on and off campus (Beemyn 2003). The tactics of the Student Homophile Leagues at Cornell and Columbia mirrored those of the Black Power and antiwar movements, with the rise of a visible gay population at these universities concurrent with movements for racial/ethnic representation. However, it would not be until after the Stonewall riots that student organizing around sexual identity began to proliferate on campuses across the United States. These movements were also aided by the momentum of student activism begun by Black radicals, feminists and anti-war protestors in the 1960s (D'Emilio 1992).

Gay student organizing during the 1960s and into the 1980s involved demands to administrators for funding and recognition of their clubs and organizations in the name of equality and inclusion (Dilley 2002b). "Gay is good," an adaptation from "Black is beautiful," became the mantra for a population seeking to emphasize their similarities to, rather than differences from, their heterosexual peers. The development of homosexual student groups was not without resistance. While universities previously sought to banish students suspected of or caught engaging in same-sex sexual behavior, these tactics shifted as gay groups organized on campus and demanded institutional recognition. A series of legal battles between students and universities in the 1970s reflect the efforts of administrators to control the assemblage of gay student groups. For example, the 1976 court case *Gay Alliance of Students v. Matthews* was brought by a gay student organization against the administration of Virginia Commonwealth University, which had denied recognition of the group on the grounds that their gatherings would "increase the opportunity for homosexual contacts" (*Gay Alliance of Students v. Matthews* 1976:856). Similar cases occurred at the University of New Hampshire, Austin Peay State University in Tennessee and the University of Missouri (Dilley 2002a).

As the movement shifted from a focus on civil rights to gay liberation, issues of racial, class and gendered representation in the movement came to a head, largely overlooked by what amounted to a mostly middle-class, White male constituency. Lesbian feminism in the 1970s was one reaction to this imperative, with the most radical feminists asserting a separatist movement prioritizing women's issues. Aligned with the feminist movement, lesbian feminists in the 1970s sought solidarity first and foremost in terms of gender, and focused on cultivating a heightened visibility through a more defiant political

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agenda than their Cold War predecessors (Pena 2013). The erasure of sexuality from 1970s lesbian feminism was an important move for crafting the lesbian as a non-threatening (read, non-sexual) individual and for growing the number of women who could identify as such. Strategically defining lesbianism as "women-identified-women" did the work of both distancing lesbians from gay men and removing sex with women as a criterion for inclusion in the movement (Stein 2006). Queer women of color subsequently took issue with lesbian separatism's oversight of issues of race and poverty in their strategies (Armstrong 2002). They asserted the importance of adopting an intersectional framework to organize around and address the multiplicity of issues faced by gays and lesbians in the United States (Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981; Cornwell 1983).

Similar conflicts were present within the university environment, with the earliest student groups mostly founded and run by gay White males (Beemyn 2003; Ghaziani 2011). As the LGBTQ movement grew more visible over time, so too did the diversification of its support networks on college campuses. This manifested in name changes to student organizations (for example, renaming the "Gay Student Alliance" the "Gay and Lesbian Student Alliance"), or the development of separate niche groups formed around a particular identity or experience. One example of the latter was the formation of Gay Women of Princeton in 1982 and their subsequent defection from the Gay Alliance of Princeton in an effort to focus on and organize around lesbian feminist interests (Ghaziani 2011). The growing visibility of the LGBTQ movement on campuses was accompanied by growing discontentment among openly out students, who implored their closeted brethren to also come out and contribute to a more "confrontational, militant organizing" (Beemyn 2003:218).

By the late 1980s queer politics had sprung from gay liberation, in response to what was viewed as an overly simplistic view of sexual identity. In part, the boundaries drawn by gays and lesbians within the mainstream movement strategically excluded bisexuals and transgendered individuals, whose sexual and gendered identities threatened to undermine gay and lesbian identity (Armstrong 2002). To those on the fringe, the obsessiveness with identity politics drew attention away from the more important movement goals of liberation and social justice. Unlike the gay movement, queer politics sought to deconstruct identity categories, or at least to blur the lines between them. At the same time, such efforts failed to account for the interactive effects of race, class and gender on sexuality (Cohen 1997). However, it was this call to critically examine identity politics which led to changes such as broadening the movement to include bisexuality and transgenderism with gay and lesbian issues. The product of such efforts on college campuses included the renaming of student organizations or campus resource centers, and the development of additional student organizations dedicated to the unique experiences and identities of trans*, bisexual and queer students of color (Ghaziani 2011). However, scholars argue the development of programming targeted towards non-heterosexually-identified populations inevitably proves limiting in its assumption of a White, middle-class experience (Fox 2010) or in the de-prioritization of more marginalized trans* populations (Beemyn, Curtis, Davis and Tubbs 2005; Marine and Nicolazzo 2014). Of course, this presupposes that these resources are available to students across institutional settings and, on a personal level, that students feel comfortable entering these spaces.

The goals and politics of the LGBTQ movement continue to be debated today, to include tensions between gays and lesbians who assert a politics of assimilation with the

heterosexual mainstream and a queer constituency focused on challenging heteronormativity (Weiss 2003). In their review of the LGBT movement in the United States, Ghaziani, Taylor and Stone (2016) identify multiple waves of collective organizing aligning with the shifting goals of the movement. While gay liberation and lesbian feminism of the 1960s and 1970s asserted homosexuality as both natural and normal, queer activism of the 1980s sought to challenge what was considered "normal" through provocative and in-your-face tactics. Queer activism asserts the limits of a heterosexual/homosexual binary and the fluidity of gender and sexual expression. However, as Ghaziani and colleagues write, while "queer activists aim to bring together individuals who feel perverse, odd, deviant and different.... these boundaries have frequently marginalized those who fail to conform," essentially reproducing marginalization within a movement formed around the goal of inclusivity (2016:171). These ideological and political battles are waged in what Ghaziani (2011) refers to as a "post-gay" era. As acceptance of homosexuality, gay marriage and same-sex parenting has increased, so too have the possibilities for gays and lesbians to live out and proud lives outside of gay urban enclaves, integrated amongst their heterosexual peers in neighborhoods across the nation. In a post-gay era, diversification within the movement occurs simultaneously with a lessened stigma of a non-heterosexual identity; however, the racial, gendered and classed dynamics of this privilege continue to be challenged.

Despite these tensions, the successes of the LGBT movement cannot be denied. This has included positive shifts in the campus environment for LGBT-identified students, such as the proliferation of student organizations and university initiatives designed to support its non-heterosexual populace. By the mid-1990s more than 2,000 student organizations for

non-heterosexuals existed on American college campuses (Gose 1996). The first Lesbian and Gay Studies Department was founded in 1989 at San Francisco City College, providing a space and a curriculum dedicated to the experiences of non-heterosexual people. The development of online and in-print resources, such as Campus Pride[9] and *The Advocate's College Guide for LGBT Students* (2006), collect and disseminate information about the resources available to LGBTQ students on campuses across the nation, to include ranking the most LGBTQ-friendly schools (as well as the least-friendly schools). Finally, student-organized pride weeks and designated student resource centers have popped up on campuses across the nation. However, as of 2014 just under 5% of all four-year institutions in the United States offered a professionally staffed campus LGBTQ center (Marine and Nicolazzo 2014), evidence that university commitments to creating welcoming spaces for sexual and gender minority students vary across campuses.

Recent Literature on the Queer Student Experience on US Campuses

Studies of the LGBTQ student experience on the 21st century campus find two divergent agendas – a post-gay politics of assimilation and a queer politics which directly challenges heteronormativity – come into play for how students experience the campus space, form friendships and make decisions about participation in student organizations. Today's college students were raised in an era of increasing normalization of non-heterosexual identities, and university offerings to the LGBTQ community are informed in part by the "post-gay" turn of the late 1990s (Seidman 2002). In his examination of the evolution of a college LGBT student organization at Princeton, Ghaziani describes how post-gay sensibilities lead such groups to shift from an "us versus them [heterosexuals]" to a more

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[9] Founded in 2001, Campus Pride is a non-profit network of student leaders and associated campus groups advocating for a safer college environment for LGBTQ students. (https://www.campuspride.org/)

inclusive, "us and them" mindset. The result has been marked support for diversification of sexual identities and sexual ways of life within the LGBT community. At the same time, the development of niche organizations such as queer student of color or trans* groups were partially borne of disagreements within the greater LGBT community about the social and political objectives of "mainstream" student organizations, such as Queer Student Unions.

Sexual identity is a particular sticking point, with continued debate about who belongs under the umbrella of "the community" and who does not. At the heart of these debates is how the complexity of sexual and gender identities is obscured by grouping lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender and queer individuals together. On campuses this manifests in ongoing debates about which identities to include in the name of student organizations or resource centers – hence the reason why many student organizations have gone through several name changes since their original founding (Beemyn 2003; Ghaziani 2011). Should allies, intersex folks or questioning individuals have their respective letters within the LGBT alphabet soup? Are the experiences and struggles of trans* folks with respect to gender identification similar to that of gays and lesbians with respect to sexual identity? For some, inclusion of bisexuality and transgenderism within this movement only serves to complicate and stall acceptance of gays and lesbians. While bisexuals are able to "pass" as heterosexuals and to benefit from heteronormativity despite their same-sex attractions, transgender individuals are viewed as "erasing" lesbian and gay identities through their identification with the opposite gender (Weiss 2003).

The body of research on the experiences of LGBTQ students reflects the continued challenges faced by sexual minority individuals on today's college campuses, as well as the complexity of identity in a post-gay era. While increased visibility and mainstream support

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of LGBTQ individuals may make some comfortable enough to be out, this is certainly not the case for all students. Campus climates perceived to be affirming and accepting of non-heterosexual identities are directly tied to how integrated lesbian, gay and bisexual students feel on their campuses (Woodford and Kulick 2015), though additional studies document varied levels of acceptance of LGBTQ populations across campus subcultures. Studies focused specifically on attitudes toward gays and lesbians within Division I sporting environments find gendered differences, with females reporting more positive attitudes toward gays and lesbians than males. However, previous contact with gays and lesbians is positively associated with levels of acceptance among both male and female student athletes (Ensign, Yiamouyiannis, White and Ridpath 2011; Oswalt and Vargas 2013; Roper and Halloran 2007).

Significantly, those student subpopulations most closely associated with the party sexual market are found to harbor less than favorable attitudes towards non-heterosexual students, most notably Greek life. One study of gay male students at a school in Southern California found these men made deliberate efforts to compartmentalize their sexual identity in spaces marked by higher levels of homophobia, such as Greek life, ROTC programs and athletics (Tillapaugh 2013). A study of the sorority rush process on one college campus found that sorority members relegated non-heterosexually-identified women, or women who did not exude a hegemonic femininity, to chapters occupied by "pariah" femininities (Stone and Gorga 2014). Homophobic remarks or deliberate avoidance of known gays and lesbians also operates within residential halls, which may lead some students to remain closeted or to avoid social interactions within these spaces (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Evans and Broido 2002).

As with studies of racial/ethnic minority students, a politics of authenticity is evident within LGBTQ communities on campus. Swank and Fahs' (2012) study of the predictors of student involvement in political activism around gay and lesbian rights found that students who had activist friends and who were able to recognize heterosexism were most likely to become involved in activist networks or student organizations. However, this presupposes an understanding of heterosexism and an orientation toward political organizing that not all students possess. An additional study of LGBT student leaders and queer activists described a similar process that involved being plugged into the LGBT campus community early in their academic careers. Within these spaces, faculty/staff mentorship and peer networks aided these students' transition into leadership positions, which subsequently increased their visibility in the community and their level of "outness" (Renn 2007). An additional study of queer students at liberal arts colleges in the United States found that less class-privileged and/or racial minority students were more likely to prioritize coalition building and inclusivity in queer student movements compared to their White and/or class-privileged peers (Harr and Kane 2008), suggesting continued divisions within the LGBTQ movement across racial, class and sexual identities.

The LGBT movement has a long history of boundary development. Gender presentation, sexual identity and sexual behavior have all served to demarcate between who is "in the community" and who is not, with these forms of queer capital granting varied levels of access to gay and lesbian spaces. Certainly these debates continue today, albeit in an era when the gay and lesbian community has made significant strides with respect to civil rights and broader social acceptance of homosexuality. Despite these shifting dynamics, forms of queer capital continue to hold significant weight for determining

affirmation and recognition of individuals within the LGBTQ community. A queer authenticity, then, is predicated on collectively developed notions of what respectable queerness looks and acts like. Evidence for individual recognition of these standards can be found Fraser's (2010) study of an online website targeted toward lesbian women. The author describes how these online spaces are strategically used by individuals to "test" out their sexual identities in an anonymous space, and to learn what it "means" to be queer. Relatedly, Hutson's (2010) study of gay and lesbian authenticity focuses on the strategic deployment of appearance and identity to assert one's belongingness. For lesbian women this included signaling their sexual identity with their gender presentation, conveyed by, among other things, forms of dress. While butch women were easily able to signal their sexual identity in marked gay spaces, feminine presenting women described frustration in not being "read" as lesbian because of their appearance. However, the signification of sexual identity via gender presentation varies in its meaning or consequences across social contexts. While women's assertion of their lesbian identity through their gender presentation is a means from which to challenge heteronormativity, this same visibility may leave some women open to violent confrontation in marked heteronormative spaces. Conversely, lesbians who adopt more feminine appearances may be considered transgressive in marked lesbian spaces (Evans 2004). However, Skeggs (2001) reminds us that femininity as a form of cultural capital is first and foremost oriented within a heterosexual matrix where men (both gay and straight) are privileged.

Forms of dress, language and appearance can collectively signal an individual's sexual identity, though adoption of these key markers of a queer identity are also bound up with race, class and gender dynamics. Mignon Moore's (2011) study of Black lesbian

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women in New York explores the interactive processes of race, class, gender and sexuality for individual experience, such as decisions to come out or to start families. At the same time, their identities are shaped by Black culture and a politics of respectability, forcing them to negotiate cultural pressures seated in America's racial past with their own desires for sexual autonomy. These multiple social forces informed lesbian women's gender presentation choices, which were often demarcated by class lines. While middle-class Black lesbian women's decisions to adopt less transgressive gender presentations were steeped in efforts to maintain respectability in predominantly White spaces, Black lesbians who adopted more masculine styles challenged conventional norms of gender and sexuality.

There is also evidence for the variable construction of sexual identities across different geographic and cultural locations. Brown-Saracino's (2015) study of lesbian, bisexual and queer identities in four towns in the United States finds evidence for unique "sexual identity cultures," with attendant prescriptions for how "to be" LBQ within each town. Localized narratives around lifestyles and identity politics informed how women viewed their own identities upon relocation to these towns. Similarly, Kazyak's (2012) study of lesbian and gay identities in rural space finds White lesbian women's performance of a female masculinity is rendered normative, rather than transgressive, in these geographic regions.

Negotiation of queer identities in marked queer spaces are also raced, classed and gendered. Taylor's (2008) study of British working-class lesbians examines how their identities are experienced in commercialized spaces marketed towards gay and lesbian audiences. Her findings reflect Bell and Binnie's (2000) concept of a sophisticated "queer cosmopolitanism," where desirable constructions of gay and lesbian identity in these spaces

– as youthful, middle-class, and fashionable – left working-class women feeling out of place. In her study of two queer/lesbian bathhouses, Hammers (2008a) connotes the promises of queer spaces as sites of empowerment and affirmation of other queer bodies. However, validation in these spaces is still bound up in racialized, classed and gendered politics, contingent in the marginalization of trans* individuals and queer women of color.

It is reasonable to assume that queer students negotiate these competing imperatives as they navigate heteronormative versus marked queer campus spaces. The size and visibility of the LGBTQ population, varying levels of politicization around issues of gender and sexuality, and the image that student organizations adopt – not only in how they name themselves and define their mission, but how members dress, identify and otherwise present themselves – all inform new students what it means to be a member of the LGBTQ community at any given school. Additionally, LGBTQ-identified students negotiate a broader campus climate where heteronormativity guides daily interaction.

The body of literature on the sexual lives of LGBTQ students finds that the presumption of heterosexuality complicates the process of finding same-sex partners on campus. Kuperberg and Padgett's (2015) study of where college students seek out dates and/or hookups by sexual orientation found both women and men seeking same-sex relationships were significantly more likely to use the Internet to find partners than heterosexual students. Further, women who partnered with men were significantly more likely to meet partners in bars or party settings than women seeking other women. While university sites where heteronormativity and male power are most prominent are also spaces in which same-sex sexual behavior is encouraged, the phenomenon of "straight girls kissing," especially at large campus parties, is attributed to heterosexual women's strategic

deployment of same-sex eroticism to attract men (Hamilton 2007; Rupp and Taylor 2010). To be sure, Rupp and colleagues study of women's same-sex hookups in the college party scene (2014) found women utilize parties as "opportunity structures" to explore same-sex desire. For some women in this study, exploration of their attractions in public venues led to the eventual adoption of a queer sexual identity. For other queer-identified women, however, the strategic deployment of "straight girls kissing" for male onlookers may prove problematic in spaces where homophobia is palpable (Hamilton 2007). While hegemonically feminine women may be able to use these party environments to engage in same-sex sexual behaviors, women whose gender presentation is more androgynous are less apt to have their sexual behaviors read as entertainment for male onlookers.

Same-sex interaction between women is considered less taboo and is more amenable to public display than same-sex interaction between men (Jackson and Gilbertson 2009). However, in spaces where heterosexuality is assumed, signaling one's identity as other-than-heterosexual may be complicated, particularly for women who exude a hegemonically feminine appearance. Of course, participation in the LGBTQ community is one avenue for meeting others, including meeting potential sexual partners. Like student of color communities, queer communities are marked by a politics of authenticity, though these politics differ across different networks and/or student groups. In more politically queer spaces, for instance, members may feel greater pressure to exude gendered presentations that disrupt heteronormativity or to adopt a particular style of dress, comportment, or language, than in less politically organized queer spaces. For women who are just beginning to explore non-normative sexual identities in college, these more politicized spaces may prove intimidating. In ways similar to students of color, then,

involvement in queer communities is also predicated on authenticity work that asserts one's

fit within these communities, which might be challenged on the basis of identity, gender

presentation, class or race.

Queer Sexual Markets and Sexual Relationships on Campus

Queer student sexual markets were the product of organized student movements on

campuses for recognition of the LGBTQ student population, and produced subsequent

development of university features, student organizations and associated programs and

services in support of these populations. The *critical visibility* of these early gay and lesbian

student organizers triggered the institutional and cultural shifts needed to create and sustain

sexual markets which bring students together around their sexual minority identities. The

foundations for queer student sexual markets may be present in formalized spaces, such as

dormitory floors, resource centers or student organizations, or may exist in more informal

networks. As a derivative of student initiatives to create safer and more inclusive campus

environments for LGBTQ populations, queer student sexual markets are also *mediated*

sexual markets. While sexual partnerships are not the key organizing logic of these markets,

the creation of network ties and spaces for queer-identified students to interact contributes

conditions which may enable these partnerships.

Queer student sexual markets are further organized by a queer authenticity politics,

demarcating market boundaries through a collectively produced set of criterion for

membership. These dynamics are part of a larger history of boundary development within

the LGBTQ movement along gendered and sexual identities. I argue that forms of queer

capital, such as sexual identity, gender presentation, forms of dress and language, carry

significant weight in queer sexual markets insomuch as they signal a queer authenticity.

This signaling is particularly astute in a post-gay era marked by increasing assimilation of the LGBTQ population into the mainstream, heteronormative culture, standing in sharp contrast to a queer politics and queer activism which seeks to rupture the heteronormative imperative through visible contestations of gendered and sexual norms. Prior research finds these competing trends of assimilation to and contestation of heteronormativity are equally important for organizing the experience of sexual partnership. As I will show, students negotiate this tension as they seek out same-sex sexual partnerships, within or beyond the queer student sexual market.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed the major trends in the history of higher education in America and identified their significance in driving the development of multiple sexual markets on campus. The three sexual market types described in this chapter each have their roots in an era of diversification of the four-year university. As a bastion of White male elitism, the early American college and university developed in the image of its earliest pupils, whose *critical clout* spawned the development of a "collegiate culture" and, with it, the seeds of a party sexual market emphasizing co-d socializing, drinking and drug use. The party sexual market cemented its influence as the largest and most visible sexual market on college campuses as higher education became accessible to the masses following the Civil War. Competition for students and tuition dollars triggered further growth of athletics programs, Greek life and other features of the "mainstream" college experience which cater to the interests of the class-privileged looking for four years of fun.

Student of color and queer student sexual markets each formed during the mid-20th century, the circumstances of their development tied to organized student reactions to the

university environment as a predominantly White, heteronormative space. Waves of student activism organized around different identities and goals: increased enrollment of racial/ethnic minority students, establishment of multicultural course sequences, hiring of faculty of color, or recognition of LGBT student groups (Rojas 2012). This direct confrontation of the university system spawned sweeping institutional change, producing the designation of university spaces for minority student populations to meet, as well as recognition of and funding for associated organizations. The formation of student subcultures around shared identities and the assemblage of social networks within these subcultures are an additional outcome of the student movement. Collectively, these developments produced the physical spaces, local organizations and social networks facilitating individual interaction and sexual partnerships between co-ethnics and queer-identified students, respectively.

Each sexual market boasts its own unique culture, communicating to market participants its appropriate social norms, sexual aims and desires. Market cultures demarcate the boundaries of sexual markets and orient the behaviors and actions of actors in their search for sexual partners (Laumann et al. 2004). An individual's sexual subjectivities and partner preferences are developed in response to other market actors, making each sexual market significant in its communication of what is collectively valued. As the most visible and largest of campus sexual markets, party sexual markets value certain forms of erotic, social and cultural capital. Organized within student subcultures and spaces associated with privilege, White, upper-middle-class and hegemonic masculine or feminine market actors are rendered the most desirable.

In reaction to the dynamics of the predominantly White institution, student of color and queer student sexual markets are secondarily oriented toward sexual partnerships, existing primarily as safe and supportive spaces for minority populations. In this way, both of these sexual market types are partially influenced by the party sexual market in the development of their internal sexual cultures. Student of color sexual markets are organized by a politics of racial authenticity, such that one's racial identity becomes "achieved through performances and practices," proving one's belongingness to spaces and social networks occupied by co-ethnics (Jackson 2001: 12). Given the racial/ethnic delineation between sexual markets, markers of authenticity such as cultural tastes, styles of dress, language or phenotypical traits, will be specific to a given market. For example, what it means to be racially authentic in Black student sexual markets will differ from that of Latino/a student sexual markets. A racialized politics of belonging within these markets, I argue, is placed in greater relief as racial minorities confront the university as a marked White space.

Like student of color sexual markets, queer sexual markets are also organized by a politics of authenticity. Signifiers of a non-heterosexual identity – such as gender presentation, styles of dress, language or sexual identity – have historically been central to the LGBT movement's fight for recognition and equality. While contemporary social organizing around a queer politics seeks to trouble heteronormativity and create a movement inclusive of all sexual and gender identities (Harr and Kane 2008; Seidman 2002), these politics also reify and privilege certain appearances, practices and identities. I assert this authenticity politics organizes the market boundaries and conditions for

interaction between queer-identified students on campus, who must also negotiate the university as a marked heteronormative space.

Finally, while I identify the major turning points in higher education contributing to the formation of different sexual markets, I argue that localized conditions unique to a given campus will necessarily shape the manifestation of each of these sexual market types. In other words, context matters for understanding how sexual markets are produced and experienced on a particular campus. The next three chapters interrogate this premise, utilizing archival research on two American universities – the University of Pennsylvania and the University of California Santa Barbara – to identify the mechanisms driving the development of party, student of color and queer student sexual markets on each campus, respectively. I combine this archival data with fifty-four in-depth interviews with undergraduate women – twenty-seven at each institution – to connect the evolution of each institution to women's experiences of their campus as a site of sexual partnership today. I draw on these women's experiences to illustrate how institutional and interpersonal processes guide them into particular campus sexual markets, and how membership in these markets informs their search for sexual partners. The next chapter examines the party sexual markets at the University of California Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania. Chapter 3 explores the multiple student of color sexual markets on both campuses, followed by an examination of each school's queer student sexual market in Chapter 4.

Chapter 2: The Party Sexual Market

This chapter explores the development of the party sexual markets at the University of

Pennsylvania and the University of California Santa Barbara, respectively, and considers

how these market structures inform the sexual experiences of undergraduate women. Using

archival data on both institutions, I show how the origins of the party sexual market at both

UC Santa Barbara and Penn are steeped in both school's histories as predominantly White

institutions. Founded in the late 18th century, the University of Pennsylvania's history

mirrors that of the major shifts in higher education described in Chapter 1. The school's

history of educating the wealthy and its prestigious membership in the Ivy League is

matched by a student collegiate culture captured by the mantra "work hard, play hard."

Providing an outlet for "playing hard," Penn's Greek life figures prominently in its party

market.

The University of California Santa Barbara is centuries younger than Penn, founded

during the post-war boom in higher education. The college town adjacent to the campus,

Isla Vista, rapidly developed in the mid-1950s upon the school's relocation to a coastal

mesa bordering the Pacific Ocean. The town soon took on a reputation as the school's party

mecca, a reputation which students have gladly kept going ever since. The concentration of

UCSB's party market within its off-campus college town makes for a more eclectic

dynamic, albeit one that nonetheless benefits its class-privileged constituency in the

production of a vibrant party-based sexual market. The party sexual market is both the

largest and most prominent sexual market on each campus today.

As I will show, women enter, make decisions within, and/or disengage from a

sexual market whose embeddedness in the hypervisible, mainstream collegiate party culture

renders it difficult to ignore. Interviews with undergraduate women at both schools show

how introduction into each school's respective party sexual market is the achieved through

a mix of engagement with institutional offerings and embeddedness in social networks

which encourage participation. At Penn, freshman orientation provides a built-in system for

funneling students into its prominent party culture, while students at UCSB arrive on

campus with knowledge of Isla Vista's reputation, or otherwise quickly learn from others.

As previous research has shown, women arriving on campus with the right forms of

cultural, social and economic capital experience an easy transition into the party market

(Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; McCabe 2016; Stuber 2011). While this market is still

accessible to those without these forms of capital, their options for engagement with this

market are more restricted without the networks and social "know-how" needed to fully

navigate its parameters. These varied levels of access reveal the party market as governed

by a sexual logic where certain bodies garner greater sexual attention, as well as the

classed, raced and gendered dimensions of erotic capital. The party sexual market's location

in particular campus spaces and its association with student populations marked by greater

financial and social capital, combined with the tendency for these environments to be

controlled by White men, informs women's behaviors when engaging this market and

shapes their interactions with others (particularly straight men).

Utilizing the thematic history I developed through use of archival materials, I open

this chapter with a brief overview of the institutional histories of both schools, with a

particular focus on the party sexual market as a product of each school's unique

institutional offerings, geographic features and relationship to surrounding communities.

Next, I examine how the women at Penn and UCSB navigate their respective school's party

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sexual market, and how engagement with others in these environments are shaped by racial, classed and gendered dynamics.

The Origins of the Party Sexual Market
University of Pennsylvania

The University of Pennsylvania's history as an institution predominated by White Anglo-Saxon men is not only reflected in its campus culture, but in the physical development of the campus itself. In the mid-19th century the University of Pennsylvania began to attain a reputation as one of the nation's more prestigious institutions of higher education. This trajectory was aided, in part, by a $100,000 donation by Joseph Wharton for the development of a school of business, the first of its kind in the United States to be wholly devoted to preparing students for careers in finance, banking and manufacturing (Cheyney 1940).

This heightened visibility accompanied a growing number of middle-class men entering college in the late 19th century, though "throughout most of the nineteenth century, the University, like its peer institutions across the nation, was largely under the control of a single elite class who maintained their power and status by controlling membership" (Thomas and Brownlee 2000: p. 80). As Penn constructed student housing to accommodate its growing undergraduate population, including increasing numbers of Eastern Europeans, women, Jews and Blacks, the White elite who had previously comprised the bulk of Penn's student population leveraged their *critical clout* to build fraternity houses down the center of the school's newly constructed West Philadelphia campus. Financed by private resources, these fraternity houses served the purpose of distinguishing the "elite castes" from the rest of the student population living in the central dormitories (Thomas and Brownlee 2000). Fraternity houses were purposely fashioned in the same Gothic style of

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Penn's academic and administrative buildings, as if to communicate their members' embeddedness in the fabric of the institution. Psi Upsilon was the first chapter to erect a building on the new campus expressly for the purpose of housing fraternity members in 1897. The grandeur of its Gothic-inspired design is encapsulated in its nickname, "Castle." The strategic location of these houses on Locust Walk, the main drag of campus, asserted fraternity men's wealth and their superiority to an increasingly diversifying student population. While the vast majority of institutions of higher education had become coeducational by the turn of the 20th century, Penn remained a gender segregated institution up until the mid-20th century, having founded a separate women's college in 1933. It would not be until 1954 that women were represented in all fields of study at Penn, with the School of Engineering and Applied Science and the Wharton School, Penn's Business College, acting as the last two holdouts (Lloyd 2001). For the majority of its history, Penn has been a university predominantly for wealthy, White men.

In addition to becoming coeducational, the University of Pennsylvania's rapid growth post-World War II also meant physical expansion of the campus. Penn shares its northern and southwestern borders with two additional four-year universities, Drexel University and University of the Sciences (USci). The collective growth of these three institutions in the post-war era contributed to a campus housing shortage which reached a fever pitch by 1968, triggering a plan for Penn to extend its campus boundaries north. Fearing they would eventually be displaced to make room for a growing student population, those who owned real estate to the north of Penn's campus sold their properties to landlords who sought to cash in on the need for additional student housing off campus (Glasker 2002). This process, referred to by urban planners and geographers as *studentification*

(Sage, Smith and Hubbard 2012), has created a lucrative business for landlords, contributing to gentrification of Penn's neighborhoods to the north, south and east while neighborhoods to the west of the school are predominantly occupied by working-class Blacks. Today, the campuses of Drexel, USci and Penn collectively form "University City," a triangular stretch of land in West Philadelphia for which Penn foots 60% of the budget (Maurrasse 2001). University City marks a concerted effort by the three universities, begun in the 1960s, to develop more commercial space around their respective campuses, distinguish themselves from the rest of West Philadelphia, connect existing faculty, students and staff, and draw tourism (Maurrasse 2001; Thomas and Brownlee 2000).

The influence of local communities, diversification of the college-bound population and growing pressures to conform to a business model of education are each reflected in the evolution of Penn's physical campus over the past several hundred years. While newer construction on campus gives Penn's campus a modern feel, these exist alongside the school's oldest buildings, a reminder of the school's beginnings as a space for America's White elite. Interspersed between academic and administrative buildings, fraternities continue to assert a very visible presence in the heart of campus, with the houses of eight historically White fraternities lining Locust Walk, the main drag of campus. Additional clusters of Greek houses are located along the northern, southern and western edges of Penn's campus, with off-campus student rentals interspersed in-between. Twenty-seven historically White Inter-Fraternity Council (IFC) chapters were active on Penn's campus during the year I conducted interviews. This is over three times as many chapters as comprise Penn's historically White, Panhellenic Council-affiliated sororities (eight), and over two times as many chapters in the Intercultural Greek Council, the umbrella

organization for the university's historically Black, Latino/a and Asian Greek letter organizations, of which there are ten.

Consistent with the collegiate culture forged by its earliest students, today Penn is known for being a party school as much as an Ivy League institution. These juxtaposing reputations reflect students' efforts to seek respite from a high-pressure, pre-professional campus culture. Penn's robust Greek population (of which 30% of students are members) and the school's location in a large urban city provide ample opportunities for students to let loose. In addition to the various fraternity houses hosting parties on the weekend and the bevy of bars in University City catering to the student population, the school's oldest student dormitories, collectively known as the Quad, carry a long tradition of being the "social hot spot for freshmen" (Sliney 2017). Penn students also celebrate the arrival of warm weather every year with Spring Fling, a weeklong party taking place on the lawn of the Quad. In 2014 Playboy Magazine dubbed Penn the #1 Party School in the nation, a distinction the publisher attributed to those aspects of the school's history and culture mirrored in its social scene today, namely student wealth and dominance of Greek life:

> Smarties can party too, and UPenn puts other Ivies to shame with its union
> of brains, brewskies and bros. Boasting a notorious underground frat scene
> that schools have deemed a nuisance, these renegades pony up thousands of
> dollars' worth of liquor for their parties – and competition among the houses
> means a balls-out war of debauchery.[10]

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[10] http://www.playboy.com/articles/playboys-top-party-schools

University of California Santa Barbara

UC Santa Barbara is one of ten campuses comprising the University of California system, added as the fourth campus in 1944 amidst a period of rapid post-World War II growth in higher education. By the late 1960s, UCSB had been established as a "general campus" of the UC system, and today enrolls roughly 24,000 students, including about 3,000 graduate students. Significantly, the University of California system's rate of student enrollment during the mid-20th century exceeded UC Santa Barbara's ability to construct new housing to match the demand. As a consequence, UCSB's southwestern neighbor, the small, ocean-front community of Isla Vista, became the site of fevered development.

Originally located in downtown Santa Barbara, UC Santa Barbara's campus relocated to its current location, a former Marine base on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, in 1954. At the time Isla Vista lay predominantly vacant, its streets unpaved (Yokota 1972). The Board of Regents for the College made the decision not to purchase the private land abutting the Marine base, creating an opportunity for developers looking to cash in on a projected increase in demand for student housing (Lodise 1987). Development of Isla Vista primarily for the occupation of students occurred swiftly over the next few decades, predominantly aided by the Santa Barbara County Board of Directors' implementation of a special "Student Zoning Ordinance" permitting construction of student dwellings which skirted zoning and housing standard guidelines (UC Santa Barbara Trustee's Advisory Committee on Isla Vista Strategies 2014). By 1970 construction in Isla Vista had increased by over 100%, its population exploding from less than 3,000 residents to over 23,000. While the US Census cites Isla Vista as 2.1 square miles in size, what is familiarly known as the core of Isla Vista comprises just a little over one half square mile, marking it as one

of the most densely populated towns in the entire state (Santa Barbara County Sheriff's Office 2018).

The rapid growth of the student housing market in Isla Vista in the 1960s and its close physical proximity to UC Santa Barbara has effectively created a singular community of students living both on- and off-campus, marking Isla Vista as an honorary part of the campus. While in 1960 UCSB housed about half of its student population on campus, by 1967 this figure had dropped to just 16.9%, facilitated by a post-war boom in student enrollment combined with a rapidly developing college town next door. Presently, a higher percentage of UC Santa Barbara's undergraduate population resides in Isla Vista (39%) than in its university-owned dormitories or apartments (33%) (UCSB Campus Profile 2017).

The unique history behind Isla Vista's development is bolstered by the town's prominent history of unrest, predominantly triggered by UCSB's students at a time when anti-war sentiment was high. The countercultural fervor which marked Isla Vista in the late 1960s and early 1970s culminated in a series of student-initiated riots and run-ins with law enforcement, the latter of which were sparked by growing distrust of the police and anything representing the "status quo" (Haggerty 2010). These collective tensions led to the burning of the Bank of America Building on February 25, 1970, an act whose meaning is debated. While some contended the burning was a symbolic act in opposition to the Vietnam War and the defense industry, others cited the swelling tensions between IV's hippie-centric student population and law enforcement (Haggerty 2010). Whatever the case, this series of events put Isla Vista on the national radar as a town of rebellion and lawlessness, largely inhabited by a transient student population unfettered by governance

and wary of authority. This reputation has been matched for most of Isla Vista's history by the town's lack of a formal governance structure and its status as an unincorporated town. The passing of Assembly Bill 3 during the Fall 2016 elections, however, initiated the formation of a Community Services District in 2017, granting Isla Vista the right to self-governance for the first time in its history.

With its unique geography, zoning and demographics, Isla Vista (better known as "IV"), cultivates the feeling that it is an island unto itself. This "untouchable" character, not surprisingly, has also earned the town a reputation for raucous partying for as long as UC Santa Barbara has been its next door neighbor. The Isla Vista of the post-1970s riots had "developed, not as a haven for traditional collegiate student life (which it initially appeared to be), but as a major outpost of the counterculture" (Flacks 1995). The alternative vibe of the tiny college town summarily attracted outsiders and would-be students alike to see what the fuss was about, which over time has contributed to a series of annual large gatherings drawing, at times, tens of thousands to the tiny town. Chief among these major events was the emergence of Halloween as a large-scale party attracting out-of-towners. These gatherings, which topped out at over 10,000 people in the 1980s, included live bands and free-flowing alcohol as students and visitors alike partied on Del Playa, Isla Vista's southernmost (and most well-known) road which parallels the Pacific Ocean. The establishment of an open container ordinance in 1986 shifted the mood; nevertheless the event continued to grow, drawing over 30,000 visitors and solidifying Isla Vista as a party mecca with Del Playa Drive at the heart of the fun. Media reports about Isla Vista's notoriety didn't help, such as Maxim Magazine's declaration in one of its 2004 issues that

Isla Vista's Halloween was one of the top four "Monster Bashes" in the nation (MacIaian 2006).

Not satisfied with just one large party, Isla Vista is also home to Floatopia, the students' annual celebration of spring. Initially a small party on IV's beaches in the mid-2000s, Floatopia grew so massively in size over the impending years that its partygoers caused significant environmental degradation to the coastal bluffs and ocean waters. After the county initiated a ban on beach access Floatopia was reborn as "Deltopia," shifting the party from the beaches to Del Playa Drive, where students still party in their bathing suits in a nod to the event's origins.

Entering the Party Market
Interviews with undergraduate women at each school reveal the importance of individual identities, social networks and institutional structures for funneling students into the campus party sexual market. However, this process is certainly not uniform. Previous studies of student transition into the college environment find racial and class differences in the formation of peer networks, and the pace at which students became acclimated or comfortable with their new surroundings. Stuber's (2011) comparative study of two four-year institutions identifies how distinct student "peer cultures" funnel students into different social networks. Like Armstrong and Hamilton (2013), Stuber (2011) credits the cultural capital of class-privileged students with their orientation to the college experience. For these students, college is a transition out of the home and into an environment where they expect to make friends, get involved in campus life and let loose at nighttime parties. Conversely, McCabe's (2016) study of peer network formation at one large public university in the Midwest finds that underrepresented populations on campus – working-

class, first generation and/or students of color – tend to form smaller, tight-knit friendship groups which act as a support system, rather than an outlet for fun and sociality.

These same multi-level influencers determined how and when women in this study would engage with their campus' party sexual market. At UCSB, Whiteness and status as a traditional student (as opposed to transfer or first-generation student status) facilitated formation of social networks where partying in Isla Vista was viewed as a rite of passage for freshmen. Women of color and/or non-traditional students, however, recalled difficult transitions into the school environment which delayed their entry into the party sexual market, prompted their decision to opt out, or led to the development of peer relationships which facilitated their engagement with alternative sexual markets. As an institutional tradition, Penn's New Student Orientation provides freshmen an institutionally-embedded introduction to the school's prominent party culture. However, women's relationship to the Greek system's social hierarchy, which often aligned with social class, determined their engagement with, and levels of access to, the campus party culture and the sexual market within it.

University of California Santa Barbara

The experiences of UCSB women in this study illustrate how social and cultural capital facilitate early entry into the campus party sexual market. The overwhelming majority of UCSB women who recalled relatively easy transitions to college were White, from middle-class backgrounds, and/or were not the first in their families to attend college. These women were more apt to recall a college decision-making process informed by input from peers and/or family members, and to describe making friends easily during their freshmen year. Roxy, a White junior who self-classified as upper-middle-class, chose to attend UCSB

after being admitted to its Honors program. On her first-year experience living on the Honors Program floor in one of the school's dormitories, Roxy recalled "I had a really, really outgoing roommate. I've never been that outgoing, but she was super outgoing, so that was great for me. We had a really great community in Anacapa [dorm], we were very close with everyone on our floor pretty much, so that was really helpful for me." Roxy partied heavily with the friends she made on her floor her first few years on campus before scaling back, sharing, "I realized that I don't need to [drink] as much as I had been doing when I first got to college." Lisa, a White junior who like Roxy hailed from Northern California and self-categorized as upper-middle-class, shared that her decision to attend UCSB was partly driven by her brother, also a student at the school. Lisa added that her prior schooling and personal character traits made for a positive first year experience.

> I think the transition was not as difficult because I came in with a lot of time management, and I think a lot of people struggle with high school and then what's being asked of you in college…. I think I came in with 1) good time management and 2) good drive. And part of that is my brother excelled academically, so that made me want to follow in his footsteps.

That both of these women mention a strong high school education in their transition into college is of note. Students who arrive on campus feeling prepared for the rigors of the college curriculum are more apt to seek out school extracurricular activities and volunteer opportunities, and students from class-privileged backgrounds are more likely to describe their peers on campus as "just like them" (Stuber 2011). Feeling as if one belongs, both socially and academically, affects peer formation and involvement in the "typical" college experience: that is, one where socializing and fun act as natural complements to academics.

Like Roxy and Lisa, women arriving on campus "primed" for an easy transition into the college environment vis-à-vis access to financial, social or cultural resources were also more likely to describe participating in the school's party culture during their freshmen year. Participation in the party scene for these women was often facilitated by peer groups similarly oriented towards these spaces. Samantha, a White senior who self-described as working class but recalled an easy transition into the college environment, described how her peer groups facilitated her entry into the party culture, and the frequency with which she engaged it. When asked who she partied with her freshman year, Samantha shared

> People on my floor. Some of them actually joined fraternities during the
> year. So before they were in fraternities we would go out as a floor on DP
> [Del Playa] and IV [Isla Vista]. And then as they started joining [frats] we
> went to specific houses because we knew someone there. And we met more
> people there so we would go more often... some weeks it was kind of
> ridiculous, I was going to a Wine Wednesday at a frat, Thursday night a Ski
> and Snowboard Club party, and going to a random frat or a friend's frat on
> Friday and Saturday.

A mixed-race Psychology major who hailed from a middle-class background, Talia elaborated on the role that Greek life plays for freshmen entry into the party scene, sharing that "me and my friends went to frat parties freshman year, and that was just the thing to do because it was novel and that was the only way freshmen were able to party at all unless they were partying in their dorms." She contrasted this with her second year on campus, in which "moving to IV made a difference. We had our own space, we didn't have to worry about RAs [Resident Assistants] coming around. We started to have more friends that were

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21." While both Samantha and Talia identify IFC-affiliated fraternities as playing a role in their entry into the party market, this was also contingent upon their embeddedness within social networks with knowledge of these gatherings, such as Samantha's friendships with her floor mates who were rushing fraternities. At the same time, the ubiquity of Isla Vista as a hotbed for open parties offered an alternative for women who didn't know about, or want to enter, Greek parties.

