YOU CAN'T ALWAYS GET WHAT YOU WANT: STRUCTURAL DETERMINANTS OF COMPROMISE IN INTIMATE BEHAVIOR

INTRODUCTION

Although much research has investigated the effects of romantic and sexual relationships on individual health and behavioral outcomes (Eklund, Kerr and Stattin 2010; Giordano 2003; Harding 2007; Haynie et al. 2005; Jones and Furman 2011; Markey, Markey and Gray 2007) little is known the about the progression of intimate events in relationships themselves. Market approaches to the study of relationships view the relationship as the end point (Lichter, Anderson and Hayward 1995; Licther et al. 1992; Lichter, LeClere and McLaughlin 1991; McLaughlin and Lichter 1997), while studies of sexual initiation and pregnancy pinpoint specific incidents within the relationship without regard to the preceding or following events (Browning, Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2004; Kinsman et al. 1998; Miller et al. 1997; Rosenthal et al. 2001; Santelli et al. 2004). Further, social psychological approaches examine the responses of emotional well-being to relationships, but frequently without the social context that informs how those events unfold (Joyner and Udry 2000; McLeod and Knight 2010; Osorio et al. 2012). These approaches belie the complexity of relationship development and the context in which intimate acts occur during this process. Romantic and sexual relationships are intricately scripted by a host of norms and rituals that dictate which partner initiates specific activities at certain points in the relationship (England et al. 2008; Harding 2007; Laumann et al. 2000; Morr Serewicz and Gale 2008; Seal and Ehrhardt 2003; Simon and Gagnon 1984). By analyzing relationships as sequences, rather than as sets of piecemeal events, it is possible to account for the rich context in which relationships occur.

Relationships involve a variety of acts that signal different degrees and types of intimacy, including physical and emotional acts, such as kissing and expressing love, as well as social acts, such as introducing one's partner to one's friends and family. The sequence in which these intimate acts occur is important because it reveals the salience of the progression of and transitions between events themselves, which in turn, is related to relationship development and trajectory. For example, whether sexual intercourse in a relationship leads to improvements or declines in emotional well-being (Kaltiala-Heino, Kosunen and Rimpela 2003; Meier 2007;) or increases delinquent behavior (Armour and Haynie 2007) may be contingent on whether intercourse occurs before, at, or after the individual would have preferred it to occur in the relationship. Conceptually, we can consider a compromise of romantic ideals as the disjuncture between two sequences: the actual relationship sequence and the idealized relationship sequence. Although this occurs in most relationships, there is considerable variation in the degree to which individuals compromise their ideals by engaging in certain behaviors out of their preferred sequences. Recent work on adolescents and young adults has focused on whether women are less fulfilled in their romantic and sexual relationships (Armstrong, England and Fogarty 2012). Similar to investigating to what extent individuals achieve their goals in romantic relationships, I examine to what extent that process unfolds in the manner in which individuals had envisioned it.

I argue that social structure plays a major role in how intimate acts are sequenced in adolescents' relationships and the extent to which this aligns with individuals' romantic ideals. This paper is about how structural characteristics, which individuals may be unaware of or have little control over, influence their most intimate behaviors. Just as friends influence the behaviors and attitudes of one another, they also influence the formation and trajectory of

romantic relationships. While individuals may feel that they are entirely responsible for their ability to locate partners and their decisions within romantic relationships, the reality of social networks suggests that such actions are contingent on and facilitated by the systems in which they are embedded. Recent work by sociologists has emphasized the role of friendship networks in the process of partner matching, explaining that actors' individual-level networks facilitate access to romantic partners and the flow information about them (Laumann et al. 2000; Laumann et al. 2004). The structure of the friendship network itself and the individual's position in it condition the individual's exposure to information regarding prospective partners and opportunities to meet partners themselves. Dense friendship networks lead to redundant information sharing (Granovetter 1973), consequently reducing the likelihood that the individual will intercept new information about partners. Hence, individuals with dense friendship networks will thus be more likely to compromise their romantic ideals as a result of perceived lack of alternatives. In contrast, highly central actors may be advantaged by their position in the network because they receive information from a wider and more varied set of friends (Haythornthwaite 1996; Wasserman and Faust 1994). Greater information about alternative partners provides more complete information to central actors, privileging them in their pursuit of a best-fit match.