However, women's engagement with the party culture was further mediated by their race. While women of color participated in the Isla Vista-based party market as well, their tendency to enter this market later in their academic careers, if at all, was shaped by institutional arrangements and feelings of isolation from the dominant White population. Despite UCSB's recent designation as an Hispanic Serving Institution, women of color often described their social transition to the school as a culture shock. "I hated it," recalled Marie, a Latina senior. "I hated UCSB. I want to say that for my first month here I would cry all the time. And on top of that I was going home every weekend I could... I was the only one of my friends that went away for college." While Marie would eventually find her path into the party market upon joining the cheer team on campus, this entry was delayed and contingent upon finding her niche.

Other women of color described similarly difficult transitions onto a college campus which they perceived to be dominated by wealth and Whiteness, a significant shift from their hometown and high school environments. "When I came here I was very homesick," shared Jade, an Asian junior. She described her first year living in Santa Catalina, a freshman dormitory at UC Santa Barbara with a heavy party reputation. "It felt like a lot of people were involved in White Greek life, the Panhellenic ones... that made me feel very

insecure and homesick." Though Jade was invited to fraternity parties by her hallmates her freshman year, she eventually stopped attending, citing, "I didn't really like that party scene because I didn't know anybody... I don't like drinking and doing drugs...so when we did go to parties when I was a freshman I didn't really enjoy them because I wasn't under the influence like they were." Upon joining an Asian-interest sorority her next year, Jade described a shift in her relationship to the campus party scene. "My sophomore year is when I found my community and my home. That's when I liked the fact that you get to have a good night with your friends that you *do* know." For Jade and other non-traditional student populations, finding a "community" and a "home" equated to establishing common ground within student communities not populated by class-privileged Whites. I examine women's immersion in student of color communities, and their engagement with the sexual markets contained therein, in Chapter 3.

University of Pennsylvania

The majority of the women at Penn described delving into their school's party market during New Student Orientation or early on in their first fall semester. As women recounted their initial impressions of transition into the University environment, the central role the institution plays in perpetuating the "work hard, play hard" mantra became clear. Penn women recalled the week before the academic year as one giant party, with the University and its Greek fraternities acting as the veritable emcees of the celebration. "During New Student Orientation… that is when *everybody* goes out and there are parties every single night," Lillian, a White junior and member of a Panhellenic sorority, shared. Josephine, a White transfer student from a four-year university in the South, simply stated "orientation week was nuts."

New Student Orientation is a nearly week-long event held for incoming freshmen prior to the start of the fall semester, which Penn describes on its website as "a series of activities for families and students to help with a successful transition to the University" (Office of the Provost 2017). As is typical of freshmen orientations, the incoming class of students attend sessions introducing them to the school's resources and local community during the day. The evening social sessions, however, set the school apart, and Penn spares no expense. Each year the school rents out the Philadelphia Museum of Art, hosting a dinner and offering students unfettered access to the building's renowned collection of art. The annual Toga Party, complete with a DJ and dance floor, follows a few days later at the campus' Penn Museum. PennFest boasts a casino room and Philadelphia-area food vendors.

Along with Spring Fling, which occurs in April, NSO was cited by Penn women as one of the biggest party weeks on the campus – for freshmen and upperclassmen alike. In addition to the University-sponsored events directed towards incoming freshmen, various student groups organize large parties that are a draw for all students. Stacey, a White junior and member of a Panhellenic sorority, described the excitement NSO generates for the entire undergraduate population.

> At this school, *everyone* – upperclassmen – show up for NSO. That is weird, right? It is because all of the partying happens then. NSO is known as the party weekend. The pool party is a huge bash, the tickets are $50 to go to this party at a bar downtown that has a pool. And all of the frats have parties that they invite you to the week before on Facebook. So that is your first introduction to the school. And it is this crazy fun weekend and you're drinking for the first time and it is really, really fun, but that's what you

think Penn is. And you are pressured to participate because there is nothing

else to do during NSO. What are you gonna do, sit in your dorm while

everyone you know in your dorm is at a party? No, you're going to go!

Rather than having to seek out the party scene, Penn's fraternities do the legwork for

freshmen, advertising their large open parties via Facebook and placing fliers under dorm

room doors. When asked to describe the party environment at Penn, Julie, a senior in the

Nursing program, answered "I guess what is fresh in my mind right now is the beginning of

the year, which is always the "darties" and stuff. All of the day parties that happen. And

that was pretty wild. [laughs] It's just like every day, for five days there are parties and

every night people continue drinking. It's pretty crazy."

While no doubt UCSB freshmen are introduced to the school's party and drinking

culture upon their arrival (or at least have heard of Isla Vista's party reputation), Penn

women specifically referenced the role that NSO, an institutional tradition, plays in their

introduction. While UCSB hosts its own annual "Week of Welcome," this coincides with

the first week of the academic quarter, competing with the start of classes and with Isla

Vista's celebrations for attendance. The intermeshing of University-sponsored events and

student-organized parties at Penn suggests that upperclassmen – most significantly, Greek

fraternities – look to capitalize on the University's structured orientation, scheduling events

for a week of fun prior to the start of the academic year. Underground fraternity chapters –

those that were forced to disband by the University but recolonize as unofficial chapters off

campus – also play a prominent role during NSO, with two of these organizations

partnering to host one of the year's biggest parties at a downtown rooftop pool, an event

Stacey references above. Penn women who described their engagement with the party

market recall being introduced to the prominent Greek party culture early on in their academic careers. That is, entry into this market coincides with the University's New Student Orientation, working to funnel women into these spaces during a major time of transition. This early introduction to historically White Greek life is well-timed, enticing students to rush during the following Spring semester. For those who are granted a bid into one of Penn's fraternities or sororities, formal entrance into the Greek subculture shifts their relationship to the party sexual market, a dynamic fleshed out later in this chapter.

However, women lacking the upper-middle-class status of their peers at Penn described a different relationship to the party market, where one's level of involvement in Greek life determined their ability to access certain social events. A White sophomore, Shayla, described her frustrations with a collegiate social scene where participation was contingent upon having expendable income.

Especially amongst people who are over 21, the expectation is that you go… It's called downtowns, which are events held in Center City [Philadelphia]. The general expectation with those is that you take a taxi there, you spend $100 on food and alcohol, you take a taxi back, and that is a typical weekend. And so if you are unable to do stuff like that, it can be… You basically have to turn down invitations from friends. There is a lot of stuff centered on eating out. People will have a BYO, which means someone will bring alcohol and everyone goes and eats dinner out. Which for some people isn't really an option. And everybody sort of treats that as though it were a negligible expense. And I guess if you come from a background where that is sort of normal, which I think, I don't want to say the majority of Penn

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students but a very large number of them... actually, I will say I think the majority of Penn students come from a background where that is okay, and that is normal. But there are definitely some of us who therefore kind of feel a bit alienated. And it's not extreme, I don't feel left out completely. But it's definitely a bit of a pressure.

As a self-described middle-class student, Shayla felt herself "priced out" of downtowns and BYOs, two major means of socializing among Penn students. While Shayla also described attending fraternity parties at Penn, to include "an intense amount" during her freshman year, these open party environments where alcohol is freely supplied makes attendance at these types of parties more economically friendly than downtowns or BYOs. Given the size and clout of the Greek fraternities at Penn, coupled with the role of New Student Orientation for guiding women into the party scene, the vast majority of Penn women described participation in the party sexual market at some point in their undergraduate careers. However, their varied levels of immersion in this market signal the interactive influence of erotic capital and student wealth for access to more "exclusive" corners of the campus party market.

Get Her to the Greek: The Organization of Penn's Party Sexual Market

White Greek life both forms the core of Penn's party scene and the foundation for its most prominent sex market, the party sexual market. While the exclusivity of White Greek membership and its central role in the school's social scene might read as contradictory, this tension is pivotal to the sustainment of a social hierarchy on Penn's campus. As the women at the school reflected on their experiences with campus social life, the interwoven importance of wealth, networks, Whiteness and hegemonic femininity for membership in

the highest tiers of Greek life – or, in the case of non-Greeks, for access to their parties – became evident.

See and be Scene: Penn's Social Elite

According to Penn women, "The Scene" is occupied by those students with the greatest wealth, social contacts and overall "coolness." As the school's "elite," members of The Scene occupy the highest-tiered fraternities and sororities and host the school's most exclusive parties, where access is predicated on possession of similar credentials. While none of the women I interviewed at Penn identified as part of The Scene, their consensus that this group formed the upper echelons of Penn social life reaffirms the power of social connections, wealth and cultural capital for determining student access to different social spheres on campus. In my interview with Lillian, she explained "sceney-ness" as part of the Penn lexicon, a term readily understood by students. "[The Scene] is usually associated with wealth, especially New Yorkers, people who will go to the coolest clubs. So the more "sceney" you are, the better the sorority is, is what a lot of people consider."

The Scene is synonymous with the pinnacle of the Greek hierarchy, and is occupied by both domestic and international students who arrive on campus with pre-formed networks facilitated by their upper-class status and attendance at some of the top preparatory or boarding schools in the world. A 2016 cover story on The Scene in *34th St Magazine,* the arts and culture division of the school's student-run newspaper *The Daily Pennsylvanian,* offers a glimpse into "the exclusive and elusive world of Penn's elite." Described as "a birthright, handed down from parents to children in the form of wealth and access to prestigious institutions," new students are welcomed into The Scene by similarly positioned others who invite them to join their exclusive fraternities and sororities (Slotkin

2016:10). As one student interviewed for the article described it, "I knew what Tabard [an underground sorority] was before I ever fucking stepped on this campus... I didn't get here and have a learning curve." (ibid.). Members of The Scene boast lavish lifestyles, partying at the most exclusive clubs in Philadelphia and vacationing in exotic locations. According to *34th St Magazine,* who you associate with and what you do becomes a means from which to signal this status. Fashion and language are also markers of Scene membership.

These closed rank social networks also provide members with a pool of potential sexual partners of similar pedigree, conjuring similarities to the college "Rating and Dating Complex" identified by Waller in the early 20th century (1937). Penn women suggested a 21st century version of this Complex on their campus, sorting students based on appearance, family background and fraternity or sorority membership, with "like pairs" dating each other. Cassie, a non-Greek, shared her perceptions of dating and sexual partnership among Penn's social elite.

> I think people use their relationships and their partners in relationships as a
> social move... they rely on each other for social value. I found that very
> interesting. Whether it was started with the intent to be a network or resulted
> in a network, I know certain people who maybe started to like each other and
> they got involved in a relationship and now, even though they kind of want
> different things they are staying together until graduation because their
> social circles revolve so much around each other now.

Consistent with their wealth and status, The Scene cultivates its own corner of the party sexual market, hosting exclusive parties at some of Philadelphia's hottest nightclubs. Cecilia, a member of a Panhellenic sorority, added that "sometimes for rush [The Scene]

will have parties in New York." For "sceney" Greeks, social life is easily extended beyond the boundaries of campus, renting out entire businesses for an evening of partying, relocating to another city expressly for the purpose of socializing. An Asian sophomore and a member of a Panhellenic sorority, Melanie G., added "the whole wealth thing, that is a really big part of [The Scene]. If you can say, 'oh, I was there,' it kind of insinuates that you have money, you have status." Melanie reflected at length on her temporary "peek" into Penn's Scene during her freshman year:

> When I came here some of the people I met in my hall already knew the
> upperclassmen and so they went to really exclusive parties. I remember
> going to some freshman year because I was invited because I was perceived
> as cool, not your typical Asian. So that was my peek into The Scene. And
> when I did see it, I don't know… I'm sure you have picked up on The Scene
> here at Penn. I was never really enchanted by it. Some people are just like,
> "oh! I want to be a part of it." It fascinated me in more of a "wow, people are
> really interesting" sort of way, as opposed to "oh my gosh, I need to be a
> part of this."

By stating that she is "not your typical Asian," Melanie G. posits her qualifying credentials to access The Scene, largely occupied by wealthy White "internationals." The accomplishment of rubbing elbows with members of The Scene, however, wasn't fully known to her until she began the rush process.

> I didn't really know too much about the [Greek] hierarchy until a couple
> weeks before rush. Like I mentioned earlier, going to parties with really
> sceney and "up there" people, I'd had no idea that I was at the parties I was

at until someone told me later. Like they would say, 'oh my God, you went

there?! How did you get there?!'

Though freshmen might be able to temporarily occupy spaces associated with The Scene by

attending open parties or participating in the rush process, ultimately its current members

dictate the process of deciding who "belongs" in its ranks.

Mixers, Date Nights and Formals: Parties Based on Greek Membership

Access to the party market at Penn, like the Greek life that domineers it, is tiered: if you

were not a member of The Scene, the next best bet for women to have access to various

corners of the party sexual market was to be a member of a less prestigious Panhellenic

sorority. Like their fraternity counterparts, sorority chapters were often described on the

basis of which "tier" they occupied, with the most affluent and socially influential of the

school's students occupying the top tiers. Significantly, women referenced tiers only when

discussing historically White Interfraternity Conference (IFC) or Panhellenic chapters.

Chapters falling under the schools' Intercultural Greek Council, comprised of Historically

Black, Latino/Latina and Asian fraternities and sororities, were not included in this tiered

system.

Tiers matter for Greek social life across America's colleges and universities: like

matching pairs, this system determines which fraternities might partner with which

sororities for social events. These pairings serve an organizing function in the party sexual

market, providing built-in opportunities for sexual partnership between similarly-tiered

fraternity and sorority chapters through mixers or formals. Membership in top tier sororities

granted women access to more exclusive parties, known to Penn students as "downtowns,"

though it was possible to purchase tickets to these events as an outsider. "It was a

phenomenon to me," shared Melanie G., a Los Angeles native. "It's definitely not a California thing. Because [a downtown is] basically a frat party but everyone is dressed up nicely and you pay. Last semester I bought a ticket for a downtown for like $25. But I ended up selling it for upwards of $80, because that is how badly someone wanted to go."

The women I interviewed at Penn that were members of Panhellenic sororities did not categorize their chapters as top tier, though these women also described their membership in the middle or even lower ranks as a plus on the basis of compatibility with their other sisters and/or the priorities of the chapter. Julie, a senior in the Nursing program, described her chapter as middle tier, where "they just seem a little more interested in you and a little less interested in who you are connected to, or what you have to offer them." In this way, Julie views middle-tiered Greek life to be less predicated on strategic networking and ulterior motives.

At the same time, tier status was also associated with physical beauty and sexual capital or, as Adam Green defines it, "the degree of power an individual or a group holds within a sexual field on the basis of collective assessments of attractiveness and sex appeal" (2014:48). Within the context of the Greek-controlled party sexual market on Penn's campus, where White men wield immense power over who enters their parties, what is deemed sexually desirable is reflective of these men's sexual inclinations. The translation of other forms of capital – particularly social and economic capital – into sexual capital in the Penn party market was evident in women's association of higher tier sororities with not only wealth, but "better looks," often described in terms of White hegemonic femininity. Stacey reflected on her association with these desirable women prior to rushing a sorority.

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I did kind of the typical freshman thing, I went to a lot of frat parties with the

girls in my hall who I had nothing in common with who all ended up in the

same really cool sorority. Which I think is funny, that I spent time with them

freshman year. They were all of these perfect blonde Barbie dolls and I'm

like, 'oh, I'm going to come with you guys!'

In her subsequent failed attempt to receive a bid from a high tier sorority, Stacey associated

her affiliation with these women as "funny," or an unlikely pairing given their looks and

"coolness." Recalling her own rush process, Melanie G. shared,

I remember going to [a top-tier sorority house] and this girl comes up to me.

So all sororities have different values, and [this sorority's] is diversity. But

they're all white, Waspy, really rich and really, really blonde. And so she

was like 'we really value diversity! All of us are from different states!' And I

thought that is not diversity!

She juxtaposes this experience with the first time meeting the sisters in her sorority.

I had conversations with these girls, we talked about study abroad and

feminism and I thought well, this is really cool! This is a conversation that I

thought I would have during rush and it never happened. And I'm really glad

I joined [my sorority] because I have met some really awesome people

through it.

For women who did not exude the "right" look and/or boast the right social connections to

gain entry to the school's top-tiered sororities, the preference for mid- or low-tiered was

reconciled as a positive, given the greater "authenticity" of these women.

Donning Frackets, Hosting Daygers, and Taking Laps: The Open House Party

Consistent with its Greek life, access to the party market at Penn was tiered, with membership in The Scene at the top, followed by membership in an historically White Greek chapter, and, finally, non-Greek membership. The women I interviewed at Penn who were not sorority affiliated still described Greek life, namely IFC fraternities, as the school's main social artery. As both the social and numerical majority in Greek life, fraternities hold ultimate control over the timing, location and standards for entry to their parties. IFC fraternities make their physical presence at Penn known in the form of their official houses on campus property, and their social dominance was evidenced by the almost unanimous mention that "most" parties at Penn are thrown by fraternities. Boasting the financial resources and a longstanding relationship with the University of Pennsylvania, many IFC chapters at Penn own multiple houses: an official chapter house and others strategically located off campus in order to allow for partying that is more under-the-radar and less vulnerable to university sanctioning than their on-campus properties. Not that this precludes frats from hosting parties at their on-campus houses. "You walk through [the main drag of campus] and frats are having parties outside," remarked Josephine, a transfer from a prestigious liberal-arts school in the South. Having arrived at Penn just a few weeks prior to my interview with her, Josephine had already made note of the on-campus "daygers," or daytime parties, thrown by fraternities with houses on Laurel Walk, the main walkway cutting through the heart of the main campus.

As described earlier, freshmen are introduced to fraternities during New Student Orientation. Described as less than ideal spaces to congregate, women nevertheless flocked to fraternity parties their freshman year, whether pressured by friends or of their own

accord. Jill, a Chinese senior and a member of a co-ed Business fraternity, described

fraternity parties as "tons of people...it is super crowded. Usually pretty dirty. [laughs] Lots

and lots of alcohol, multiple forms of drugs. It is very much the norm that people go as hard

as they can." Juxtaposing the felt pressure for women to appear attractive while

congregating in less than pristine environments, Katherine, a White senior, offered the

following advice. "You [have] to have your… they call it "frackets," so your jacket or your

shoes to wear to the frat parties because it is not a clean place." Laughing, she added "you

want to look cute but also it can't be something nice because it's probably going to get

dirty." "Everything pretty much feels uncomfortable," offered Cassie, a White senior, citing

the temperature and the smell of fraternity houses as particular downsides. Though noted as

dirty, hot, smelly spaces, fraternity houses hold capital on campus, offering spaces for

students, especially those under 21, to congregate and take advantage of free alcohol.

Both men and women seeking access to frat parties could do so in one of two ways:

by personally knowing a brother in the fraternity, or by showing up in a group that boasts

the proper "ratio" of women to men. While gender ratios are often the biggest determinant

of entry, once parties begin to fill up knowing a member of the fraternity acts as an

additional bargaining chip. Fraternity men regulate access to parties, either by posting

brothers outside or hiring bouncers. These barriers to entry cultivate the type of party

environment most conducive to sexual liaisons, allowing frats to fill their houses with

attractive women. When asked if it was difficult to gain entry to fraternity parties, Penn

women all echoed the same refrain: "not if you're a girl." While this does not preclude non-

Greek affiliated men from entering these parties, their entry is contingent upon "supplying"

enough women to the party to be granted access. In this way, the ratio phenomenon works

almost as an "offering" to the fraternity, a means to buy your way into the party if you

aren't of the charmed Greek circle. "Frats care about your ratio, so the guys are not going to

get in unless there are enough girls," Chelsea, a recent transfer from a state school on the

West Coast, shared. "So if we have the wrong ratio we have to go pick up some more

friends, some more girls, do some mathematics, to get into the frat." While a specific

gender ratio was not mentioned by most of the women, the general assumption was that the

more women than men, the greater your chances of entry.

Women at Penn also discussed being turned away from parties that were more

exclusive, or of being asked who they knew to gain entry. Consistent with the party

market's emphasis on exclusivity and ranking, one's relationship to the Greek subculture

served to determine a woman's levels of access to the mainstream party culture on campus.

"After the first hour when the popular frats start to fill up, if you don't know somebody you

are probably not getting in," shared Addison, a White sophomore. Another phrase in the

Penn lexicon, "taking a lap," was used to describe how fraternities turn away individuals,

either based on their ratio or, some suspected, because of their attractiveness. Telling

hopeful partygoers to "take a lap" was, in essence, another way for fraternity brothers to

publicly declare who was deemed worthy of entry to their parties while also marking these

spaces as exclusive to those who had the "right" forms of erotic capital. While, as Cecilia

put it, "who you know matters a lot," fraternity men's assessments of women's appearances

for granting access to parties suggests a relationship between social, cultural and sexual

forms of capital. Cassie, a White senior, added

> For girls, I don't know exactly what the rules are, there are rules, but if you
>
> don't meet a certain appearance, I have heard of people not being allowed in.

I'm not sure if it was combination or solely, the way they were dressing or

what the people manning the doors felt was… if they were "pretty" enough

or met the beauty standards of what they were looking for.

Attributing the importance of looks to "rules" marks physical attractiveness as built-in to

the party market logic, determined by the men who host these gatherings.

Significantly, multiple women of color at Penn had experienced instances of being

denied entry to fraternity parties, which they attributed to their race. Abigail, an Asian

exchange student from Australia, shared with me a recent experience with being denied

reentry to a campus party. "When I was with my Anglo friends they let me in but then I

came out and tried to get back in just by myself and they were very hesitant and said no...

They said it was full but they let other people in." Chalking up her response to "drunken

courage," Abigail continued "I was not in the best state so I said 'is this because I am

Asian?' And they were like, he kind of laughed it off, but I don't know, sometimes you can

tell."

Layla, a Black senior and a member of a Panhellenic sorority, also experienced

being turned away from IFC parties, despite her membership in the predominantly White

Greek subculture. "Even though I am in a sorority, if they don't know that I am in [a

sorority], if they don't know who I know, I have been turned away multiple times just with

myself or with friends," she explained. "Usually I am with friends of color. And I would

watch them let a White woman go in right after us. Even after they just said they were at

capacity." Nicole S., a member of an historically Black sorority, described similar

interactions with White fraternities.

I have had a couple friends where it is like three Black girls trying to get into

a party and [the IFC fraternity brothers] don't let them in but five White girls

get in... because they have all the power. […]When Sasha Obama was here

she actually was told to take a lap by one of the frats. Supposedly because of

her ratio. But she was with a bunch of African-American students from DC.

Despite her membership in a Panhellenic sorority, Layla's experiences with rejection from

IFC fraternity parties suggests her race invites assumptions that she must not be associated

with Greek life.

The difficulties that women of color experience in gaining access to fraternity

parties at Penn also speaks to IFC-affiliated fraternities, with their predominantly White

memberships, as spaces where women's sexual capital is racialized. Nicole's mention that

"they have all the power" also speaks volumes about the role of White fraternity men in

shaping the mainstream party culture at Penn. This operates at multiple levels: not only in

determining which sororities are deemed worthy of mixing with, but also in terms of who is

granted access to their "open" house parties. In this way, predominantly White male

fraternity members both create the conditions for the party sexual market and act as its

gatekeepers, shaping women's subsequent levels of engagement with it.

Meet me in IV: The Organization of the Party Sexual Market at UC Santa Barbara

The dominant view of Isla Vista as an honorary extension of the UC Santa Barbara campus,

coupled with the sheer number of undergraduates choosing to live in the tiny college town,

unofficially marks "IV," as it's better known, as home base for the school's party culture.

Throughout Isla Vista's long and storied history, the association of the tiny town with

UCSB has been a constant, as has the town's reputation for drunken revelry with little

oversight from the university. The culture in Isla Vista is beginning to shift, thanks to the establishment of a governance structure in the form of a Community Services District in 2017 and a pledge of increased commitment from the University for what goes on next door (Ortiz 2015). Nevertheless, IV's party reputation remains, a cultural facet ingrained in the public imaginary for decades. While Greek life rules the social roost at Penn, the density of student-occupied housing in Isla Vista collaboratively contributes to a robust, multifaceted party culture at UC Santa Barbara.

Greek Life: A Modest Presence

Unlike Penn, UCSB's Greek presence is entirely concentrated within the boundaries of Isla Vista. Though some of the chapter houses stand out in their grandeur, others are more modest, their terracotta roofs and Spanish architectural notes blending in with the surrounding apartment complexes and houses. While they certainly contribute to the robustness of UC Santa Barbara's party culture, Greek life boasts a rather modest presence, with 12% of the student population participating. Ten IFC-affiliated chapters and nine Panhellenic Council chapters were active on UCSB's campus at the time of this study.

In ways similar to Penn, UCSB women described Greek life as a means for freshman to access the school's party market. Talia, a mixed-race Psychology major, described her engagement with the Isla Vista party scene her freshman year to consist predominantly of attendance at fraternity parties, since "it was novel and that was the only way freshmen were able to party at all unless they were partying in their dorms." Unlike Penn, whose rush begins at the start of spring semester, UC Santa Barbara's Greek rush takes place during the first few weeks of fall quarter. The timing of this process seems to have facilitated some women's engagement with the Greek-based corners of the party

market through friends who were going through rush. This was certainly true for Jenn, an Asian senior, whose best friend hit it off with a fraternity brother during her first few weeks on campus. Given this connection, Jenn shared that freshman year "we would be going to the frat parties constantly," and that entry was relatively easy, given that "the girls who got priority were the ones who knew [the brothers] outside of Greek life."

UC Santa Barbara's fraternities also emphasized the gender ratio for entry to their parties. "It wasn't hard to get into parties because they accept all girls. If you just come in with a crowd of girls it gives the impression that the party is very "lit," or it has a lot of fun," explained Jade, a Chinese junior. "I feel like the ratios were really off because the parties I went to were a lot of girls, like 80% girls and 20% guys. Because they only accepted the guys that were in that fraternity." "It's a very misogynistic environment... Just speaking as a person of color, the majority of the IFC fraternities are White men. And they come from a place of privilege," stated Ellen, an Asian junior. As a prior member of a Panhellenic sorority which had since been disbanded due to low number, Ellen expounded on power and privilege of White fraternities in Isla Vista.

> The fraternity hosting the party will not allow any other men into that party...
> but they will allow any girl to come in and they want as many girls as
> possible, even if she is not in a sorority. As long as she is a hot girl she can
> come into the party... they want as many girls as possible to come. And they
> provide all of the alcohol and they want the girls to get drunk so that they
> can have that kind of atmosphere. I remember going to a party and kind of
> feeling like a cow, being herded into a pen. With all of these other girls here
> and frat guys picking out and looking at all the other girls and seeing which

one should I go for, that kind of thing. Giving them drinks and saying hey,

do you want a drink? And most girls are going to say yes. So it is that kind

of environment, which I don't think is good.

Those women at UC Santa Barbara who had attended fraternity parties described the

cultivation of a gendered imbalance, affording the fraternity men hosting the party the

ability to have their pick of the room, a process which Ellen likens to being herded like

cattle.

Tier status further informs Greek party environments in Isla Vista. Marie, a Latina

senior whose participation in the party market increased after she joined the school's

cheerleading squad, explained "I have noticed that the higher frats, the majority of them are

White and rich. Whereas the lower frats are more [racially] mixed. The guys are a little bit

less attractive too. So you have that divide." Describing the interactions with fraternity men

for entry to their parties, she describes the currency that Whiteness carries. "I have noticed

that a lot of the higher frats tend to favor, of course, the White girls a lot more. And you

notice usually the sororities that are top houses or have more White girls, they will be

invited to those higher frat parties. Whereas the lower frats will invite mainly everyone." In

this way, higher fraternities, by way of their status, are accorded "first pick" of which

sororities or non-sorority women they want to interact with.

In these environments, erotic capital in the form of perceived beauty accorded some

women greater levels of access to the fraternity circuit than others. Describing entry to

Greek parties, Jenn shared that "if there was a girl who was extremely hot" that she would

be given greater priority to enter a party environment than less attractive women. Reflecting

on her time in the Greek corners of IV's party market, Jenn shared "I noticed going back to

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[a frat house], once I was older, freshmen were more "eyed," like the younger girls." When asked to explain this further, she laughed, conjecturing, "I guess like fresh meat?"

Marie's and Jenn's reflections on Greek life in Isla Vista detail the implications of tier status for how women approach party environments. For Marie, attendance at higher tier fraternity parties came with the pressure to be "more composed," while partying with lower-tiered chapters was more about "having fun." The emphasis on women's beauty for entry to Greek life was also present in these women's narratives, as was the association of beauty with Whiteness. These conditions collectively informed how women engaged with fraternity men, as well as how non-sorority women view their odds of entering Greek parties where decisions about entry are steeped in fraternity men's concerted cultivation of a gendered imbalance via the well-known "ratio" rule.

Down with "DP:" The Large House Party

While Greek life has a presence in Isla Vista, the large house party is the college town's claim to fame, with its largest parties held in oceanfront homes on Del Playa Drive, the southernmost street in Isla Vista. Houses on this street range from large multi-apartment facilities to more conventional houses. Brightly painted, their walls adorned with ocean-themed art such as surfboards or mermaids, Del Playa houses form the nucleus of the IV party market. During especially high-profile parties, such as those hosted during Halloween or Deltopia, Del Playa Drive plays host to a sea of partygoers packed in like sardines as they make the rounds from house to house. While parties originally occurred, quite literally, on the streets, the institution of a series of noise and open container ordinances beginning in the late 1980s effectively moved the raucous partying into Del Playa's houses, its backyards and, at times, onto its roofs (Pandell 2010).

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Most women at UCSB associated Del Playa (or "DP," as it's colloquially known)

with the heart of IV's party scene, which consequently directed their initial interactions

with the party market as freshmen. "Freshman year it's going out and seeing if you can get

in somewhere," explained Lisa, a White junior. "The known is DP. I think a lot of the

freshman go there. On other streets there are obviously parties but you don't know them

because you don't know who's hosting them. Whereas on DP there is definitely a party

somewhere and you can attempt to get in." When asked about her involvement in the party

scene at UCSB as a transfer student, Daisy, who is Hispanic, shared that her and her friends

"literally walk down Del Playa. And for a lot of [the houses] you can literally just walk in

and party with those people." Reflecting on the most recent house party she attended, Daisy

added "[it] almost felt like a mini rave. They had disco lights, it was really cool." Zoe, a

Chinese junior who offered that her freshman year she made very few friends beyond her

roommate, viewed this as an impediment to party entry. "We didn't have any connections.

So it was mainly whatever, you're walking down [Del Playa] and go 'shoot! The gate is

open!'" she explained, laughing. "Mainly the ones where it is a whole bunch of strangers.

Which I don't find to be fun unless you are with a whole bunch of friends." Despite a lack

of connections, the known party zone on DP afforded Zoe and her roommate opportunities

to party nonetheless.

A 2017 article in UCSB's student newspaper, titled the "DP Nightlife Guide for

Freshmen," offers more insight into this corner of the party market. It begins, "Del Playa is

the street closest to the beach, and it's also the street where shit happens – I mean this in the

best way possible" (Mabanag 2017). Big house parties on DP "aren't that exclusive," the

author continues, though they advise forming connections to increase one's chances of

entry. These sentiments were echoed by the women interviewed for this study, who described large house parties as an easy means to party in Isla Vista if you didn't have an "in" to closed parties or the looks or gender ratio to gain entry to fraternity parties. The ubiquity of Del Playa as the hotbed for the IV party scene centralizes the large open house party on this street, offering freshman a highly visible place to congregate and seek entry, though women described these parties as "drier" spaces than fraternity parties. "In terms of alcohol, it's kind of difficult at DP parties," explained Elise, a White transfer student and a member of a Panhellenic sorority. "At frat parties it's extremely easy, especially for girls. It's just alcohol everywhere," she added, laughing. "You usually won't get alcohol, but if you're a female you'll get in," added Roxy.

The bastion of UCSB's wealthier student populations, Del Playa houses represent prime oceanfront real estate, making this street both the most sought after for housing and the least accessible. Houses on DP designed to house eight to twelve occupants rent for as high as $9,000 a month, and the kind of expendable income needed to rent beachside homes, and to host large gatherings in them, mark the Del Playa house party as a corner of the IV party sexual market controlled by the school's most class-privileged students. However, DP houses were often described as rather accessible spaces, especially if you lacked the social connections to get into the fraternity parties. According to Samantha, the DP house party was a boon for both men and women. When asked to describe a house party, Samantha explained "it's all the guys who can't get into the frat parties, they go to the parties that are open." This dynamic of the open house party is significant, given that it offers an alternative space for men to attend parties. Rachel viewed this as a positive, especially for women who want to party with their male friends. "If you have guy friends

and you are trying to go out with them you have to have a party in mind that is for... just kind of everyone. Whereas... the fraternity parties... you can't go in if you are with a guy." For Samantha, however, this was a drawback of the open house party, citing that "it's awkward, all of the guys are looking at us... with the open parties part of why I got so sick of it was because I don't know these people, they are all just rotating through talking to us and trying to hit on us." In this way, some of the gendered dynamics encountered in the male-controlled fraternity party circuit are replicated in the large open house party. However, without the built-in structure of "tiers" and chapter affiliations, the open house party appears to be more "equitable" in its entry compared to Greek gatherings.

Our Own Slice of Paradise: Kickbacks

For women at UC Santa Barbara, both fraternity parties and the large house parties on Del Playa Drive offered options for engagement with the Isla Vista party scene, predominantly as freshmen. However, the almost obligatory residential migration into Isla Vista following freshman year consequently shifts students' relationship to the party market, where holding "kickbacks," or smaller gatherings with friends, becomes preferred to the large house parties on DP. Part of the appeal of kickbacks at UC Santa Barbara is owed to Isla Vista's geography. Relatively secluded from any sizable city (downtown Santa Barbara, located 12 miles south of campus, notwithstanding) and packed in with rental homes primarily occupied by other students, IV rentals accord students the space to host their own gatherings once they relocate to the tiny college town. In this way Isla Vista serves as its own self-sustaining social environment, marked by a plethora of party options.

Relocation into Isla Vista proved to be a major trend among the women I interviewed at UC Santa Barbara. Of those who had been enrolled at the school for at least

a year and who had lived on campus their first year – though not a requirement, UCSB's

Housing Department reports that approximately 96% of its freshmen choose to live in on-

campus housing – 83% chose to move into Isla Vista as upperclassmen. These women cited

the increased privacy and affordability in their decision, as well as the ability to host their

own gatherings at their rented homes, which often came with ample outdoor space. Zoe

juxtaposed the large open house party, where "you know maybe two people," to kickbacks,

which according to her are "more of a group of friends... pretty much everybody there

knows each other." The environment of these gatherings is also more muted than the

raucous, dance-filled "raves" found at fraternity or large house parties. "If I were to break

down parties I would say there are DP parties, which is just loud techno music and people

in a backyard dancing and whatever," Ellen explained. "And then there are house parties

which are more chill, a kickback kind of thing. People are playing beer pong or chilling on

the couch or smoking." While not as overtly positioned to facilitate sexual interaction as

large house parties, kickbacks offer a more intimate environment where partygoers are

more likely to know one another or have mutual friends. As I describe in the next section,

these shared connections among partygoers also contribute to sexual partnerships.

      Kickbacks proved more appealing to women after they relocated to Isla Vista or

grew tired of attending large house parties. Talia described why she stopped attending

fraternity parties after her freshman year. "I think moving to IV made a difference," she

explained. Now able to host their own parties, "we would just say we are hanging out in the

backyard and people can show up as they please." These sentiments were echoed by other

women. Lisa, who had described "going out and seeing if you can get in somewhere"

during her freshman year, compared this experience with her sophomore year, where "you

have friends in houses now, it's where you can pick and choose based on which friend is having parties." Adrienne shared that her participation in the party market had increased since her freshman year, "because I moved to Isla Vista and started living with my friend who went to the same parties as me." Having joined the club crew team on campus and taken up a work-study job, Adrienne shared that her and her teammates would often throw their own parties, "or I will go to parties with my coworkers and invite a couple of my rowing friends." In this way, taking up residency in Isla Vista, and/or knowing individuals who live there, made for different forms of engagement with the town's party market.

For Becca, a recent transfer to UCSB from a mid-sized, party-heavy private school in upstate New York, the vibe of the Isla Vista kickback marked a distinct departure from what she was used to at her old institution. "If you are not in Greek life [at my prior school] your only other options would be private parties which are in houses that are often sketchy," she explained. "And a lot of the parties I just saw walking around IV... were much more relaxed... 10 or 15 people at a house. It wasn't crazy... they are partying in a much more relaxed, Californian, egalitarian way." While Penn women also described attending house parties at their school, mention of these gatherings paled in comparison to their emphasis on the Greek subculture's corner on the party market. UC Santa Barbara, on the other hand, boasts several conditions which contribute to a more diversified party environment: Isla Vista's relative seclusion from other large towns (compare this to Penn's location in Philadelphia, a city of millions) and the density of its student-based rental market, complete with ample outdoor space. As Becca describes, these conditions make for a more "egalitarian" party culture, where participation in Greek life or knowing people that are is rendered unnecessary to participate in the school's party market. As I discuss in the

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next section, the unique structuring of Penn's and UCSB's party markets inform how women perceive opportunities for sexual partnering within them.

Gendered Dynamics and Sexual Partnering in the Party Sexual Market

UC Santa Barbara's and the University of Pennsylvania's party-based sexual markets share similarities in their emphasis on large gatherings filled with alcohol and/or drugs, and a propensity for facilitating sexual liaisons. However, cultural conventions, physical space and powerful student subcultures collectively cultivate a party sexual market distinctive to each campus. Penn's tripartite party sexual market – comprised of The Scene, historically White Greek fraternities or sororities, and non-Greeks who party – is undergirded by the veritable monopoly White frats have on the campus party scene.

By contrast, the fraternity parties, Del Playa house parties and kickbacks comprising the party scene in UCSB's college town of Isla Vista cultivate a relatively more egalitarian market, though entry to frats or open house parties is also largely controlled by the campus' wealthy students. Compared to the two alternative sexual markets I cover in the next two chapters – student of color sexual markets and queer student sexual markets – determination of one's belongingness in party market environments is predominantly brokered by class-privileged White men. The narratives of women at both schools illustrate the significance of this dynamic, along with the role played by group cultures, social networks and physical space, for structuring women's sexual experiences within their school's respective party sexual market.

University of Pennsylvania

The funneling of freshmen into the highly visible Greek party circuit from the moment they set foot on campus provides newcomers a crash course on the school's approach to sexual

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relationships. Large "open" house parties are prime opportunities for fraternities to fill their

houses with desirable women, and entry is determined by their front doormen. With their

emphasis on alcohol, gender ratios and women's erotic capital, many Penn women recalled

meeting hookup partners at fraternity house parties. Disturbingly, however, multiple

women at Penn recalled encounters with men at fraternity parties where unwanted touching

and kissing occurred. "Going to frat parties, that pressure [to hookup] is real, especially as a

younger student," Layla explained. "Because boys literally will push up on you, they will

force against you, they will touch you when you don't want to be touched. It's just

something that after a while you grow a tough skin about." Vanessa described similar

experiences with men in the party market.

> Specifically at frat parties and frat scenes, a lot of [men] will come up to me
>
> and say hi and start making out with me. That is not what I want. I gave into
>
> it in the beginning, but that is not what I want at all. All of the frat parties
>
> and downtowns I went to, that happened.

Layla's recollection of adopting a "tough skin" in these party environments, and Vanessa's

admission that she "gave in" to men's advances initially, suggest that women's propensity

or confidence to address unwanted advances comes with age, making freshmen women

especially vulnerable as they encounter a sexual market where fraternity men hold immense

power.

A Chinese sophomore at Penn, Abigail, attested to the power fraternity men hold

over freshmen women who attend their parties.

> I think especially from what I have noticed a lot of the freshman girls think
>
> that [they should be hooking up] at these parties. And I think also because a

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lot of the frat boys who live there are older than freshman, and they are all

male, I think sometimes it seems a little predatory. As in I have seen a lot of

frat boys hooking up with some of the freshman girls who go to these

parties.

While women in Greek organizations described preferring the smaller, more

intimate mixers and formals organized with other fraternities, the availability of large

"open" parties thrown by fraternities are a draw for students new to campus. Freshmen

women attending parties at the beginning of the year usually do so at a time when their

social networks are developing and where pressure to "fit in" is palpable, and Greek

fraternities exploit these conditions. However, while Penn women described the downsides

of the fraternity party circuit, they followed these remarks by suggesting that these

downsides just came with the territory. Rather than "opt out" of the school's largest social

scene and sexual market, Penn women find ways to adapt, which include addressing

unwanted advances or pressure to hook up from male partygoers.

Given the Greek system's social influence, it is perhaps not too surprising that some

women described how sex could be traded for access to the school's most exclusive club,

"The Scene." Melanie G., who had previously described her brief glimpse into The Scene

her first year, explained "one way to get into [The Scene] if you are a girl is to sleep your

way in. Which is not super great, but people do it." Melanie shared that one of her female

friends had sex with a male member of an underground, "sceney" fraternity in exchange for

entry for her and her friends to one of the frat's exclusive parties. In this instance, women's

erotic capital can be used as a bargaining chip for access to more exclusive corners of the

party sexual market. At the same time, these dynamics illustrate the power Greek-affiliated men wield as gatekeepers to the campus party scene.

The tiered system of Greek life not only works to separate the most socially (and sexually) desirable students, but to create boundaries for social and sexual interaction. Women in Panhellenic sororities tended to engage with the party market in ways more structured than their non-Greek counterparts. In particular, these women enjoyed ample opportunities to socialize with fraternity men in the form of socials, downtowns or mixers. Stacey described Greek life's built-in social schedule as an advantage of membership. "My social life is planned for me, which is a big relief for me […] we have mixers once a week with different frats... So it just changed that instead of just going to various frat parties I would go to the mixers that [our sorority] plans... our date nights or our formals."

Women belonging to Panhellenic sororities described how the Greek system's emphasis on socializing between fraternities and sororities provided ample opportunities for sexual partnering. When asked about the contexts in which she met her hookup partners, Julie shared "a couple of them were just random at a mixer or party. The other ones would be through setups through my friends for sorority date nights or formals. Those are the main two ways of hooking up with people for me." Women in the Panhellenic Greek system were more apt to describe having one-time hookups or developing friends with benefits arrangements, often facilitated through organized formals or mixers with another fraternity. Cecilia shared that "you will meet people" through date nights between fraternities and sororities. "For example I was set up with a guy for my formal and we ended up hooking up... And then recently one of my guy friends, he needed a date for date night so I went with him. I didn't know him, I just got set up with him randomly… we are still hooking

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up."

The impetus of "date nights" and mixers is steeped in a heteronormative model in which members of the male fraternity bring a date to these organized events. These smaller, invite only events were described as quieter and less rowdy than open house parties. As Stacey explained, "the reason I enjoy mixers more is because it is only people in [my sorority] and the frat, so there are less people. And there is more of an emphasis on actually talking to these guys, it is not just a mass of people where you can't speak to anyone." At the same time, Stacey, who was in a long-term relationship at the time of her interview, also noted that mixers are unnecessary when you are partnered, further suggesting the motives of behind these gatherings. "I have a boyfriend. There is no point in dropping by a mixer if I can't mix with the boys. You know?"

For women seeking sexual partnerships with men, Greek membership held a distinct advantage in the form of organized gatherings with fraternity chapters. However, the Panhellenic Council's stipulation that all housed chapters operate alcohol-free facilities cultivates a Greek social scene where men possess full control over the place and timing of mixers or other gatherings. Lillian, a member of a Panhellenic sorority, shared her thoughts on attending mixers versus open parties.

> [At] mixers I do feel safe, because you know who is there, you can control
> who comes in. You are amongst your sisters, there are designated sober
> sisters, who are specifically there to look out for you. So I feel much safer at
> mixers than at open parties. And if I wasn't a part of Greek life I wouldn't
> have access to mixers. My issue with it is that the mixers have to be thrown
> at fraternity houses. On their turf, which is significantly more dangerous I

think. But in general I find mixers to be probably the safest social outing I

could have.

Lillian's sentiments about mixers as the "safest" social atmosphere for her to be in are curiously juxtaposed with her belief that holding mixers at fraternity houses is "significantly more dangerous." Her description of these events paint fraternity houses as a tolerable nuisance (or danger) in the Greek social scene, but one preferable to large open parties. As the numerical majority (fraternities outnumber sororities on Penn's campus by over 3:1), Greek fraternities, particularly higher tier chapters, also enjoy the privilege of choosing which sororities they wish to mix with and, subsequently, have sexual access to. Julie, a member of a "middle-tier" sorority, shared that "some top-tier frats will cancel on us last minute," marking the power of fraternities to determine who is worthy of their time.

While the bounds of the party market offered ample opportunities for women to seek out sexual partners, the misogyny, sexual harassment and sexual assault that women considered to be "part of the territory" further indicate the tremendous sway fraternities hold in this market. A recent example of these dynamics occurred at the start of Penn's Fall 2016 semester, when one of its "underground" fraternities sent a mass email to the freshmen women to advertise their "Wild Wednesday" party, complete with a sexually suggestive poem. The email read, in part,

Ladies, the year is now upon us / May we have your attention please

We're looking for the fun ones / And say fuck off to a tease

Wednesday nights will get you going /With bankers flowing all night

Tonight is your first showing / So please wear something tight

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Given the fraternity's status as an unrecognized student organization, the University of Pennsylvania administration could do little except to condemn the e-mail. The Penn women who chose to reflect on the incident suggested this was just par for the course on their campus. "It's not surprising," Lillian stated. "That doesn't make it okay but that is not a unique instance, they do that every year and it speaks to the rape culture around the party scene in general." Julie reflected, "Honestly, reading the email, it wasn't shocking to me at all. It wasn't anything I hadn't really seen before. Not to say that [the administration and students] should not have called them out, but as a senior I think I am just desensitized to a lot of these things."

While some women described the email as indicative of a larger issue, they also applauded the student reaction, which included posting approximately 600 flyers around campus with the words "This is what rape culture looks like" transposed over an image of the email. This was accompanied by the circulation of a letter speaking out against the perpetuation of rape culture, which was signed by over 1,000 Greek-affiliated women. Stacey attributed the student response, led by undergraduate women within feminist circles, as "typical" of the Penn populace.

> That kind of thing, where someone printed [the email] out and said this is
> what rape culture looks like and we are marching, that is very Penn. The
> funny thing about Penn is that people talk about the frat culture and I think
> there is a really pervasive, harmful frat culture, especially among a small
> minority of the fraternities are really just full of disgusting human beings.
> But I think especially the women on campus, most of them are these self-
> motivated, really strong, self-proclaimed feminists.

The reactions of Stacey, Lillian and Julie, all members of Panhellenic sororities, contrast with their participation in a student subculture where partnership with fraternities and attendance at their parties is a major component of the social environs, and whose influence – both good and bad – extends outward like spokes of a wheel, incorporating non-Greeks into the party market fold. Choking off the main supply of fraternity power – attendance at their parties – would render these student groups, and their association with cultivating rape culture, insignificant. However, this overlooks the less overtly visible foundations of Greek fraternity power on campus – the significance of their social networks, their money, their trendsetting in the campus culture, and the importance of their alumni networks to university endowments. Simply put, fraternities are too powerful to overcome.

The "if you can't beat them, join them (or party with them)" mentality of Penn's populace shone through as women described their engagement in the fraternity party circuit. Men's expectations for sex from women in these spaces became evident as women described initiation of hookups in public party contexts, or invitations to more private mixers or formals. Danielle, who had unsuccessfully rushed a sorority at Penn, recalled asking one of her male friends in Greek life if any of his friends were looking to date.

> My friend Mike, when I asked him if there was anyone in his frat who would
>
> want to date, he was like okay, I will invite you to a date party unless you
>
> don't want to have sex with him because that's what date parties are for.
>
> And I was like, oh, no thanks, I'm good. So yeah, a lot of the guys invite
>
> girls to date parties or throw these parties because they want to have sex with

girls or have drunk hookups. And I'm not really into that. So that has been

harder.

The power of the historically White Interfraternity Council and the underground fraternity circuit in the Penn social scene is evident in the popularity of their social gatherings. While these party environments smack of misogyny and rape culture, this does not fully deter women from engaging with the party market. Rather, they find ways to adapt. Penn juniors and seniors in particular described a shift in their approach to frat parties, either in developing tougher skin or in openly advocating for their own safety or the safety of other women, such as the organized reaction to the "Wild Wednesday" email.

University of California Santa Barbara

Like their counterparts at the University of Pennsylvania, women at UCSB described the Isla Vista party market as a social atmosphere where sexual partnering is an assumed goal and where women negotiate pressure from men. Rachel, a transfer student who shared that her decision to attend UCSB was partially attributed to her desire for "a really social school, because that is just something that I really enjoy," frequented both fraternity and DP house parties. She reflected at length on her experiences with men in the Isla Vista-based party sexual market.

A lot of the guys here… they definitely pressure you. They're not gonna

necessarily pressure you if you are giving off the vibe that you don't want to

hook up with them, but I mean at the same time, yeah. Unless you give them

a straight up "no," some of them won't back away. Which I find very…

annoying, I guess you could say. But I would say that if you don't know that

coming in that it could definitely be a little bit of a shock because it comes

off strong. And it's difficult because if you are dancing at a party and you

are dancing with your girlfriends and you just want to dance and a guy

comes onto you, he's gonna think 'oh she wants me to come on to her if

she's dancing this way'. Which is not always the case. A lot of the time I

don't even necessarily want to be dancing with a guy, I just want to be doing

my own thing… I feel super aware of myself all the time at parties because

of the whole hookup scene where its guys are looking for girls to hookup

with, regardless of whether girls are looking for guys to hookup with. So it's

really a lot of pressure, I would say. And you just have to be really aware of

yourself, which I think is super unfortunate because there's that whole

double standard and girls are viewed as, definitely as objects, they are there

for the guy. And I don't view that as the case, being a girl. That's not how I

look at the situation but that's kind of the reality of the situation.

Rachel's descriptions of party environments as spaces where women negotiate pressure

from men is disturbing. However, she downplays the seriousness of these dynamics,

reducing them to "annoyances" or writing them off as "the reality of the situation."

Rachel's experiences illustrate how women's actions in party environments – including

how they dance – are interpreted as supposed "cues" to men about their desire for a hookup.

Cognizant of her behaviors at parties, Rachel suggests a shared understanding that party

environments are always sites of sexual potential. This has acute consequences for women

who, as Rachel describes it, are viewed as "objects" for men.

 While IFC fraternity houses play a role in Isla Vista's party market, their presence is

relatively mild in comparison to the Greek-heavy party market on Penn's campus.

Nevertheless, it is significant that women noted fraternity parties in Isla Vista as spaces where they felt especially "eyed," consistent with prior research identifying the Greek system's orientation towards binge drinking, associated sexual pressure and higher incidences of date rape and/or sexual assault (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Armstrong, Hamilton and Sweeney 2006; Martin 2016). Beyond the gender ratio and initial assessments of women's "hotness" for entry, the fraternity party's ulterior motives were evident as women recalled prior interactions with men in these environments. Alex F., a transfer student who had recently completed rushing a Panhellenic sorority, recalled her surprise at how overtly sexual sorority women were at social events with fraternity chapters. She recalled watching a sorority dance competition where fraternity men served as judges.

> The boys are judging us and they act overly sexual and… it makes me kind
> of cringe...We have so many themed gatherings with the fraternities and...
> [women] dress really revealing... frats are a big part of the sorority life. And
> impressing them, having the hottest pledge class and that kind of stuff is
> very important to them.

Adopting the language of "them," Alex F. distances herself from her sisters and their felt need to impress fraternity brothers. She further shared "at frat parties what I have noticed is I will start talking to a guy and then I will leave and then I will see him with another girl. You can definitely tell they are looking for a hookup and I did not fulfill that, so they just moved on from me." Beyond built-in opportunities to judge and rate women's bodies via organized Greek events, Alex's interactions with fraternity men shows how filling their houses with attractive women renders the frat party a veritable mating market where men

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hold the numerical advantage – if one woman stops showing interest, it's easy to move on to the next.

Non-Greek women shared similar sentiments about the emphasis on women's sexual attractiveness and hooking up at fraternity gatherings. Samantha described a preference for kickbacks as an upperclassman, viewing these gatherings as less pressure-filled or overtly oriented towards sexual encounters. She explained "when I am at a party where it's just my friends, there is not that hookup culture as much as at a place like a frat house where it's an unspoken rule that girls go there to get alcohol and the guys are going to hook up with them." While she frequented Greek gatherings as a freshman, Samantha described growing tired of these parties, partly attributing her disengagement to the guest list. "Sometimes [the frats] will have a pregame with the sorority and then open it up to everyone else. So sometimes when you get there it's a bunch of girls that all look exactly the same," she explained. "And you're like 'well I don't look like them, but it's okay because I know so and so.'" Samantha's choice of words seems to suggest a level of insecurity, matched with the understanding that sorority women hold the greatest erotic capital in fraternity spaces. She reconciles this by emphasizing her connections to the fraternity men present at the party, rendering her just as worthy of entry.

"Guys in frats are known to be preying," added Marie, a Latina. Describing the ulterior motives of men in party settings, she added

> When girls come [to parties] they are already seeing which one they want for
> the night. I feel like there are always guys [besides frat guys] trying to
> approach you, whether just to get to know you or to hookup, but at every
> party you will experience a guy coming up to you.

While Marie specifically fingers fraternity houses as sites where women are "preyed upon" (consistent with Ellen's feeling of being "herded like cattle" in these environments), her description of men coming on to women at "every party" also implicates the large DP house party as an atmosphere where men command women's sexual attention. Samantha had described this dynamic of the DP house party earlier, namely her discomfort with being hit on by men, marking the large house party as another overtly sexualized space in the Isla Vista party sexual market. While not all Del Playa house parties are held by men, the continued importance of the gender ratio in gaining entry to some of these gatherings suggests the priority of cultivating a gender imbalance.

Consistent with the tendency to move to Isla Vista following freshman year, multiple women cited the large DP house party to be less of a draw the longer they were students. "Past freshmen year it was mostly, a lot of my friends had other friends... and they were mostly hosting the bigger parties," recalled Talia.

> So we would all pregame at somebody's house and then go to someone
> else's party. Migrate over to the bigger party, we all had friends there and it
> was really fun. Looking back on it we used to have a lot more friends than
> we did in senior year. And we slowly kind of downsized and going to those
> bigger parties was not as appealing because by the time we showed up there
> would not be any alcohol or people were so drunk that they could not make
> it out of the house.

For Talia, "downsizing" to the kickback became preferable to the sloppiness of the large house party later in her undergraduate career.

The eclectic party market in Isla Vista offers UCSB women a number of party

options, particularly as students migrated into Isla Vista and began hosting their own parties in their rented homes or attending kickbacks or house parties thrown by friends. However, women recalling hookup encounters during their freshmen year often described the role that large house and/or fraternity parties played in facilitating these sexual encounters, suggesting a shifting relationship to Isla Vista's party market the longer they had been at the school. "I've had a lot of experiences of having continual hookups with someone that I meet at a party or running into them again at parties," explained Roxy, a White bisexual junior. "Definitely happened a lot more during my freshman year." Jenn, an Asian senior, had a similar experience. "I've had maybe 30 [male] hookup partners. They were all students that I know of. I met the majority of them at frat houses. Most freshman year were [in a] party context."

While women who attended kickbacks, usually hosted by friends, also described these spaces as facilitative of sexual encounters, these sites were described as less overtly positioned to this task. These environments were also less apt to be oriented around the dancing found at larger parties – a conduit for sexual touching – and more about "hanging out." Elise, who was a member of a Panhellenic sorority, preferred to attend these more low-key parties. "I don't like big house parties or frat parties where you are getting really wasted for no reason," she explains. "Now that I am 21 I would rather spend time with a small amount of people that I already know." Adrienne, who was a member of the crew team on campus, shared that the men's and women's teams would often party together at one of their houses. She also offered that hooking up between crew members was not uncommon, jokingly referring to these encounters as "crewcest." Adrienne described how women on the rowing team interact with other men.

Women on the rowing team don't give a fuck. They just go up to the person

and flirt. They do not care. I really respect that. I've seen that specifically at

rowing parties. I don't know if it's because these women are athletes and are

typically very confident in themselves and their abilities. Like we are strong,

we are friends, we have a really established program so they are just really

confident in general about that.

Attributing the confidence of her teammates to their strength and confidence as athletes,

these actions might also be explained by the shared social networks of the men's and

women's teams, cultivating an additional level of comfort. Talia shared that some of her

male hookups "were people in our extended friendship group that we would party with, but

I would also have a friendly relationship with them outside of partying." In this way, the

kickback is also a facilitator of sexual relationships, albeit through known social networks,

and perhaps in homes where *women,* in addition to men, make the invite list and regulate

the conditions for interaction. Smaller friendship networks, combined with party

environments where alcohol and/or drugs are present, combine to present additional

possibilities for sexual encounters. This is in juxtaposition to the fraternity party or the DP

party, marked by partygoers entering spaces where men – usually unknown to most in

attendance – cultivate environments prioritizing hookups. Women were more likely to

describe uncomfortable interactions with men looking to hook up at fraternity or DP house

parties, while the kickback proved less pressure-filled and perhaps safer, given that

attendees are more likely to know one another.

Women did describe a limitation to partying "where you live," however. Unlike

Penn, where the party market was largely concentrated within fraternity-owned (or rented)

spaces, Isla Vista wore multiple hats: as a residential community, a raucous party town and the "seat" of the standard UC Santa Barbara student experience. Zoe's description of Isla Vista as a natural extension of the school illustrates this tension.

> Isla Vista is pretty much a unique community. Instead of maybe finding an apartment in the city it's very typical, I probably don't have to explain this, that you live in IV. And it's a pretty close walk so that sort of builds that IV-UCSB community... Which I think doesn't help for the party reputation because instead of having to walk or take a bus down to somebody's house in the city you can just walk out, walk DP, find your [party]... You know? I'm sure there are issues that come with that. But I do like the fact that it is there.

Zoe describes a melding of the private and the public for students living in Isla Vista, touching upon what some women recognized as a pitfall of Isla Vista's community-based party reputation.

> This "spillover" effect of the party market onto life in Isla Vista writ large was a dynamic unique to UC Santa Barbara. The tiny town's reputation as a party haven proved a boon for students looking to have fun in this market, yet proved difficult for sustaining committed relationships. Multiple mentions of Isla Vista as a "toxic" environment for long-term relationships derives from women's recognition of this tension. Recalling a prior relationship with a boyfriend, Diana, a Latina senior, shared

> It's a really toxic place to be in a relationship because everyone is drinking on the weekends, and there are so many events that happen. And I feel like people drink and make decisions that they don't really think about before. I

don't know what it is about the IV culture, but it's just really hard to stay in

a healthy relationship.

Talia shared a similar experience with a former boyfriend, whom she had just

recently started dating again. Describing their relationship freshman year, Talia recalled

"we were really, really good for each other, we were best friends and our relationship

worked. It was just being in IV. IV culture does not foster an environment where you can

be in a healthy relationship. There is always jealousy, there is always distrust." With her

boyfriend currently living in Virginia, Talia viewed her long-distance arrangement as more

amenable to longevity than if he were still at UCSB. "I was confident that both of us being

out of IV... would make this time around much different." While at Penn the association of

the party market with fraternity spaces or downtown Philadelphia venues allowed for a

disconnect between this environment once parties had ended, UC Santa Barbara women

were not as easily able to detach the party sexual market from the space they lived in. This

had consequent effects for women seeking more committed partnerships with men.

"Straight Girls Kissing": Sexual Contact between Women in the Party Market

In addition to describing felt pressure from men to dance or to hookup in party spaces,

women at both schools recalled instances where male partygoers encouraged two or more

women to engage in sexual acts with each other. "It just seems like it's kind of something

that is stereotypical," shared Roxy, a bisexual junior who had hooked up with women at

fraternity and large house parties. However, she differentiates her personal reasons for

initiating these encounters – a desire for an ongoing hookup or relationship with a woman

outside of party environments – with those of women looking to garner male attention.

Inferring the motives of these women, Roxy remarked "oh, you want to be cool, you want

the guys to look at you make out with a girl."

Heterosexual male desire to see women make out at parties was present in women's narratives about their school's respective party sexual market. Conjecturing who might be apt to deploy same-sex eroticism, Stacey, a Penn student, offered "it sounds so lame, but the ones who think they are really cool and "sceney" and attention seeking and say 'I'm gonna make out with a girl to be hot!' Those people. Within a party." In this way, then, girl-on-girl eroticism is a means to bolster one's erotic capital in party market environments, titillating male onlookers. This is steeped in the assumption of women's heterosexual attractions (Diamond 2005), where "performative bisexuality" in public settings is a means to entice men (Fahs 2009). Rachel, a heterosexual junior at UCSB, spoke to this performativity.

> I feel like the thing with girl-on-girl is... the majority of girls that hookup at parties are actually heterosexual, or identify as such... it's the attention that they get. So if a lesbian couple or bisexual or whatever is hooking up they are not flaunting it, it's for their own enjoyment. Whereas if a heterosexual, two heterosexual girls are hooking up they are definitely doing it in front of other people for the enjoyment of other people. Yeah, maybe for themselves too, but it's definitely like they are going to make it public.

For women who had witnessed women kissing in party environments – or for those who themselves had engaged in, or had been asked to engage in, such acts – the impetus for these actions were the desires of the men present. Male control of party spaces – not only in determining who is granted access, but also who is privy to their alcohol – creates leverage for those who want to see women sexually engage one another. Samantha described how

receiving requests from straight men to kiss another woman have different implications for

straight versus bisexual or lesbian-identified women in party settings.

> So if I would go up to the bar they would say hey you've got to kiss her.
>
> And I would say can I just get a shot? And they would say sure. But they
>
> would prefer if you kissed your friend. I have seen that a lot. And I have
>
> friends who are bi or gay. They don't necessarily kiss people in public
>
> because they are either not fully out or they are not really that comfortable
>
> with it or they are not comfortable with the fact that lesbians are used as
>
> something to ogle at here. So they don't want to be a part of that. So they
>
> will do whatever on their own terms but not in front of other people because
>
> they don't want it to be some spectacle.

To be sure, party markets also provide opportunities for women to explore same-sex

desire in an environment where same-sex touching between women is read as a form of

male entertainment. "I would say actually the hookup culture in the party culture probably

facilitates more experimentation," Jill, a Penn senior, conjectured.

> Especially because I would say that female to female sexual relationships are
>
> less taboo to than male to male. And so at a party two straight girls will end
>
> up kissing just because they are drunk. And because of the hookup party
>
> culture, threesomes will happen. And things can progress from there.

Jill's association of two women hooking up at a party with the possibility for threesomes

(presumably with a male) asserts the foundation for the party sexual market: as a site of

heterosexual partnership. For men who control these spaces, sexual contact between women

proves another means from which to facilitate sexual interaction with women a la

threesomes. However, as Jill observes, heterosexual parties as sites of experimentation are limited to women – for men, signaling same-sex attraction challenges the orientation of these spaces toward facilitation of sexual encounters with women. In fact, it was not uncommon for women to describe their gay male friends being admitted to parties with the assumption from the front doormen that these additional male bodies were not apt to be read as "competition" for the women present. "One of my friends is gay and we would just walk in like I'm gay! I'm not going to bust your ratio!" Chelsea, a transfer student at Penn, explained. Given these dynamics, where certain sexual behaviors are encouraged while others are discouraged, shores up the party market's heteronormative logic, encouraging sexual acts which might facilitate men's sexual engagement with female partygoers. I consider the advantages and disadvantages of the eroticism of girl-on-girl sexual action in the party market for queer-identified or questioning women in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

The roots of the party sexual market at UC Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania, while planted in different centuries, bore similar fruit: the development of a mainstream campus party culture where men hold considerable sway over the timing and circumstances of large gatherings. At Penn, this market unfolded within the Greek fraternity system, whose origins trace to White male efforts to segregate from their middle-class and/or non-White peers as the campus began to diversify in the late 19th century. UC Santa Barbara's party market sprung up during the mid-20th century in Isla Vista, the university's college town neighbor with a long reputation for both countercultural protest and celebratory partying. Women at both schools described being ceremoniously introduced to their respect campus' party market as freshmen. At Penn, New Student Orientation paired

with Greek life's organization of "welcome back" parties swept women into the party current, while women at UC Santa Barbara described the folklore of Isla Vista's reputation for driving freshmen migration to large house parties on Del Playa Drive, or, for better connected students, to fraternity houses interspersed throughout IV.

The unique origins of each school's market are matched by their organization within campus space. Penn's broader culture of wealth and status is mirrored in the hierarchical arrangement of students' relationship to the party sexual market. Belonging to the coveted Scene means access to the most exclusive corners of Penn's party market, while membership in Panhellenic Council chapters affords women opportunities for date nights and formal mixers with fraternity men. Finally, large "open" fraternity house parties are a (fairly) accessible means for engagement with the party market for non-Greeks. In Isla Vista, Greek life holds a modest, albeit visible presence, which together with the large Del Playa house party offers multiple options for freshmen and upperclassmen alike. The town's dense concentration of student rentals also provide the setting for kickbacks, or casual gatherings among friends, which become a more salient option as women migrate into Isla Vista or expand their social networks.

With perhaps the exception of the kickback, engagement with various corners of the party sexual market is shaped by women's erotic capital. As sites primarily controlled by White men, women on both campuses describe the importance of hegemonic feminine beauty, and its association with Whiteness, for unfettered access to parties. Once inside, women detailed harassment or unwanted advances from male partygoers, marking the campus party as a prime site of sexual opportunity. Despite these dynamics, women at both schools described these downsides as just part of the party market territory. Cognizant of

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the gender ratio needed to enter parties, and of the popularity of women kissing at the behest of male partygoers, these women recognize their need to at least partially accept the "logic" of the market in order to reap its benefits: sociality, free booze and a place to dance. To be sure, the party market also proved sexually advantageous for women, regardless of which corners of the market they occupied. For Greeks, mixers and formals provided built-in socializing opportunities, and set ups with dates which might turn into a sexual encounter or a relationship, while women attending open parties also described success in meeting men.

Certainly not all women interviewed at UCSB or Penn described engagement with the party market. Some preferred a quiet night at home to a loud party. Others were in committed relationships with partners. However, no matter their relationship to it, all women could describe for me what it meant to participate in the mainstream party culture and the sexual dynamics within it, a testament to its ubiquity and hypervisibility on both campuses. For these women, participation meant exposure to possibilities for "hooking up," intertwining the party market with an emphasis on non-committed sexual encounters. Prior research demonstrates how this gendered dynamic serves to disadvantage women, who negotiate sexual encounters with men where their pleasure is rendered secondary, or where desires for a relationship go unrequited (Armstrong, England and Fogarty 2012; Bogle 2008; Freitas 2008; Jozkowski and Satinsky 2013). While these pitfalls were certainly not absent from the experiences of women at both schools, the party sexual market is also a network of sites where women actively sought hookups with men, preferring a non-committed arrangement over a relationship. In other words, women's experiences in the party market ranged the gamut from negative encounters with men to moments of

empowerment and sexual satisfaction. While these micro-level experiences varied, the impetus for negotiation of these experiences stemmed from the institutional conditions which supported the party market on both campuses, and from those sectors of the student population which took on "responsibility" for hosting these gatherings.

The party market's draw for freshmen and upperclassmen alike is owed, in part, to its size and popularity. For women at both schools, immersion in the party market was the path of least resistance. While the largest sexual market on both campuses – not surprisingly, given its foundations in a White, upper-class orientation to college life – the party market was certainly not the only game in town at Penn and UCSB. As I show in the next two chapters, the conditions leading to the development of student of color and queer student sexual markets, respectively, represent reactions to the heteronormative, predominantly White institutional environment of both schools, and to the exclusionary nature of the party sexual markets derived from it.

Chapter 3: Student of Color Sexual Markets

The party markets of Penn and UCSB, covered in chapter 2, are the products of multi-level influences within the confines of university space. The geography and subcultural influence at each school mark Penn's fraternity circuit and UCSB's next door neighbor, Isla Vista, as the respective centers of their party sexual markets, where student wealth procures space, a precious commodity on crowded campuses, to hold large gatherings. These markets are further organized by a sexual logic that is racialized, classed and gendered. Women's recollections of their interactions in the party market reveal these spaces as heteronormative and male-dominant, where Whiteness operates as valued erotic currency. Collectively, these conditions served to determine how women find and experience sexual partnerships within their school's party sexual market.

The roots of the party market are also owed to each school's history as a predominantly White institution of higher education. To be sure, the racial and ethnic makeup of each school has shifted over its history, reflecting broader societal trends of increased access to higher education among underrepresented populations. Today, Whites comprise a smaller percentage of UC Santa Barbara's (37%) and the University of Pennsylvania's (44.1%) undergraduate populations than the national average (57%) at degree-granting institutions in the United States (National Center for Education Statistics 2017). Both schools also enroll Asian students at higher rates than the national average of 6%, with 20.3% of Penn's and 28% of UCSB's student populations identifying as Asian/Pacific Islander. While schools average a 14% Black enrollment nationwide, this population comprises just 7.3% and 5% of Penn's and UCSB's undergraduate populations, respectively. Finally, UC Santa Barbara, an Hispanic Serving Institution, has an

Hispanic/Latino enrollment of 28%, while this population comprises just over ten percent of Penn students.

In this chapter I draw upon archival research to briefly review the history of racial and ethnic minority representation at UC Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania. I consider how each school's development of policies, curriculum and resources in tandem with a rapidly diversifying student population contributed the building blocks of multiple student of color sexual markets. Each school's response to student advocacy for racial/ethnic diversity, I argue, triggered the development of local organizations and designated spaces for students of color which, in part, inform how women of color experience the university as a sexual space today. Significantly, university initiatives around multiculturalism and inclusion, race/ethnicity-based student organizations and informal social networks collectively funnel students into spaces predominantly occupied by co-ethnics, producing insular sexual markets within student of color communities. These communities serve the primary function of offering spaces and networks of support for racial/ethnic minority students on predominantly White campuses, with facilitation of sexual partnerships as a secondary outcome. This differs from the direct party market, which is rooted in the social traditions of class-privileged, predominantly White student populations that is predominantly oriented toward drinking and sexual partnering.

Next, I explore how student of color sexual markets operate by an intracommunity politics of racial authenticity that communicates the "terms of membership" in these markets. At the same time, women of color also negotiate a broader campus racial climate that informs their decisions around participation in alternative sexual markets, such as the party market (as well as the queer market, discussed in Chapter four), and their experience

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of sexual partnering within each. Their narratives highlight the multi-level influences structuring sexual partnering on both campuses, and how this process is further mediated by women's multiple, intersecting identities.

Forming a Market: Student of Color Representation on Campus
University of California Santa Barbara

The recruiting strategy of a given institution is important to understanding the mechanisms which drive its student composition. While diversity initiatives blossomed across US universities and colleges in the wake of the Civil Rights movement, the recruiting regions of a given school are an institutional-level determination about what types of students to directly target for admission (Peterson, Blackburn, Gamson, Arce, Davenport and Mingle 1978). Consistent with the state's Master Plan for Higher Education, UC Santa Barbara admits the vast majority of its students from California – specifically, 89% of the undergraduate student population during the 2016-2017 academic year hailed from the state. Given the in-state focus on student recruitment, the racial makeup of California's population is important to tracing the growth of underrepresented populations on UCSB's campus since the 1960s.

As of 2014, California was home to the largest number of Latinos in the United States (15 million), comprising 39% of the total state population (Stepler and Lopez 2016). UC Santa Barbara's efforts to recruit students from economically disadvantaged schools and to grow the number of first-generation college students on its campus began in earnest in 1971, when the University of California established a task force to increase Latino/Chicano representation. At the time, Latinos/Chicanos totaled just 2.5% of all student enrollments across the University of California system (Windsor 1971). By 1995, Latinos/Chicanos comprised 12.4% of UCSB's undergraduate enrollment before doubling

in size during the 2015-16 academic year (Office of Budget and Planning 2017). UCSB was named a Hispanic-Serving Institution by the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities in January of 2015, a designation reserved for schools whose Hispanic enrollment (undergraduate or graduate, full- or part-time) is at least 25% of the school's total enrollment. Among that academic year's incoming freshmen, 75% of Hispanics identified as first-generation college students, compared to 32% of the non-Hispanic incoming freshmen (Estrada 2015).

By contrast, UC Santa Barbara has consistently struggled to recruit and/or retain Black students. Part of this may be attributed to state demographics – Blacks comprised just 6.5% of California's population in 2016, and account for just 2.4% of the Santa Barbara County population (Census Bureau 2017). The university's establishment of the Educational Opportunity Program in 1966, whose primary responsibility was to recruit, admit and provide supportive services to undergraduate students from underrepresented populations, was one effort to increase Black enrollments on campus. In the early years of the Educational Opportunity Program Black students comprised the majority of recruited students; however, in the late 1960s and early 1970s these efforts shifted to growing the Chicano, Native American and Asian American representation on campus ("Statement Regarding Chicano Complaints against the Administration" 1973).

As was true across the nation in the late 1960s, UC Santa Barbara experienced Black student-led demonstrations and sit-ins demanding stronger efforts by the university to recruit, retain and support Black students. The most compelling of these actions was the takeover of the Computer Center of North Hall by twelve members of the Black Student Union on October 14, 1968. Renaming the building "Malcom X Hall," these students put

forth a series of grievances to the administration, highlighting the school's admission requirements, lack of faculty of color hires and available financial aid (Kelley 1981). The University Chancellor and members of his administration met with the students for several hours before their eventual dispersal from North Hall. However, a press release issued by the Chancellor the following week showed little sympathy, including the statement that "I am, of course, not unaware that some fraction of their effort may have been motivated by power seeking" (Office of Public Information 1968). Community newspapers were similarly incredulous about the North Hall takeover, evoking imagery of the campus population suggesting a hippie-centric, White student body. An article appearing in the local *Times News* reported that "of the thousands of students at UCSB, only a minute fraction are directly involved. But this campus blossoms with beards, peace symbols, and sandals, and a sort of sympathy – but not much agreement – with the militant Blacks" (Flowers 1968).

The Bank of America burning in Isla Vista occurred the following year, spurred in part by growing student mistrust of law enforcement after several incidents perceived as racially motivated. Amidst the chaos emanating from Isla Vista, the administration made good on several student of color-led demands, establishing the Chicano Studies and Black Studies departments in 1970. The Chicano Studies department was one of the first of its kind in the country, and the first such program in the University of California system.

Waves of organized student resistance to the University administration ebbed and flowed over the next thirty years. Following the North Hall takeover, members of the BSU, United Mexican American Students and Students for a Democratic Society formed the United Front to negotiate with administrators for the increased enrollment of Blacks and

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Chicanas/os (Armbruster-Sandoval 2017). The formation of Students for Collective Action in the mid-1970s pressed for increased representation of student voices in administrative decisions, and for greater funding and support of racial and ethnic studies departments (Collins 1989). Student groups represented in Students for Collective Action included El Congreso (a Chicano activist group), BSU, Asian American Student Alliance, Gay Student Union, and the Native American Student Alliance, among others. These allied efforts to press the administration on racial/ethnic minority enrollment and related academic services continued into the 1980s. However, the university often responded by attributing its retention and recruitment issues to individual-level decisions rather than structural impediments. For example, when called upon to answer for why UCSB had the lowest enrollment of Blacks on all UC campuses (2.1% in 1983), a quote from then-Chancellor Robert Huttenback in a University newspaper article reasoned that "it's psychically risky when they [Black students] come to a campus that is filled with blonde-haired, blue-eyed people...it reduces the sense of comfort" (Hastings 1983).

Levels of Hispanic enrollment were also criticized. Affirmative action reports from 1989 showed that UC Santa Barbara was among the lowest of all UC campuses in their percentages of minority students on campus, while 85% of the faculty were White (Welsh 1989). Further, minority students graduated at lower rates from the school than their White counterparts, and, while efforts to recruit and retain minority students had been in place since the 1970s, that percentages of Black, Hispanic and Native American students had increased only slightly since 1980 – though, according to Fall 1988 enrollment records, 29% of new students were from racial/ethnic minority groups, the highest in the school's history (The Regents of the University of California 1988). Tensions rose to a head in

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February 1989 after the Academic Senate rejected a measure to institute a two-course

diversity requirement, proposing a one-course requirement instead (Ziegler 1989). This

action triggered a student hunger strike and the issuance of a 36 page document titled

Racism at UCSB, the Hunger Strike against Institutional Racism and Student

Disempowerment at UCSB. While comprised of 24 separate demands, most attention was

focused on instituting the two-course diversity requirement, increasing funding for the

Equal Opportunity Program and the school's multicultural center, and developing Asian-

American Studies and Native American Studies departments (Welsh 1989). These actions

led to student negotiations with Chancellor Uehling and the eventual adoption of an ethnic

and gender studies course requirement.

To be sure, UCSB has made significant strides toward increasing the diversity of its

student populace since the 1980s – the school's designation as a Hispanic Serving

Institution is just one outcome of these efforts, though recruitment of Black students

continues to be stagnant. The administration's approach to increasing underrepresented

populations was forced to shift in 1997 when the state of California passed Proposition 209,

barring the consideration of an applicant's race and gender for admissions preference within

the UC system. In anticipation of this change the University's Educational Opportunity

Program was amended from an ethnicity-based program to "one unified program based on

serving students from low-income backgrounds and from first generation status"

(Educational Opportunity Program). Today the EOP offers a multitude of services for its

students, to include the Summer Transitional Enrichment Program, a two-week summer

course for incoming freshmen consisting of social/cultural programming and one-on-one

counseling and advising.

Despite a history of progressive change, UC Santa Barbara has also been home to a string of recent racially motivated incidents, including vandalism of El Centro, the Chicano/Latino community center and the meeting place for a campus group for undocumented students, in 2013. Graffiti scrawled on the entrance door read "Deportation = Justice; Deport Illegals NOW" ("Vandalism Attacks Undocumented UCSB Students" 2013). This was followed in 2016 by a series of chalk markings scrawled on campus grounds, to include phrases such as "Trump build the wall 2016" and "Obama is a Muslim." These chalkings appeared on the walkways outside of the Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies, the Asian Resource Center and North Hall, the site of the Black Student Union takeover in the 1968 (an event now commemorated in a series of murals adorning the outer walls of the building) (Bogle-Burroughs 2016a). Organized resistance followed in the form of the Million Student March and a "counter-chalking" of positive and encouraging messages (Bogel-Burroughs 2016b). Recent student organizing around issues of racism and xenophobia is in keeping with the long history of activism at UC Santa Barbara.

The University of Pennsylvania

After World War I, White nationalism fomented the development of exclusionary policies at historically White universities across America (Rogers 2012), including the University of Pennsylvania. Despite not being officially segregated, African Americans on Penn's campus prior to the 1960s were physically restricted from certain areas of campus. This included the school cafeteria, with the requirement that Black students take their lunch under the stairs of the library. Further, the university's designation of "A" and "B" fraternities, the latter of which were designated for Jews and Blacks, was no doubt an effort

by administrators to assuage the White elites comprising the majority of the student populace (Thomas and Brownlee 2000).

Penn's student population remained overwhelmingly White into the early 1960s, with fewer than 40 Blacks entering the school each year (Glasker 2002). By the late 1960s, however, the administration faced increasingly greater pressure to admit underrepresented student populations, to include students of color, pressures thought to conflict with the school's prestigious reputation. In response Penn released its "Admissions Policy for the Undergraduate Schools of the University of Pennsylvania" during the 1967-1968 academic year. Also known as the *McGill Report*, this policy officially established Penn's plan to recruit and retain minority students and faculty. The opening remarks of the report cite the growing number of applications to the school and the need to develop changes that would "not only improve selection procedures but also… strengthen the competitive position of the University in attracting the type of student that it wants" (McGill 1967: 192).

The *McGill Report* also declared "diversity of student background is a positive educational value and should be actively pursued, even at the expense of other desirable attributes" (5). The policies set forth in the report accorded 10% of admissions for the freshmen class be set aside for "special provisions," namely athletes, children of University faculty, staff and employees, children of alumni and "candidates from socially and economically deprived backgrounds, including those from rural areas" (15). Explicitly addressing the dearth of Black students on campus, the *McGill Report* considered the possible limitations of these special provisions, namely that "at the present time the number of applicants in this category, principally negroes, who can meet the minimum standards of acceptability is much smaller than this allotment would accommodate" (28).

The *McGill Report* set the stage for more deliberate diversification of the Penn undergraduate populace. Between 1968 and 1970 Penn led all Ivy League schools in the number of admitted and enrolled Black freshmen, accepting 125 and enrolling 62 during the 1968-1969 academic year (Cass 1969). These numbers more than doubled the following year, when Penn enrolled 150 Black freshmen. Yet these shifts towards progress occurred at the same time that Penn sought to expand its campus northward into the predominantly Black neighborhood of Mantua. The 105 acre tract of land sought by Penn for urban development displaced 574 families, nearly 90 percent of whom were non-White and low-income (Beck and Kerstetter 1967). In this midst of this controversy, the Penn student populace responded with a six day sit-in at College Hall, attended by more than eight hundred people. The communities at stake resisted in their own ways, insisting that the University reciprocate after the removal of hundreds from their homes. One proposed compromise was to admit more African American students; however, it was here that Penn found itself caught between the demands of the African American community and the White students, faculty and staff who feared such admissions would compromise the University's reputation (Glasker 2002), a sentiment present throughout the *McGill Report*. While student activism on college campuses was present across the country during the 1960s, it was in Penn's geographic location and relationship to surrounding communities that issues of racial representation and rights to land ownership manifested in their own unique ways.

As was true on other campuses, Black students at Penn during the 1960s sought to disrupt the Eurocentric foundations of the University curriculum and advocate for the development of courses reflecting their history and culture. While other universities, UC

Santa Barbara included, developed courses or departments in Black or African American studies predominantly taught by White faculty, Penn took a unique approach toward addressing the demands of its students. In May 1965, the University of Pennsylvania developed a partnership with Morgan State College, an Historically Black College in Baltimore, Maryland, funded by a federal grant of $38,000 awarded to Morgan State under Title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965. While a statement from the then-Presidents of both institutions insisted that race was "in no way a pivotal or essential factor in the activities of such a program," the cooperative principally provided lecturers from Morgan State to teach courses in African American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania ("Morgan State to Start Student Exchange Plan" 1966). The partnership would eventually expand to include a student exchange; however, numbers were small (just 7 Morgan State students attended Penn during the Fall 1969 semester) and did little to address the overarching problem: that Penn was a predominantly White school without an established Black Studies program or permanent Black faculty and staff.

After just a few short years of the exchange program, Black students at Penn made their displeasure with the University's efforts clear. During the 1968-1969 academic year, demands were made for the formal development of a Department of Black Studies, complete with resident, tenured instructors, and for the development of a "social center" for Black students (Glasker 2002). To the latter point, Penn's purchase of the Parish House of St. Mary's Episcopal Church in 1969 became a de facto social gathering space for Black students and headquarters for the Society of African and Afro-American Students (SAAS).

The establishment of a Black Studies department, however, was a more complicated matter. While Penn's Black student population had now reached the "critical mass" needed

to engage fruitfully with the administration (Astin, Astin, Bayer and Biconti 1975), members of SAAS, driven by a Black Nationalist approach, proposed a learning center that would be established and run by Blacks for Blacks (Glasker 2002). A separate constituency sought the establishment of a School of Black Studies at Penn that would exist separate from the main campus. While both ideas lacked the support of faculty and the administration, in 1969 a committee was formed to determine the feasibility of an Afro-American Studies program, formally established in 1972. While initially developed as an interdisciplinary program, Afro-American Studies became a program in its own right in 1990, located in the School of Arts and Sciences.

This was followed in 1972 by a proposal from alumna and students to create a residential program for Black students, including the development of intellectual and social programming to mitigate the sense of alienation felt by Black students on a predominantly White campus (Archdeacon 1972). The University rejected the plan on the grounds that it would violate the 14th amendment to the Constitution and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, despite the approval of a series of residential-themed proposals submitted the same year, such as an International Program and East Asia Program. The compromise was the development of a residential center to open in Fall 1972 open to all who, in a statement released by two Vice Provosts, "have a particular interest in and commitment to Black culture, and a particular need for the educational opportunities and services which the Center and its environment will provide" (quoted in Ginsberg 1972:1). Today the W.E.B Du Bois College House is its own freestanding residential hall on Penn's campus, housing roughly 160 students over four floors. The program continues to be open to any undergraduate with an interest in Black culture.