Individuals who are more sought after as romantic partners may also be more popular and/or central within the network. Highly central individuals (Bonacich 1987) and individuals frequently nominated as friends may be considered high status based on their popularity within the school or their relationship to well-connected alters. Consequently, this popularity or centrality at the network level may be associated with social power at the individual-level, including the individual's ability to realize his ideal relationship. In addition to the extra

information popular and central individuals glean from their alters, these individuals also have access to more romantic partner alternatives. In line with theories of hypergamy, the tendency to prefer high status mates to mates of equal or lower status (Ha et al. 2012; Scott 1965; Townsend and Levy 1990), highly central and popular actors have a wider array of potential partners from which to choose by virtue of being more sought after.

Moreover, popularity within the network may translate to influence within the relationship. In studies of the spread of delinquent behaviors, such as substance abuse or partying, sociologists find that individuals are likely to adopt the behaviors of high status others (Crosnoe, Muller, and Frank 2004; Hagan 1991; Moody et al. 2011). In addition to having a larger accessible market, popular individuals may have more control within the relationship because they are in high demand. If their romantic partner is less popular, the less popular partner may acquiesce to the popular partner's script as means of compensation (or knowledge of the popular partner's wide pool of alternative partners). Hence, three processes privilege central and popular actors in realizing their ideal relationships: better information about the market of partners, a better pick from the partners available because of their increased demand, and/or the ability to sway the relationship closer to their ideal trajectory than their partners because of their desirability.

If smaller egocentric friendship networks are embedded in larger friendship clusters, such as those that emerge from gender and race homophily (McPherson and Smith-Lovin 2001; Moody 2001), the flow of information is further restricted by the number of steps it must travel to reach a prospective alter. In the case of gender homophilous friendship networks and gender heterophilous sex networks, information about partners must travel across gendered friendship clusters to reach potential partners. Individuals nested in these clusters are then reliant on a

limited number of bridges for information about opposite sex partners (Burt 1992). While individuals may have choice in who their friends are, they have little control over the broader sex segregation exhibited in their friendship networks. In this way, greater sex segregation at the macro-level may enhance the likelihood of compromised romantic ideals.

Unlike prior studies of romantic relationships that rely on coarse measures of sex ratios or limited egocentric network data, the National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health (Add Health) supplies detailed network data of high school students at the individual and school levels. As a result, it is possible to adjust for both the egocentric context and school-wide environment (or market) to which the individual is exposed. The completeness of this network data is especially salient given Moody's (2007) observation that "a friend of a friend is, often, a sex partner." To this end, I investigate the role of network position on such relationships as it ranges from the individual's centrality in his own friendship network to his more happenstance existence in schools that have more or less gender segregated friendship networks. I propose several structural mechanisms that affect compromised ideals via the types of social influence and information transfer they enable.

SEQUENTIAL APPROACHES TO ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

Sequential and relational sociological approaches underpin the treatment of romantic relationships as dynamic trajectories (Abbott 1988; Abbott 1994; Emirbayer 1997;). When illustrated as sequences, relationships become a progression of events woven together, each influenced by the order of the last. The relationship is not so much a state to be used as predictor as it is an unfolding script to be predicted. The focus of relational sociology extends beyond the

interaction of people to include the interaction of events (Emirbayer 1997). Script theory builds on this perspective, examining how social context informs the roles of actors in romantic relationships as well as the progression of the relationships themselves. Originally coined by Simon and Gagnon (1973), script theory posits that actors make sexual decisions based on a combination of cultural interpersonal and intrapsychic scripts. This approach combines micro and macro-level approaches by examining the intersection of norms, interaction and psychological framing regarding sexual activity. Sociologists have used cultural and intrapersonal scripts extensively to better understand patterned sexual behavior and relationship development, arguing that scripts serve as a template for appropriate or acceptable behavior within the relationship. Events and roles within scripts are largely symbolic, including how men's and womens' roles as sexual initiators and "gatekeepers" respectively mirror broader societal norms (Cohen and Shotland 1996; Laner and Ventrone 2000; Morr Serewicz and Gale 2008; Simon and Gagnon 1986). Similarly, the order of events within the relationship may be used to signal a desired script to the others. Paik and Woodley (2012) find that adolescents signal investment in relationships through their engagement in different levels of courtship behaviors, and that these behaviors are especially salient as relationship signals among partners who do not know each other well. In this way, early courtship events are important predictors of relationship type (i.e. sexual vs. ongoing romantic relationships).