The 1978-1979 academic year saw additional upheaval among Penn students after it had been revealed that Penn was in a $5 million deficit, prompting budget cuts to several programs. Student sit-ins at College Hall followed, as did calls for the President to resign. The SAAS, now the Black Student League (BSL), took this opportunity to call further attention to issues of minority representation and university support by occupying the Franklin Building, the financial hub of the University. In solidarity to their shared struggles, members of the BSL, MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán), the Caribbean American Intercultural Organization, the Chinese Students Association, the Korean Cultural Society and the Japanese American Student League joined forces to form the United Minority Council (Epstein and Manning 1978). The formation of the UMC during the sit-in was a pivotal moment, anchoring together a series of organizations representing minority populations on Penn's campus and adding credibility to their demands: for increased representation of Chicano, Latino, and Asian minorities, the development of a Third World Center, and the hiring of more Black faculty members (Epstein and Manning 1978). All of these demands were eventually agreed to by the administration. It would not be until 1996, after more organized action by students, that Penn would develop an Asian American Studies Program.

In its prestige and international renown, Penn attracts students from around the country and the world. However, the school's long history as a predominantly White institution continues to be challenged by students today. In the fall of 2017, students wrote and distributed a pamphlet during New Student Orientation, titled "Disorientation Guide: The Shit Penn Won't Say.[11]" The booklet includes a series of articles written by current

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[11] The brochure can be accessed online at https://issuu.com/penndisorientation/docs/disorientation.

Penn students, informing their new classmates about Penn's long history of racism and exclusion, and the dynamics of attending a school of marked wealth (Suh 2017). Such collective efforts directly challenge the successes of university initiatives to diversify its student population and to create inclusive and welcoming spaces for underrepresented populations. Like the student of color communities at UC Santa Barbara, Penn students continue to challenge the culture of a university founded for Whites.

Entry into Student of Color Sexual Markets

A legacy of student activism around issues of racial/ethnic minority representation at UC Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania increased representation of racial/ethnic minorities on campus, and triggered the development of student organizations and institutional programs designed to meet the needs of these underrepresented populations. These institutional shifts also enabled the development of student of color sexual markets. Unlike party markets, which are highly visible and maintain their allure as sites of fun and sociality, student of color markets operate first and foremost as spaces of support. However, just like party markets, entry into student of color markets may be facilitated by a combination of institutional arrangements, peer networks and/or individual action. While some women of color described participation in university initiatives which connected them to co-ethnics, others shared their feelings of exclusion or discomfort in predominantly White environments that led them to actively seek out student of color communities. Throughout this analysis I juxtapose the narratives and experiences of women at Penn and UCSB firmly entrenched in student of color sexual markets with those who describe membership in multiple sexual markets. I also consider how the experiences of women of color are shaped by the unique structural and cultural conditions of their respective school.

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Participation in Student of Color Communities

Women of color who developed most of their friendships and spent most of their time in student of color communities shared similar characteristics. These women were most likely to be first-generation college students, to hail from racially segregated working-class backgrounds, and/or to describe feelings of intimidation or culture shock upon arriving on campus. Introduction to student of color communities could be facilitated by university programming or initiatives, peer encouragement to get involved in racial/ethnic interest groups, or were concerted efforts by these women as individuals to find their "home" on campus.

Jessie, a 20-year-old Latina from a predominantly Latino rural town in Central California, described a difficult transition to UCSB. Rooming with three friends from high school her first year, Jessie recalls that "it was easier in that aspect of not missing home because they were my friends from home, it was a piece of home I had." However, when one friend dropped out after her first year and the other found a new group of friends, Jessie found herself without that piece of home, save her hometown boyfriend who had since relocated to Santa Barbara. During her attendance at a large block party in Isla Vista at the beginning of her sophomore year, Jessie came upon a multicultural sorority tabling at the event.

> I was in line for the Ferris wheel and I was there and I was looking at their
> table. They had all their pictures and their letters. I was just staring, I
> genuinely was just staring. And someone came up to me and asked if we had
> heard about them. And I hadn't, I thought this was kind of weird. But she
> gave me a flyer and I was on the Ferris wheel and I told myself I was going

to go, like why not? I knew I needed to make new friends and put myself out

there and this is probably the best way to do that.

According to Jessie, joining the multicultural sorority was "where I felt like I met my

common ground." She moved into a house in Isla Vista with her sisters, which she

describes as "such a safe space for us. It's amazing, it's definitely home." Jessie juxtaposed

her perceptions of the campus climate between her freshman and sophomore years.

I had never seen so many White people in one place. And the first time I

ever really had a conversation with a White person I was in awe. Like you

have blue eyes and you have blonde hair. I was thinking they probably

thought they were better than me because I have brown skin and dark hair.

That is honestly what went through my mind. I was being friendly and I was

hoping to find something bad, because I was thinking you probably think

you know more than me, so I'm hoping you'll say something so that I know

it's true. And this whole Hispanic Serving Institute, it's all very debatable.

But it was a big difference between my first and second year. I see way more

people of color in my second year than in my first year. It changed quickly...

And it's cool because I definitely feel more comfortable. Because my first

year I didn't see any [Latinos/as]. It was rare. But now there are definitely

more people who probably identify as Latino or Latina and it's amazing.

Despite living on a designated multicultural floor in her first-year dorm, which she

described as "a little bit of everything, except White," Jessie wasn't able to find her

"common ground" until happening upon her sorority at the block party. As a senior at the

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time of her interview, Jessie shared that "I don't have a friend who identifies as White. And I probably won't in my fourth year, in all honesty."

Jessie's story contains many of the elements driving women's immersion in student of color communities at UCSB. As a basis for developing close friendships, first-year dorm assignments were a major contributor to how women perceived their transition into school, regardless of race. For women of color, however, these transitions were more apt to be described as a culture shock. Jade, a Chinese junior who lived in the same dormitory as Jessie during her first year, shared "it felt like a lot of people [on my floor] were involved in White Greek life, the Panhellenic ones. So I didn't really feel like I fit in because I came from a Latino and Asian school. So that made me feel very insecure and homesick." Like Jessie, Jade also described "finding a new home" when a friend convinced her to rush an Asian sorority. "I just found that I am more comfortable with being around my own ethnicity and race. I feel like I can connect deeper with them and they understand intersectionality and real world issues."

As an institutional initiative developed to "provide a unique and engaging community experience through themed living options" (UCSB Housing, Dining and Auxiliary Enterprises) Living and Learning Communities (LLC) at UCSB offer a variety of housing options for students around culture and identity (Chican@/Latin@, Asian Pacific Islander, first generation, etc.), and lifestyle (substance-free, outdoor adventure, etc.). Students are able to preference one of these living options in their housing applications, and space is allocated as available. Women of color who lived in an LLC their first year described these environments as hit or miss. Despite living on a multicultural floor, Jessie didn't find her Latino/Hispanic community until joining her sorority, while Jade shared

with me that, in hindsight, she wished she had opted into the Asian/Pacific Islander floor her first year. Jazmine, who is biracial (White and Black), lived on the Black Scholars Floor her first year. She described living in this LLC as equally comforting and disheartening given the dearth of Black students on campus.

> I remember the juxtaposition of coming home and seeing a face full of you
>
> but then going out and not seeing anybody all day. That was tough, but it
>
> was also nice to have a face full of you to come home to, but also tough to
>
> know that you're leaving it [for the day].

Finally, Tracy, a Latina/Mexican-American, described living on a substance-free floor her first year. "It was a bit diverse, mainly an Asian population of girls. And a bit of Caucasian, not too many Latino or Hispanic females so I kind of felt out of place from the start." For these women, LLCs could act as spaces for comfort or isolation.

As an additional institutional initiative stemming from the establishment of UCSB's Educational Opportunity Program in 1966, the Summer Transitional Enrichment Program (STEP) is a one-week residential program designed to facilitate the transition of students in the EOP program into the university (Educational Opportunity Program 2017). Multiple women who counted themselves as immersed in the student of color community at UCSB were graduates of this program. "I did STEP here," shared Diana, a Latina/Hispanic senior from a predominantly Latina hometown. "I met a lot of my friends there, and my friends who have lasted me the entire time I've been here have been from that program." Eventually Diana would also join a multicultural sorority with one of her friends from the STEP program. "I would say that the majority of people I do hang out with are Latina or

Hispanic," she shared, though she acknowledged friendships with her White housemates and some of her African-American sorority sisters.

For women like Diana, institutional programs like STEP "fast-tracked" their immersion into communities of color where they felt comfortable, creating a friendship network forged before the school year formally began. Others described happening upon a racial/ethnic-based student organization or peer group in which they felt most comfortable, often after describing difficult social transitions to a school whose racial composition was markedly different from their high schools and hometowns. "I can feel that I am a minority here," shared Lucy, a Mexican-American transfer student from a California community college. Lucy described how she felt she changed since coming to UC Santa Barbara.

> Coming here I definitely got more shy. I consider myself an extrovert, I'm not shy at all, I don't mind talking in class, in front of people... But coming here I did become more shy. I'm not sure why, maybe I'm intimidated by, I guess, Caucasians. Like if I say something wrong they will automatically think that I'm just dumb. Maybe that's why. But I think that's the only thing that's really changed. I'm more shy, but with my friends I think that I am myself.

Lucy described finding her friends upon taking a job working for Dining Services. "I do have a couple of friends that are Caucasian and they are really cool, they are really nice. But I can't say all of [my friends] are. Most of them are people of color."

Penn women of color from less class-privileged backgrounds described similar experiences with getting "plugged into" Penn's communities of color. Recalling their first years on campus, these women described feelings of isolation which prompted them to join

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racial/ethnic-specific student organizations, or to make other concerted efforts to find community. However, the palpable wealth of Penn's students figured into these women's narratives about acclimating to campus, more so than their UC Santa Barbara counterparts. As an exception, Nicole S., an African-American sophomore, participated in student organizations and had peer groups that firmly entrenched her in multiple sexual markets, which she described as "White Penn, Black Penn and Queer Penn."

Stephanie, a Hispanic Guatemalan sophomore from northern California, spoke of her attendance at Penn as a happy accident of sorts.

> I wasn't originally going to apply here. I wasn't going to originally apply anywhere. When I went to high school I did community college at the same time. I graduated with a liberal arts degree from there. So what I was going to do was just go back to the community college, graduate maybe as a nurse or a cosmetologist or something. A trade, I guess.

It was Stephanie's dad who prodded her to apply to Penn. "I got dared to apply, my dad was like, you can't get into one of these," she explained, laughing. "So I chose the first name that popped up and it happened to be Penn. I applied early decision and I got in. So after that I was just kind of like why not? I got a lot of financial aid and I have never been to the East Coast, I had never been anywhere, so I kind of just ended up here."

Stephanie's path to Penn was certainly the exception to the rule among Penn women, most of whom detailed diligent preparation on the part of parent and student alike to ensure they attended a top-tier school. Describing her first year at Penn, Stephanie continued, "The first thing that hit me was the culture shock, I guess. The part of California that I live in, it's 80 to 90% Hispanic, I was used to that. Then I come here and it's a PWI

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[predominantly White institution], so it was a culture shock." Stephanie, who described all

of her friends as people of color, described her core network to be drawn from various

corners of campus, to include seminar classes and friends of friends. However, it was her

participation in student organizations where Stephanie says she found her niche. "When I

first got here I joined all of the Latino clubs, like the Dominican group. I am not Dominican

but I still joined it... this was all at the beginning of the year when I was still pretty

uncomfortable, so I was kind of just looking for something familiar that I was used to."

For Stephanie, the importance of cultural familiarity became important following

interactions with a Penn student population where wealth is palpable "across the racial

spectrum." She described this for me further.

> There are some cultures that I'm not really comfortable, maybe not
>
> comfortable, but I don't really know much about it, I have never really been
>
> around those cultures. Some of the backgrounds of people, they have kind of
>
> had a lot more opportunities than others. They kind of show it off a little bit.
>
> I'm not really sure how to put it, but... It's just something where you hear it,
>
> you see it, it can get a little annoying.

An African-American sophomore from Tennessee, Naomi, described making a

deliberate effort to find seek out a Black roommate for her first year at Penn. "Since I live

in the South there's always some problematic thing happening," she explained. "So I just

thought to avoid any type of complications like that I would just find a Black roommate."

Naomi found her roommate through use of a messaging application for Penn's Black pre-

freshmen, which facilitated some of her friendships. "[My roommate] did something called

Africana, which is a summer program for Black freshmen, and I couldn't go because I lived

so far... But she met a lot of girls through that. They came in with a group of friends so I clung to that." Like Stephanie, Naomi also described the palpable wealth of Penn's students, particularly within the Black community. "A lot of the Black students here come from… they probably don't consider that they come from money, but I would say they come from money compared to me," she explained. "But I still made good friends," she continued. "And I found a couple friends from my socioeconomic background."

Another African-American sophomore, Nicole S., detailed a different social transition to Penn. Having attended an all-girls boarding school in Connecticut, which she described as "predominantly White," Nicole came to make friends across Penn's White, queer and Black communities. Nicole described her impetus for involvement in the Black community at Penn to be partially driven by her family's history of membership in Black fraternities and sororities. Sharing that her mother is a member of her sorority chapter and her father a member of an affiliated fraternity, Nicole stated that "I have always known that I wanted to join a sorority." While Nicole's "in" into the Black community at Penn was partially driven by familial networks, other women, like Stephanie and Naomi, described the dual experience of negotiating a predominantly White campus where students of color were perceived to be well-to-do, a jarring contrast from their lives pre-Penn.

Opting Out or Feeling Left Out: On Non-Belonging in Student of Color Communities

For some women, finding communities of color was an affirming experience and facilitated an easier transition into campus life. Whether the process of finding these communities was aided by institutional programming or engagement with racially similar peer groups, involvement produced a marked shift in levels of comfort and felt support. Women who

recalled these types of experiences tended to hail from predominantly racial minority communities, and were often first generation college students.

In comparison, women of color who were not involved in student of color communities on their campus detailed very different forms of engagement with students. Women at UC Santa Barbara described efforts to find peer groups based on identities other than race or ethnicity, or explained their experience as transfer students partially informed how they approached making friends. Marie, a first generation Hispanic/Latina who described feeling homesick her first year, shared how she eventually came to find her peer groups at the tail end of her freshman year after joining the cheer team.

> I didn't really make friends, which is completely unlike me... [and] my
> spring quarter of my first year I was on academic probation. So everything
> was tough... I kind of snapped out of it late May. I thought I have to stop
> living like this and snap out of it. And I had cheered [in high school], so I
> tried out for the cheer team.... and that's what shifted my whole perspective
> on UCSB...I went from having no friends to walking through campus and
> knowing so many people now.

Others described making friends after joining university organizations which plugged them into the party market, the path of least resistance for students at UC Santa Barbara. This included Jenn, an Asian senior whose best friends were drawn from her freshman dormitory. She recalled a party-heavy first year with her best friend. "[The partying] started out weekly, then got multi-weekly. I remember me and [her] counted once that we went out eight or nine nights in a row." Following a DUI arrest, Jenn took some time off of school before coming back and making a concerted effort to distance herself

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from the party market. This included developing friendships with women in the Christian community at UCSB, whom she described as "a really good group of girls. They have a good balance, it's not one extreme over the other."

Alex F., a biracial upper-middle-class transfer student from the Bay Area who rushed a Panhellenic sorority at the beginning of the academic year, described her decision to be less socially than pre-professionally driven.

> I'm not looking for a sorority to be coddled... I already knew from talking to some people that it is a good way to network. Especially if you join a sorority that has a good national standing... So it was definitely my number one reason, this is good networking and I have to join a good sorority with national standing.

At the time of her interview, Alex had only been a student at UCSB for a month, but had a steady routine of attending one to two fraternity parties per week. Similarly, Rachel, an Asian American transfer student from nearby Santa Barbara City College, was also immersed in UCSB's party market, facilitated by a prior relationship with a member of one of UCSB's IFC fraternities. As a densely populated town predominantly occupied by UC Santa Barbara and Santa Barbara City College students, Rachel had prior exposure to the UCSB party network before transferring. Having maintained most of her friendships from her prior institution, Rachel suggested that she would continue to attend UCSB parties, especially since, "a lot of my friends that I had from the CC who transferred over are going Greek [at UCSB]."

For women of color at UCSB who were not firmly entrenched in student of color communities, finding their niche on campus did not involve seeking out racially similar

others. Unlike their peers who described seeking co-ethnics or joining racial/ethnic student organizations, these women described having peer groups drawn largely from propinquity – such as living in the same dormitory freshman year – or from joining non-racially-specific student organizations on campus. These women were also more likely to experience the predominant funneling process into the campus' party market, and less apt to describe their frequenting of these spaces as uncomfortable or exclusionary in nature. While Marie described feeling isolated and lonely her first year, experiences shared by her peers who eventually joined multicultural sororities, her basis for finding common ground at UC Santa Barbara was steeped in her cheer background. Transfer students of color were most likely to describe immersion in the party market, a process that may be partially explained by their entry into college with advanced undergraduate standing. Transfers described a marked difficulty in finding friends, feeling that most students had solidified their peer groups during their freshmen year. In ways similar to freshmen, these women described the party market as the easiest and most enticing means from which to interact with others.

Women of color at Penn who described having racially diverse peer groups were more likely to explicitly state their "dislike" for the segregation of student communities along racial or ethnic lines. As the daughters of educated, wealthy parents, these women described schooling backgrounds suggesting their engagement with class-privileged and/or White peers prior to their entry to Penn. These experiences were reflected in their peer networks and participation in student organizations.

These women's perceptions of the campus racial climate reveals how social class intersects with race to inform how students of color view themselves in relationship to the White, upper-middle-class mainstream student culture. Upper-middle-class women of color

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were more likely to join student groups or form social networks within Penn's party market, and to describe the segregation of students along racial lines as intimidating, a negative feature of Penn life, or to be at odds with their ideals of diversity and multiculturalism. To this latter point, these women described not wanting to "limit themselves" to one racial group, or dubbed themselves "open" to students of all backgrounds.

Jill, a Chinese senior from Canada who attended a "pretty rigorous," small private women's high school, recalled making the decision to study business when she was a child, and decided she would attend Penn her freshmen year of high school. She described a smooth transition to college and thrived upon meeting new people, describing herself as "96% extrovert." Jill's peer groups were mostly derived from her classes, her freshmen dormitory and her involvement with multiple clubs within the business school, to include her co-ed business fraternity. On her thoughts about racial/ethnic communities on campus, Jill shared

> That is something that I do not like about Penn... ethnicities silo themselves.
> There is the Latino club, the Black club... It's this weird culture of everyone
> sticks to their own ethnicity.... People silo themselves and it is something
> that I dislike and I do not prefer to get involved with.

A Taiwanese/Chinese junior, Cecilia, decided to join a Panhellenic sorority her first year at Penn. Having arrived at college in a long-distance relationship (which had since ended), Cecilia credited her rush experience and match with her sorority with helping her find "what I call the good people, people to invest my time in." Like her counterparts firmly entrenched in student of color communities, Cecilia also mentioned the "wealth disparity" at Penn. However, she described the palpable wealth of sorority-hopefuls to inform her

approach to rush in ways which suggest her possession of the resources needed to blend in with these women.

> I saw women with really expensive bags and jewelry. Which there is nothing
> wrong with, but you can see it… I found myself doing that too, I carried
> around my most expensive bag, because they are sort of judging you based
> on what you are wearing and how you look.

Describing the rush experience as "a really shallow process," Cecilia decided to join a sorority that emphasized its philanthropy, which she felt aligned best with her values. When I asked her if she had considered rushing a multicultural sorority, Cecilia responded

> Not really. I felt like closing myself off to an entire race... on my part it
> could be very close minded and not very diverse. I thought closing myself
> off to one race… was not conducive to the college experience. Its fine if
> other people choose to... it is just personally something I would never do.

> Describing her friend groups as "very diverse," Layla, a Black senior whose father

had received his doctorate and Juris Doctor from Penn, found her first year experience to be "surprisingly easy." Layla attributed this in part to living in one of Penn's College Houses. "The building I was living in was specifically interested in languages... my roommates were random but I liked that they were multiethnic and multiracial... My building is known as the dorm that people forget because we are the weird ones," she explained, laughing. "But I like that my friends are passionate, maybe a little strange, but just cool normal people." Citing that her friends from her dorm were not party oriented, Layla viewed joining a Panhellenic sorority as a gateway to a different type of social experience. "Technically it's a Panhellenic, "White" sorority, but by far the most racially and ethnically diverse of the

Panhellenic sororities," she explained. Along with her involvement in dance groups both on and off campus, Layla shared "the network of my closest friends is very diverse... I feel more comfortable being around people of all backgrounds, not just people of one racial or ethnic background."

For Jill, Cecilia and Layla, involvement in various student communities at Penn was the foundation for a "diverse" college experience. Nicole S., who described herself as immersed in Penn's Black, White and queer communities, shared similar sentiments to these women, explaining "being that I did go to a predominantly White boarding school and I am now in a predominantly White institution, I definitely value diversity a lot more than I value being solely in a group that you identify with." With the exception of Nicole, a member of a Black sorority, these women also described membership in racially or ethnically-specific organizations or spaces as antithetical to diversity or multiculturalism, despite their formal membership in Greek life, a network historically rooted in efforts to distance White students from their racial/ethnic minority peers.

Each of these women also described relatively smooth transitions to Penn, suggesting their possession of the "right" forms of capital – social, cultural and economic – to fit in with the dominant Penn populace. Despite identifying as middle or upper-middle class, these women also made efforts to mention the class diversity of their peer groups, rather than their segregation among the wealthy. Layla, who self-identified as from an upper-middle-class background, described the Penn student population as "very wealthy," before adding "I lived in an upper class suburban neighborhood... I'm pretty sure the average median income of Penn student families is $440,000, last time I checked... not my friends, my friends tend to be of lower socioeconomic status *like me* [emphasis mine]."

While each reflected on the segregation of students of color as a feature of campus life that they didn't like, these women also described this segregation as one of personal choice, rather than a product of a predominantly White campus environment. Considerations of the isolating effects of the Penn campus that may be driving racial segregation was missing from these narratives.

Racial Authenticity in White Spaces: The Politics of Student of Color Markets

In ways similar to entry into the party market, membership in student of color markets is predicated on having the "right" credentials. As detailed in Chapter 2, erotic currency is the basis for entry to party sexual markets, measured by one's femininity, dress, and overall appearance. While student of color markets operate primarily as spaces of support and friendship in a predominantly White environment, the narratives of women of color on both campuses who shared unsuccessful attempts to enter student of color communities, or described shifting relationships to these communities over time, reveal how both intracommunity and intercommunity racial politics contribute to the boundaries between party sexual markets and multiple, racially segregated student of color sexual markets (Warikoo 2007).

Internally, student of color sexual markets are marked by a process of "cultural status positioning," where individuals must perform an authenticity work to assert their belongingness in spaces and social networks occupied by other co-ethnics (Carter 2003). Authenticity work is a dynamic process, involving behavior, actions and ideas (Jackson 2001; Peterson 1997). The continual obligation to assert one's racial authenticity and justify membership in their communities also informed how women of color made decisions about their sexual partnerships, to include their perceived options for "boundary crossing" into

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alternative sexual markets. As a multiracial woman, Jazmine reflected at length on her shifting relationship to the Black community over her four years at UCSB.

> Who I am as a Black woman now is nowhere near who I was as a Black woman four years ago. Being Black is an identity that I've always been cognizant of, always been very conscious and aware [of]. However, I think the in-depth knowledge behind it has increased so much and my understanding of it and my understanding of myself, what it means to me to be a Black woman, has completely changed.

For Jazmine, cognizance of her Black identity became salient during her junior year, when she returned to the Black Scholars Floor, an LLC she had lived in during her freshman year, to serve as the community's Resident Assistant (RA). She described the experience as eye-opening.

> I knew that I was being talked about in the greater community. They weren't really happy with the fact that I stuck to my guns and the rules in the position because I think what had happened in the past was they treat it [RA job] like a community position, a collaboration. But people didn't really want to collaborate with me...I just found it kind of tough and I was hearing things like "oh yeah, she's a good RA, but she's not really down for the community." And this is also in a place where everybody is kind of discovering their consciousness and exploring their own Blackness and in regards to colorism, they were probably like "Oh well she's light skinned, she's from the suburbs, she's nice, she's steeped in one of UCSB's

institutions, Housing, so she's going to be sticking to her guns - okay, that's

a display of Whiteness right there." I just felt really challenged.

Jazmine's reflections on her relationship to the Black community are poignant, and

reveal how multiple indicators of racial authenticity – skin color, place of upbringing,

membership in White institutions, and perceived lack of investment in the Black

community – marked her as an outsider. Jazmine also shared her perceptions of the current

climate around race, both on and off of campus, and how this informs notions of racial

authenticity.

With social media and technology and everything that has been going on

with Black Lives Matter and the Naturalista [natural hair] movement, now

you have artists like Beyoncé dropping visual albums and political songs

asserting a love for Blackness. This is a time where everybody is going to be

a little more on their toes – are you Black enough? More so than I think ever

before. And it's tough because that recognition of people being on a

spectrum and still exploring their identity is something that I think really

doesn't come into play. It's like you either show up or you're out.

Black women at Penn who described non-participation in the Black community

shared similar sentiments about what constitutes authenticity in this community. "Even

though I am Black, I never really felt that I belonged with predominantly Black or

completely Black groups," shared Layla. "And I am not the only one, I have friends who

share that sentiment with me. Because any group that is about celebrating certain cultures,

they tend to isolate people who don't fit certain criteria, I guess what people believe is a

symbol of that culture." For Nicole S., being part of a formal social network within the

Black community – namely, membership in an historically Black sorority – was a prerequisite to feeling fully immersed in Black Penn.

> I didn't feel comfortable going to Makuu [the Black Cultural Center on campus] my first semester. Pretty much all of my first year I didn't feel comfortable going to Makuu to hang out, which is what most of my other friends did. Because I didn't feel like I was fully welcome there... I wasn't fully indulged in Black Penn that I felt like I could go there. So I think being a part of a Black Greek organization automatically put me in that group, where I am automatically welcome in that space.

Nicole's prior feelings of apprehension align with Naomi's discussion of how having White peer groups as a Black student at Penn can problematize how you are viewed by others in the community.

> There is a division between the Black people who actually hang out with Black people and the Black people who try to have a diverse group of friends. Or they join White sororities or fraternities. Or they only hang out with White people. They're kind of ostracized by our community. So yeah, there's that type of division. Because our community is really small here. So if you see someone you don't recognize you think, oh, they must be with the White people all the time.

> While placing herself firmly within the Black community, Naomi shared how her authenticity has been questioned by others due to her friendships with White students and her decision to live in the Quad, a grouping of on-campus dormitories associated with the predominantly White party market. Naomi counters these accusations with her own claims

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to a Black authenticity, positioning these claims in relationship to others in Penn's Black community.

> A lot of the Black people put up a front, they say they have lived experiences that they really haven't. There's this big thing where they will try to see, "oh, are you Black enough?" So I feel it's a constant competition sometimes, to prove that you're Black enough, even though... this is so bad to say, but in my view, a lot of the Black people [here] just aren't for me. But because I lived in the Quad and because I had a diverse group of friends and stuff, people would be like 'oh, who's she?' Because I had White friends. But my lived experiences were "Blacker" than a lot of theirs.

Explaining herself further, Naomi shared that being Black enough includes "giving off a certain aura, liking certain music and TV shows... to me it sounds bad, but to me I wouldn't say necessarily being poor, but at least knowing some sort of struggle." Naomi described her struggle living with her mother and several members of her family in a small house in Tennessee. While her mother had since become a professor, Naomi suggested her family's advancement in class status does not erase the struggle which preceded it. "We are kind of better off now, but not really because she's a single mom and it's my two little sisters. So when I had a job back home I would give her some of my money to help. But we're pretty well off now – well enough off."

On a campus marked by wealth, Naomi worked to distance herself from other Black students at Penn, who she describes as "part of a minority of Black people in America... they're well off, or at least their parents are, so it's a little bit different for them. But as long as you seem Black enough here, at our campus, it's fine." Significantly, Naomi suggests

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being "Black enough" at Penn is different than being Black enough off campus, attributing this difference to the palpable wealth of most of the school's students. Naomi places Black authenticity in contradistinction to upper-middle-class status, the latter of which suggests assimilation into White middle-class culture (Jackson 2001), though for Penn's wealthy Black population association with other co-ethnics is a means to "seem Black enough here, at our campus."

Naomi's distinction between her experiences and those of her middle-upper-class Black peers reflect what Neckerman and colleagues (1999) have termed *minority cultures of mobility*, or those cultural elements distinctive to a minority group used to negotiate economic mobility in spaces of discrimination and disadvantage. For middle- to upper-middle-class Blacks, economic mobility is largely predicated on engagement with the White mainstream, an alternative form of performativity which might be read as antithetical to racial authenticity. While Naomi acknowledges her friendships with White students and living in the Quad, a marked White space, she counterbalances these affiliations by asserting her lived experiences as the daughter of a single mother in the American south, distancing herself from her Black peers who have not known "some type of struggle."

Other women across both campuses detailed efforts to get connected with communities of color with varying levels of success. Some of these women rooted their apprehension in their understanding of who "belonged" in these communities. Chelsea, a transfer student at Penn, recalled her inability to connect with other Asians on her previous campus, a difficulty she attributes to cultural differences.

The Asian population, it would be easy to meet people and connect

with them, but not necessarily connect with a certain identity

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depending on what type of Asian you are. A lot of the Asians I knew

were still very ingrained in the culture they came from. The Korean

identity was a huge part of who they were. Whereas my Vietnamese

and Chinese identity is not a huge part of who I am. But I still grew

up in an Asian culture in terms of parenting. So it was a little bit

harder, I didn't really meet anybody who is Asian who I connected

with.

Talia, who identified as Filipino and Caucasian, described her experiences with

attending Filipino club meetings at UCSB as a multiracial woman. Having heard about the

campus' Filipino club while in high school, Talia recalled thinking "that is so great, I want

to participate." However, she described feeling out of place once she began attending

meetings.

Everybody was really nice and there was nothing wrong with it, but I am

interracial, I am half Filipino, half White, and I feel like with the ethnic

clubs it's kind of hard being in them when you are not fully ethnic. And that

has just been something that I have dealt with all my life. The club was cool,

I just didn't feel like I fit in, I wasn't Filipino enough.

Talia further characterized what it meant to be "Filipino enough" in terms of upbringing

and language, citing "[the club members] had experiences that I could not relate to. Or a lot

of them spoke Tagalog they learned in their homes and I only knew a couple words." While

authenticity in the Black community is steeped in a recognition of America's long history

of discrimination toward African Americans, Chelsea and Talia's experiences highlight the

importance of ties to their heritage, such as speaking the language or the salience of their

ethnic identity, for engagement with the Asian communities on campus. For Talia, this politics of authenticity was further complicated by her multi-racial identity.

Interestingly, the Latina/Hispanic women I interviewed at UCSB, most of whom were members of multicultural or Latina interest sororities, did not describe the need to perform authenticity work when forging connections with other Latino/Hispanic students. Rather, these women described their participation in multicultural circles in juxtaposition to the predominant White culture on campus, using these spaces to forge friendships with other women from similar racial or ethnic backgrounds. With multicultural Greek life comprising just one segment of the Hispanic/Latino/a population at UC Santa Barbara, these dynamics may prove different within other corners of the Hispanic/Latino/a community on campus, especially given the long history of student activism around Chicano/a identity. It is significant that none of the women I interviewed self-described as Chicana, a more politically-charged identity. While a politics of authenticity might be more palpable within the Chicano/a student community at UC Santa Barbara, this study lacks the data needed to make this determination.

Additionally, the University of California system's admittance of the majority of its students from within the state may contribute a Latino/a population of students that is less diversified in its ethnic and geographic background than is found on other campuses. This is in contradistinction to the University of Pennsylvania, who admits a more heterogeneous Latino/Hispanic population, to include a significant international population. For Stephanie, an Hispanic/Guatemalan who was raised in California, the heterogeneity of the Latino/Hispanic population was a marked departure from her hometown.

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Back in California everyone is Mexican. So there is not really that kind of

difference but here there is Dominican, there is Puerto Rican, Central

America, Mexico, Spain, there is everything, so there is a huge difference.

Especially Latinos, we tend to segregate each other. Are you *really* Latino?

Do you speak Spanish, do you not? Were you born there, were you born in

America? Not only that but are you from Mexico, are you from Spain... I

didn't really feel the disconnect until I started talking to some international

Hispanics.

Stephanie's juxtaposition of her experience as a Hispanic at Penn with the experiences of

the Latina/Hispanic women at UC Santa Barbara points to the influence of school

geography and demographics for how racialized boundaries are developed, and how

authenticity work is enacted, across institutional contexts.

Sex and Relationships in Student of Color Markets

The women of color I interviewed spoke of their relationship to other students and their

embeddedness (or distance from) student of color communities in ways that affirm their

recognition of student of color sexual markets separate from the mainstream party sexual

market. As these women describe, language, upbringing, skin color, ethnicity and

orientation toward political and social issues are all sources of racial capital determining

how they are perceived by their co-ethnic peers. Membership in student of color

communities also proved influential for how these women experienced dating, sex and

relationships on a predominantly White campus.

Black women at both schools described a politics of respectability tied to their

sexual behaviors, such as pressures to only date within their race, not mirrored in the

experiences of their Asian American or Latina counterparts. These racial differences must be placed within the context of broader race relations in America, especially with regard to African-Americans' continued underrepresentation within higher education and an ongoing history of discrimination. In her study of the experiences of educated Latinos and Asian Americans, O'Brien (2008) posits an assimilative process to mainstream (read, White) America in ways not mirrored among African Americans. Decreased stigmatization of interracial relationships for Latinos and Asian Americans is also part of this assimilative process, one not mirrored within the Black community. In this way, an intracommunity politics of authenticity also informs women of color's decisions regarding sexual partnerships on their campus.

Historically Black fraternities play a central role on Penn's campus, hosting organized gatherings for members of the Black community. While this parallels the influence of historically White fraternities in Penn's mainstream party market, Black fraternity parties were described as smaller gatherings, comprised of individuals networked in the Black community. As Nicole S. explained it, "generally only the people that are coming are people that are already friends with them [the chapter hosting the party], which is why my first semester I didn't know about all of the parties... finding someone of color who I was able to meet and talk to was a little bit harder." The importance of membership in the Black community for knowledge of and access to its gatherings is in stark contrast to White fraternity parties, which are widely advertised and "open" to all (though gender ratios and "sex appeal" are important variables determining the likelihood of entry).

While Penn's Black student population is small in relationship to other racial/ethnic groups on campus, the school's location in a large urban city that is home to over a dozen

four-year universities is an important geographic feature contributing to the extension of the Black social network onto other campuses. Drexel University, which shares a southern border with Penn's campus, and Temple University, located three miles to the north of Penn's campus, were specifically named as proximate schools with sizable Black student populations. As Naomi shared,

> Because our Black community is so small we talk to the other Black communities at the different schools. I don't really go to the White parties off campus or outside of Penn, but sometimes our Black frats will have something, or the Black frats at Drexel or Temple... or in general Temple just holds a lot of parties with Black people, it's like a Black people party, and it will be off campus and it won't even be a frat party or anything like that, but all of the Black people know about it and just decide to go together.

She further explained advertisement for these parties was generally through word of mouth or social media, necessitating membership in the Black community to have knowledge of these gatherings. Partnerships with other Black communities on nearby campuses was unique to the Black community at Penn. Women who were immersed in the party market and/or who attended White fraternity parties did not describe attending parties at other campuses, most likely because the numerical and physical size of this market did not necessitate its extension to other schools.

Naomi further described her and her friends' attendance at other campus parties as partially driven by the lopsided gender ratio of the Black community at Penn.

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This year was the first time we went to a Temple party and we found that

there were a lot of girls from Penn there. But not a lot of guys. And we just

kind of thought it was because, at the Penn parties because our school is so

small the Black girls kind of get a reputation after awhile. So they just

decide to go to Temple instead.

Because the Black sexual market is network-based and numerically smaller, Black women

described having to tread carefully in their decisions about dating and relationships.

Women could avoid gaining a "reputation" in the Black community by exercising

discretion when sexually partnering with other Black students on campus, or, as Naomi

shared, by expanding their "search radius" beyond Penn's market. Layla, a Black woman

who was in a relationship with a graduate student at another Philadelphia-area school,

shared her reflections on the limitations for Black students when it came to dating on

campus. "You don't want to be known for hooking up," she explained.

When it comes to hooking up you don't want to hook up with someone

that's in the community, and if you do its very hush hush. So you better be in

a whole relationship with them because you don't want that reputation, or

you have to go to a different school [to find a relationship].

By dating someone outside of her school Layla was able to avoid these pressures; however,

she described how this did not make her fully immune to rumors.

There is no privacy. Even for someone like me, I am not in the community

but I have this drama with this guy who is in the community and someone

spread all of these rumors about us to the entire Black community at Penn.

And for him it was awful because he is in the community. And I didn't feel

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it because I am not in the community. But yeah, basically you have to tread

water if you are going to have a sexual relationship with someone in a

certain ethnic or racial community.

This culture of sexual discretion within the Black community aligns with women's

perceptions of Black social events, such as parties, as less overtly sexual spaces. This is in

contradistinction to White fraternity parties, where the presumed goal is finding a hookup.

"I definitely would say that I do feel comfortable at the Black fraternities and sororities,"

shared Nicole S. "I'm sure this is not statistically correct but I feel safer that I would not be

assaulted at a Black frat party than at a White frat party. I think that is partially because of

the environment, partially because of the whole ratios thing [at White frats]." While the

relative insularity of the Black community may contribute to feelings of safety in party

environments, this also necessitates greater tact when initiating a sexual encounter in these

spaces. Naomi shared that her approach to sexual partnering shifted between her freshman

and sophomore years after learning what not to do in the Black sexual market, namely

leaving a party or dancing closely with a male in plain sight. Describing her arrangement

with a current hookup partner, she explained,

I met him at a party... last year he went to all the Penn parties – we wouldn't

necessarily dance together, we danced together at one party and that was a

bad idea, because people see. People talk. But he would go to a party, I

would go to the same party, and then later on he would just come to my

place. And so that worked out fine.

Naomi's descriptions of her sexual encounters with Black men on campus illustrates

how members come to learn the nuances and unexplained "rules" of a particular sexual

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market. While her freshman year she would leave Black fraternity parties with men –
"before [I knew] the ramifications of having a reputation," she explained – Naomi had since
learned that "our Black community is way too small for that," adjusting her approach to
ensure her sexual liaisons remained private. She further shared that being "too active"
opens one up to reprimand by others in the community, a dynamic she describes as
especially present in the Du Bois House, the Black cultural dormitory on campus.

> If you are constantly drinking or you go to a party and you look really bad or
> people know you're hooking up with multiple people, they feel comfortable
> enough to go up to you and say, "hey you need to stop, you're looking bad."
> I have a couple friends who that has happened to them... so when it comes to
> bringing guys back to your place or anything like that someone will always
> see because it is so small.

Naomi's descriptions of self-regulating her behavior, as well as the tendency for
other members of the community to address members who are "looking bad," are nuances
of the Black sexual market rooted in the size of Penn's Black community. Ray and Rosow
(2010) find similar dynamics in their study of Black fraternity men at a predominantly
White institutions. The authors attribute their findings to the "normative institutional
arrangements" of schools, such as community size and campus housing options.
Recognizing the size of their community on campus, Black fraternity men adopted less
sexually objectifying approaches to women in comparison to their White fraternity
counterparts. While the Black men had a vested interest in maintaining a respectable
reputation among the school's Black women, White males were absolved of this concern
given their larger pool of potential sexual partners.

Significantly, none of the Latina/Hispanic women at UC Santa Barbara described pressures from their co-ethnics to be discreet about their sexual relationships. Even though they also described their communities as small, where "everyone knows everyone," their experiences hooking up with men were not accompanied by fears of gaining a reputation. If anything, belonging to the same racial/ethnic social circles created convenient opportunities for sexual partnerships. Diana, a Latina/Hispanic in a multicultural sorority who was in a "complicated" relationship with an ex-boyfriend at the time of her interview, reflected on her hookups with men at UCSB, most of whom were members of multicultural fraternities. She describes the multicultural Greek community as "really small. And you always see everyone you know. And you find that here so many people that you know hookup with the same people you have hooked up with. It's weird, but it's true." Another sorority member recalled one of her hookup encounters, sharing "I met him at a party. And we just made out that night, but I knew I was going to see him again because it's the same circle." Sofia, another multicultural sorority member, shared that she had met her current boyfriend through a date party held by her organization, and that they were introduced by mutual friends. For these women, the overwhelming majority of their sexual partners were also Latino or Hispanic, found through movement within similar circles.

Hispanic and Latina women who were involved in multicultural or Latina-interest sororities at UC Santa Barbara also described greater control over their social gatherings, to include hosting their own parties separate of fraternity chapters. This is in juxtaposition to the White and Black communities on both campuses, where male fraternities hosted the gatherings. Like the Black student sexual market at Penn, the dynamics of the Hispanic/Latino sexual market at UCSB are shaped by campus geography, though

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institutional regulation of student organizations also plays a role. Multicultural and Latina interest sororities lack official chapter houses in Isla Vista, an immense cost that requires sufficient membership and alumni funding to maintain. Additionally, at the time of my interviews with women at UC Santa Barbara several Latino interest fraternities were recently disbanded. These two factors contributed to market conditions very different from that of White Greek life. As Sofia explained, "it has changed over the years, the multicultural Greek life. We lost two multicultural fraternities so I feel like it is the sororities having the parties now." The shared responsibility of hosting parties in the multicultural circuit was not just within Hispanic/Latino circles. Jade, a member of an Asian interest sorority at UCSB, described attending Asian fraternity parties, but also shared that "the girls do throw parties too." This is in distinction to the National Panhellenic Council's regulations, which prohibit historically White sororities from hosting parties in their official chapter houses.

Combined with the relative seclusion of multicultural Greek houses from the "heart" of the Del Playa party district in Isla Vista, these conditions contribute to a Hispanic/Latino sexual market environment less characterized by the gender ratios, binge drinking and hooking up favored by the party sexual market. The ability of multicultural sororities to host their own parties permits these women a level of control over the guest list and conditions of the party in ways not afforded to their Panhellenic counterparts. Jessie, a Latina, shared, "at our house we need to know everyone who is in our house. We don't just have a random person. We've kicked out people from our homes." The relatively gender balanced approach to hosting parties within the Latino/a and multicultural Greek circles at UCSB may contribute to less risky situations, in addition to affording women a level of

control over which men they associate with. Nancy suggested as much when she described

a rare partnership with a White fraternity.

> All of the multicultural parties that I go to, they are all Latino. All the people
>
> we socialize with as a sorority, they are all multicultural. We actually
>
> recently had one social [with an IFC fraternity] and I don't think it went too
>
> well. My sorority stands for women empowerment. And these are very
>
> misogynistic pledges. So they were miserable, and it was interesting.

Like Black Greek parties at Penn, social networks figure into entry, where mass

texts serve as advertisement for Latina / multicultural parties at UCSB. The low-key

advertising of these parties, and their location in less high-traffic areas of Isla Vista,

contribute to social environments marked by familiarity. "I feel like everybody runs into

everybody at these parties," shared Nancy. "And a lot of people party hop so you see one

group of people and another group of people, and you know all of them. Some of them are

in the same orgs living in different houses. So it's a small community within a really large

community partying together." Jessie echoed this dynamic, as well as her aversion to IV's

White Greek party scene.

> It's the same inner circle. The same inner circle within the multicultural
>
> Greek community. It's very specific because we will only go to each other's
>
> parties. We won't ever go to a party at one of those houses with the letters
>
> on it, *never.* I don't even know how those work in all honesty.

As the only Hispanic woman I interviewed at Penn, Stephanie's experiences may

not be typical of other Hispanic or Latina women on her campus. However, her descriptions

of the sexual market for Hispanic/Latina women at Penn was similar in some respects to

that of Black women at Penn. Stephanie's peer groups were largely drawn from the Hispanic and Black communities at Penn, which she described as typical and partially attributed to the demographics of the student population. "Hispanic and African-American communities, they overlap a lot," she shared. "There are a lot of Dominican students and they kind of consider themselves half Hispanic/half Black... and also, a lot of Hispanic students just overlap with the Black community a lot." Given the large Dominican presence and the Hispanic population's shared minority status at Penn, this overlap may be another means to extend social and sexual networks on campuses where Whiteness predominates. Stephanie shared that all of her hookup partners had been Hispanic or African men, but that a minority of her partners had been found on Penn's campus (mostly through White fraternity parties). Instead, Stephanie described partnerships with Hispanic men who attended nearby community colleges or who were not currently students, signaling her membership in multiple sexual markets within Philadelphia.

Interracial Dating and Student of Color Sexual Markets

Women of color at Penn and UCSB also reflected on the dynamics of interracial dating on a predominantly White campus. These women voiced concerns about being fetishized by White students, rooted in historic conceptions about women of color as exotic or, conversely, as intimidating or unattractive (Chou 2012; Collins 2005; Garcia 2012; Roberts 1998). Consistent with intracommunity pressures to avoid gaining a reputation, interracial dating was described as less acceptable for Black women. Asian-American and Hispanic women were less apt to describe trepidation about dating or forging sexual relationships with partners outside of their race, though they did describe feeling fetishized by White

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students. Melanie G. shared how her sexual behavior as an Asian woman was perceived by her White peers at Penn her freshman year.

> The hookup culture wasn't new to me. I lost my virginity when I was 15.
> And a lot of people in my hall were still virgins... And I was an Asian girl
> too, and being Asian at an Ivy League means that you are bookish, really
> really smart. So I don't know, I feel like that was a culture shock to some
> people that I met. Some people thought I was mixed. It was like no, I am
> Asian. I am Asian mixed, but I am Asian.

Melanie's reflections on how Asians are perceived on Penn's campus – "bookish, really really smart" – presumes that this intellectualism is paired with a disinterest in sex. As someone who was open about her sexual behaviors and attractions, Melanie presented an alternative representation of Asian women that led some to read her as mixed-race – perhaps in an effort to explain her comfort with hooking up, or as Melanie puts it, "engaging in debauchery." Melanie added, "people of color are definitely seen as exotic [on campus]. Yellow fever is totally a thing. There is this boy that I know, he is Caucasian. Freshmen year he strictly hooked up with Asian girls." These competing narratives of the bookish, asexual Asian woman and the hypersexual Asian woman permeated Melanie G.'s recollection of her experiences on Penn's campus. As described in Chapter 2, Melanie was invited to exclusive parties in the party market's elite "Scene," which she believes was "because I was perceived as cool, not your typical Asian."

Compared to their Asian American or Latina peers, Black women on both campuses detailed very different dynamics when it came to interracial dating or sex. If they did enter into an interracial relationship, the same rules of dating within the Black community

applied: keep it quiet. This was true for Naomi, who developed a consistent hookup arrangement with a White male student her first year.

> When it comes to hooking up outside your race, if you're in the Black community you don't really do that... my freshmen year for three months I was hooking up with one White guy. And in hindsight now I know it was really mean for me to do it, but at the time I didn't want anyone to know. I would see him in the cafeteria, I wouldn't look at him, I wouldn't talk to him. And I told him, oh, it's gonna be our little secret! And there was one point in time where I would go out to parties and at first I would see him and say ok, I'm going to go out to a party, I'll be back! And one time we were talking and he was like 'where do you usually go?' And I said [a Black frat on campus] and he asked to go. And I was like, "*NO!*" So you just don't let it be known if you're with someone else like that. No one ever really knew except for my core friends. My core core friends knew who he was. They never talked to him or saw him or anything, but they knew.

According to Black women, these same community rules around interracial dating did not apply to Black men. If anything, Black men were perceived to have sexual relationships outside of their race *more often* than within their communities. "The guys that we do have... I would say that close to a third of them are only gonna hook up with the White girls," Naomi postulated. "And then so [Black women] have two-thirds [to choose from]." Naomi attributes the gender imbalance of the Black community at Penn, where Black men are fewer than Black women, to women's decisions to seek out Black male

partners from surrounding schools or from back home. She juxtaposes this dynamic with the felt impetus to draw from Penn's pool of Black males.

> Even though no one really says it, we feel like our pool of educated Black
> men is so small, it's like, 'ok, within the next four years you've gotta snag
> one now.'... But the guys, they kind of know it. It's just kinda like, 'oh yeah,
> educated Black man, I can do whatever I want.' It's ridiculous.

According to Naomi, this understanding allows Black men to be more selective about their sexual partners and to have greater license to partner with women outside of their race. Black women, however, are more scrutinized for interracial dating, especially with White men (as evidenced by Naomi only telling her "core core" friends about her White hookup, and emphatically rejecting his request to attend a Black fraternity party with her). Partnered with the relative paucity of Black men on Penn's campus, Black women extended their search for partners onto other campuses, or utilized online dating applications such as Tinder.

Black women at UCSB, however, lacked the option to search for partners in Black sexual markets on other campuses or in nearby towns. Located in a predominantly White and Latino town located over an hour from another four-year campus, UC Santa Barbara is geographically isolated from other student populations, save the population of Santa Barbara City College students who also reside in Isla Vista. However, few women of any race recalled sexual partnerships with students from this school. Describing gender imbalances in the Black community at UCSB similar to those at Penn, Jazmine shared how Black men's decisions to have sexual relationships with White women on campus gives her pause when it comes to choosing sexual partners.

I've had conversations with Black men and Black women about this. About the availability of White women compared to Black women and how Black men sometimes choose White women because they feel like they are more free, it's easier to grasp, it's easier to get sex from them because jungle fever and that whole thing, that is *super* a thing on this campus. And then Black women in turn are thinking 'well I don't know where these [White] women have been, they could've been with anybody, so I'm not going to [have sex] with you.' At least the more conservative ones, myself included, that's how I think. My partner right now is actively dating somebody White and I'm like, 'uhh….'"

Jazmine's perceptions of White women's eroticization of Black men stands in contrast to her view of Black women as undesirable to White men, making "jungle fever" – or the hypersexualization of Black bodies – gendered on UC Santa Barbara's campus. These sentiments were not in isolation. Alex F., a biracial (Black/White) transfer student at UCSB and a member of a Panhellenic sorority, described how gendered racial stereotypes informed her interactions with White fraternity men.

I know that a lot of guys are intimidated by Black girls. Well, not Black guys, but other-than-Black guys are intimidated by Black girls. And most frats are very White, it is a lot of White people. I definitely know that a guy would be more intimidated in hanging out with me than a White girl. I feel that, I have been told that, I have experienced it. A lot of guys have told me they would never, have never felt at ease or that they could get with a Black girl.

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For Alex F. this was of no consequence, as she preferred to partner with older men, citing that "having casual sex with a younger male is going to be very disappointing compared to a guy with more experience." However, for Jazmine the perception that Black women are viewed as "hard, strong-willed attitudinal mules that... don't have emotions" is balanced against a hegemonic (read, White) femininity, rendering it even more difficult for Black women to date outside of their race. While she believed she did not fit the stereotype of the emotionless Black woman, Jazmine shared that nevertheless "that is the way that you are steeped to be....whereas the societal perception of White women is that they are more docile, they are softer, they are gentler, their womanhood is more feminine than Black women."

Given these stereotypes, Jazmine describes how Black women's options to partner with someone outside of their race are fewer than for Black men or White women. Her reflections are poignant, and so I quote her at length.

I just don't feel like Black women are viewed as the most attractive beings on this campus. When I'm thinking about potential partners… I was sitting next to this guy in [class] the other day and I thought to myself 'wow, you are really fucking attractive.' But in my mind I'm thinking the chances that you are going to be interested in me, just based on race, and race cross-referenced with beauty standards at this campus, is very low probability anyways... And another thing you have to take into account is if I start messing with this person what are other people going to think? People I'm sure are thinking about 'well, even if I find this person attractive what will my friends, what would my frat bro say, what would my friends say?'

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Because I've had instances where I've met attractive White guys or Latino guys and there's been instances of flirtation, but I knew that if anything were to happen, it's like an underlying intuition, it would have to be behind closed doors and it wouldn't amount to anything that I think is actually worth my time. Because for me I'm also always thinking about being fetishized. And I know that's a thing. Just hearing from friends about things they've heard about their skin tone. Or if they magically hooked up with a White guy at a party or something the first thing they hear is, "oh, you're so hot for a Black girl." I just choose to avoid the whole damn thing.

Jazmine's insights reflect the perception of a campus sexual politics in which Black women hold the least sexual capital. Despite felt attraction to White or Latino men, Jazmine views the chances of reciprocation as low, prompting her to just "avoid the whole damn thing." Her decision to only partner with Black men or "men I've known beforehand" restricts Jazmine's potential pool of dating partners on a campus where men of similar race are few and far between. Throughout the duration of her time at UCSB, Jazmine shared that her sexual partners were all Black men she either knew beforehand or were from her hometown, with the exception of one Mexican male hookup partner.

While the Latina/Hispanic women at UCSB had forged most of their relationships or hookups with men of similar racial or ethnic backgrounds, those who choose to hookup or date outside of their race did not describe their decisions as risky, taboo, or subject to intracommunity sanctioning in ways similar to Black women on both campuses. These dynamics appear to be at least partially attributed to the relative size of a racial/ethnic

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community on a given campus, as Stephanie alluded to dynamics in Penn's Hispanic/Latino community around issues of interracial dating similar to those of the Black community.

> If you want to date a White student or something, I guess it depends on who are your friends, how deep into the community you are, if you are really involved in everything then you are probably going to get a lot more... it's kind of going to be harder. More people are going to give you a hard time about it. Some people kind of just jokingly will be like what you doing? And some people will actually be serious, why are you doing that? So it depends, it depends on your friends. Also a really big thing is if you bring the person that you are dating that is White into the community, or if you leave the community, or if you kind of find a way to balance it. That is a pretty big issue.

While she herself had never had a sexual relationship with a White male, Stephanie identified an intracommunity dynamic that may force some students to choose between leaving the community or gauging acceptance of bringing a White partner "into the community."

Finally, some women of color described shifts in their attraction to men of certain racial/ethnic backgrounds after their arrival on campus. These changes further assert the influence of place-based demographics and market dynamics for shaping individual sexual tastes and decisions regarding partnerships. As a member of a historically White sorority at Penn, Cecilia, a Taiwanese/Chinese junior, was staunchly positioned within the school's party sexual market. She shared that most of her sexual partners were met through Greek

events and that "recently I think most of my partners have been Caucasian." This was in juxtaposition to her experiences prior to attending Penn.

> Back home I feel like most of my partners were Asian men because the [volleyball] club I played for was a historically Chinese club. My last serious boyfriend was also Asian, I went to high school with him. I just feel like in terms of serious relationships a lot of the cultural values and moral values, ethical values line up because we were raised in similar ways and we have similar views for how we want to raise our children.

To some degree, Cecilia's reflections suggest her sexual partnerships with White men at Penn are facilitated by propinquity and shared social networks. Steeped in the Greek subculture, which provides a built-in network for dating, Cecilia was able to meet sexual partners through Greek formals and date nights. However, when describing her approach to "serious relationships" Cecilia mentions the importance of shared cultural and moral values within the Asian community. These values might prove more salient criteria for choosing sexual partners again post-college, especially given that Cecilia at the time of the interview wasn't interested in a relationship. Further, her remarks on dating and race do not seem to drive her sexual decisions in the same manner as women who formed social networks primarily within student of color communities. That is, as a member of Greek life, Cecilia's hookups with White men are less apt to sanctioning by other members of the predominantly White Greek community.

> While also describing a shift in attraction to men along racial lines, Tracy's description of this change was steeped in her perceptions of White men and the party scene at UC Santa Barbara. As detailed in the Introduction to this study, Tracy shared she was

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predominantly attracted to White men in high school, but detailed a subsequent shift in attractions to Latino/Hispanic men once at UC Santa Barbara. Referring to the White males on campus, Tracy explained, "I was turned off by the personal image they gave... I would say culturally wise I have definitely felt like Latino and Hispanic men have become more attractive just because I recognize that value of sharing that culture is really important." Steeped in the Christian community at UC Santa Barbara, Tracy's described a year-long relationship with a Latino male partner who was also Christian Catholic. Tracy's and Cecilia's shifts in attraction to specific racial/ethnic groups once they had matriculated to college illustrate how sexual decisions are negotiated within the context of university life, shaped by immersion in unique student subcultures, and crafted in response to racialized narratives within and between communities of color.

Conclusion

The foundations of student of color sexual markets can be traced back to the Black Campus Movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Glasker 2002), and to associated student organizing around issues of racial and ethnic minority representation on college campuses across the nation. This was no exception at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of California Santa Barbara, where Black students played a formative role in addressing their respective campus' history as a predominantly White institution. The subsequent decades bore the development of university academic programs, recruitment and retention initiatives, special interest housing options, pre-summer programming and numerous student-run organizations designed to meet the social and academic needs of racial/ethnic minority students. Along with a critical mass of racial/ethnic minority populations, each of these developments contributed collectively to multiple student of color sexual markets, as

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both institutional initiatives and student-led efforts provided the spaces and organizations needed for communities of color to meet and form networks.

Women of color at Penn and UCSB entered student of color communities via structural features of the university, such as assignment to special interest housing or participation in pre-college programming, or through deliberate efforts to find co-ethnics upon arrival on campus. Evidence of both processes could be found within the stories of women of color at both schools, though concerted efforts to find racial/ethnic communities beyond institutional mechanisms was almost always spurred by feelings of isolation or culture shock within predominantly White environments.

However, women's racial or ethnic identity did not grant them automatic entry into student of color communities. Involvement in, or exclusion from, student of color communities – and, in turn, student of color sexual markets – was partially contingent upon one's ability to enact an "authentic" racial identity. Markers of racial authenticity mentioned by these women included skin color, peer networks, membership in racial/ethnic student organizations, language or upbringing. The weight placed on authenticity work for acceptance into a racial/ethnic community was most palpable for Black women. Compared to their Latino or Asian-American counterparts, Black women were more likely to describe social sanctioning from their communities for having diverse or mostly White peer groups.

The varied experiences of women of color across racial/ethnic identities also illustrates the variability of racialized authenticities, subject to localized conditions and demographic features. With respect to institutional context, Black women at Penn were more likely to invoke class status when describing their relationship to other Black students. For Nicole S. this included acknowledging her attendance at a predominantly White

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boarding school and the importance of her membership in a Black sorority for feeling accepted in the Black community, while Naomi described her lived experiences to be "Blacker" than those of her wealthier peers who had not known "some type of struggle," adding "I just found that the Black frats and sororities on our campus, they think they're really big and bad but if we were at a HBCU [historically Black college or university] they wouldn't be like that." On a predominantly White and wealthy campus such as Penn, performing an authentically Black identity included, at the least, associating with other Blacks. However, Naomi suggests these associations alone might not suffice on other campuses, namely at Historically Black colleges or universities.

These intracommunity racial dynamics also informed how women of color experienced their university as a site of sexual partnership. For Black women at Penn this included expanding their search for partners to other Black sexual markets at nearby Philadelphia universities. Their movement within other, geographically proximate sexual markets was driven by the perceived gender imbalance within the Black community at Penn. In a sexual market where women outnumber men and where a sizable portion of Black men were understood to only be interested sexually in White women, Black women believed their options to be limited, and their sexual decisions to be open to greater scrutiny. These intracommunity pressures required discretion as these women sought sexual partnerships.

Unlike women at Penn, Black women at UC Santa Barbara did not describe seeking out sexual partners across multiple sexual markets. Part of this is due to the geography and demographics of the school, whose campus is located in a predominantly White and Latino community and where the next closest university with a sizable Black population, UCLA, is

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over ninety miles away. Conversely, Hispanic/Latina women at UC Santa Barbara

described ample opportunities to meet sexual partners within their communities, and were

less likely to describe intracommunity pressures to prove they were "Hispanic or Latino

enough." Consistent with a less salient emphasis on racial authenticity, Hispanic/Latina

women did not believe their sexual behaviors to reflect negatively on themselves or their

communities. This may be partly explained by the school's demographic makeup, of which

25% are Hispanic/Latino-identified students, offering these students a larger pool of

potential partners than their Black peers. These dynamics might also be driven by network

ties, as the majority of the Latina women interviewed at UCSB described membership in

the multicultural Greek community. This may differ from how the school's Chicano/a

community defines racial authenticity and its relationship to sexual partnering.

Finally, women of color not only negotiate sexual decisions within the context of

their own racial/ethnic communities, but on predominantly White campuses. While the

popularity of hooking up on college campuses certainly aligns with a view of college as a

time for fun and sexual experimentation, multiple studies find that racial homophily within

sexual partnerships continues to be the standard for college students, especially for Black

students (Charles et al 2009; Field, Kimuna and Straus 2013; McClintock 2010). This was

mirrored within the narratives of women of color at both campuses, though Black women

described greater pressure to keep their sexual lives private compared to their Asian

American or Latina/Hispanic peers, especially when engaged in interracial relationships.

Naomi's mostly secret hookup with a White male student and Jazmine's hesitancy to act on

her attractions to White or Latino males demonstrates how these women make sexual

decisions consistent with the expectations of their communities, while seeking to avoid

negative stereotypes from the predominant White community. These dual pressures led some women of color to compartmentalize certain sexual desires or practices.

The relationship of racialized identity to sexual decisions on a predominantly White campus reflects what Patricia Hill Collins terms the "new racism," where historic tropes of Black sexuality as wild, dangerous and untamed continue to produce racialized and gendered hierarchies of sexuality (2005). While racialized constructions of sexuality were also mentioned by Asian-American women, these were not grounds to avoid interracial relationships. Rather, both Asian-American and Latina women were more likely to describe interracial relationships or hookups on both campuses, and less likely to describe stigmatization from other co-ethnics for these behaviors, suggesting more assimilative experiences on predominantly White campuses compared to their Black peers.

Not all women of color arrived on campus seeking communities of color. Some preferred diverse friendship groups, involvement in the mainstream party sexual market and/or multiple sexual markets. However, nearly all women of color described the campus climate and/or the process of sexual partnership at each school in racialized terms. The salience of racial identity and/or racial authenticity in their descriptions of how sexual life is organized on each campus is steeped in a recognition of multiple, distinctive sexual cultures. As the racially privileged majority, White women did not articulate their descriptions of the sexual culture of each campus in these terms. Thus, how women of color experience the university as a site of sexual possibility is governed, first and foremost, by their status as the racial/ethnic minority on campus, and by their relationship to or distance from communities of color. As I will show in the next chapter, similar processes related to

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sexual identity govern how queer-identified women experience sexual life on both

campuses.

Chapter 4: Queer Student Sexual Markets

As the LGBT movement gained steam in the late 1960s and into the early 1970s, so too did the "critical visibility" of queer student populations on college campuses. While gay White males initially represented the vast majority of homosexual student organizing, these efforts contributed the foundations for a queer campus sexual market whose membership and local organizations diversified over the next fifty years. This was not a uniform experience across America's colleges and universities, as some schools proved more amenable to organizing around sexual minority status than others. Recognized as two of America's most LGBT-friendly schools, the University of California Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania share a prominent history of LGBT student activism which laid the roots for the development of a queer student sexual market on each campus.

In this chapter I first utilize archival data to trace the foundations of the queer student sexual market on Penn's and UCSB's campus, respectively, linking the development of a "critical visibility" to the creation of student organizations, social networks and designation of campus spaces for queer students to meet and build community. The unique histories and geographic settings of each school are important to understanding the foundations and boundaries of its queer sexual market, reflected in interviews with queer-identified women at Penn and UCSB today. As with its party and student of color sexual markets, Penn's Greek system plays a key role in offering a social gathering space for its queer students, albeit through an underground fraternity which breaks with tradition. The prominence of Philadelphia's Gayborhood also figures into Penn women's options for exploring sexual relationships with women. Conversely, UC Santa Barbara lacks a prominent young queer community outside of campus boundaries. Rather,

student organizations play a more centralized role in forming community, though less formalized communities in Isla Vista offer additional options to meet other queer-identified students.

However, as with the development of racial and ethnic student communities on campus, the queer community as it's represented in local campus organizations and in more informal student networks is marked by a politics of what I term "queer authenticity." These politics are particularly salient within marked queer campus spaces, such as resource centers and student organizations, effectively constructing an insular community of LGBTQ students who arrive on campus with sufficient "queer capital" to access these spaces. Those women who had identified as other than heterosexual prior to arriving at college were more likely to detail concerted efforts to find queer community at their schools. Their participation in queer student organizations or other "alternative" student subcultures facilitates friendships with other LGBTQ-identified students, creating broader networks from which to meet women. Women who began exploring their sexual identity after arriving on campus were more apt to describe a lack of queer capital – such as language or gender presentation – which they perceived as a handicap when seeking entry to the queer sexual market. Further, women who identified as bisexual shared how their identities were more apt to be scrutinized by both heterosexual and queer-identified populations as "selfish" or "indecisive," complicating their experiences within the queer and party sexual markets.

For women who chose not to participate in the campus queer community, or who detailed difficulty in accessing the queer sexual market, heteronormative party markets and/or dating applications facilitated the process of seeking out same-sex partners. Some

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women capitalized on heteronormative, male-dominant spaces to engage sexually with other women, and/or described the convenience of dating applications such as Tinder for signaling desire for same-sex partners. These two approaches were particularly salient for women who identified as more feminine in appearance or who adopted a queer identity while in college. The experiences of women both within and outside of queer sexual markets reveal how non-heterosexual college women negotiate competing orientations to a heteronormative campus environment in a "post-gay" era. For queer women whose language exuded a recognition of a politics of queer authenticity, queer sexual market spaces were an integral part of asserting LGBT visibility on their campuses. For others, the post-gay campus afforded them the luxury of assimilating with a predominantly heterosexual student population, complete with their preference for engaging with others primarily within party sexual market settings. As I show, the party and queer student sexual markets inform the search for same-sex sexual partners in qualitatively different ways.

Forming a Market: Queer Visibility on Campus
University of California Santa Barbara

UC Santa Barbara holds a reputation as a queer-friendly campus, with evidence that the school has grown its efforts in this area over time. In 2016 the school made *Campus Pride's* "Best of the Best Top 30 List of LGBTQ-friendly Colleges and Universities," scoring a 4.5 out of 5 possible stars (Campus Pride). Criteria for making the list included high scores on a series of LGBTQ-friendly benchmarks in policy, programs and practices.

The first evidence of efforts by UCSB students to create a visible gay community on campus dates back to 1969, when the Gay Liberation Front formed as the first university-recognized group, though membership was initially restricted to men (Boronkay, n.d.). Despite its reincarnation as the Gay Students Union (GSU) two years later, complete with a

more politicized agenda, a student newspaper article reported "it seems to the consensus of gay women in the community that the GSU is male-oriented and very few women are involved" (Haley, n.d.). By 1974 the GSU had rebranded itself the Gay People's Union (GPU), joining forces with already existent women's groups on campus. The GPU was the organizing body for campus Gay Pride Week. They also held weekly meetings and hosted dances at "Das Institut," a house in Isla Vista that today is occupied by a fraternity chapter (Powers n.d.).

In the late 1980s the GPU became the Gay and Lesbian Student Union, complete with a designated space on campus and affiliation with the university's Women's Center. Organized events such as "Gay Jeans Day" sought increased campus support for gay and lesbian rights by showing that " homosexuality is just as normal as wearing jeans" (Graham 1986:1). In 1995 the University of California hosted its first system-wide LGBT conference on Santa Barbara's campus.

Queer movement organizing, distinct from the homophile and gay liberation movements preceding it, gained steam on UC Santa Barbara's campus during the 1990s. By 1999 the Gay and Lesbian Student Union had been renamed the Queer Student Union, its Resource Center relocated to the 3rd floor of the University Center. A flyer listing the 1999 Queer Pride Week events include drag shows and a series of talks on topics ranging from transgender issues to "Straight Talk for Allies." Several Queer Pride Week activities in 1999 also suggest organizing around a politicized queer identity. This included the kickoff event, billed as an opportunity to "take out your aggression on an Oppression Piñata!" followed by a queer wedding, described as "our political protest for equality." The development of a weeklong Queer Pride Week asserts the organizing power, institutional

and student investment in the LGBTQ community, and is just one of many examples of how sexual minority visibility has grown on campus since the late 20th century.

UC Santa Barbara also launched its Safe Zone project in 1999, sponsored by the University Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Ally Concerns. Brochures describe the Safe Zone Project as "a way for us to reach out to students and provide a safe and tolerant atmosphere for all members of our campus community" ("Introducing the UCSB Safe Zone Project"). By the turn of the millennium UC Santa Barbara boasted a Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Questioning or Transgender Mentoring Program, weekly discussion groups, a Queer Commission (an offshoot of Associated Students, the undergraduate branch of student government), the Queer Student Union, and an Ally Network.

The *Living History Project*, an online collective history of student engagement at UCSB, also documents organized queer activism on campus in the mid-2000s. "Queer Bombing," or the reclamation of heteronormative spaces by UCSB's queer community, was started by two students during the 2004 academic year. These two students also founded the Guerrilla Queer Bar," an activist/improv group, "whose sole mission was to infiltrate traditionally heterosexual social venues and bomb/overwhelm it with Queer Fabulousity!" (Moreno 2014). The impact of this organizing is still visible on campus today in the form of black Queer Bomb! shirts, sold through one of the University's queer student organizations.

The Queer Resource Center has since been rebranded the Resource Center for Sexual and Gender Diversity, staffed by two full-time employees and a host of student workers. The RCSGD offers educational programming and leadership opportunities, and offers a study space with computers and a book and media library. The RCSGD credits the

"efforts of students, staff and faculty whose presence, requests, demands and activism led to the creation of the center" (Resource Center for Sexual and Gender Diversity 2017). Today UCSB is also home to multiple student organizations which reflect the diversity of the queer student experience. These include LGBTQ groups for undocumented students, Blacks, Jews, Asian/Pacific Islanders, Chicanas/os and Latinas/os, as well as trans* organizations and niche groups for STEM majors or those interested in kink and BDSM.

University of Pennsylvania

The University of Pennsylvania is also recognized as one of the most "gay-friendly" campuses in the nation, an accolade garnered from consistent development of university offerings and student organizations for the LGBTQ student community. *Campus Pride* latest assessment scored Penn's campus five out of five stars for the institution's commitment to inclusive policies, programs and practices. Penn also ranked as one of the top 20 campuses in the nation in *The Advocate College Guide for LGBT Students*, scoring a perfect "Gay Point Average." The guide dates the earliest LGBT student organizing efforts at Penn to 1967 in the form of "a campus gay liberation organization" (Windmeyer 2006:269). Most recently, Penn was named the most gay-friendly campus in the United States by Newsweek in 2010 (Tsui 2010).

The University of Pennsylvania boasts one of the oldest LGBT Centers in the nation, founded in 1982 following a series of homophobic incidents and subsequent requests from student leaders for the development of an organization designed to represent the needs of the gay campus community (Glasner 1988). While initially housed in the Student Activities office, the Program for the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Community at Penn became an official campus center in the early 1990s. The Program was renamed the

LGBT Center by the mid-1990s in recognition of the transgender experience in the movement (Kim 2015). In 2002, following a multi-million dollar donation, the Center moved into its own dedicated building on campus, boasting 5,000 square feet of space.

The LGBT Center offers a variety of programs and services and is focused on outreach and education, informing the Penn community about the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. In addition, the LGBT Center also hosts a designated space for its may affiliated student organizations, the Center's website listing twenty-six different groups for undergraduates, graduates or alumni. These range from more general organizations (Queer Student Association) to more niche populations across race or schools of study, such as "Penn Queer and Asian" and "Penn Dental Queer Alliance." In 2005 the Lambda Alliance was formed as an umbrella organization for eight undergraduate groups, providing a "unified voice for the gay community at Penn" (Turakhia 2006).

As is true of other campuses with a history of prominent gay organizing, Penn's student organizations have continually changed their names and organizational missions to reflect the LGBT movement's evolution and calls for inclusivity. One of the first organized groups on campus, Gays at Penn (GAP), was formed in 1973, holding their first meetings in the basement of the school's Christian Association. Remarkable for the time, Penn's Christian Association was known for its open support of gay men, to include its commitment to sponsoring internships for gay ministers (Shao 1977). As with most early organizations, Gays at Penn was founded for both gay men and women, though it was primarily male oriented and avoided political activism (ibid.). In 1977 lesbian coffee hours were added to GAP's programming, and the Women's Center on campus also offered

lesbian consciousness-raising sessions. Eventually GAP would be rebranded as Lesbians and Gays at Penn (LGAP) to reflect its inclusion of women.

During the 1990s Penn was at the forefront of gay and lesbian rights on American campuses, allowing same-sex couples to live in housing previously earmarked for married couples. The school was also one of the first universities in the nation to extend employee benefits to domestic partners ("A Welcoming Campus" 2000). Like UC Santa Barbara, Penn also hosts a yearly, weeklong celebration of the LGBT community on campus. What began as a "Lesbian and Gay Awareness Week" became B-GLAD (Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian Awareness Days) in 1992; by this point Lesbians and Gays at Penn had become the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Alliance, adding in yet another dimension of sexual identity in its organizational title and programming. Consistent with broader movement activism, in 2000 the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Alliance was renamed the Queer Student Alliance. In a newspaper article announcing the change, QSA asserted that its mission as an organization would be to meet the needs of LGBTQ students in new ways, citing that "unlike the LGBA, the QSA will also act as a forum for student activists interested in making changes at Penn and calling attention to national LGBT issues" (Ramirez and Simmerman 2000:6).

The queer community at Penn also boasts a Greek presence of sorts. While the University of Pennsylvania was formally home to an organized fraternity for gay, bisexual, and transgender men, the chapter was no longer a member of the Interfraternity Council at the time of my interviews with Penn women. Rather, this chapter recolonized underground, not officially recognized by the university but well-known to its students. A 2009 article in *Magnet,* a Philadelphia magazine, explains the fraternity was "overtaken by a group of punk-minded miscreants" during the 1980s when its membership was dwindling (Hyclak

2009), converting the large fraternity house into a local music destination that is also a known safe party space for queer students.

Finally, Penn's location in Philadelphia is a boon to its LGBTQ-identified students, as the city boasts a long history of activism around LGBT issues and a recognized "Gayborhood" spanning 4 x 5 city blocks. Transformed from a seedy gay ghetto to a vibrant community and a commercial success, the city streets which comprise the Gayborhood are marked by 36 rainbow street signs, installed in 2007. The Gayborhood offers hip eateries, shopping, and gay and lesbian bars and night clubs. The Human Rights Campaign further recognized Philadelphia's commitment to inclusive laws and policies with a perfect score on its LGBT Equality Index in 2014 (Skiba 2014). An annual gay pride parade and festival and year-round programming in the Gayborhood reveal the ways in which such niche neighborhoods continue to play a prominent role for the LGBT community in a post-gay era.

Exploring Sexual Identity and Finding Queer Community

Penn and UCSB women who identified as queer or other-than-heterosexual prior to attending college were more likely to seek out queer spaces or social networks on campus than women who identified as non-heterosexual or began exploring same-sex desires as undergraduates. The former of these groups described adopting non-heterosexual identities or exploring same-sex attractions before or during high school, experiences which "primed" them for involvement in queer organizations or social networks once they matriculated into college. However, options for involvement in the queer community and levels of accessibility to various LGBTQ social networks or organizations differed between Penn's and UCSB's campuses.

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A White bisexual at Penn, Shayla, shared that when she began looking into colleges she "needed the campus to be LGBT friendly." Shayla had identified as bisexual since the 9th grade, when she had her first relationship with a woman. Like most students at Penn, she was heavily involved in multiple extracurricular activities, to include membership in a co-ed literary fraternity, the University choir and participation in the Jewish community. Shayla had also frequented the LGBT Center on campus since her freshman year, and described her participation in the queer community to "lean slightly towards the involved, but mostly because my friends are really involved." Despite not considering herself an activist, she recalled recent participation in a demonstration against an anti-gay preacher on campus, sharing "a lot of us made pro-LGBT signs and stood in front of him and protested right back at him."

A Caribbean-American junior who had identified as a lesbian since age 16, Melanie S. shared her own path to involvement in Penn's queer community. She described an initial hesitancy to be seen at the LGBT Center on campus her freshman year, explaining "it was mostly me coming to terms with my identity and me being afraid of losing my family." She identifies her sophomore year as a turning point, fueled by personal acceptance of her sexual identity and subsequent involvement in campus activism and different queer organizations, such as the Queer Christian Fellowship and Queer People of Color. Melanie helped to organize QPenn, the campus' annual weeklong celebration of the LGBT community, and had also participated in the demonstration against the pastor. Now a junior and a Resident Assistant, Melanie describes herself as "a very big name in the queer community," and "a really big advocate... I try to make my presence as an RA one that is

very LGBT friendly and let my residents know that if they need anything or advice in that area, I am always free to talk to them."

Describing friendships which placed her squarely in both "Black Penn" and "White Penn," Nicole S., a Black bisexual, was also heavily steeped in Penn's queer community, holding a leadership position with the Queer Student Alliance. Prior to college she attended meetings of her high school's LGBT group, but explained since she was not fully out at the time "I was pretty much an ally." Nicole shared that upon arriving at Penn "I definitely put a lot of emphasis on trying to make sure that I was able to feel comfortable with all of my identities here." Her success in this was evident, as she described her participation multiple queer organizations. In addition to QSA, Nicole was also involved in Queer Christian Fellowship and Queer People of Color. Along with her membership in a historically Black sorority, Nicole's organizational involvement guided her social activities and access to the party, student of color and queer student sexual markets. Describing her upcoming weekend plans to me, Nicole shared "Saturday I am working the queer party [hosted by QSA] and then going to the Black fraternity afterwards. So it's kind of just learning how to balance different things."

For Nicole S., Melanie S. and Shayla, involvement in Penn's queer community was partly facilitated by their prior identification as other-than-heterosexual, and partly by Penn's robust structure of support for its LGBT student population. Clubs, large parties and activism were just a few of these sites of collective identity that these women described engaging in while at Penn. The women I interviewed at UCSB who described involvement in the queer community also described identification as other-than-heterosexual prior to college and the facilitative role of university initiatives and student clubs, though their

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levels of engagement paled in comparison to their Penn counterparts, in part due to the variability of resources at their institution.

Women at UC Santa Barbara who had participated in queer student groups or lived in the Rainbow House, the designated Living Learning Community for LGBTQ students, described how space and organizational membership combined to produce a different social milieu for queer students on their campus. Becca, a White, queer-identified transfer student who had only been on campus a few weeks at the time of her interview, shared her initial perceptions of the queer community at UCSB in comparison to her prior institution, a private university in upstate New York. "Already from what I have seen the queer community here is much larger than it was at [my old school]," Becca observed. "Out and open queer community." Becca arrived on campus looking to get involved, and had hoped to start a student-produced LGBTQ magazine. "The idea is to actually get away from the direct politics and more into the second-tier politics," she shared, describing her vision for the project. "Instead of the more basic argument of gay rights it makes sense to sort of expand into okay, let's talk about what good representation looks like... let's talk about what it is like to be out versus the process of coming out. Sort of that second-tier experience." When asked how she sees herself fitting into the queer community at UCSB, Becca shared "I think I will be gravitated toward the [groups] where we are listening and talking about different topics. So pretty political, but I am also happy to just be social with my friends and talk about it in that sense." As a queer-identified woman "primed" for participation in the queer community, Becca had already sought out information about student orgs on campus and anticipated that most of her friends would come from this community.

Teresa, a White bisexual sophomore, decided to move into the Rainbow House her second year "to find somewhere that I would automatically have some sort of connection with the people around me." Teresa juxtaposed her personal experience living in the Rainbow House with her perceptions of the broader community living there, sharing, "I am not super socially active in the house... [but] there is a sense of community, even if we don't know each other very well." Teresa sought out additional spaces for socializing outside of the Rainbow House, namely a group called FUQIT, or Friendly Undergraduate Queers in it Together, sharing "I like that one because it is more social, let's hang out, and less about the queer identity and stuff." Teresa described meeting most of her queer-identified friends at FUQIT meetings and from her participation in a now-defunct group geared towards queer-identified students who love the outdoors.

While women at Penn described multi-faceted involvement in their queer community, including attendance at queer fraternity parties, involvement in student organizations or participation in the LGBT Center's activities, women at UCSB were more likely to limit their involvement to one queer organization or peer group. According to Teresa, for a queer-identified student looking to get involved at UCSB "it is hard to figure out what is your cup of tea in the community and what you want to do." Recalling her attendance at meetings of the Queer Student Union, she explained

> I feel like QSU is its own niche, because it is very much focused on social
> activism and the queer identity.... the people who run it are all very close-
> knit too. Not in an exclusionary way, but if you don't have a bunch of
> connections in QSU you feel a little bit left out.

For this reason, Teresa preferred to mainly involve herself in FUQIT.

The dynamics of the queer community at each school also informed how women who began to identify with non-heterosexual identities after arriving on campus experienced efforts to seek out queer community as students. Being closeted or identifying as heterosexual freshman year informed who students were most likely to befriend and, subsequently, which sexual markets they were most likely to frequent. Women at Penn and UCSB who formed friendships predominantly with straight-identified students and/or participated predominantly in the party market their freshman year described difficulty finding queer community later in their undergraduate careers. Significantly, multiple women on both campuses described the importance of taking university courses covering topics related to sexuality for prompting exploration of their own sexual attractions and identities. Elise, a White senior at UC Santa Barbara who recently shifted from a bi-curious to bisexual identity, attributed this change to a course she was taking in the Sociology department at the time of her interview.

> I was very unsure of what to identify as. And bisexual gets a lot of 'you are
> either one or the other, you can't be both.' I think that you can, obviously,
> and I am. I am in a Sociology of Sex and Race class and I think it is just
> proving it more and more. There is a spectrum of sexuality and it's not cut
> and dry.

> Cassie, a White bisexual/queer-identified Nursing major at Penn, shared how she
came to realize she wasn't straight in one of her classes.

> I was in a lecture on women's health and birth, the process of birth. And
> there were a couple of alternative scenarios of ways to become pregnant.
> One...was a woman whose partner was a woman and... woman "A" had the

first child and woman "B" had the second child. And I remember thinking 'oh, I would totally do that.' And then I thought, how would I think I could totally do that if there wasn't a very specific part of that that would have to be involved in my life? So I thought a lot and tried it out in my head, I would say to myself 'I like women,' and that felt very right and very freeing, even though I didn't realize that I wasn't free. So I guess I just hadn't identified that yet.

Some women who had come to a non-heterosexual identity or were questioning after beginning college also expressed a desire to find queer community or frequent queer spaces. However, many were hesitant to follow through, concerned that they would feel unwelcome. Jazmine, a multi-racial senior at UCSB who was questioning at the time of her interview, shared that the friends she had encountered as a Resident Assistant emboldened her to consider a non-heterosexual identity. Still, she shared

> To be honest I wouldn't feel… comfortable necessarily going into a queer identified space. Just because I would really want to be careful about where I'm taking up space and because I'm in a questioning realm… I don't want them to be like well why are you here? And it's one of those things where if I was going to venture and try to find a partner, that would probably be the first place that I would look and start hanging out in queer identified spaces, but I also want to be respectful of everyone's energy and everyone's time.

Ariana, a straight/questioning transfer student at UC Santa Barbara who was in a relationship with a trans partner, also described wanting to find queer community on

campus, especially given that her family was unsupportive of her relationship. However, she shared

> There is hesitancy and fear. Because I don't know, even my boyfriend will say 'you look like the one straight girl in this lesbian bar.' I feel like I am out of place everywhere... And just the whole factor that I did not really understand this entire culture. It's just a different community, it's something that you learn.

> This was not the experience of all women who came to a non-heterosexual identity "late." However, the role that shared connections played for plugging these women into the queer community signal the power of peer networks for immersion in different sexual markets. This was the case for Nicole P., a White junior at Penn who began to identify as bisexual after developing feelings for a female friend during her first year of college. It was through this friend that Nicole became more involved in Penn's queer community and more comfortable with her identity.

> [My friend] was a little further ahead in her acceptance process and telling people and being open about it. At that point, even though I was comfortable with myself I was so scared of other people knowing that I couldn't even set foot in the LGBT Center. But she would invite me to go to meetings with her and I would say nope, not going to do it. And just the thought of doing it, you know I have anxiety, it almost made me shake. But that is obviously very much not the case now.

Nicole shared that she has since grown to feel very comfortable with her sexuality, prompting her to seek out additional ways to be involved in the queer community, including

volunteering at the LGBT Center and serving as a student mentor to another undergraduate through the Queer Student Alliance. Nicole had also participated in the recent counter protest against the preacher, sharing "we... made signs and we brought out flags and everything.... One student even said that she felt safer on the campus that we were out there. And that made us feel so good... But that is 100% the biggest example of how comfortable I've become with my sexuality." For Nicole, part of this process was facilitated by peer connections to the LGBT community, though she also asserted the personal growth and courage it took to become more involved and open about her sexual identity.