In addition to specifying the actors and events, scripts can be used to describe general trends in the trajectories of relationships by dictating the order and speed at which these romantic and sexual events unfold. Recent research on the increasing popularity of hookups among young adults discusses the repositioning of sexual behavior outside the context of the romantic relationship in which it has typically been framed (Armstrong, Hamilton and England 2010;

Bogle 2007; England et al. 2008; Manning, Giordano and Longmore 2006). England et al.'s (2007) work focuses on the re-ordering of events in collegiate hook up culture, emphasizing the new sexual prioritization of oral sex before vaginal sex. In the same way that hookup culture has created separate scripts for romantic relationships and sexual activity, virginity pledges have rearranged the romantic script so that sex is permissible only after marriage (Bearman and Bruckner 2001; Bruckner and Bearman 2005; Berasmin et al. 2005). Harding's (2007) study of teenage pregnancy in low-income schools highlights both the number of scripts students are privy to as result of their heterogeneous neighborhoods as well as the impact of the differential ordering of these scripts on their behavior. For example, while marriage and pregnancy may be seen as some of the final events of a romantic relationship in the mainstream, earlier pregnancy among poor adolescent women may be used as a way to signal adulthood in their communities.

In addition to the descriptive capability of sexual scripts, researchers examine whether shifts in sexual scripts reshape or challenge the individual's satisfaction with her relationships. Armstrong, England and Fogarty (2012) find that the orgasm gap between men and women is accentuated by the rise in hookup culture because of women's greater propensity to achieve orgasm in romantic relationships and the double standard in which partner is "entitled" to pleasure in the hookup context. Further, Bruckner and Bearman (2005) extend their work on virginity pledgers to study how former pledging affects likelihood of STI infection, finding that pledging status does not lower the risk of STI acquisition. Additionally, Meier (2007) suggests that increased depression rates among younger adolescents who have had sex may stem from their deviation from age norms surrounding sexual initiation rather than their absolute age. These studies broadly propose that changes in scripts, both at the societal-level at which they are

established and at the individual-level at which they are carried out, have a substantial impact on well-being.

Deviations from the script are significant because of their ramifications beyond the scope of the relationship. However, given the myriad, dynamic scripts adolescents have to choose from (e.g. virginity pledges, hook up culture), it is difficult to measure the deviations themselves because of variation in the "standard relationship" the researcher could use for comparison. Given that the standard script inherently reflects the researcher's perception of relationship development rather than the individual's, the congruence between a researcher's standard script and the individual's relationship script is poorly equipped to measure individual-level outcomes, such as well-being and relationship satisfaction. Because romantic scripts are highly varied across individuals (Harding 2007), a more tractable measure would account for the individual's deviation from his own envisioned scripts.

I propose that a more nuanced way of understanding romantic relationship trajectories is to examine the concordance of idealized scripts and actual relationship progression, rather than predicting independent relationship events or comparing them to a model script imposed on the data. This approach allows for the comparison of individualized script congruence and deviation. Further, comparing actual scripts against idealized ones maintains the completeness of the relationship sequence, unlike other studies that highlight specific milestones (e.g. sexual debut, pregnancy). This method adds depth to existing romantic and sexual relationship research because it examines the trajectory of events, rather than just the formation of the romantic dyad or occurrence of specific sexual act. Individuals whose ideal and actual romantic relationships align arguably compromise less in their romantic ideals than participants whose relationships fail to pan out in a desired fashion. Hence, compromise of romantic ideals can be

viewed as a continuum, ranging from a relationship in which the events and/or order of said events do not align at all with the ego's desired trajectory to a relationship in which both the events and order of events unfold exactly as the ego wished. In this paper, I argue that the extent to which the individual achieves his or her preferred relationship trajectory is shaped by social structure.

STRUCTURAL FACTORS IN RELATIONSHIP TRAJECTORIES

The matching market approach to romantic relationships views the problem of romantic partnership from the standpoint that individuals exist and "shop" within the market of potential partners for mates (Mare 1991; Oppenheimer 1988). The preferences for certain types of romantic partners (e.g. physically attractive women, high-earning men, or same-race partners) and their relative scarcity determine supply and demand within matching markets. In line with macro-level approaches, demographic factors create a setting in which actors are privileged (or disadvantaged) by virtue of their affiliation with a specific group, such as black men or college-educated women, and the demand for members of said group (Lichter, Anderson and Hayward 1995; Lichter et al. 1992; Lichter, LeClere and McLauglin 1991; South, Trent and Shen 2001; Uecker and Regnernus 2010).