A White queer-identified student at Penn, Vanessa credited her involvement in the English department and associated spaces to her entry into the queer community. Vanessa recalled knowing she was queer since age 16, but that she "shoved that down" and didn't accept her identity until the summer before her junior year at Penn, when she decided "I have to be who I am. A lot of my friends are queer in some way, however they choose to identify. Knowing that people were happy and there is a really nice queer community on campus, that it is okay, I can identify like that." Thus, Vanessa's decision to be openly out on campus was spurred in part by her perception of the queer presence on campus, and by her pre-existing friendships with others who were similarly identified. She acknowledges how these peer networks, garnered within the English department's community, helped to plug her into the queer social scene. "Because my friends were my friends beforehand, that is nice because I know I am already close with them," she explained. "It's not like I have zero friends and I was coming into [the queer community] like a complete new person." While not involved in any formal student organizations, Vanessa's involvement in the

queer community consisted of attending the queer frat's parties, though she also had plans to join the Jewish community's LGBTQ organization in the future.

For women at both schools, a sense of familiarity helped to guide immersion in the queer community on their campus. This familiarity could come in the form of prior identification as non-heterosexual and/or involvement in high school LGBT organizations, or through development of supportive peer networks once at college. Consistent with its reputation as the nation's most gay-friendly school, women at Penn described immersion in multiple queer organizations and feelings of acceptance in these spaces. This was not echoed in similar ways by women at UCSB, who shared that certain queer spaces were more intimidating to them than others. As I will show in the next section, women at both schools described how possessing "queer capital" and performing a queer authenticity further determined their level of interaction with their campus' LGBTQ community.

Queer Authenticity

Whatever their relationship to the queer community – immersed, dabbling or completely separate – queer-identified or questioning women at both schools described how queer politics informed the dynamics of the queer sexual market and, further, their decisions about involvement in the community. Some women admitted they avoid queer spaces completely, feeling that they lacked the proper "queer capital" to stake a claim there. Even women who were steeped in the queer community on campus described feeling out of place or intimidated at times, such that the no one was exempt from the pressures to "perform queerness." For some, this intimidation was drawn from the perception of the queer community as tight-knit and exclusionary. This perception was paired with the

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understanding that one needed to meet certain criteria to fit in or assert their right to belong in marked queer spaces.

Cassie, who had come to the realization of her sexual identity during one of her Nursing classes, described becoming more involved in the queer community by visiting the LGBT Center and joining Queer Ladies at Penn, a private Facebook group for queer-identified women at the school. This involvement was aided in part by one of her queer-identified friends, who "put me in touch with one of her friends who is super involved... and that was really helpful as far as being in this visible community." Cassie recalled how this mutual friend described the queer community to her:

> She kind of broke down for me, the queer woman scene at Penn. There are
>
> the Center queers who go to the LGBT Center. And they are kind of really
>
> aggressive in being queer and being here. They like to either party a lot or
>
> they don't party at all. And they have a lot of deep conversations. And they
>
> are sometimes off-putting to people, she says.

A White bisexual junior at Penn, Kiri, described attending some on-campus events sponsored by LGBT organizations, though she offered that she hasn't "super identified" with these groups. She recalled her experience with attending a BYO (a party held at a local restaurant where patrons bring their own alcohol), put on by the Queer Ladies at Penn group.

> Because of one or two members in particular I felt a lot of pressure to drink.
>
> And I also felt they were kind of cliquey... It was kind of a weird situation.
>
> At the time the two executive board members who were the presidents or co-

presidents were dating. So it was kind of [just] them and their close group of friends.

By both Cassie and Kiri's descriptions, queer women who were heavily involved in campus organizations formed exclusionary cliques. Cassie's characterization of the Center Queers as "aggressive in being here and queer" suggests these women view their sexuality as a major part of their identity. Kiri suggested a similar experience at the Queer Ladies event, feeling out of place among what appeared to be a tight-knit group of friends.

A heterosexually-identified student, Lisa, described her friend's description of the queer community on UC Santa Barbara's campus in similar terms.

I was doing a project in my Intro to LGBT Studies [class] last fall and was talking to her about it. Because I had wanted the opinions of people who identified. And she was saying that we have all these resources, we have the LGBTQ Center, we have the Women's Center, we have all these clubs and organizations. But usually those people aren't even that inclusive. So she had talked about one org that she was in – even though she was in the org, she felt that certain individuals got to talk or make decisions. She was not an executive member of it so she felt she was not very included in the organization.

These sentiments echoed comments made by women who had made efforts to be immersed in UCSB's queer community. Teresa, who identified as queer her sophomore year of high school and bisexual at the time of her interview, described attending a Queer Student Union meeting her freshman year.

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[QSU] is very much focused on social activism and the queer identity. So a

lot of people can be intimidated by it because if they... don't know a bunch

of terminology and history it can be very intimidating... at the same time in

the fall of my freshman year I was in Intro to Women's Studies. And also I

had a pretty strong queer feminist community back in my high school. So I

already had a lot of the language and exposure to how they talked and their

ideas and stuff. But I know not everyone has that so it can be a little

intimidating. Even with that it still felt a little bit intimidating.

Teresa's quote signals the importance of queer capital for feeling welcome in queer spaces.

She mentions her coursework and her immersion in a "queer feminist community" in high

school as sources of capital, introducing her to the language and general concerns of the

queer community. Despite these "credentials" Teresa still described feeling intimidated by

QSU, preferring FUQIT meetings given their emphasis on socializing, rather than queer

politics.

An Asian junior who defined herself as pansexual, Zoe, also described feeling out of

place in certain queer spaces. Having served as co-president of her queer group in high

school, Zoe arrived at UCSB with sufficient queer capital. However, Zoe described

apprehension about her right to belong in queer spaces as she attempted to find her niche in

the community. Some of this trepidation was explained by the cliques she perceived within

the community, to include a veritable monopoly on club membership.

I couldn't find my place in there.... if you talk with a lot of queer students

here they will say it's very cliquey.... Last year when I was involved there

was a solid group of people who ran *all* of the clubs. So if QSU is here

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[points] you have all of these little bubbles [out here], they were involved in

all of the bubbles. So if you didn't get in with them it was sort of like... not

because of your identity but just basic social... you feel like you belong or

not.

Zoe shared that her sexual identity and gender presentation were additional sources of

apprehension about her right to belong in queer spaces. Reflecting on her attendance at one

of the QSU meetings, she shared,

I was working out my own identity so it was like, 'I don't know if I belong

here,' you know, stuff like that... I was like yeah, I identify as pansexual but...

I had always been with men. I am very femme, I am with guys, I've never

had sex with a woman, I've never kissed a woman, stuff like that... for me, I

think I didn't feel queer enough to be a part of that. Some of the stuff they

were saying it was like, 'oh gosh, I can't relate.'

Finally, Zoe described her lack of fit with one of the "little bubbles" in the community, an

Asian/Pacific Islander-focused queer student group, sharing "I had issues with KAPPI, just

because for me personally I don't identify with the Asian culture." In addition to the role of

gendered presentation and sexual identity, Zoe also suggests how racial authenticity

intersects with queer authenticity in racial/ethnic-specific queer organizations. She did,

however, describe residing in the Rainbow House as a "safe space. Even if it is not as

social, I feel like people are really allowed to find themselves there." In this way, the

Rainbow House became Zoe's "little bubble" in the queer community.

Similar dynamics were noted by women at Penn. Despite being plugged into the

queer community through a mutual friend, Cassie still described feeling like she didn't

quite fit in. "It often feels like without having certain experiences, it is almost like you have to have a certain resume to qualify as queer. I have found that difficult and isolating from the queer community in general." When I prompted her to describe what would need to be on one's resume to qualify as queer, Cassie continued,

> I guess friend groups, social activities and sexual experiences and relationships. As far as friend groups I mean, the people I live with are all very straight women. And so I think that people, many of the other queer students, especially queer women, hang out with a lot of other queer women. That is who they kind of surround themselves with for friends. So I think the fact that my friends are not all queer women kind of makes it… I don't know. I don't know if that is really the way that I am seen or the way that I am paranoid of being seen, but I feel that I am seen as a fraud or something like that.

Like Zoe and other femme-identified women at both schools, Cassie perceived her femininity to mark her as a "fraudulent queer," adding "I feel a little bit judged. I feel that people are skeptical." Nicole P. shared a similar sentiment in her descriptions of the queer community at Penn.

> With queer women there is very much the dichotomy of butch/femme, whatever... And I definitely believe that, even though I am queer, even though I am bisexual, that I am a straight passing person. Because I don't visibly have many of the qualities that people think lesbians have. I don't have short hair, right? I'm not very masculine. ABC, 123, I don't have those qualities visibly.

Despite having spent a great deal of time becoming more comfortable with interacting in queer spaces, Nicole's thoughts suggest that being on the femme side of the dichotomy would always make it that much harder to be read as queer. She juxtaposes this with naming more "visible" qualities of queer women, namely short hair and a masculine gender presentation.

Relatedly, bisexuality within each school's queer community was also viewed as a source of contention, though this perception was almost always noted by bisexual women themselves, rather than other queer-identified women. These women described feeling that their attraction to both men and woman was viewed by others as a phase, selfish, or steeped in their "inability to decide." Significantly, bisexual women often attributed these perceived feelings, in part, to their feminine gender presentation, suggesting their view of queer spaces as sites of outright rejection of conventional gendered norms, and further complicating their efforts to feel like they fully belonged. Nicole S., who described herself as highly involved in the queer community at Penn, shared

> I feel like being bisexual a lot of times I get passed as straight. And I know a
> lot of times people pass me as an ally. They know I hang out with those
> people but I don't know that they necessarily fully think of me as part of the
> queer community.

Layla, a Black bisexual at Penn, shared similar sentiments. "As someone who is bisexual most people just kind of think I am straight. Unless I tell someone and they are like oh, really? That is the experience for most of the female bisexuals I know." Recalling her experience attending an event for queer women her freshman year, Layla shared,

I didn't really feel welcome because everyone I met identified as gay. It's

weird, even though it's a community, the queer community, you still feel the

lines. Because yeah, we identify as gay or bisexual or pan[sexual] or trans or

what not. Sometimes those lines are palpable and not in a positive way.

Sometimes there is biphobia and what not and people don't always treat

people in the bisexual community... even in the queer community bisexuals

are not always treated as gay people are. The bisexuals at Penn tend to band

together a little bit. Not in opposition to gay people but just in support of

each other.

Bisexual women not steeped in the queer community nevertheless perceived

attitudes towards their identity similar to those of their more involved peers. Maisie, an

Asian bisexual at Penn, shared that she is not that connected to the queer community,

though she described plans to attend a meeting of Penn's Queer and Asian organization

because her roommate was on the board. However, Maisie's bisexual identity was a source

of trepidation about becoming more involved. "I definitely feel that [my bisexual identity

is] a little awkward and that I don't quite fit into the queer community. Most of the females

who are very prominent in the queer community are more queer than I am." Maisie's words

suggest queerness is seemingly quantifiable, though she did not elaborate on what

constitutes being "more queer" beyond perhaps not identifying as bisexual. In her

identification of the queer community's most "prominent" members, Maisie asserts the

power of visibility for conjuring up imagined notions of what queer looks like, and who is

most apt to feel comfortable in marked queer spaces.

The "problem" of bisexuality also emerged in UCSB women's interviews. Teresa, who described major shifts in her identity since beginning college, identified as bisexual at the time of her interview and was involved in a polyamorous relationship with a male and a female student. For her, the delineation between bisexual and pansexual (or attraction to individuals regardless of their gender or sexual identity) was another point of contention within the queer community, at least within the Rainbow House.

> My roommate right now, she is also bi. And I haven't noticed this as much, she is more involved in the house. But she says a lot of people in the house identify as pan versus bi. And that there is a much smaller percentage of people who identify as bi. And there is the whole theory of not wanting to be transphobic and stuff, what do you define as bi if it's only two genders versus two or more... so I feel like there is a little bit of politics in there but I feel like the community here isn't going to be like 'your identity is wrong, it's bad' or stuff like that.

As with her earlier sentiments about having a grasp of the language or politics to feel accepted in certain queer spaces, Teresa also describes a politics of bisexual identity within the queer community, where adoption of this identity might be met with critique for its reinforcement of a gendered binary. While she doesn't believe that the queer community would reprimand her for her identity, Teresa nevertheless describes a politics of sexual identity that delineates between those who identify as bisexual versus pansexual.

For Nancy, a bisexual Latina who was in a long-distance relationship with a woman, this politics of bisexuality was present in her interactions with her partner and her friends. "[My girlfriend] has a little group of friends who if I say anything... not wrong, but I feel

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like they don't understand me because they [are] more masculine. Whenever I would say something about guys they would look at me disgusted." Nancy links the expressed disgust of these women with their masculine gender presentation, suggesting the association of female masculinity with a sole attraction to women. She first attributes her felt attraction to men to be read as "wrong" by her girlfriend and her friends before stating her belief that these women lack understanding of her bisexual identity. In both Teresa and Nancy's narratives, then, bisexual identity becomes problematic to others in its reinforcement of a gender binary and heteronormativity, respectively.

Bisexual identities were not only described as a source of tension or divisiveness within the queer community; women also described skepticism of bisexuality within the broader campus population. Elise, a White bisexual woman at UC Santa Barbara, described her friends' skepticism of her identity, citing that they attributed her identity to a bad breakup with a former boyfriend. "They kind of still dismiss it like it's not a real thing. They just assume my relationship kind of screwed me up. But while I was in a relationship with him I was already thinking about the curiosity and stuff." For Shayla, a White bisexual at Penn, the straight community could be more "biphobic" than the queer community. "I do get some of the 'oh, bisexual, okay? So you are actually straight and experimenting.'... I do get that from straight people a lot. Which is very frustrating." For bisexual women at both schools, both the queer and heterosexual communities were described as skeptical or critical of their identities. The broader cultural image of bisexuality as selfish or temporary in nature is reflected in these women's' descriptions of feeling "not queer enough" in LGBTQ environments, or frustration at having their desires dismissed by their heterosexual friends. While included under the LGBTQ umbrella, bisexual women suggest that their

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identity is perhaps viewed as less legitimate than if they had identified as lesbian, queer or even pansexual.

The collective narratives of non-heterosexually identified women, regardless of their relationship to the queer community, signal the importance of queer capital for feeling welcome in marked queer spaces. Queer capital operates as a form of currency on both campuses, determining one's authenticity and subsequent levels of access to, or comfort within, the queer campus community. Women linked various forms of queer capital, to include language, sexual identity, gender presentation, friendships with other queer students, and/or knowledge of LGBTQ history and culture to their felt comfort moving with queer market spaces, such as parties or meetings of student organizations.

This shared perception of what it means to be queer on each campus appears to be at least partly attributed to the most visible queer populations on campus, and troubles the notion of a post-gay campus where diverse identities, gender presentations and lived experiences are equally celebrated or acknowledged, both within and outside of the queer community (Ghaziani, Taylor and Stone 2015). Prior research on college students finds that adoption of a queer identity is often political, with subsequent effects for those who feel "queer enough" to participate in the LGBTQ community and those who do not (Miller, Taylor and Rupp 2016; Rupp, Taylor and Miller 2016; Waling and Roffee 2017). As I show in the next section, queer capital, and its relationship to levels of participation in queer student markets, also informs women's experiences when seeking out same-sex partners.

Queer Women, Sex and Dating: Signaling Desire and Seeking Partners

Like their student of color sexual markets, Penn's and UCSB's queer sexual markets – those spaces, formal organizations and informal social networks occupied by queer-

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identified students – act primarily as spaces of support, and secondarily as sites of potential sexual partnership. However, unlike racial identity, sexual identity is not attributed to phenotypical features. As multiple women at both schools attested, making their sexual identity or attractions known proved a formidable obstacle, particularly for women who exuded a more feminine gender presentation. Signaling identity and seeking out other queer-identified women also proved difficult for those not involved in queer organizations or tapped into social networks occupied by LGBTQ-identified others.

Women who were firmly entrenched in the queer sexual market, however, circulated in spaces and networks which made it easier to meet potential partners. These women were privy to information about queer social gatherings (or organized these gatherings themselves), and, while they did not perceive it as wholly easy to strike up a conversation with a woman, nevertheless described ample opportunities for doing so. This was true for Nicole P., who described how her involvement in the queer community increased exponentially during her junior year at Penn. Nicole had not had any romantic or sexual relationships with women at the time of her interview, though she described multiple possibilities, most of which were drawn from involvement in student organizations or extended friendship networks. At the time Nicole was crushing on a girl she knew through a mutual friend, sharing, "me and my friend are both interested in this girl, but because my friend is already friends with this person... I am supporting my friend's interest in that right now." She also described her attraction to another woman she had met through her participation on a Queer Student Alliance committee. Nicole P.'s increased participation in the queer community over the past year had already paid dividends, creating opportunities

to meet potential partners in ways not possible for women who were not part of these networks.

Other women described queer sexual market spaces as ideal spots to meet potential partners. For Teresa, attendance at FUQIT meetings provided an opportunity to, as she explained it, "window shop." Having spent a great deal of time hanging out at Penn's LGBT Center, Shayla shared that she met one of her ex-girlfriends there. A regular attendee of queer parties and a board member of Penn Queer and Asian, a formal student organization, Alex C., an Asian bisexual, felt that meeting women at Penn was "easy." She recalled multiple hookups with women as a student, adding "everyone always says guys are really desperate and easy to get, but I feel like girls are almost easier," to the point where she began having to turn some women down. Though they may not have been actively seeking out sexual partners, these women had a distinct advantage over their queer counterparts who were not privy to queer sexual market spaces which made it possible to connect with other queer-identified females.

As with student of color markets, the queer student sexual markets at the University of Pennsylvania and UC Santa Barbara were also shaped by the campus environment and each institution's proximity to surrounding communities. The importance of campus geography and university history for engagement within the queer sexual market also emerged in women's descriptions of where and how they sought out potential partners. Penn's "underground" queer fraternity was named by multiple women at Penn as a central meeting place for the campus' queer and/or alternative student populations. Dubbing its membership as "notoriously queer," Melanie S. offered that attending queer-focused gatherings such as those held at the fraternity house were advantageous spaces for meeting

women. Describing the inclusivity of these fraternity parties, of which one of her friends was a member, Melanie further explained "they are usually open [parties.] They have a disclaimer that [the house] is a queer space and queer friendly and open to all racial, just different types of backgrounds, and just being respectful." Other women described this organization as "not your average frat," and "the one space I can typically count on, being with similar kinds of people and being myself and not having to worry about anything." This fraternity played a prominent role in the queer community as far as hosting parties that women felt comfortable attending, without the commitment of joining a formal student organization.

Like Melanie, multiple Penn women shared that they had met women or initiated sexual encounters at these parties. Alex C. noted,

> We were just talking and my friends were like, jokingly, 'oh, you are already talking to the hottest person in the room, what are we going to do?' And this person overheard it and said oh, you think I'm the hottest person in the room? And then we danced and started kissing and they went back to my room.

Penn women also mentioned the private, invite-only Facebook group Queer Ladies at Penn (QLP) as a valuable social media resource, essentially curating a "who's who of queer women" at the school. Initially an informal group founded by a student in 2010 as a way for queer women to meet outside of parties "dominated by gay-identified men," the growing membership in the group eventually led to the formal development of Queer Ladies at Penn (Mowles 2011). QLP focuses on connecting queer-identified women at the school through their online presence, in addition to hosting in-person events. Multiple Penn

women credited this group to dipping their toes into the queer community. Melanie S., who had successfully met women at queer frat parties, also found the QLP group to be a viable space to connect with others.

> There is actually a girl that I met at the [queer women's] pizza party... I met her then and now we are talking and flirting. So it really helps [to be in those spaces]. It's like, oh I got your number, I already know that you are attracted to ladies, so let me flirt with you. It helps a lot.

> However, for some women the formalized meetings of QLP proved cliquey. "There is definitely hooking up going on in that group so it is kind of awkward," Alex C. shared. "I don't really go anymore because they all know each other from fucking around and I'm like oh, do I really want to be here?" However, for women on campus who are looking to find community, QLP's online platform provided a convenient, less intimidating starting point. This was true for Gina, a bisexual woman who echoed the sentiments of other multi-racial women in this study when she shared

> There are a bunch of different groups for [racial] minorities and all of these things but my thing is I don't really feel like I am connected to different parts of that culture. So I didn't really feel like I would've belonged if I had joined those groups. But I do definitely feel like I connect with [the] sexual orientation part of my identity. So I knew that I would probably feel like I would belong in that kind of community if I were to join it.

Gina stopped into the LGBT Center to find a group to join, and was added to QLP's private Facebook page through one of the students working the front desk. In this instance, the LGBT Center's visibility as a central hub for queer-identified students aided Gina's efforts

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to find queer community on campus. While she initially anticipated forming friendships with other queer women through her membership in QLP, Gina also added "I feel like it would probably help with the romantic [too], because I am not good at that ever."

Beyond Penn's borders is Philadelphia's Gayborhood, located approximately 2 miles east of the campus. The Penn women interviewed, who were almost all under the age of 21, anticipated frequenting the Gayborhood's many bars and clubs once they turned 21. Recalling attendance at a recent Queer Student Alliance meeting, Cassie shared that she suggested the group organize a social activity in the Gayborhood. "I said 'please go to the Gayborhood, please!' Because my friends that I would normally go out with are not queer women, so they have less than zero desire to go there." While her closest friends were all straight-identified, Cassie's participation in the QSA provided a formal network of other queer-identified students to explore Philadelphia's gay enclaves with.

At UC Santa Barbara, similar known spaces for queer students to socialize were described, though the options for queer women beyond campus or Isla Vista boundaries were fewer. Part of this may be explained by the school's location. UCSB is positioned approximately 10 miles north of Santa Barbara, a town of just under 92,000 (compared to Philadelphia's 1.57 million). The town does not boast a gayborhood in the same manner as larger cities such as Philadelphia or New York, though during the mid-1970s, a time of intense LGBT movement organizing across the country, Santa Barbara was home to two downtown bars catering to gay men (The Pub) and lesbian women (The Odyssey) (Powers, n.d.). These businesses have not been in operation for several decades and, at present, the only option for 21+ students to attend a queer-designated space outside of campus is located at a downtown club called The Wildcat. Even then, Sunday is the one designated "gay

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night," marking this space as a temporary queer sexual market. Nancy, a Latina bisexual at UC Santa Barbara, compared Santa Barbara's dearth of options for the LGBT community with those of Los Angeles, located 1.5 hours south of the campus.

> I feel like on campus there are [spaces for queer people]. Off campus not so
> much. I know that's a struggle in general. I know in LA there are queer
> communities in West Hollywood, parts of Long Beach... I would really want
> to interact with other people, but it's hard to find a group.

Having failed to connect with the queer community on campus, Nancy devoted most of her time to her multicultural sorority.

Like Penn, UC Santa Barbara is also home to an "alternative" house that hosts local bands and is committed to creating a safe and welcoming space for more marginalized communities, most prominently people of color and queer folks. The Biko House is modeled after others founded during UC Santa Barbara's co-operative movement, which grew most prominently during the late 1970s and early 1980s in an effort to offer alternatives to the high-priced, inadequate housing in Isla Vista. Founded in 2005, the Biko House carries the same spirit of Penn's alternative fraternity, hosting musicians and activist groups dedicated to racial justice (Gonzalez and Bouyssounouse 2017). Very few queer women at UC Santa Barbara described the Biko House as a known haunt for the queer community, though this might be attributed to their tangential involvement in this community. However, Jazmine, who was in a questioning phase at the time of her interview, shared that she had attended a few queer parties at Biko, and "that was really fun... I saw a lot more diversity at that party than any other one that I've been to." Student organizations at UCSB, such as the Queer Student Union, utilize Biko as a central space in

which to hold parties, though women at UCSB also described attending queer house parties interspersed throughout Isla Vista. Daisy, a heterosexual Latina and an LGBTQ Studies minor, shared her take on attending a QSU-hosted party in Isla Vista, which she was invited to through a mutual friend. "It was a lot of fun. I think it's just this queer culture of just being very non-normative. So you saw people in costumes, wearing glitter, wearing pasties. And I liked that, it being very different." However, like the party and student of color sexual markets at this school, these spaces to congregate were almost wholly concentrated within the tiny college town. In its relative isolation from larger cities, each of UC Santa Barbara's sexual markets proved more insulated in nature, less likely to extend beyond campus or Isla Vista borders into neighboring towns.

In sum, the experiences of women who were fully involved in their campus' queer organizations and queer social networks compared with those who were not illustrates the importance of involvement in the queer sexual market for finding sexual partners. Within the confines of the university space, which is most associated with its function as a space of education, heteronormativity becomes an assumed organizing parameter. Geographer Jon Binnie (2001) describes the relationship between space and sexual identity to be such that "heterosexual identity is ubiquitous and thereby *placeless*. In this sense, queer space is intimately dependent on a sense *for* place in its realization" (p. 107). In other words, creation of marked queer spaces requires concerted cultivation of place, and concerted efforts on the part of individuals to seek out and become connected with the queer community in these spaces. To be sure, alternative environments separate of marked queer spaces such as student organizations or Living Learning Communities also proved conducive to meeting other queer-identified individuals. Namely, women identified certain

academic majors which appear to attract queer populations. Teresa described the Art community at UCSB to be one of these spaces.

> I will definitely have people in my classes and I will think, not to assume or to have gaydar or something but 'hmm, I'm kind of picking up queer vibes from you.' And there will be times that I am right. And so it is a place that is a safer space for queer and femme people. And there is a lot of overlap between people I meet in art classes and the [queer] community.

Kiri, a bisexual junior at Penn who expressed difficulty in finding women on campus, offered "I have heard if you are an urban studies major of if you're taking gender and sexualities classes, it's a lot easier to just meet people in those classes... none of my classes would ever mention sexuality in the context of the sciences." As a biochemistry and neurobiology major, Kiri's embeddedness in STEM circles is juxtaposed with more liberal arts environments, which she perceives to be more open about topics of sexuality and thus a draw for queer students. This draw was consistent with other queer women's experiences, as they described their enjoyment taking courses focused on topics of gender, sexualities and queer studies. In this case, coursework or academic majors may act as an additional community space, attracting certain populations in ways similar to student organizations targeted toward specific identities.

The "Femme Problem": Seeking Women via Social Media

With the social media revolution of the past decade, the term "social network" has taken on new meaning. In their shift to cyberspace, social networking technologies enable us to communicate with others on a global scale, thanks to such offerings as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram or LinkedIn. This has had a profound impact on how today's young adults

establish connections, form friendships and approach sexual relationships. Beyond asking your immediate networks of friends and family to set you up, the search for relationships, dating or sexual encounters that was once relegated to the personals sections of newspapers, has relocated online. Dating websites offer the convenience of perusing other potential partners, complete with photos, and allow users to filter for age, race, and even height.

Perhaps the biggest shakeup on the online dating world since the advent of web-based companies such as Match.com was the 2012 launch of Tinder, a mobile, location-based dating application. Tinder reinvented the online dating game, utilizing geospatial technology to allow users to browse the profiles of other potential partners matching their preferred criteria (such as age and sexual orientation) and within a specified mileage radius from the convenience of their phones. Since its advent, additional mobile-based "dating" platforms, such as Bumble or Her, an application dedicated to women looking for women, have grown in number and popularity. Emerging adults view these social media sites as a means to facilitate no-strings-attached hookups, as well as dates or long-term relationships (Sumter, Vandenbosch and Ligtenberg 2017).

Whether steeped in the queer sexual market or not, women in this study looking to date or form hookups with other women described utilizing social media applications to facilitate partnerships. While heterosexual woman immersed in their campus' party sexual market also utilized applications such as Tinder to find potential sexual partners, these technologies took on an added utility for queer or questioning women: namely, for confirming the sexual orientations of women they had met on campus. Social media was mentioned by nearly all non-heterosexual women as they described how they seek out potential partners, serving both as a means to "vet" the sexual identities of other women on

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campus and to explore queer sexual markets beyond the school.

Sharing that "I have the worst gaydar, which is so annoying," Vanessa described the Queer Ladies of Penn Facebook group to be a valuable resource for confirming a woman's sexual orientation. "If I am attracted to a person who I don't know, I usually look them up in the Facebook group first to see if they are part of that." While Vanessa was immersed in the queer community at Penn, social media held a different utility for Maisie, an Asian bisexual at Penn. These applications both helped her to signal attraction and to keep her sexual identity more private.

> I am not fully out at Penn. So it feels more comfortable to hide behind an
> app. And also it is difficult to judge if a female is queer. And I wouldn't
> want to approach a straight girl asking her out. So with dating apps we know
> when they are queer, and if they are also interested in you... it just simplifies
> things.

Though Maisie had attended organizational meetings at Penn, to include the Queer Student Alliance and Queer and Asian, her felt discomfort with not being fully out made it difficult to connect with others in these spaces. Rather, online applications such as Tinder proved key to meeting women, either other Penn students or women at other universities in Philadelphia. Maisie described four different relationships with women facilitated by social media.

Ellen, an Asian bisexual at UC Santa Barbara, described barriers to meeting more feminine presenting women. "If a woman initiates with me then I am open to it, but I am not the initiator," she explained. "For me it's kind of hard figuring out whether a girl is bi or not, if a girl is into you... or just being friendly." Ellen recalled her first sexual experience

with a woman, a bartender she met through a mutual friend. "She was definitely more aggressive or butch than I was. I find myself more attracted to feminine women, we weren't really sexually compatible." Ellen equates aggressiveness with a butch lesbian identity and, while this may have solved her issue with initiating sexual encounters, she found herself wanting to engage sexually with more feminine presenting women. To help facilitate this process, Ellen took to social media, using applications such as Tinder and OK Cupid. At the time of her interview Ellen had had sexual experiences with four women, with the majority of these encounters facilitated through online applications.

For more feminine-appearing queer women, social media's greatest utility was in making clear their attractions to other women. Even women who described immersion in queer spaces on their campus described some difficulties in meeting other women, namely in "signaling" their queer identity to others. This was especially true for self-described femme women looking for other feminine women. While she had made efforts to become more involved in Penn's queer community, Cassie viewed these spaces as less opportune for someone who was searching for a feminine partner. "I feel like there are very few people that I am attracted to in those settings," she shared. Having heard through a mutual friend of a secret queer sorority on campus, she juxtaposed the queer populations she had encountered with her perceptions of this group's membership. "What I have heard is there is a secret queer woman sorority group. That is the type of woman that I am attracted to, but there is no way for me to access that group. It's exclusive to people."

Mirroring the generalized perception of Penn's Greek scene, Cassie expresses frustration with the exclusivity of this covert sorority, which she presumes to be comprised of hegemonically feminine sorority archetypes. Cassie contrasts this to the "really

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aggressive" queer women who frequent the LGBT Center on campus, invoking the image of the unapproachable butch lesbian. While highly visible, these women were not in line with Cassie's preference for more feminine-presenting partners. Layla also described difficulty signaling her desire for other femme women in queer spaces. On a positive note, Layla described queer parties as "inclusive, open space[s]," where hooking up is "less forced and more organic" than at fraternity parties. However, while Layla was desirous of a sexual relationship with a woman, she felt "as someone who doesn't present as stereotypically queer, like physically or with my mannerisms," that it has been difficult to find other potential female partners. In this way, queer capital in the form of physical presentation or comportment was viewed as a means to assert belonging in queer spaces and an integral asset for signaling desire.

Social media could also be used to build a "queer competency," or to determine how queer authenticity is conveyed by other women. This was true for Elise, a bisexual woman and a member of one of UCSB's Panhellenic sororities. As a member of Greek life, Elise viewed social media as a means to both browse her options and "learn" how to present herself as non-heterosexual.

I am looking to explore women more right now. But I think that is difficult here. Just because I am in a sorority and I'm not going for anyone in my sorority. And I downloaded one app, it was pure girls, like a lesbian dating app. But that one I deleted fast. Dating apps make me feel pathetic a little bit... but I was looking through that app because I wanted to see girls here that were bisexual or lesbian because I don't know how to portray myself as

one. Except going to a gay bar. Because I feel like people always assume

that I am straight and that's it.

Steeped in one of the university's most heteronormative of organizations – Greek life –

Elise didn't view her closest social networks as a means from which to seek out sexual

partners. Perusing a dating application became a way to learn how to "portray herself" as

bisexual or lesbian, as well as to browse her options. Elise juxtaposed the "straight

environment" of the university campus with gay bars, marked queer spaces where she

believed her attraction to other women would be more apparent.

Women's descriptions of where and how they met their female sexual partners

connote the relationship between involvement in their schools' queer community and the

ease of meeting other queer-identified women. Features of the queer sexual market – local

organizations, networks and space – proved advantageous for those who espoused

membership, and, conversely, as sources of frustration for women who were not steeped in

this market, though social media provided an additional option for seeking out women on

campus or beyond.

Race/Ethnicity and Sexual Partnering within the Queer Community

The cultivation of a "critical visibility" of queer students at both Penn and UC Santa

Barbara was key to the development of queer sexual markets on both campuses. Initial

student organizations and university programs developed during the 1960s and 1970s have

since increased in number, a reflection of the diversification of queer identities in the post-

gay era and the confrontation of issues of race, class and gender within the LGBT

community (Ghaziani 2011; Seidman 2002).

Queer organizations formed around racial/ethnic and gendered identities at both UC Santa Barbara and Penn were one means from which to address the unique circumstances of queer students of color, who face dual minority status at predominantly White, heteronormative institutions. At Penn such offerings include Queer People of Color (QPOC), Queer and Asian, J-Bagel (for the Jewish community), and Penn Non-cis (serving trans and non-gender-conforming students). In a nod to the need for these niche spaces, Nicole P., a White bisexual at Penn, described the more generalized groups on campus, such as QSA, as overwhelmingly White in their membership. "I think at the last meeting I can only recall there being out of 20 or so people, three of four people of color. And QSA definitely gets criticism for that." With such dynamics, the development of racial/ethnic queer groups creates crucial space for other queer students of color to interact.

Both Melanie S. and Nicole S. discussed their membership in QPOC and its position within the broader queer community at Penn. "QPOC tends to keep to itself," Melanie shared. "That is where we can talk about the intersectionalism [sic] between being both queer and a person of color here. And the executive committee of QPOC has to make it a safe space to talk about that." Nicole S. expressed a stronger opinion of the group, explaining "we [talk] about how being a person of color and being queer, how those two things kind of combine. But I think those discussions sometimes shift a little too far skewed in one direction." Nicole further explained her views to be shaped by her attendance at a predominantly White boarding school, such that segregating oneself in a group around one shared identity was undesirable to her. Nicole was also a QSA board member, viewing this group to be more in line with her values than QPOC. When asked about the racial dynamics in the queer community, Melanie S. offered a different take.

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I don't think it is so much tension as it is ignorance at times. From White queer students. One of my friends was telling me that in Penn Non-cis he is the only Hispanic person, or person of color there. And some White person in Penn Non-cis said, 'oh, it's so hard to be accepting, blah blah blah,' but as a joke. But [my friend] felt really attacked because is it really that hard, is it really that hard to reach out to people of color? White queer people sometimes make jokes about that without realizing the effect that it has.

These points of contention within the queer community were suggested as the basis for the separation of queer students of color from student of color communities, and from the broader (predominantly White) queer constituency. "Even QPOC, they don't interact with Black Penn," offered Nicole S. "And Queer Penn and QPOC Penn don't really interact as much. There are a lot of distinct barriers, which is kind of frustrating for a lot of people." As a student who resisted this trend, identifying as part of Black Penn, White Penn and Queer Penn, Nicole was asked if she felt a need to put on different hats when interacting in these different spaces.

I don't feel like I have to change my personality entirely, but I think there are certain things that I can't say in certain areas...We also have QCF, which is Queer Christian Fellowship. I have been doing a lot with them this year. Even just hanging out with the queer Christians, I interact with them differently than I do with regular queer people. A lot of people in QSA identify as atheist or agnostic, so obviously there are certain things that I can't talk to them about and certain things that they wouldn't understand,

even if it is not just religious for me but just my morals that stem from those

religious beliefs.

Nicole's concerted efforts to be involved in various organizations on Penn's campus around issues of race, religion and sexuality afforded her a unique perspective on the dynamics within each of these communities. For her these dividing lines seem natural, given the different lived experiences of individuals within each of these groups. However, these characterizations also signify the emergence of niche sub-communities within Penn's queer community, and the role of queer politics – racial, gendered, or otherwise – in their development.

To be sure, other Penn women viewed the important and supportive role that racial or ethnic-based queer organizations served for more marginalized queer populations. Queer and Asian, founded in 2014, was one such effort to create a supportive space for non-heterosexual Asians, many of whom are more apt to join Asian-focused communities at Penn than the more generalized queer community. A sophomore member of Queer and Asian interviewed by *The Daily Pennsylvanian* shared that many Asian queer students are reluctant to be actively involved in QPOC, given the dearth of Asian membership in the group (Jo 2014). As a board member for Queer and Asian at Penn, Alex C. shared how this group creates safe spaces for queer Asians to connect and discuss shared experiences.

We are really social so we don't have any speakers, we just organize events

where we usually talk, socialize, we go to dinner. And our most popular

night is wine and cheese. You can talk about anything but it's mostly about

family struggles or coming out. And we drink fake wine and cheese. And we

whine about the things that make us go 'ugh, really?' And you share with

everyone.

The shared commiseration around coming out within the Asian community suggests the importance of having racial or ethnically-specific organizations beyond the more generalized queer student organizations.

Like Penn, UC Santa Barbara also boasts multiple niche groups within the queer community, including groups for the Asian/Pacific Islander, Black and Chicanx/Latinx communities. Additionally, UCSB also offers a group founded for exploring more marginalized sexual practices, such as kink and BDSM. Unlike Penn women, the queer women I interviewed at UCSB were less active in social organizations around a queer identity. Zoe, a Chinese pansexual junior who described a veritable monopoly on board membership within the broader queer community at UC Santa Barbara, also described queer groups organized around race or ethnicity to be a less than ideal fit for her, since "I see myself mentally as White, which gets in the way sometimes." Zoe shared that the ongoing process of finding her niche in the queer community would require "working out the cultural thing and the queer thing."

Despite these felt divisions or tensions between queer students of color and the majority White constituency, queer women of color at both schools were more likely to have engaged in interracial relationships, and less likely to reflect on the implications of interracial dating, than their straight-identified counterparts. Significantly, most of the queer Asian women I interviewed across both schools detailed engagement in sexual relationships with White women, met through online applications such as Tinder or at queer parties. Maisie, an Asian bisexual at Penn who is predominantly attracted to White women, shared

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that with regards to finding women to date outside of her race "I haven't had too many issues finding people." Nicole S., a Black bisexual at Penn who had had sexual relationships with two women and other hookup encounters, shared that "in general I don't particularly have a type. Out of all the people I have hooked up with, I have pretty much hooked up with every ethnicity except for Asian. That just kind of happened, not purposely." However, Nicole was also clear about the fact that she does not view limiting oneself to certain racial environments to align with her priorities, which may inform her sexual behaviors as well.

This is not to suggest that racial dynamics do not inform sexual relationships among queer women. Though they proved less salient than for heterosexual women of color, these dynamics were still mentioned. Melanie S., a Caribbean American lesbian at Penn, reflected on her previous interracial relationship with another woman at Penn.

> I think as a queer person of color it tends to be a little awkward at Penn. Both of my relationships have been interracial. But in my second relationship I don't think she realized it because I was talking to her about this at one point. And she said wait, we are an interracial couple? And I said yeah, that is exactly what we are! And she said I don't think like that, I just think of us as a couple. And I thought well you can't just think that because that negates the fact that I am a person of color and I have these experiences that you don't. It's just very strange. Sometimes I feel like I am exoticized if I'm a queer person of color and I am not dating another queer person of color.

While Melanie's references to being fetishized echo that of heterosexual women of color, discussed in Chapter 3, women who had engaged in interracial relationships or hookups with other women did not describe these encounters as a subject to derision by the broader queer community or by other students of color. However, this may be attributed in part to, as Nicole S. suggested, the tendency for queer students of color to interact separately from heterosexual students of color, where an emphasis on enacting an authentic (read, heterosexual) racial identity might be more pronounced. Multiple studies document this relationship between racial minority communities and LGBQ identities, Mignon Moore's (2011) study of Black lesbian women and Tse-Shang Tang's (2011) study of lesbian women in Hong Kong detailing how expectations of heterosexuality within the nuclear family compel Black and Asian lesbian women to actively create or identify safe spaces to be out. Whether or not a similar tension is experienced by queer women of color on predominantly White campuses cannot be determined from my interviews. However, it is significant that their engagement in interracial relationships were not described as taboo or outside the norm for queer women of color.

Sites of Opportunity or Objectification? Queer Women in the Party Sexual Market

Both queer and heterosexual women alike detailed their participation in the party sexual market through their attendance at large house or fraternity parties. For some queer women, immersion in the campus party market was purely for socializing, while others viewed these contexts as possible sites of sexual partnership with women. Yet while some women made strategic use of the party market to interact sexually with other women, others derided these engagements as drawing unwanted attention, particularly from heterosexual men (Rupp et

al. 2013). Women were divided, then, between whether or not the party sexual market was a viable space to find same-sex sexual partners.

Significantly, women interviewed for this study who recalled instances of observed homoeroticism within the party market described these interactions occurring between women only. This double standard for same-sex interaction in marked heteronormative spaces is partially steeped in the belief that heterosexual men want to see women make out with or touch one another. This sentiment was expressed by both queer and heterosexual women alike. Shana, a heterosexual woman who was clear about her dislike for the party sexual market at UC Santa Barbara, recalled the one party she attended as a student. "People flipped their shit when two girls started making out. So I saw that and thought 'okay, you are just doing that for attention, I am out of here," she explained, laughing. "Frat guys love it when girls make out... It's not so much me thinking 'oh they are gay, that's so gross.' I don't care. I do care when it is to get guys' attention." Samantha, a senior at UCSB who is also heterosexual, shared, "I have friends who are bi or gay. They don't necessarily kiss people in public because they are either not fully out or... they are not comfortable with the fact that lesbians are used as something to ogle at here. So they don't want to be a part of that."

Views on instances of women kissing at parties were based on the suggestion that these encounters are for the enticement of men, and thus would only be engaged in by women for this purpose. In other words, "straight girls kissing" is hot; lesbians kissing is not. Tantamount to this distinction is the association of hegemonic femininity with heterosexuality, and the deployment of same-sex eroticism to attract or turn on potential male partners. Conversely, women exuding non-hegemonic femininity are less apt to have

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their same-sex behaviors read as sexually exciting to men, and more likely to have these behaviors read as driven by a primary sexual orientation to women. In a party market structured to benefit heterosexual males by supplying a steady pool of attractive women to have sex with, sexual engagement between less feminine women might not be looked on as favorably.

Some queer women viewed party market environments as advantageous spaces to initiate sexual encounters with other women. For them, the party market was just another sexual market in which to meet potential partners, though some acknowledged how heteronormativity shaped how public sexual touching between women was viewed. Women who made strategic use of party sexual markets for sexual interaction with women had varying levels of interaction with queer populations and involvement in queer market spaces. Roxy, a White bisexual junior, was not involved in UCSB's queer community, and her mostly male friendships were drawn from her freshman dorm. She described heavy levels of partying within the school's biggest sexual market, particularly during her first two years of undergrad, and recalled sexual interactions with seven women since coming to college, most of whom were friends or random women met at fraternity parties. While most of Roxy's hookups at college were men, she shared that "it's not for lack of trying," describing greater difficulty in meeting women to hookup with.

> I just think it's been harder for me to tell if someone is just being really friendly or if they are interested in something more. Especially a bunch of people drunk at a party... But I've definitely made out with a lot of girls at frat parties who seem they might just be doing it because we're at a frat party. And I kind of feel like I'm almost taking advantage of people because

they probably wouldn't be doing it normally... I actually haven't had a lot of

sober hookups with women while I've been here. It's always been in a

situation [with] alcohol.

With the exception of drunken hookups with female friends (initiated as group sex

scenarios that involved men), most of Roxy's same-sex encounters at fraternity parties were

once and done. "I've met girls that I've gotten their numbers and then tried to text them and

they weren't interested after that point. So that kind of made me feel like it was just an 'in

the heat of the moment' kind of thing."

Interestingly, Roxy views her capitalization on the fraternity party environment to

be "almost taking advantage of people," rather than a limiting factor in her search for a

more consistent hookup or relationship. She did, however, recognize the appeal two women

kissing might have for other partygoers, recalling an instance of making out with a woman

that became very public spectacle.

I was at a very large quarterly party at a frat house and they had sponsors of

the event and they were filming. And I was on the dance floor with a woman

and we started kissing, and then I saw the camera had come up and was

directly on us. And that made me feel very uncomfortable.

In any case, as a non-participant in the queer community, Roxy seemed content to sexually

engage with women within party market spaces, even if those encounters didn't lead to

anything more.

I'm not sure how it is for men, but I think that there are a lot of women who

are willing to experiment, or who have an interest or a curiosity, but it's hard

to tell who might be. And it's not very overt. So I think the only situations in

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which I'd be able to tell are when I'm at a party and we are more willing to

explore things like that I guess.

For Roxy, these alcohol-fueled environments were believed to be easier spaces for women

to overtly signal attraction to, or at least sexual curiosity for, other women.

Another bisexual, Nicole S., also had no qualms about having sexual encounters

with women in non-queer spaces. While Nicole felt that it was easy to find sexual partners

if you are openly queer and "are in that kind of environment," she was also not against

hooking up with women in straight party settings. She did, however, recognize that this

type of behavior was viewed as problematic for some members of the queer community.

I do know that the queer community at Penn generally is very much against

the whole straight and experimenting thing. Which I have definitely hooked

up with straight girls a couple of times, quite a few times actually. But I

think in general if it is that kind of sexual experimentation, female

specifically, [the queer female community is] generally really against it.... I

think it is the whole idea of possibly being used. It's a very general thing that

a lot of straight people go into college saying 'oh I want to experiment with

girls...this is on my bucket list' kind of thing. And so I think there are a lot of

people that just don't want to be a bucket list kind of person.

Nicole, however, had engaged in multiple hookups with women at both Black and White

fraternity parties. "There is always a joke that technically I am using them, not that I am

trying to turn them, but as a joke... There was even one drunken encounter where my friend

was trying to stop me from hooking up with a straight girl and I said, 'I'm totally fine with

being somebody's drunken experiment!'" she exclaimed, laughing.

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Expressing similar views as Roxy, Nicole joked that hooking up with straight

women at large parties was almost taking advantage of the environment. Being someone's

"drunken experiment" suggests that these spaces are most conducive to engaging sexually

with women who might not initiate sexual encounters with women otherwise. While Nicole

understood how some queer women might view this as problematic, she did not adopt a

similar view.

Conversely, Layla, a Black bisexual at Penn, viewed hooking up with straight

women to be problematic, and shared that she would not feel comfortable hooking up with

her straight friends.

I guess I just don't like possibly supporting the notion that bisexuality is

fleeting. And if they are just looking for this fun thing to do at a party to tell

their friends... I guess I care more about viewing my identity as something

strong and valid that I don't want to participate in things that could be

viewed as invalid.

For Layla this included the public spectacle of women kissing at parties.

I have known of people who [kissed] to get the attention of boys. That, I

have a problem with. I'm even uncomfortable with people making jokes

about other women being their wife, like oh I wish I could marry you! As

someone who is queer, those things are not funny to me. Joking that

someone is your girlfriend or like if boys weren't so terrible you would have

sex with your girlfriend, even though you both don't mean that at all, you are

just saying that as a joke. Because to me those things are not a joke, that is

real life.

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As someone who also felt that bisexuals were marginalized within the queer community at Penn, Layla viewed engagement in sexual behaviors between women at parties as just another means from which to invalidate her identity. A pansexual junior at UCSB, Zoe, also identified women as a source of the problem. Zoe preferred seeking out women through online apps, given that "if I was going to a party to hit up a girl or something, it might be a little harder. At least to find somebody who wasn't trying to just experiment." Zoe added that going to a QSU meeting or living in the Rainbow House – that is, immersion in marked queer spaces – might better facilitate meeting "a genuine same-sex partner."

Other women shared that engaging with or meeting women in the party market was undesirable. Vanessa, a queer woman at Penn, preferred attending queer frat parties, where same-sex sexual interaction is less apt to be met with male ogling or propositions. Describing her interactions within the party market, Vanessa explained "if I am making out with a girl in the corner, which I am totally cool with doing, a lot of the guys will say 'oh my God, that is so hot, let's have a threesome.'... then I become kind of a porn object... and that is really disappointing." Vanessa's recollection of being propositioned for a threesome by male party attendees is predicated on the assumption that these women are also attracted to men and, perhaps, that their engagement in sexual activity is in an effort to garner male attention. Rather than being for her enjoyment, Vanessa suggests how her actions are rendered a form of entertainment for male partygoers, marking her and her female partner as "porn objects."

Queer women shared conflicting views of the party market as both advantageous for women seeking women and problematic given male encouragement of sexual engagements

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between women. At the same time, these views were negotiated within a campus environment where other single queer women were believed to be few and far between. Women's strategic use of the party market, then, could be driven by their non-affiliation with the queer community, or by a view of one's options within the queer community as rather limited. Jasmine, a bisexual and a recent transfer student to UCSB, perceived the openly out LGBT community at the school to be smaller than at her previous community college. At the time of her interview she had yet to join any queer organizations, though she shared this was the eventual plan. Jasmine also shared she was actively looking to meet other women on campus, but without much success thus far. Introduced to the party sexual market by her roommates, Jasmine regretted that "it's a lot easier to find guys than it is to find girls."

Recalling her bisexual friend's descriptions of the Penn queer population, Jill, a heterosexual senior, shared "she always rants about how she knows of three or four other women who would be interested in her within our multiple social groups. And all of them are in a relationship. So she feels that her choices are very limited." Layla echoed these sentiments, sharing "I just haven't really found any queer women at Penn. There has been a lot of 'almost,' but because of certain circumstances I have had to be like no, that is not going to happen," referring to multiple instances in which either her or a potential female partner were already in a relationship with another person. For Shayla, the presumption that women were only looking for committed relationships was a downside for her.

> I don't know if that is a Penn thing or if it is just a women thing. I have had a
> lot harder time finding women who are open to random hookups. With queer
> women, I guess. Because I know straight women who are open to random

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hookups with men. I personally have yet to encounter queer women who are,

outside of drunken context, open to just texting and hooking up with other

women. And that could be I am just not meeting the right women, in which

case that is just unfortunate because I want to. [laughs] I am mildly annoyed

at only having drunken sex with women.

Shayla's prior hookup encounters with women at Penn had all been facilitated by fraternity

parties, but, to her consternation, these women subsequently expressed their desire for a

more committed relationship rather than a continual hookup.

The felt lack of opportunities to meet other women marked the party market as a

prime location to potentially sexually partner with other women. However, party market

sites were also recognized to be primarily oriented towards heteronormative partnerships,

such that women in these spaces were assumed to be temporally interested in women while

under the influence of alcohol, and/or purely for the purposes of attracting men. For women

looking for something more than a quick hookup, then, the party market could prove

limiting. Other women abstained from sexual behavior with women at parties on principle,

asserting the validity of their non-heterosexual identities and how both men and women

could be complicit in taking advantage of these spaces to experience or witness sexual acts

between women. In other words, the party sexual market's potential for queer women was

viewed as equal parts positive and negative.

Conclusion

The conditions needed for the development of queer student markets – space,

organizational structure and culture – flowed from a "critical visibility" of gay and lesbian

students during an era of mass student organizing on campuses across the nation. As

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students came out and sought spaces to meet around a shared non-heterosexual identity, the foundations for a queer sexual market followed, not only in the increased number of student organizations offered, but in university recognition of its LGBT student population and the subsequent development of policies and programs designed to meet the academic and social needs of this group. While this is certainly not true nationwide – some institutions, mostly those affiliated with a religion, have actively sought Title IX exemptions which permit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity – the University of Pennsylvania and the University of California Santa Barbara represent two institutions with a robust, visible queer population and the structural amenities to support them.

However, women's immersion in their school's queer sexual market was predicated on possession of the "right" queer capital. Namely, women who arrived on campus with a queer identity were more apt to feel comfortable joining queer organizations or seeking out other queer-friendly spaces than women who came to these identities "late," or after they had begun college. Felt comfort in queer spaces was also associated with other forms of queer capital, such as language, gender presentation, forms of dress and peer networks. In addition, bisexually-identified women described how their felt attractions to both men and women made for a conflicted relationship with other members of the queer community.

Thus, each school's queer sexual market is characterized by an intracommunity politics of queer authenticity, making this market less accessible or more intimidating to those who felt they lacked the right forms of capital to assert their membership. Concomitant with this feeling was the perception, for those women on the outside looking in, that the queer community was tight-knit and exclusionary. This notion was perhaps more pronounced at UC Santa Barbara, where women who described involvement in the

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queer sexual market described minimal engagement with student organizations. These findings might be explained in part by who was interviewed from this university, though it's significant that these women collectively perceived the queer community leadership on their campus to be concentrated within the hands of a few. In comparison, Penn's LGBT community presented more and varied opportunities to be involved, boasting many more student organizations and programs and proximity to a large city with an established Gayborhood. UCSB's queer sexual market proved more insulated, both geographically and in terms of its membership.

Women at Penn and UC Santa Barbara steeped in their institution's queer sexual market described interacting with this market's population through their organizational memberships, attendance at queer parties and friendships with other queer students. Most importantly, these ties to the queer community facilitated the search for sexual partners, providing both formal and informal settings for these meetings to occur. For women who described failed attempts at, or fear of, entering this market, connecting with women proved difficult. Alternative means for engaging with the queer community included used of online applications such as Tinder or, for Penn women, the Queer Ladies of Penn Facebook group. Outside of more formal market spaces, these technologies proved useful tools for determining another woman's sexual identity or for seeking out partners outside of campus boundaries. These applications were also a key means for women to "signal" their queer identities, particularly for feminine-presenting women who described frustration with being read as straight, even in marked queer spaces.

In addition to sexual identity, race/ethnicity informed how women navigated the queer sexual market and viewed their opportunities for sexual partnership within it. Niche

queer organizations developed for queer students of color were experienced as spaces of support for women who were both racial and sexual minorities on their campuses. Women of color who participated in these groups shared that these spaces were developed, in part, to address internal divisions within the queer community around issues of race. While some preferred involvement in queer student of color organizations for these reasons, these groups are smaller in their membership and often segregated from the queer umbrella organizations (and social networks therein), offering fewer options in terms of potential sexual partners.

At the same time, interracial relationships between queer women were less apt to be read as problematic or a challenge to one's racial authenticity in the same ways as they might in student of color markets. This might be explained in part by the fact that queer women of color were less likely to describe immersion in student of color markets, and subsequent peer pressure to date within their race. Finally, women of all races shared their experiences engaging in a predominantly heteronormative party market. While some viewed these spaces as either opportunistic sites for sexual interaction with women, others derided female homoeroticism in party market spaces, especially if used by women to garner heterosexual male attention.

The experiences of non-heterosexual women on both campuses illustrate the power of university space, local organizations and broader campus culture in the development of queer sexual markets. Their narratives also reflect the effects of a post-gay era for how queer women experience the university as a sexual space. For some women, generalized acceptance of homosexuality on their campus presented little need to seek out queer community for purposes of safety or support, while for other women finding these spaces

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was important for openly asserting their pride with others and engaging in campus activism around LGBT issues. Internally, queer sexual markets are characterized by an intracommunity politics of queer authenticity, where gender presentation, race and sexual identity act as forms of queer capital and inform how women experienced this sexual market.

Conclusion

The preceding chapters detail how the sexual lives of undergraduate women are doubly informed by the institutional environments they occupy and by their multiple, intersecting identities. Applying a sexual markets theory framework to the study of sexual life within the American university, I identify the multi-level conditions contributing to the development and continued presence of multiple, differentiated social environments (aka "markets") on campus within which students search for sexual partners. Whether women in this study sought non-committed hookups, dates or relationships, their search for partners was shaped by their individual identities, the social networks governing their market membership(s) and their positioning within broader university structures. The sexual decisions and experiences of these women also reveal how individual sexual subjectivities change as market actors navigate different institutional environments and market structures. This work contributes a more holistic examination of the sexual organization of the 21st century university and the multi-level processes governing how women meet potential sexual partners and make decisions about with whom to partner.

Sexual markets are not "just so," but are the product of complex social processes, formed within local environments and cultivated by their populations. Drawing upon archival research on the University of Pennsylvania and the University of California Santa Barbara, I argue that the evolution of their physical campuses and campus cultures informed the development of multiple, distinctive sexual markets at each school. The enrollment of sufficient numbers of similarly oriented actors, the presence of campus organizations facilitating their interaction, and the physical space available for these interactions to occur are some of the key institutional elements driving market

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development. Actors collectively cultivate a sexual culture within each market, orienting

the desires and sexual behaviors of participants. The university writ large, the sexual

markets produced within it and the sexual actors circulating in these spaces produce an

infrastructure of interaction on each campus (Büyükokutan 2018) providing the locations,

occasions and networks for women to meet and form sexual partnerships with other

students.

This study contributes to the college sexuality literature in its focus on how the

particularities of a given university – its unique organizational history, geographic location,

structure and culture – inform the organization of multiple sexual markets on its campus.

The market typology identified on each campus– party, student of color and queer student

markets – reflects broader developmental trends in higher education over the 19th and 20th

centuries, to include the increasing complexity of organizations and growing diversification

of the college-bound population. This study provides a "top-down" account of the

organization of sexual life, assessing the implications of institutional development and

change on the sexual lives of its members, at the same time that it identifies institutional

change and sexual market development as the product of "bottom-up" social forces, namely

collective student organizing.

Further, the findings trouble both the notion of a singular sexual hookup culture on

university campuses and the neat delineation between students who "opt in" versus "opt

out" of this culture (Bogle 2008; Wade 2017). I draw upon and bridge the hookup culture

literature with the broader body of sexualities research focused on the macro-level

structuring of sexual life, explicating how the intricacies of the university environment

subsequently produce multiple sexual markets, the structures of which inform students'

sexual options and opportunities. While ostensibly all students in a given campus population are a potential sexual partner for every other student, this study uncovers how highly organized, highly differentiated social and physical environments constituting sexual markets pattern social and sexual interaction between students. In this chapter I review the major findings of this study, their contribution to the sexualities and higher education literature, and their implication for addressing issues of student segregation and sexual safety on college campuses. I close with some suggestions for future research.

The Promises and Pitfalls of a Commitment to Diversity: Segregated Sexual Markets

As shown throughout this study, women's entry into particular sexual markets is informed by institutional processes that have nothing to do with sex; nevertheless, these processes significantly inform individual sexual partnering, structuring the circumstances and degree to which students come into contact with other populations. Further, the results of this study find both a university's structural arrangements and the interpersonal interactions it produces contribute to sexual markets segregated by race, sexual identity and, to a lesser extent, class status. These divisions are present both between and within sexual markets, with authenticity politics determining market membership and informing market-specific cultural scripts for sexual behavior.

The patterning of sexual relationships by race, class and sexual identity implicates the four-year American university in the creation of these segregated, differentiated markets. Compared to studies of the sexual organization of neighborhoods (Laumann et. al. 2004) or commercial spaces (Hammers 2008b; Weinberg and Williams 2014), the four-year American university offers a unique case with respect to the macro-structuring of sexual life. While neighborhoods or commercial spaces oriented towards sexual partnerships, such

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as bars or nightclubs, are often demographically homogenous, the product of direct advertising or structural inequalities driving neighborhood segregation, the four-year American university is perhaps one of the most diverse institutional settings students will encounter in their lifetimes in terms of racial, class, gender and sexual makeup of the student population. At the same time, the university setting is also an overwhelmingly homogenous space in terms of the age and marital status of its occupants (Charles, Fischer, Mooney and Massey 2009). These unique institutional settings have been explained as a major force contributing to the popularity of casual sex on college campuses, as students navigate transition into adulthood and delay long-term commitments or designs on marriage (Allison and Risman 2017; Hamilton and Armstrong 2009). However, prior research also finds that, despite a culture of casual sex where it seems that "anything goes," most sexual relationships are forged with partners of the same race (Massey, Charles, Lundy and Fischer 2003; McClintock 2010).

In its survey of the sexual landscape of the college campus, this study contributes to a broader body of research examining how universities are complicit in the reproduction of social inequalities on their campuses (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Chambliss and Takacs 2014; Stuber 2011; Winkle-Wagner 2009). These divisions were most glaring across racial identities. The majority of women of color in this study described feelings of isolation or a general "outsider" status on their predominantly White campuses, feelings exacerbated for some through engagement with a party sexual market privileging White, middle-class orientations to college. While students of color cannot negotiate the campus environment – to include their sexual interactions and decisions – without acknowledging or feeling the effects of the party sexual market, this is not a two-way street. As the racial

majority, the White, class-privileged heterosexual women who circulated exclusively within party sexual markets did not describe consideration for how their sexual behaviors might be perceived by student of color communities. This was consistent with White women's navigation of the university writ large. As they described for me their experiences as students on their campus, only one White woman, Adrienne, a junior at UC Santa Barbara, mentioned having an experience on campus which drew attention to her status as part of the racial majority. At the time of her interview Adrienne was enrolled in a Feminist Studies course called Women of Color. She recalled for me her first day in the class.

> I walked in and there are three White people in my class, including myself. And
> I thought to myself "oh my God, I'm the minority." And these women probably
> feel like that in every single one of their other classes, especially women of
> color.

Most White women described navigating the university space in ways which reflect their privileged position, both as students and as sexual actors. When asked to perceive the difficulty students of color on their campus might have finding sexual partners, White women were more likely to emphasize the diversity of the party sexual markets, marking these spaces as seemingly fruitful places to find sexual partners for all students. "I think in the party scene there are so many different people, everyone goes out," shared Elise, a White woman at UC Santa Barbara. "So I feel like everybody has a chance." Josephine, a White woman at Penn, added

> My roommate, her boyfriend, they are both of color so they must have met. I
> think some of the fraternities and sororities here... are specific to their race. We

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had two of those at [my previous institution]. I forget what they are called, they

are different than sororities.

For White women, their vantage point for surveying the sexual climate at their

respective campus often centered on their engagement with the mainstream, predominantly

White party sexual market. Their lack of familiarity with or knowledge of student

organizations or networks for minority student populations reflects their navigation of the

campus space as a part of the racial majority. This was not the case for women of color,

who often described their communities in juxtaposition to the party sexual market, whose

size and influence made it impossible to ignore. While similar dynamics were present

within queer student communities, most of these women were better able (and more likely)

to transition back and forth between the party and queer student sexual markets, especially

those women who presented as femme.

The organization and delineation of distinct campus spaces for each of the sexual

markets identified in this study reflect a broader institutional trend of addressing issues of

diversity in ways which systematically segregate student populations, a campus dynamic

inherent in the social and sexual experiences of the women in this study. Throughout this

study I argue that the rapid diversification of higher education over the course of the 20th

century shifted the material and social conditions of university life, contributing to the

production of new sexual markets organized by racial and sexual identity. A major tactic of

student organizers in the 1960s and 1970s was the presentation of "demands" to

administrators, calls for university commitments to diversity, multiculturalism and

inclusivity chief among them. As Peterson and Davenport (1978) argue, colleges and

universities in the 1960s were transfixed on the development of policies and procedures

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steeped in colorblind notions of equal opportunity. By the 1970s "affirmative action"

became the watchword as universities focused on the development of programs with the

goal of erasing inequalities and identifying disadvantaged student populations. In essence,

affirmative action became a means to rectify America's history of racial injustice, most

prominently aimed toward African Americans. Demographic shifts in the American

population, aided in part by immigration from Asia and Latin America, resulted in a further

revision of the university approach to recruitment and retention. As Massey and colleagues

describe it, "the rationale [for admissions] shifted from righting past wrongs to representing

racial and ethnic "diversity" for its own sake" (2003:1).

Institutional approaches to diversity have prompted a body of research examining

the political, social and economic implications of what has become an obligatory issue for

colleges and universities across the nation. Joan Acker's (2006) theory of "inequality

regimes" suggests that the reproduction of racial, class and gender inequalities within

organizational settings can be attributed to the development of policies and procedures

which reproduce, rather than rectify, inequalities. Schools in the 21st century seek to address

the demands of multiculturalism, inclusivity and diversity in a neoliberal business model

which behooves them to package their commitment to diversity in ways that will improve

their economic lot. As Jane Ward has argued, difference is embraced within an institutional

environment when it is "predictable, profitable, rational, or respectable" (2008:2). Mohanty

(2003) argues that the corporatized model of higher education, when combined with

ideologies of pluralism, creates a "race industry" that both commodifies and domesticates

race on campuses, with resultant effects on how students of color experience these spaces.

The efforts of universities to address issues of multiculturalism and diversity, Mohanty argues, are accommodative instead of transformative in their practice.

Feminist theorist Sara Ahmed (2012) adds to this conversation by asserting diversity work as a set of practices that subsequently allows issues of racism and inequality to become submerged within institutional life. That is, by affirming a commitment to diversity and adopting measures to this effect, institutions are able to maintain their good faith efforts to address inequalities. As Ahmed explains it, "to diversify an institution becomes an institutional action insofar as the necessity of the action reveals the absence or failure of diversity" (2012:33). This absolves institutions of their longstanding history as overwhelmingly White institutions at the same time that their commitment to diversifying their population reveals this longstanding history. Within this dynamic, people of color become implicated in their host institution's efforts to "become" diverse, at the same time that their presence becomes a means to subsume the institution's reproduction of its inequalities. In Ahmed's terms, this process allows diversity to "function as a containment strategy" (2012:53).

The organizing principles of both student of color and queer student sexual markets at UCSB and Penn, while principally designed to provide safe, supportive spaces for these populations, nevertheless reflect the omnipotence of White heteronormativity as these student populations negotiate different market environments and make sexual decisions. For example, student of color sexual markets on both campuses are marked by an intracommunity politics of authenticity where racial performativity and association with co-ethnics served to communicate one's alignment with – or, conversely, their distance from – their racial/ethnic community. However, this dynamic is also the product of the university

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as an historically White space, with consequent pressures on racial/ethnic minority populations to act and behave in ways which will reflect positively on their communities. Asian-American, Latina and Black women alike shared their distaste for the party sexual market, or their wariness of engaging men in these spaces to avoid becoming the fetishized object of someone's desire. In this way, women of color negotiate campus environments where their sexual desires and behaviors are doubly subject to scrutiny: within their own communities and among the White campus population.

I do not question the existence or importance of those features of university life which support and affirm the experiences of underrepresented populations, such as Living Learning Communities or student organizations created for racial/ethnic and sexual minority communities. The value and purpose of the student of color and queer communities on campus cannot be understated, and I am not calling upon their dismantling. Rather, I contend that university support for, or development of, these offerings without due consideration for what these initiatives are designed to do – and if they are actually fulfilling their purpose – has profound implications for how students navigate the university environment. Part of addressing what Ahmed terms the "containment problem" of diversity initiatives could include thoughtful development of university environments marked by greater opportunity for students of all racial, class and sexual backgrounds to move between communities.

Envisioning a university which embodies diversity beyond the creation of "diversity initiatives" or designation of spaces for underrepresented populations must necessarily begin at the institutional level. Administrations are capable of making creative use of campus spaces and student programming which recognizes the unique campus conditions,

student demographics and challenges particular to its schools and seeks to provide opportunities for contact between its student populations (Renn 2004). These efforts should begin with Orientation Week, as this annual event sets the tone for student engagement with the university structure and other student populations (Chambliss and Takacs 2014). Collaborative efforts can also be initiated at the organizational and interpersonal levels, with institutional support and encouragement for student engagement across communities. At the level of student organizations this might look like instituting a joint meeting of the Multicultural, Panhellenic and Interfraternity Conferences once a semester, or of bridging divides between seemingly disparate groups (Queer Student Unions and Transfer Student Organizations, for example).

These initiatives do not have to (nor should they) seek to replace or dismantle minority student communities, nor should the work of building these connections fall squarely on minority student populations. They should, however, provide opportunities for intergroup dialogue, to include addressing how majority (White, heterosexual, middle-class) student populations enjoy the privileges of a university environment developed by and catered to their interests. My reasoning behind these initiatives is not to encourage interracial sexual relationships, or to envision an alternative arrangement of sexual market spaces. Rather, the findings of this study reflect broader campus dynamics which reproduce the segregation of underrepresented student populations from the majority; I consider how these findings may be used to address these divisions. At the same time, an integral part of this broader project would include addressing the problems and pitfalls of the party sexual market, an issue I address in the next section.

Resisting the Path of Least Resistance: Alternatives to the Party Sexual Market

In Chapter 2 I examined how the respective histories of UC Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania contributed to the development of their largest sexual market, the party sexual market, cultivated and predominantly controlled by class privileged White males. Penn's party market is centralized within its prominent, historically White Greek culture, while UC Santa Barbara's party market is located within the tiny college town of Isla Vista, which shares a border with the campus. At both schools, hegemonic femininity and Whiteness operate as forms of erotic capital, determining the ease with which women can access the party market and find sexual partners within it.

The party sexual market is most closely aligned with popular cultural images of the college experience – marked by four years of hardcore partying, drinking and sex – and the institutional structures of each school ensured the party market operated as the path of least resistance for its undergraduate populations. Penn's New Student Orientation offers a prime opportunity for its Greek population to ceremoniously welcome the incoming freshmen by hosting large, open parties. While UC Santa Barbara has faced increasing pressure to take greater ownership of Isla Vista, the town's folklore as a haven for undergraduate partying overrides these efforts.

Multiple sociological studies identify the creation of party cultures controlled by student populations relatively immune from university control. Athletes and White fraternities figure prominently in the party culture (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Martin 2016; Wade 2017), though other student populations with wealth and status possess the material and social resources needed to host large parties where sexual interaction is an assumed goal. Women partying in these environments are at greater risk for sexual

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harassment, sexual assault or rape, particularly given a gendered dynamic where women are expected to defer to men (Armstrong, Hamilton and Sweeney 2006).

These findings are consistent with the experiences of the women in this study who participated in the party market. The women experience the university as a space historically constructed by and for men. Interaction with their respective campus' party sexual market included negotiating the parameters of the gender ratio and men's judgement of their sex appeal for entry to fraternity parties. Once inside, these women negotiate sexual advances from men in crowded houses. Multiple women recalled instances of unwanted sexual touching from male partygoers, characterizing these interactions as just "part of the territory" in a market environment where promises of free alcohol, space to dance, socialize or facilitate sexual encounters draw in students. The "convenient nuisance" that is the large, male-controlled college party will continue to hold sway and appeal to students so long as these spaces are rendered one of the few campus sites where underage students can drink and let loose beyond the restrictive college dormitory.

Certainly not all students engage in the party sexual market. Some women described "aging out" of this market, having grown tired of engaging with drunken partygoers in crowded, unsanitary conditions, or of dealing with disrespect from men looking for a quick hookup. Others – albeit a minority – described a complete avoidance of the party sexual market, preferring quiet nights at home with friends. However, the social pressure to "fit in" on campus often includes invitations to drink and party, a sentiment shared by more than few women in this study. Further, if we accept that a large percentage of college students, Greek-affiliated or not, will find ways to party regardless of age restrictions, then we can better begin to imagine how to give women options and control over when, how and with

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whom they interact with, socially or sexually. This is an essential part of dismantling the male power dynamic so heavily ingrained in campus party sexual markets. For women in historically White Greek life, this would mean an amendment to the National Panhellenic Council's ban on alcohol in sorority houses. This regulation has existed since the Council's birth, with a 1998 resolution passed by the NPC reaffirming this stance, to include the provision that its member sororities can only co-host events with fraternities if they are substance free (Kingkade and Gutterman 2017). Concerns over the underage status of sorority house residents are well-placed; however, similar concerns do not restrict fraternities from hosting booze soaked social events, despite ample evidence that women are more likely to experience sexual assault and party rape in these environments (National Institute of Justice 2016).

While populations and spaces most closely aligned with the party sexual market are often the focus of studies of the collegiate hookup culture (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Bogle 2008; Hamilton 2007; Rupp et al. 2014; Wade 2017), the present study's identification of multiple sexual market types on campus provide a basis for comparison between these markets. While women across all three sexual market types described engaging in hookups, women in most student of color sexual markets and queer student sexual markets detailed qualitatively different hookup experiences. These women were less likely to describe these markets as sexually objectifying, and also less likely to report marked pressures to hookup from fellow market occupants. Student of color and queer student sexual markets, I argue, provide a foundation from which to imagine a safer and more equitable party sexual market for all undergraduate women.

As I discuss in Chapters 3 and 4, student of color and queer student sexual markets are not primarily organized around facilitating sexual partnerships. The roots of these markets are tied to providing students of color and queer-identified students with resources, networks and safe spaces on predominantly White campuses. While this is a marked difference from party sexual markets, prominent dynamics of interaction between participants in student of color and queer sexual markets nevertheless provide a framework for imagining a different type of party sexual market. Central to this vision is a restructuring of market spaces and organizational control which would give women greater agency to host parties, to include determining the timing and conditions of these environments. These are not far-fetched notions. Take, for example, the Hispanic/Latino/a sexual market on UC Santa Barbara's campus, where responsibility for hosting parties shifted to sorority women following the disbanding of multiple Latino-interest fraternity chapters. Latina/Hispanic women in multicultural and/or Latina-interest sororities described only admitting guests into their homes whom they knew, cultivating environments marked by familiarity and, ostensibly, increased safety for all partygoers. Queer women on both campuses also described hosting or attending gatherings which advertised these gatherings as safe spaces for participants of all gendered and sexual identities. This was true of Penn's underground "queer frat." "They have a disclaimer that [the fraternity] is a queer space and queer friendly," shared Melanie S., a lesbian-identified woman at Penn who attended these frat parties often. "They say that on every event, just to make sure the people who aren't going to be very supportive of different communities don't come." This is one approach that could be easily adopted across all sexual markets, provided its participants collectively determine the creation of safe and supportive spaces as a shared value within the market.

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To be sure, student of color and queer student markets are physically and numerically smaller sexual markets than party sexual markets. Familiarity and shared social networks in these two market types were a significant factor informing women's levels of felt comfort engaging with others. Consider, for example, Nicole S.'s comparison of Black versus White fraternity parties. "People look out for each other at the Black fraternity parties," she shared. "People are more likely to come up to one another and question if a person is safe at a Black fraternity party, I have seen it happen multiple times, versus a White fraternity party." Nicole attributes part of this dynamic to the dominant orientation of White fraternity parties towards hooking up, which "plays into the whole rape culture." However, women of color were also more likely to describe the parties they attended to be filled with people they knew. This is partly a product of the smaller size of these sexual markets, though the importance of affording women greater control where and how they party would be an essential first step in shifting the gendered tides of the party sexual market.

One glimmer of the possibilities for shifting these tides is the "kickback" of UC Santa Barbara's party market. Of course, sexual market development is contingent upon localized space and demographics. Isla Vista's student housing market affords upperclassmen, both male and female, the opportunity to host parties on their own turf. Women who lived in Isla Vista and hosted parties in their homes described these environments as more relaxed and marked by familiarity between guests. Sexual encounters were initiated in these spaces and were less apt to be described as coercive or unwanted. On an urban campus where space is at a premium, an equivalent of the "kickback" did not

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appear within Penn women's narratives, an institutional dynamic granting even greater control of the party market to Greek fraternities.

Beyond allocation of campus space, gendered control within sexual markets might also be directly related to the overall gender makeup of a given institution. Ivy League and research-intensive institutions, such as Penn and UC Santa Barbara, tend to enroll men and women at about equal rates (during the 2016-2017 academic year women comprised 50.8% of Penn's undergraduate population, 53% at UCSB), while non-elite universities tend to be decidedly majority female (Niemi 2017). Gendered makeup being relatively equal, then, men at elite institutions are more apt to enjoy control over the timing and spaces of large campus parties than undergraduate women. If gender ratios inform the gendered dynamics of sexual markets, then it might be the case that institutions with comparatively higher percentages of undergraduate women are home to more gender egalitarian party markets or, at the least, afford women greater say over where and when they engage with other party market actors.

At the same time, research also shows that when women are in the majority heterosexual men are able to be more selective about whom they partner with than heterosexual women (Kuperberg and Padgett 2015). This sentiment was certainly present in the narratives of women in student of color sexual markets, where it was perceived that men constituted the minority. Kuperberg and Padgett's findings raise the question of whether or not an increasing percentage of women on campus is associated with greater control over the conditions of a given market, though they seem to suggest that greater control does not necessarily equate to a better selection of potential mates for heterosexual women. I leave it up to future research to better tease out this relationship across different institutional and

sexual market types. Of course, gender ratios are just one variable determining sexual market formation, with the institutional and geographic conditions of a given institution also playing a role.

As a comparative study of two institutions, this study alone cannot provide a framework for adequately addressing the problems associated with a male-controlled party sexual market, especially given the importance of local conditions and campus structuring in the cultivation of markets. However, the identification of sexual market sites where women described feeling safer and less wary of the intentions of their male partygoers – such as the Latina/Hispanic sexual market at UCSB, or the queer sexual market at Penn – signals the importance of space and size of gatherings to these feelings. Offering eager partygoers – particularly freshmen looking to "fit in" – additional means to engage the party sexual market beyond the large house or frat party would be one step in this direction. However, in their allocation of space and oversight of student safety, universities acknowledge that unsafe party market environments are typically the product of male-controlled spaces. Creating more equitable conditions for women to have a say over the conditions they engage men in would be one step toward envisioning a safer party sexual market.

Racial and Queer Authenticity on "Post-Racial, Post-Gay" Campuses

This is not to suggest that student of color and queer student sexual markets are not without their problems. While women who circulated in these markets were less apt to describe feeling sexually objectified or unsafe compared to their counterparts who were firmly entrenched in the party sexual market, women of color and queer identified women are ultimately immersed in broader collegiate environments where Whiteness and

heteronormativity predominate. These demographic and cultural facets of both Penn's and UCSB's campuses were of consequence for how women negotiated the campus writ large, as well as how they came to understand their relationship to student of color and/or queer student communities, respectively. This study's examination of the sexual partnering strategies and approaches of women of color and queer women identifies the power of authenticity work for determining membership in minority student communities, with subsequent impacts on the search for sexual partners on each campus.

In Chapter 3 of this study I consider the experiences of women of color at both schools, both their relationship to co-ethnics and their experience of the university as a marked White space. Women of color describe student of color markets as sources of support and community within an historically White institution; however, membership in these sexual markets is also determined by an intracommunity dynamic requiring participants to perform "authenticity work" to assert their right to belong in these communities. Women of color describe the importance of racial politics for acceptance into their community and for their success at finding sexual partners in their community's sexual market. While women of color describe experiencing fetishism or racism in their interactions within the White party market, their interactions within student of color markets suggest an intracommunity dynamic where one's racial authenticity is tested on the basis of their sexual decisions, to include partnering outside of their race. These dynamics were most palpable for Black women compared to their Latina/Hispanic or Asian American counterparts.

The experiences of queer women on both campuses are considered in Chapter 4. For queer women, attending college during a post-gay era (Ghaziani 2011) means that forms of

queer capital – such as sexual identity, language or participation in queer activism, among others – take on a heightened importance within the queer sexual market, asserting queer authenticity and rejection of heteronormativity. Hegemonically feminine queer-identified women, or women who were in the process of exploring their sexual identities, viewed these politics as intimidating, and as barriers to inclusion. This prompted some of these women to make strategic use of heteronormative party markets to hook up with other women, or turn to social media applications, such as Tinder, to facilitate same-sex sexual encounters.

Collectively, the experiences of women of color and queer women reveal the intricacies of navigating the 21st century, White, heteronormative university campus as a sexualized space. The presence and experience of student of color markets reveal how universities in a "post-racial era" act simultaneously as sites of racial assimilation and segmentation. The experiences of queer women at Penn and UCSB, meanwhile, reveal the four-year "post-gay" university as a space where students can assimilate into the heteronormative mainstream or belong to communities where queer politics are prominent. These distinctions – between students of color and queer students who "fit in" with their co-ethnics or queer brothers and sisters, and those who do not – impact the social lives of underrepresented student populations on campus. Women's descriptions of their search for sexual partners and the justifications for their sexual behaviors were shaped by how they believed other community members to perceive their sexual decisions, reflecting the power of racial and queer politics in the development of campus sexual markets.

Women of color confront pressures to fit in with their co-ethnics and pressures to prove they belong on a predominantly White campus. In her study of the experiences of

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African American women in college, Winkle-Wagner dubs the stratification of these women's identities the "Unchosen Me," or "an imposition on one's identity whereby one perceives a need to accept and portray particular ways of thinking, acting, speaking or being in order to belong within the social realm" (2009:22-23). For the women in Winkle-Wagner's study, these impositions came from both their own communities as well as the prominent White community, and the precarious balance between being read as "too White" versus "too ghetto."

This delicate balance could also be found in the narratives of women of color at Penn and UC Santa Barbara. Women confronted their lived experiences and racial identities as they navigated social and sexual relationships on campus, describing distinctive differences between their interactions with co-ethnics and White students. Racial/ethnic minority women also described entering predominantly White party sexual market environments where their presence was deemed undesirable or subject to fetishization. While student of color communities on campus provided integral sources of support and affirmation for racial/ethnic minority women, these communities also required women to prove their right to be there. Part of this authentication process included decisions regarding sexual partnerships, such as involvement in interracial relationships or engagement in public hookups. These dynamics were particularly palpable within Black sexual markets, where markers of Whiteness such as upper-middle-class status or having White peers complicated the process of "proving" one's allegiance to the Black community.

If women's decisions regarding sexual partnering reflect levels of assimilation and/or integration into the broader White culture on both campuses, then it might be argued that very little has changed since the student of color campus movements over fifty years

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ago (Glazer 1998). The insularity of student of color communities on both campuses were reflected in the dynamics of its student of color sexual markets. Women of color firmly entrenched in these communities were more likely to describe partnering with men and/or women of similar race/ethnicity and to have met them in racial/ethnic minority market spaces (parties, through participation the same student organizations, etc.). While Asian American women in this study, and to a lesser extent Latinas/Hispanics, were more likely to have reported engagement in an interracial sexual relationship than Blacks, consistent with prior research (Field, Kimuna and Straus 2013; McClintock 2010), the general trend was toward racially homophilous partnerships. That some women described shifting attractions to men from certain racial backgrounds upon arriving on campus, while others described concerted efforts to keep their interracial relationships or desires secret, demonstrates how individuals orient themselves to new sexual environments, to include responding to pressures to make sexual decisions consistent with community expectations. These findings point to the continued salience of racial identity and a politics of respectability (Moore 2008) for how women of color navigate a predominantly White campus environment, particularly within the context of sexual partnering.

Queer women, on the other hand, confront their desires for same-sex sexual partnerships on heteronormative campuses. While the University of Pennsylvania and the University of California Santa Barbara both boast a queer-friendly campus, women who expressed same-sex desires or non-heterosexual identities described varying levels of success in finding sexual partners. In fact, each campus' reputation for LGBTQ-inclusivity seemed to have an opposite effect for some women, particularly those who described themselves as "femme" in appearance or who identified as bisexual. The gendered and

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sexual performativity perceived necessary to confidently navigate queer-marked spaces, such as language, styles of dress or prior sexual experiences with women, informed women's levels of (dis)engagement in the queer sexual market. Fears of alienation or being called out by others in queer spaces is consistent with other studies of women's experiences of LGB-spaces, such as nightclubs or neighborhoods, where the "stigmatizing gaze" serves as a corrective to individual appearances and behaviors alike (Hammers 2008a; Hammers 2008b; Skeggs 2001). The felt need to prove one's legitimacy in queer sexual markets – real or perceived – led some women to avoid these spaces entirely, while others described increased participation in this market through social networking and organizational membership.

Collectively, these women's experiences provide insight into the multi-level organizers of sexual desire and decision-making, and how racial and sexual minority populations negotiate dual, competing constructions of their sexual subjectivity: those internal to their communities and external to the White, heteronormative majority on their campuses. These competing subjectivities have very real consequences for how women understand themselves as sexual subjects. For Black women, the dual fears of being fetishized by men of other races, or, conversely, rendered undesirable, gave these women pause about entering into interracial relationships. In this way, the college environment provides a microcosm of broader societal patterns and social relations as students interact with diverse populations. Part of being a racial or sexual minority on a predominantly White, heteronormative campus is recognition of the racial, sexual and gendered dynamics of the campus. The subsequent effects of these dynamics on one's sexual decisions demonstrates how individual decisions regarding sexual partnership are never wholly

individual, but rather responsive to new social environments and the sexual markets they produce.