Many scholars have approached the problem of partner matching from a demographic perspective, emphasizing the importance of sex ratios (Becker 1981; Oppenheimer 1988) or willingness to accept a broader range of partners (Raley and Bratter 2004) in understanding pairing success. Lower rates of marriage, higher rates of cheating (South and Lloyd 1992; South, Trent and Shen 2001) and fewer formal dates have been observed in markets where women outnumber men (Uecker and Regnerus 2010; see also England 2012). However, sex ratios alone

are not enough to explain differences in marriage market outcomes. Intersections of desirable traits, such as SES, race, and sex, provide a more nuanced model of marriage market outcomes (Lichter, Anderson, and Hayward 1995; Lichter, LeClere and McLaughlin 1991). Integrating more complicated preferences, Raley and Bratter (2004) show that those actors who are more liberal in the types of partners they will accept (as opposed to standard actors who search for partners who are status equals or superiors) are more successful as they artificially widen the market and consequent opportunity structure. As a result, actors in high demand or liberal preferences may be more likely to realize their ideal relationships because of the increased selection of prospective partners to which they theoretically have access.

Further, propinquity shapes relationship outcomes because neighborhood-level characteristics are involved both at the preference formation and partner availability levels. From a community perspective, actors look to others immediately around them for norms and scripts about romantic relationship trajectories (Harding 2007; South and Baumer 2000; Wilson 1987). Laumann and colleagues (2004) stress that the city should be thought of as a space with multiple intersecting markets, rather than a cohesive whole in which all residents participate. Consequently, the authors redefine *sex markets* as "a subsystem of a community whose participants are mutually relevant to one another and generally share some common orientation by observing each other's strategies and evaluative criteria regarding sexual partnering," (p. 12-13) and differentiate them from *sex marketplaces*, which are physical spaces within the city where actors go to meet sex partners. Subsequently, when sex markets are treated as socially constructed, they become embedded in the neighborhoods in which they function. The spatial specification of markets delineates them in such a way that scholars should better be able to

distinguish the dynamics that operate within them, including identifying the higher demand population and establishing the scope of alternatives for participants.

This study examines the intersection of sex markets and marketplaces: the school. High schools constrain the sex market by monopolizing students' time and limiting their interaction with others outside the school. Further, the school functions as a sex marketplace in that it serves a secondary function as a physical meeting place for prospective partners As a result, students in search of relationship partners may primarily limited to their immediate peers. Norms about appropriate sexual behavior and relationship trajectories are conveyed through friendship networks and the spread of information such as gossip.

Social Networks and Sex Markets

Laumann and colleagues (2004) note, "The central problem facing [sex market] participants, then, is not comparing alternatives but, rather, finding out what the alternatives are in the first place" (p. 13). When individuals use friendship networks to locate partners, the social network begins to function as a market itself. Just as sexual marketplaces facilitate the meeting of market participants within a given physical space, social networks enable the flow of information about and access to such partners. This flow of information about which types of alternative partners are available is a local process that hinges on the structural characteristics of the ego's friendship network, such as network centrality and density, that affect search costs (Borgatti 2005; Burt 1992; Cook and Emerson 1978; Freeman 1977; Freeman 1979; Granovetter 1973; Levin and Cross 2004). Network features, both at the egocentric and global network levels, privilege some actors over others by improving access to relevant information. When access to such information is restricted or requires high search costs, the pool of potential partners may become

skewed or artificially shrunken. Therefore, a highly desirable actor with limited information about alternatives may be more likely to choose a poorly matched partner than a more average actor with better information. Hence, the power of more complete information may potentially outweigh market advantage. Although actors in high demand should theoretically have access to more partners, they may not realize the existence of these alternatives if they are not positioned to receive information about them. In the case of sex markets, such information would include knowledge of the existence of prospective partners and of their status (e.g. single or in a relationship), preferences (ex: interest in pre-marital sex) and prior relationship history.