Future Research

This study contributes to the broader conversation about college student sexual life, principally by advancing an inquiry into student sexual behavior that extends beyond a focus on the hookup culture and attunes to the critical role institutional structures and environments play in the organization of sexual life. Among other things, colleges and universities make decisions about admissions, tuition, financial aid packages and allocation of funding for different academic and social programs. These decisions over time cultivate an institution's reputation, a reputation reflected in the student population matriculating on its campus in the present day. Students come to adapt to this new environment, forging friendships, taking classes and participating in extracurricular activities. Multiple scholarly studies detail how the institutional arrangements of colleges and universities matter for how students perform academically or experience social life as students (Aires 2008; Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Binder and Wood 2013; Chambliss and Takacs 2014; Charles, Fischer, Mooney and Massey 2009; Massey, Charles, Lundy and Fischer 2003; McCabe 2016; Stuber 2011). I extend this body of research by examining how the university environment produces multiple campus sexual markets, and the impact of these markets on undergraduate women's sexual lives: the organized processes informing their search for sexual partners and understanding of themselves as sexual actors in relationship to proximate others.

The schools represented in this study – the University of California Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania – are just two of over 3,000 four-year colleges and

universities in the United States (National Center for Education Statistics 2016). The findings of this study are certainly not representative of all mid-sized state schools or Ivy League institutions, nor of the experiences of all undergraduate women attending institutions of these type. While the sexual market typology developed from this study is consistent with broader trends in higher education, the presence of multiple sexual markets on any given campus will necessarily vary based on the institutional structure, history and demographics of its participants. For instance, certainly not all four-year institutions boast the size and resources of the Greek subculture found on Penn's campus, nor do all suburban campuses share a border with a college town of over 10,000 students. These distinctive features of Penn and UCSB, respectively, are central to the party sexual market's existence at each school, where institutional and student support for a party-based orientation to campus life is sufficient enough for sustainment of this market. The building blocks of a sexual market for LGBT-identified students might be non-existent on other campuses, either in lacking the "critical visibility" of an out and prominent LGBT student population or institutional resources dedicated to these populations needed to cultivate designated market spaces. Colleges and universities vary widely in the size of their campuses, their student enrollments (to include their racial, gendered and sexual makeup), their regional location, housing options, extracurricular offerings, and so on. Sexual partnerships are highly organized by the multi-level features of university environments; these conditions will determine the number and type of sexual markets present on any given campus.

Consider, additionally, the relationship between student engagement with institutional environments for the sustainability of sexual markets. The three sexual markets identified in this study were the product of historic movement organizing, first by wealthy

White males in the 19th century and, in the mid-20th century, by racial/ethnic and LGBT minority factions, respectively. Sustainability of market environments requires not only the campus spaces which help to facilitate sexual transactions, but the critical numbers and motivations of different student factions to create communities and build formal and informal networks needed to bring students in contact with one another. As the upward trend in undergraduate enrollments continues, the diversity of student populations across different campus environments will be expected to change, to include increasing numbers of transfer, first-generation, international and mixed-race student populations (Renn 2004). How universities respond to these demographic shifts (or not) will inform the localized conditions within which new market environments might emerge. I leave it up to future research to delve deeper into the complexities of different university types and their respective student populations, and how these nuances inform the organization of sexual life across universities of varying type. This study provides an initial contribution to this endeavor in its examination of two mid-sized institutions with heavy party reputations.

While this study was particularly focused on how undergraduate women negotiate the campus environment and experience sexual partnering across different market contexts, future studies can also examine this process for male students of varying racial, class and sexual identities. Having identified the broader gendered dynamics women negotiate in their search for and experience of sexual relationships, additional research focused on undergraduate men can begin to tell us more about the interplay between masculinity, sexual cultures and organizational environments. Finally, identifying distinctive sexual cultures and the unique campus environments within which they form can extend the current collegiate sexuality literature and examine the variation of sexual life across

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different campus contexts. With the development of a robust body of scholarship on hookup culture over the past two decades, future research can now begin the work of identifying and exploring the nuances of the multiple, varied sexual cultures manifesting across cultural, geographic and demographically varied settings.

Appendix A: Research Methodology

My approach to the study of women's sexual lives as shaped by their immersion in particular institutional environments is informed by feminist methodology insomuch as my intentions were to make women's lived experiences a central focus of the project (Devault 1996). Framing the university as a complex institution where students negotiate sexual life, I adopt an alternative approach to examining how student populations experience higher education beyond their academic experiences. Despite an uptick in their enrollment in four-year colleges, the sexual lives of underrepresented student populations, namely students of color and LGBQ-identified students, remain relatively unexamined. Utilizing semi-structured interviews as the bulk of my dissertation data foregrounds the narratives of today's college women, with particular focus on the lived experiences of women of color and non-heterosexually-identified students. I explore how various dimensions of diversity – race, class, gender and sexual identity – inform how women navigate the university environment, connecting the organization of sexual life to broader campus dynamics around racism, classism and heterosexism. I also sought to capture the experiences of other non-traditional student populations, such as transfer students and first generation women.

I believe the representativeness of this sample, capturing the experiences of undergraduate women across an array of identities, to be a strength of this study. While this study is not generalizable to the experiences of undergraduate women writ large, this was not a goal of the research. Rather, my project seeks to understand how institutional change impacts the lived experiences of its members, with a particular focus on the diversification of higher education for how women navigate the university as a sexual space. I use the lived experiences of these women as the foundation for interrogating the university as a

sexualized site, one where racism, classism, homophobia and sexism operate as on daily basis and through sexual interaction. These experiences form the basis for proposing a transformation of the institutional and interpersonal mechanisms producing these dynamics (Fonow and Cook 2005).

In this chapter I review my data collection methods for this project and reflect on my experience conducting research on the sexual lives of women of varied identities and backgrounds. I open by discussing the evolution of this study, which began as an entirely different project, tracing its eventual development into a comparative study of the sexual organization of two American universities. I offer an overview of the interview and archival methods I used to collect the data for this study, reflect on basic concerns of the interviewer, such as access and confidentiality, and explain my methods of analysis. Next, I consider the benefits and limitations of my recruitment methods. I close with reflections on my positionality and relationship to my subjects, to include my perceptions of how each institution's environment informed the recruitment process.

Evolution of the study and collection of data

This project was a happy accident of sorts. I originally proposed a mixed-methods study of college women's sexual behaviors, with a particular focus on how women negotiated and experienced same-sex sexual relationships. As a mixed methods study, I planned to conduct interviews with undergraduate women about their same-sex sexual experiences and statistical analysis of secondary data using the Online College Social Life Survey (OCSLS), a multi-year study of the sexual histories of over 24,000 undergraduates across 21 four-year colleges and universities. To bridge the quantitative and qualitative analyses I planned to conduct my interviews with women at the University of California Santa Barbara and the

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University of Pennsylvania, two schools represented in the OCSLS data. I also chose these two schools given their convenience to me as a researcher – I was a graduate student at UC Santa Barbara, and my sister lived in northern Philadelphia, a short train ride away from the University of Pennsylvania.

The focus of this initial project was on how undergraduate women communicated with their same-sex sexual partners about their desires and sexual practices. My rationale for a comparative study of this topic was rooted in wanting to understand how the university environment matters for how same-sex sexual relationships between women are experienced. I conducted a few pre-tests of my interview protocol for this project as part of a term paper for my Field Methods graduate course. I made subsequent changes to my interview protocol and constructed a research proposal for approval by the Institutional Review Board. Following approval of the project by the IRB and my dissertation committee, I began advertising the study on UC Santa Barbara's campus (my plans were to travel to Philadelphia and advertise on Penn's campus in the summer). I received approval to post flyers advertising the study on UCSB's campus. In addition to posting in public campus spaces, I also asked the director of the campus' Resource Center for Gender and Sexual Diversity to post the flyer in its weekly e-newsletter. Flyers read "Women Wanted for a Study of Sex and Relationships on College Campuses," and directed interested persons to a brief online survey which assessed their eligibility for the study. To be eligible for the study students had to be woman-identified, current undergraduates at UC Santa Barbara, and either have a prior sexual history with women or a desire for sexual contact with women.

This approach was a complete flop. I was able to secure two interviews with undergraduate women through public advertising of the study, one interview of which was partly facilitated through a mutual friend. Those interviews took place in April 2016. A month passed by without finding another eligible woman to interview and, with my trip to the University of Pennsylvania coming up in August, I feared a similar outcome on that campus. In consultation with my advisors, I expanded my recruitment parameters to include all undergraduate women, regardless of their sexual identities or histories. If they wanted to speak with me, I wanted to hear about their experiences with dating, sex and relationships while students. I maintained my interest in how university settings informed these experiences. After receiving IRB approval for this adapted project, I advertised my study widely on both campuses. This included visiting Sociology and English classes and verbally advertising the study to the students present (with prior instructor and department approval), taking out print ads in Penn's and UCSB's student newspapers, and posting paid advertisements on Facebook[12]. I also made "cold calls" to university resource centers, providing information about the study via e-mail and asking them to forward this information to their constituents.[13]

My initial intention was to interview a diverse group of women, not only in terms of their race, class and/or sexual identity, but in their relationship to higher education. Recognizing that underrepresented student populations might be made to believe that their experiences are "out of the ordinary" or "non-typical," and thus not useful, I used my in-

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[12] Facebook's advertisement function allows the paying customer to "target" their advertisement to certain populations and/or organizations. For purposes of advertising this study, I indicated women affiliated with the University of Pennsylvania and the University of California Santa Barbara as my customer base.

[13] Organizations contacted via e-mail included, among others, the Women's Center at UCSB and various racial/ethnic minority student resource centers.

classroom advertisements as a way to communicate my sincere interest in wanting to speak with women of all backgrounds and experiences. After introducing the study generally, I illustrated this point by inviting particular student populations to participate, to include transfer students, women in STEM and athletes. I replicated this approach outside of my classroom advertising through an additional round of "cold call" emails, contacting the leadership of transfer student groups, women in STEM, racial/ethnic minority and LGBT-focused organizations. Where it made sense I offered parts of my identity beyond that of a graduate student researcher – for example, when contacting LGBT-focused organizations I described myself as a "queer graduate researcher" – hoping to develop rapport with those who might read the advertisement through a shared identity.

I replicated these approaches on both campuses. Interested women were directed to contact me directly via telephone or email to set up a mutual time to conduct the interview. Women were afforded the opportunity to choose where they would like to conduct their interview. When choosing a location I asked women to keep in mind that the interview process would include discussion of potentially sensitive issues, such as sex and sexuality. For women at UC Santa Barbara, I offered my private on-campus office as an additional space to conduct the interview.

All of my interviews with women at UC Santa Barbara were conducted in person, either in a private room in an academic building or in public settings (usually a coffee shop in Isla Vista), with the majority taking place over the summer and during the fall quarter of 2016. With a small summer grant from the Department of Sociology at UC Santa Barbara I was able to fly out to Philadelphia to interview women at Penn during the first two weeks of their fall 2016 semester. The timing of this visit proved advantageous, as women were

less apt to be bogged down with coursework and associated commitments at the beginning of the academic year. During my time on campus I was able to cultivate multiple contacts through in-classroom advertising and taking out print ads in *The Daily Pennsylvanian* student newspaper. I conducted eight in-person interviews with Penn women before returning to California. Due to financial constraints, the majority of my interviews with Penn women (70%) were conducted via telephone, Skype or Facetime. Aside from some minor technology issues, mostly due to lost connections or dropped calls, completing interviews in this manner did not appear to be a limitation of this study. If anything, these women were afforded the opportunity to speak with me in spaces where they felt most comfortable. Most women chose to complete the Skype or telephone interview in their apartment/bedrooms, while others opted to interview from their laboratories or in the common areas of their dormitories.

In my interviews I sought to capture how structural, cultural and interpersonal factors informed women's experiences of sex and relationships while students. I used a focused set of open-ended questions to determine the multi-level processes governing these experiences. Semi-structured interviews allow participants to describe and reflect upon their lived experiences in their own words, affording a depth of analysis through the collection of rich data (Blee and Taylor 2002). While the interview protocol provided a foundation for speaking with women about their experiences within the university environment, sexual or otherwise, the semi-structured nature of these interviews allowed me to probe topics further or ask women to expand further on their reflections emerging organically from our conversation (Berg and Lune 2012).

To get a general feel for these women's lives as students I began each interview by asking a series of questions about each woman's academic and social experiences, to include how they navigated the college application process and came to choose their current school. I asked these women to walk me through their first year as undergraduates, and to reflect upon the academic and social transition to college. These women were also asked how they came to meet their friends, which extracurricular activities they participated in, what they did for fun outside of class, their living arrangements while students and any employment they've held since starting college. Next, I asked a series of questions about their broader perceptions of the university environment: their take on the reputation of the school (to include their thoughts on the "party school" designation of their institution), their descriptions of the student population, the campus culture and the surrounding communities.

Questions about the sexual culture on campus included their perception of the prominence of hookup culture and levels of student participation in hookups. Women were asked to recount their prior and current hookups, dates and/or relationships as students at the school (if any), to include where and when they met their partners, and what each sexual encounter consisted of physically. I asked each participant to consider the perceived ease or difficulty in forming a relationship or having a hookup on their campus, their thoughts about levels of acceptance for same-sex sexual relationships and the perceived ease of sexual partnering for students of color. The full interview protocol can be found in Appendix C.

Cognizant of the power I wielded as the researcher, I wanted to assure a safe and comfortable interview environment. This was in keeping with a feminist research agenda

and in trying to eliminate the appearance of a hierarchical relationship (Berg & Lune 2012; Taylor & Rupp 2005). On the whole I did not encounter difficulty in establishing rapport with my subjects. However, recognizing that these women knew they were about to be asked a series of questions about dating, sex and relationships as a student, creating an environment where women felt comfortable and affirmed was important to me. Rather than delving right into the paperwork and rundown of the interview process right away, I took some time to speak with my subjects about neutral topics (how is school going? etc.), before segueing into an interview about sensitive and deeply personal topics.

As a woman asking other women about their sexual lives, I encountered little resistance or hesitancy to divulge the details of their sexual encounters, heterosexual or otherwise, though I am aware that individuals volunteering to be interviewed for a study about sex and relationships might be more predisposed to discussing these topics freely. For the most part women shared candidly and openly with me, describing prior experiences with difficult and emotionally abusive relationships, or their struggles to accept non-heterosexual identities. I appreciated the frankness and thoughtfulness with which they discussed what it's like to date or have sexual relationships as a college student today.

The adoption of a dramaturgical approach to interviewing enabled me to gain the information I was seeking from the participant (Berg & Lune 2012), though I wanted to ensure that the participants were not made to feel that I was the dominant individual during the interview. Throughout the interviews I was cognizant to adapt my body and verbal language and tone of voice to match that of my different subjects. Of course, some women were more talkative and willing to share with me than others, and depending on this dynamic I shifted my approach from interview to interview. Some women had a lot to say

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about the topics they were asked about, and I was content to sit back and let these women steer the conversation for a while. Where women were less forthcoming or short in their answers, I utilized probes or examples to coax them into sharing further. On the whole, women seemed more comfortable to describe their own experiences rather than "speak for" or generalize the experiences of others. This was most evident when I asked women their perceptions of the LGBT or student of color populations on campus, to include levels of acceptance or perceived ease of finding same-sex or same race sexual partners. Women who did not identify as students of color or non-heterosexually were more hesitant to answer these questions, or to preface that "they weren't sure" about how these students experienced dating and sexual relationships on campus.

The process of transcribing the interviews revealed important substantive findings. I began the process of transcribing the interviews about halfway into the data collection process. I transcribed each interview in its entirety using Dragon NaturallySpeaking software. The decision to complete all of the transcribing myself was partly financial, though this time consuming process proved to be advantageous for my level of familiarity with and immersion in the data. Transcribing earlier interviews as I continued to collect data also allowed me to shift my approach in subsequent interview sessions, probing new topics or seeking more information about social phenomena consistently mentioned in prior interviews. While I began this project understanding the importance of race, class and sexual identities as they informed the lived experiences of these women, listening and re-listening to my interview sessions began to bring into sharper focus the role of the institutional environment in shaping the social and sexual lives of its students. I had expected these women's experiences to differ across institutional site and identity

categories, but the transcribing process revealed a heterogeneity of experience across institutional sites and individual identities which suggested something more complex was happening as these women negotiated their academic, social and sexual lives. This was a key discovery during the data collection process, and one which led me to probe further the nuances of the institutional environments these women negotiated. As I discuss later, these findings also guided my approach to the archival research portion of the data collection process.

As broader themes and patterns revealed themselves throughout the transcription process, I adjusted my sampling approach to interview women whose narratives were less represented. This included queer or other-than-heterosexually-identified women at both institutions, and women of color at the University of Pennsylvania. While I had initially advertised my study in the e-newsletter of the Resource Center for Gender and Sexual Diversity at UC Santa Barbara, this approach did not yield any interested participants. In subsequent recruitment efforts I reached out to various LGBT-focused student organizations at UCSB via email. I also e-mailed the Resident Assistant of the Rainbow House, the campus' LGBT-themed apartment complex. While I did not receive any responses from the LGBT organizations at UCSB, two women residing in the Rainbow House agreed to speak with me. My recruitment efforts were more fruitful at Penn, particularly after one of the queer-identified women I interviewed offered to post my study on the Queer Ladies of Penn members-only Facebook group. The response was overwhelming. I replicated these recruitment tactics in an effort to gain interviews with more women of color at both schools, to include emailing several student leaders of race/ethnic minority-focused organizations. These efforts yielded, numerically, fewer

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interviews compared to my recruitment of LGBQ-identified populations, though these

tactics also proved more productive for gaining interviews with Penn women of color than

those at UC Santa Barbara. I explicate on the possible reasons for this later in this chapter.

About halfway through the data collection process I submitted a revised protocol to

the IRB for approval to compensate my subjects. More than a few women interviewed

during the first half this project identified as working-class, first-generation students. Some

of them held down part-time jobs with full-time enrollment, and more than a few offered

they worked to be able to send money back home. Though providing compensation (a $10

Amazon gift card) would come out of my own pocket, I made this decision for two reasons:

to incentivize participation in the study, and to provide a small token of my thanks for the

time and insights of my participants. Since I began offering compensation halfway through

the data collection process, I contacted all participants who had completed the study prior to

this point, informing them that the study had since been approved to offer compensation,

and that I wanted to offer back payment for their participation. I asked the women I

contacted to reply to my email to acknowledge they would like to receive payment, and to

supply their contact information for me to send them their gift card. Women interviewed

after the IRB approved the study for compensation received a physical gift card or were e-

mailed an e-gift card at the conclusion of their interview. In the interest of preventing

coercion or a shift in the sample demographic, women were not informed that

compensation for the study would be provided until after they contacted me and indicated

interest in being interviewed. Given this approach, I do not believe there to be a significant

shift in the demographics of the women I interviewed during the second half of the data

collection process. I did not notice a change in how women answered my questions, nor in

how much information they were willing to provide, after I began offering compensation for participating in the study.

The Sample

Beginning as a study of women with a history of same-sex sexual behavior, the project evolved into a broader study of undergraduate women's experiences with dating, sex and relationships at two four-year universities. The qualitative data for this study are derived principally from in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted with fifty-four undergraduate women: twenty-seven women each from UC Santa Barbara and the University of Pennsylvania. The women in this study range in age from 18 to 24, and interviews average about an hour in length. Half of the women in the overall sample identified as heterosexual. Based on their own self-categorizations, 42.6% of the overall sample is White, 22.2% Asian-American, 18.5% Latina/Hispanic, 9.3% multiracial and 7.4% African/African-American. Thirteen of the women interviewed were transfer students. While I did not solicit participants based on their class standing, the vast majority of the women interviewed were juniors or seniors (79.6%). A full list of participants included in this study may be found in

Appendix B.

Non-heterosexually-identified women are roughly consistent in their representation across both institutions (women identifying as another other than heterosexual comprise 51.8% of Penn's population, 44.4% of UCSB's), while 74% of the UCSB sample identified as something other than White/Caucasian only, compared to 55.5% of Penn's sample. While it is not possible to discern the sexual identities of the student populations on both campuses (with the additional recognition of sexual identity as a fluid concept), the

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racial/ethnic composition of the sample is consistent with Penn's undergraduate population, which is roughly 44% White, though slightly higher than UCSB's non-White undergraduate population (roughly 63%). This is to be expected, however, as I purposefully oversampled for non-White and non-heterosexually-identified women to address the dearth of sexual research on these college populations. I further discuss my reasons for oversampling these populations later in the chapter.

Analysis of the Data

 I conducted transcriptions of the qualitative interviews verbatim and in their entirety, and analyzed the data using Atlas.ti qualitative software. I initially coded the entire dataset by major topic (e.g., academic transition to college, social transition to college, sexual encounters with men, sexual encounters with women). After this initial round of coding I mined the data for themes within topics. The coding process was informed by the theoretical framework for the study, though I inductively developed new codes over subsequent rounds of analysis derived from emergent themes in the data (Ragin 1994). While interested in streamlining my coding scheme, I remained sensitive to the particularities and nuances of my data, creating new coding categories when new or interesting findings emerged (Campbell, Quincy, Osserman and Pedersen 2013). I combed each of the themes emerging from the data for additional patterns or sub-themes, and cross-checked themes for similarities or inconsistencies.

Throughout the process of analyzing the data I adopted what Timmermans and Tavory call "abductive analysis" (2012), or the production of theory stemming from both careful methodological analysis of data and prior theory. While grounded theory seeks the development of theories which emerge organically from the data (Charmaz 2014), an

abductive analytical approach forges a productive middle ground in which both data and existent theory have a part to play. With respect to this project, abductive analysis facilitated identification of the multi-level social mechanisms shaping the search for and experience of sexual partnerships among college women. While the initial coding process was guided by my understanding of universities as highly organized spaces facilitating sexual partnerships, the development of the sexual markets typology – party markets, student of color markets and queer student markets – and the intricacies of involvement in each emerged from continual refinement of the coding process and identification of recurring themes or narratives. In this way, theoretical constructs and original data collectively contributed to the development of new insights and frameworks for the study of sexual life within institutional contexts.

Archival Data Collection and Analysis

The archival component of this project sought to uncover the unique histories and developments of the University of Pennsylvania and UC Santa Barbara, to include the physical development of their campuses, marked shifts in the demographics of its students, and significant events informing the evolution of the built environment and the cultivation of a distinctive campus culture. The archival component of this project was a natural derivative of my interest in campus sexual cultures and the organic patterns of interaction with the university structure which emerged from my interviews with these women. Universities develop and take on distinctive characteristics which are continually changing and negotiated over time. Where and when their campuses are built organize patterns of interaction between students. The cultivation of traditions tied to institutional membership

persist over cohorts of students, versing them in "ways to be" as students of their given organization (Clark 1970).

Archival research of both institutions was limited to what was publicly available. Given the voluminous amount of documents available for perusal, I first began the process of piecing together an historical narrative of each school by consulting secondary sources, namely the multiple books written on the histories of each school. For Penn this included Edward Potts Cheyney's *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1940*, Thomas and Brownlee's *Building America's First University: An Historical and Architectural Guide to the University of Pennsylvania*, and Wayne Glasker's *Black Students in the Ivory Tower: African American Student Activism at the University of Pennsylvania, 1967-1990*. Texts on UC Santa Barbara I consulted included Robert Kelley's *Transformations: UC Santa Barbara, 1909-1979*, Pickerell and Dornin's *The University of California: A Pictorial History,* and Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval's history of the UCSB Hunger Strikes, *Starving for Justice: Hunger Strikes, Spectacular Speech, and the Struggle for Dignity*. I consulted these texts to identify major historical shifts in each institution's history and to create an initial list of primary sources to consult from the references.

This approach provided a strong starting point for approaching the archives at each institution. As the trajectory of the project developed and themes emerged within the qualitative interview data, I returned to the archives with more focused inquiries about a school's history, campus geography and relationship to surrounding communities, student activism and the organizational histories of its racial/ethnic and LGBT-interest student groups. While financial restrictions made an onsite visit to the Penn's archives unfeasible, fortunately the school hosts an extensive, searchable digital archive accessible via

Internet.[14] Through Penn's digital archive I was able to access institutional policies and directives with respect to admission of racial/ethnic minorities and the founding of its LGBT Center, among other documents. Finally, the digital archives of the University's newspaper, *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, provided coverage on historic events from a student point of view. [15]

I gathered the majority of the historical data on UC Santa Barbara from the University's Special Collections, housed in the school's library. I searched the University's holdings and requested materials for retrieval via the Online Archive of California database[16]. I reviewed files on the history of Isla Vista (to include the extensive collection of documents detailing the riots of 1968), UC Santa Barbara's collection of files on its student organizations, to include Greek life, racial/ethnic minority and LGBT student groups, and the University's files on its campus development (to include plans for new construction).[17] I also consulted the website of the student newspaper, *Daily Nexus*, for coverage on more recent events from a student view. While the *Daily Nexus* does not have a digital archive, I was able to consult earlier volumes of the paper contained in the Special Collections' files.

I did not systematically code my archival data, the primarily purpose of its collection being the construction of an historical narrative of each institution's development. I did, however, conduct the archival research and the interviews concurrently, using the findings from some of my interviews to focus the archival research process, given

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[14] http://www.archives.upenn.edu/home/archives.html

[15] https://dparchives.library.upenn.edu/ (the digital archive contains issues of *The Daily Pennsylvanian* between 1885-2002; articles from 2002-present were accessed via *The Daily Pennsylvanian* homepage, http://www.thedp.com/)

[16] http://www.oac.cdlib.org/

[17] I obtained permission from the Special Collections Archive to photograph original documents.

the voluminous data available for each institution. Seeking archival documents of particular events or topics (LGBT organizations, for example), I used keyword searches in the appropriate archival database, skimming the findings for significant events or thematic topics and cross-referencing events across collections. For example, the Isla Vista Riots collection in UCSB's Special Collections includes a series of memos from the Chancellor referring to a university-imposed curfew following the riots. To further flesh out the particulars of this event, I conducted keyword searches in the archives of local Santa Barbara newspapers to identify articles related to the same event. Where possible I read first-hand accounts of events from both student, administrative and/or third-party points of view, as recollection of the same event will differ based on the positionality of the author.

Ultimately the information I was able to uncover about major events and student protests at each school are limited to what is available in their respective archives. At times I encountered the opposite problem, where the amount of data available was too vast to review all of the material. This was usually the case with the University of Pennsylvania, whose school history is hundreds of years longer than UC Santa Barbara's. In these cases I took a random sampling of the results of my keyword searches, conducting subsequent focused keyword searches based on the materials I reviewed. With UCSB's Special Collections data I reviewed each box and folder of materials, choosing to focus in on those collections which seemed most pertinent to the study. Collectively, the archival and qualitative interview data provide a more complete picture of each institution's development and how this informs women's experience of the university as a sexual space today.

The Researcher and the Researched

In this project I foreground the voices of a diverse group of women, whose collective experiences can better inform the possibilities for an inclusive and equitable university environment. In my interest in the sexual organization of the university, to include both the structural and interpersonal dynamics informing this construction, I am informed by what Dorothy Smith and others (2006) have termed "institutional ethnography," steeped in a commitment to the study of individual's experiences in an effort to uncover "how things work." Rather than analyzing the data to generate claims about the individuals studied, institutional ethnography seeks to understand how social relations are shaped by institutional processes. This does not mean that the individual voices which inform these understandings disappear or are relegated secondary in the study of "how things work"; rather, these individual voices are examined as part of a broader process of social relations (Smith 2005). For myself this included mapping the social processes governing women's experience of sexual partnering on today's college campuses, and identifying the "relations of ruling" in higher education for structuring these experiences (Smith 1996). This approach privileges the collective experience to explain institutional arrangements while allowing what the researcher uncovers throughout the process of data collection to inform what needs to be examined next.

My approach to the interview process itself shifted as it became clearer how institutional arrangements govern women's membership in and movement within particular sexual markets. For instance, I started to probe women's responses for further information about their transition to the university environment, how they developed peer networks, what led them to join a certain organization or to participate in different social circuits. The

richness of the data obtained from these interviews drove the shift to archival research as I sought to better understand the institutional processes undergirding these women's experiences (DeVault and McCoy 2006). While I argue the historic development of both institutions continues to have meaning for how women negotiate sexual relationships today, the bulk of this study draws upon the lived experiences of these women to identify the institutional processes organizing sexual interaction. However, the richness of the data is dependent upon a negotiated relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. I consider my positionality as a researcher and issues of access throughout the data collection process below.

On (Not) Having Access: Positionality, Place and the Data Collection Process

This project identifies the institutional processes organizing the opportunities and perceived compatibility of sexual partnerships for women across their various identities. Wanting to capture the influence of race, class and sexual identities for engagement with the university as a sexual site, I continually adapted my recruiting efforts to ensure representation from various segments of the student population in the data. As discussed earlier, this included sending emails to the student leaders of various racial/ethnic and sexual minority student organizations on each campus to solicit interviews. When writing LGBTQ-focused organizations I highlighted my queer identity in the subject of the email ("Queer grad student seeking participations for a study"), though I did not identify myself as a woman of color when approaching racial/ethnic student organizations, mainly because I recognize my mixed-race racial identity (White/Asian) to be relatively privileged.

Overall the approach of e-mailing the student leadership of various organizations was semi-successful. Many of my emails went unanswered, though multiple women

contacted me via email or text to let me know that they received word of my study after seeing a post on their organization's Facebook group. While it is not possible to know how many of the organizations I contacted disseminated word of my study to their members, the entirety of women who approached me to be interviewed who offered they had seen my advertisement through an organization were from the University of Pennsylvania. At the University of California Santa Barbara the "cold call email" was all but unsuccessful, save two interviews garnered from e-mailing the Resident Assistant of the Rainbow House, the designated LGBTQ Living Learning Community on campus.

How to explain the difference in recruitment efforts at UC Santa Barbara versus the University of Pennsylvania? For untangling the range of possible explanations I draw from Japonica Brown-Saracino's (2014) reflections on her uneven levels of access to informants across multiple research sites in her study of women's LGB identities and experience of place. In particular, Brown-Saracino details relatively easy access to LGB-identified women in two of her research sites, Portland, ME and San Luis Obispo, CA, but stymied access in Ithaca, NY. Brown-Saracino posits the utility of an "expansive reflexivity" for explaining different levels of access across different research sites. This consists of considering not just the researcher's role, but the context(s) and circumstances of the research experience itself, for developing substantive insights into the research process. To this effect, she posits asking four types of questions: "1) Is it me? 2) Is it the study? 3) Is it them? 4) Is it them-there (context)?" (2014:44).

It simply could have been me. Across both research sites I maintained "insider" status in the fact that I was a student (albeit a graduate student), though my affiliation with the University of California Santa Barbara marked me as an "outsider" to Penn's women.

However, this did not appear to be an impediment. If anything, the women at Penn seemed eager to share with me what it was like to be a student at their institution, and I emphasized my ignorance of the campus culture and student experience in an effort to encourage these women to speak to their experiences. With respect to recruiting women across a range of identities, I believe my identity as a lesbian aided my efforts to recruit non-heterosexually-identified women, though this was also unequal across my research sites. I experienced increased levels of access to Penn's LGBT population, namely members of the Queer Ladies of Penn online Facebook group, upon being "vetted" by one of their own members. One study participant offered to post an advertisement for my study on the Queer Ladies of Penn Facebook page, generating ten separate interviews with women from this group (even more expressed interest, but did not follow up with their availabilities to be interviewed). While the Resident Assistant for the Rainbow House, the LGBTQ-interest housing complex at UCSB, also emailed her residents about my study, this resulted in just two interviews.

However, I maintained my status as an "outsider" to some of the student populations I sought to interview. This was most pertinent with respect to race. While I am of mixed-race, this identity is not always apparent, and in some situations my race/ethnicity is misread. My last name, however, signals my non-White status, though this did not prove to be advantageous when looking to interview women from racial/ethnic minority communities. Consider, for example, my decision to email the student leadership of the Black Student Union on both campuses. In sending this email I am communicating recognition for their organization and a seeming interest in speaking with its members specifically, though I was not transparent about this interest. In retrospect, I do see how this approach – sending a "form email" explaining my study and asking to advertise the study to

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members – might be read as a researcher looking to study the few, token Black students who attend UC Santa Barbara. In this regard I believe I should have been more forthright about my reasons for reaching out to their specific organization for what I billed rather generically as a study of "women's experiences with dating, sex and relationships."

Further, though I offered to attend one of the organizational meetings of racial/ethnic minority-focused groups to better explain the study and introduce myself to potential participants, none of the student leaders took me up on this offer. I am aware that the social and political climate in which I sought access to these student populations might have made some groups more hesitant to offer me access to their membership. Racial/ethnic minority organizations for many are spaces of support and fellowship on campuses where Whiteness dominates, and I was asking to enter those spaces for reasons other than to support the mission of those organizations. In this regard, that my desire to "study" these underrepresented populations went largely unanswered is not surprising.

While these varied levels of access and generated interest may have to do with my identities, the research topic itself or the way in which I framed the study, Brown-Saracino (2014) also posits the importance of context for varied levels of access to populations of study (the question of context, or "them-there"). What accounts for the relative ease of recruitment of Penn's women in comparison to UC Santa Barbara, considering the institutional contexts within which I sampled? After a round of emails to a few student organizations and advertising of my study in one Sociology and one English course, the rest of my sample from Penn was derived primarily from word-of-mouth or snowball sampling. Rather than coming to them, it seemed that Penn women came to me – all I had to do was reply to their email inquiries to set up interviews. This was in sharp distinction to UC Santa

Barbara, where recruitment was slower and required greater effort on my part to identify, follow up with and schedule interviews with women. Consistent with this experience, I conducted many more in-class advertisements, rounds of flyering and sent more emails to student organizations at UC Santa Barbara than at Penn.

I attribute some of these differences in sampling to "them-there": the distinctive institutional cultures of Penn and UCSB. As a highly-selective, Ivy League institution, Penn places a heavy emphasis on pre-professionalization and high involvement in campus activities, a facet of student life emerging in my interviews with its women and, I believe, contributing to relative ease of recruitment. This inkling became stronger as I started interviewing women on campus, who consistently mentioned the desire of students on campus to be highly involved and motivated to do so. Penn women were more apt to discuss their own research projects with me over the course of our interview, and to ask follow-up questions about how I came to my project and what I was hoping to find. One asked to be involved in the project as a Research Assistant (I politely declined her offer). Penn women were also more likely to discuss their experiences as they fit within the broader institutional environment – a "show and tell" approach, if you will, breaking down for me how sex and relationships work on their campus.

I am aware that the pedigree of most Penn students – highly educated, upper-middle-class – might also have had a part to play in how these women approached the interview, their level of comfort with me as a graduate student, the depth of their analyses and their insights into how "the system" that is higher education works. However, regardless of these women's backgrounds, the cultivation of a campus environment where

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overachievement is a palpable expectation was an overarching theme in the data, making the institutional context of a significant arbiter of the recruitment process.

My experiences recruiting at Penn were distinctively different from my experience recruiting and speaking with students at UC Santa Barbara. The impetus to participate in campus activities beyond the classroom is less than at Penn, perhaps owed to the school's primary focus on recruitment of students from within the state, to include a significant number of transfer students from community colleges. Prior research tells us that economic, social and cultural capital significantly impact the level to which students feel comfortable in, or perceive the value of, involvement in extracurricular activities (Stuber 2011). For the women at UC Santa Barbara, the majority of whom were women of color, first generation, transfer students and/or hailed from working-class backgrounds, their primary energies were directed towards academic pursuits and social activities outside of formal organizations. These women averaged far fewer organizational memberships or participation in extracurricular activities than their Penn counterparts.

Unlike Penn women, who often described their interest in my study given their own pursuits or desires to be involved, women UC Santa Barbara who volunteered to be interviewed were more likely to share with me that it "felt good" to talk about their experiences as students. Again, these sentiments were more likely to come from women who identified as first-generation, as transfer students or women of color, who often described for me difficult transitions to college, both academically and socially. These women were also more likely to ask me if what they were saying was "what I was looking for," as if their experiences or point of view on a topic might be less valid than that of other students. In this way, the institutional context of each research site proved consequential not

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only for the process of finding women to interview, but in orienting these women's

approach to the interview and the topics discussed.

Naming (Some) Names: Identifying my Research Sites

Upon completion of this study I gave a presentation of the research findings at another

public university. During the question and answer portion of the talk a faculty member in

the audience declared, "You did what not a lot of sociologists of higher education do, which

is to name your research sites. Why did you choose to do that?" Though she wasn't wrong,

I was caught a bit off guard about this question, prompting me to think further about my

decision (and how to defend it). For the most part, studies of colleges and universities

assign some generic pseudonym to the names of the institutions studied. State University.

Midwestern U. At the beginning of the study my intention was to follow this pattern,

wanting to afford as much confidentiality to my research participants as possible.

However, as the project continued to progress the importance of each school's

location, relationship to surrounding communities and past events to explaining the sexual

organization of its campus made discussion of these aspects almost obligatory, though it

also made concealing the identity of each school near impossible. As a central component

to this project, remaining true to the historical narratives of each school meant naming the

institutions. Naming the institutions also allows others to compare what I found in my study

to what is publicly known of these schools, lending greater transparency to my research

process. Upon the decision to identify my research sites, I revised my research protocol to

include naming the schools under study. The Institutional Review Board at both schools

were notified of my study (though I only needed to seek formal approval from my home

institution, UC Santa Barbara) and of my intention to include the name of the school in my

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research reports. At this point I had already completed about a dozen interviews, though

my informed consent promised confidentiality for the participant only, and not their

institutional affiliation.

None of the women I interviewed expressed concern about issues of confidentiality

connected to using the true names of my research sites. I remained aware throughout this

study that a good number of the women I interviewed are from underrepresented student

populations on each of these campuses, and I took great care to ensure my descriptions of

them or their experiences did not reveal any potentially identifying information. While

some women I interviewed shared membership in the same organizations or peer networks,

I do not identify these shared connections in an effort to better protect their identities. I

name most of the student organizations these women belong to or discuss (e.g., Queer

Student Union), taking care to describe these women's memberships without compromising

their confidentiality. When it came to Greek organizations, however, I do not name chapters

in an effort to make these conversations less about a given organization or chapter, and

more about the role of Greek life as it shapes the culture of sexual markets.

As an institutional ethnography, this study connects macro-level processes to the

experiences of organizational members on the micro-level, and explicates how universities

are organized in ways that inform how women experience the campus as a sexual space. I

have done my best to bridge the theoretical premise for this study with the qualitative and

archival data collected to accurately describe the historic development of multiple sexual

markets and women's navigation of them in the present day. As a comparative study of two

universities in the United States I emphasize the significance of localized context and

institutional arrangements as they inform women's sexual subjectivity. At the same time, I

convey how these institutional environments are also representative of broader issues in

higher education, particularly as they inform women's experiences socially and sexually.

Appendix B. Table of Study Participants

University of California Santa Barbara

Pseudonym	Age /Year	Race/Ethnicity	Sexual Orientation	Social Class
Roxy	20 / Junior	White	Bisexual	Upper-middle
Jazmine	21 / Senior	Black/White (Biracial)	Predominantly Heterosexual/ Questioning	Middle
Lisa	20/ Junior	White / Latina	Heterosexual	Upper-middle
Jessie	20 / Senior	Latina	Heterosexual	Working
Adrienne	19 / Junior	White or Hispanic	Heterosexual	Middle
Diana	22 / Senior	Latina/Hispanic	Heterosexual / bi-curious	Working
Marie	20 / Senior	Hispanic/Latina	Straight	Working
Elise	21 / Senior	Caucasian	Bisexual	Upper-middle
Jenn	23 / Senior	Asian	Straight	Middle/upper-middle
Shana	20 / Junior	White	Heterosexual	Middle
Samantha	21 / Senior	White	Heterosexual	Working
Lucy	22 / Senior	Mexican-American	Hetero-flexible	Working
Sofia	21 / Senior	Mexican-American	Heterosexual	Low-middle
Tracy	19 / Junior	Latina, Mexican American	Heterosexual	Working
Daisy	22 / Senior	Hispanic/Latino	Heterosexual	Lower middle
Jade	20 / Junior	Chinese	Heterosexual	Working-middle
Tanya	23 / Senior	White/Western European	Straight	Middle
Talia	21 / Senior	Filipino/Caucasian	Heterosexual	Middle
Jasmine	20 / Junior	African	Bisexual	Middle
Ariana	21 / Junior	Puerto Rican, Irish	Straight/questioning	Upper-middle
Becca	20 / Junior	White, Irish-American	Queer	Middle
Rachel	20 / Junior	Asian American	Heterosexual	Middle
Nancy	21 / Senior	Hispanic	Bisexual	Working
Alex F.	21 / Junior	Biracial (black and white)	Straight	Upper-middle
Ellen	24 / Junior	Asian	Bisexual	Working
Teresa	19 / Sophomore	White	Bisexual	Upper-middle
Zoe	20 / Junior	Chinese	Pansexual	Middle/lower-middle

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Pseudonym	Age /Year	Race/Ethnicity	Sexual Orientation	Social Class
Chelsea	20/ Junior	Asian	Bi	Middle
Jill	21 / Senior	Chinese	Straight	Upper-middle
Addison	18 / Sophomore	Caucasian	Straight	Upper
Cecilia	20 / Junior	Asian -Taiwanese, Chinese	Bisexual	Middle
Josephine	19 / Soph.	White	Straight	Middle
Stacey	20 / Junior	White, Jewish	Straight	Upper middle
Abigail	19 / Soph.	Chinese	Straight	Middle
Alex C.	20 / Junior	Asian	Bisexual	Upper-middle
Lillian	21 / Junior	White	Heterosexual	Lower middle
Julie	21 / Senior	Caucasian	Heterosexual	Upper-middle
Katherine	21 / Senior	White	Straight	Middle
Anya	21 / Senior	White (non Hispanic)	Heterosexual	Upper
Melanie G.	19 / Soph.	Asian American - Vietnamese American	Heterosexual	Middle
Layla	21 / Senior	Black	Bisexual	Upper-middle
Danielle	20 / Junior	White	Straight	Upper-middle
Cassie	21 / Senior	White (Irish)	Bisexual/queer	Working/middle
Shayla	20 / Soph.	White	Bisexual	Middle
Vanessa	20 / Junior	White and Jewish	Queer	Upper-middle
Melanie S.	20 / Junior	Caribbean American	Lesbian	Upper-middle
Maisie	19 / Soph.	Asian	Bisexual	Upper-middle
Kiri	20 / Junior	White, Irish-American	Bisexual	Middle/upper-middle
Gina	19/ Soph.	Asian American	Bisexual	Middle/upper-middle
Jay	20 / Junior	Hispanic	Lesbian	Middle
Nicole P.	20/ Junior	Biracial (black and white)	Bisexual	Middle
Nicole S.	19/ Soph.	Asian	Bisexual	Middle
Stephanie	19/ Soph.	White	Heterosexual, but open to both	Working/middle
Naomi	19/ Soph.	Chinese	Heterosexual	Working/middle

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