Because social networks tend to be homophilous on a set of social traits (such as age, race and socio-economic status), social distance translates to network distance (McPherson and Smith-Lovin 2001), which is critical in understanding how quickly information travels through networks and which partners are introduced to each other. Information about potential matches functions as gossip in the sense that it can be held by multiple sources simultaneously and travels by replication rather than transference (Borgatti 2005). Thus, an individual's position in the network becomes salient to romantic relationship outcomes when it conditions the individual's access to information. In studies of information flow regarding job opportunities and organizational information, network scholars find that weak ties, bridges and networks with low density are conducive to the transmission of novel information. High density is related to the flow of redundant information because alters' overlap in contacts limits access to new information (Burt 1992; Granovetter 1973). An individual's centrality becomes fundamental as central respondents have communication with a greater number of friends who, in turn, have diverse information about potential partners. Hence, the centrality of an individual renders her more likely to intercept relevant information.

Moreover, shared friends may serve as matchmakers as they have information regarding both potential partners in question. Laumann and colleagues (2004) find that partners typically have at least one friend in common prior to meeting. These connections may be more important in their pseudo-bridging function because they relay pertinent information to both parties, whereas the ego's information about the potential partner is solely second-hand and one-sided. Actors with serving as bridges are likely to encounter new information because they are the necessary conduit for such information to flow between parties (Freeman 1977, 1979). Bridging is also related to power dynamics within romantic relationships, such the partner lacking bridging power within the relationship can be perceived as submissive because she or he has limited access unique resources and is consequently more dependent on the bridging partner (Cornwell and Laumann 2011).

Eigenvector centrality (Bonacich 1972) measures an ego's centrality in relation to their alters, such that well-connected egos with well-connected alters have higher centrality than egos with poorly connected alters. Such relational centrality is important because the ego's likelihood of intercepting information is a function of their friends' likelihood (Bonacich 1972, 1987). Given that the same network is responsible for both the receipt and transmission of information regarding romantic partners, having well-connected friends also enables the ego to reach a wider swathe of potential partners than a less central ego, whose reach may be restricted or slower to reach the target. In this sense, Bonacich centrality (1991) is especially salient in the conceptualization of friendship networks as matchmakers because it suggests that it is not the number of friends an individual has but, rather, how connected those are friends are that matters. The better connected an ego's friends are, the more likely they are to provide diverse information to the ego about available romantic alternatives.

Consequently, I predict that centrality is negatively associated with compromise of romantic ideals. Centrally located individuals within the network are better positioned to receive information regarding potential contacts by virtue of their own structural position and that of their friends. This information is critical in the individual's perception of the market and knowledge of alternatives. Moreover, the friends of centrally-located individuals should be better able to act as matchmakers given their extended reach within the network (relative to the friends of less central individuals). In contrast, I hypothesize that density will be positively associated with compromise of romantic ideals. While dense networks may relay information quickly, they are not conducive to the flow of novel information. I expect that dense networks will artificially shrink the individual's perception of the market, leading her to compromise more in her romantic relationships.

Network Composition, Opportunity, and Constraint

Compounded with density and centrality, the sex segregation of the network is also important from an opportunity standpoint. Indirectly, friends may shape one another's relationship choices by filtering each other's access to potential partners through their own available friends. When friendship networks are homophilous (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook 2001), female students are more likely choose other female students as their friends. However, heterosexual relationships are inherently heterophilous on the basis of gender, presenting a problem of opportunity wherein the information regarding members of the opposite sex must travel farther to reach the ego than if friendship networks were integrated. Sex markets with high gender segregation consequently add to the problem of information flow when gossip rather than first-hand (or second-hand) information is the primary source of information. If information is

mangled in the transfer or simply takes to long to reach the ego, the individual may choose a poorly fit relationship partner out of ignorance of better alternatives. Further, if ideal romantic trajectories are gendered, then sex segregation will exacerbate the differences between males' and females' scripts, which will result in greater compromise during the actual relationship. Simon and colleagues (1992) find that adolescent females' interactions with other females are integral in shaping how they learn social rules about heterosexual romantic relationship progression.

Networks also enforce control directly through peer-pressure. Friends may influence each other's dating choices by encouraging one another to date a certain "type" of person, or less popular students may be more likely to conform to the expectations more popular students have regarding relationship progression. Studies of substance abuse (Crosnoe, Muller, and Frank 2004; Hagan 1991; Moody et al. 2011) show that lower status individuals are more likely to adopt risky behaviors when they are promoted by the leading crowd in an effort to signal their belonging in the higher status group. Moreover, adolescent romantic relationships have also been found to be significant sources of social influence with regard to adopting similar risk behaviors, such as underage drinking and smoking, despite the gender heterophily (Haynie et al. 2005; Kreager and Haynie 2011; McCarthy and Casey 2008). Kreager and Haynie (2011) find that adolescents who enter romantic relationships with a partner who drinks heavily are more likely to drink (and binge) in the future, net of their prior drinking behaviors. This study suggests that it is influence, rather than homophily on underlying behaviors, that predicts behavioral concordance among romantic partners.

In this sense, the social influence of romantic relationships works analogously to the social influence of same-sex close friends. In a study of adolescent sexual activity, adolescents

who believed their best friends engaged in oral sex were more likely to do so themselves than those who did not share that perception (Prinstein, Meade and Cohen 2003). In tandem, this research suggests that compromise in or adjustment of behaviors is common in romantic relationships, wherein more popular individuals influence the actions of their partners.

By taking account of individual social network positions and global network features, I am better able to identify how structural features of adolescents' social environments contribute the compromise of romantic ideals they make in their relationships. When these relationships are reframed as complex and dynamic progressions, network structure informs the context in which these malleable relationships unfold. Information regarding network composition, such as sex segregation among peers, and egocentric position, such as centrality, yields necessary to detail to the understanding of how individuals become aware of potential partners. Additionally, network position also provides important information about processes of influence, wherein more powerful actors may be less likely to compromise in their relationships than less powerful actors (Cornwell and Laumann 2011). In this paper, I utilize a sex market perspective to identify the local markets in which individuals seek romantic partners. This approach underpins the reconceptualization of romantic relationships as embedded within the social environment. Further, I argue it is important to understand how these structural factors affect the progression of relationships, unlike prior studies predicting relationship formation or occurrence of individual events (e.g. sexual intercourse).

Acknowledging that romantic relationships are dynamic, the question is not whether compromise between partners will arise but, rather, who compromises most in the actual trajectory of the relationship. At the macro-level, I predict that higher levels of sex segregation within friendship networks at the individual's school will be related to greater compromise of

romantic ideals because of the way segregation increases path distance from heterosexual egos to romantic alters. Similarly, higher density within the individual's friendship network will also be associated with greater compromise because it limits access to new information about prospective partners. In contrast, at the egocentric level, popularity and centrality will be negatively related to degrees of romantic ideal compromise because these network features are associated with greater control and information transmission. Popular individuals may be less likely to compromise not only because of the informational advantages their position affords, but also because of their ability to influence the actual relationship progression toward their ideal trajectory.

DATA AND METHODS

I use data from the National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health (Add Health) to predict levels of romantic ideal compromise. The first wave of Add Health collected social network, health and behavioral data from roughly 90,000 adolescents in randomly selected high schools across the United States in 1994-1995. In Wave I, students in grades 7-12 were surveyed via an in-school questionnaire given to all students in school on the day of administration. School administrators were also surveyed about school characteristics on the same day as the in-school interview. Afterward, a subset of 20,000 students who completed the in-school questionnaire were selected for a substantially more detailed in-home interview, which asked respondents about peer networks, sexual behavior and health status (among other topics). To rule out interviewer and parental effects, adolescents were asked sensitive health and risk behavior questions using audio-CASI tools (Turner et al. 1998). Although specific minority groups were oversampled in the in-home survey, sample weights are provided to render the data nationally

representative. In this study, I primarily utilize data from the in-home interviews, though some variables measuring school and network characteristics are taken from the in-school surveys. I use robust, clustered standard errors to account for between school variance in my multivariate OLS regression predicting compromise of romantic ideals.

Dependent Variable: Compromise of Romantic Ideals

I identify romantic scripts based on the ideal relationship measures collected in the Wave I in-home survey. In the ideal relationship section, respondents were asked to answer questions according to what they wish would happen in their ideal romantic relationship. Respondents were given a set of 17 cards, each listing one of the following relationship events:

A. We went out together in a group
B. I met my partner's parents
C. I told other people we were a couple
D. I saw less of my friends so I could spend more time with my partner
E. We went out together
F. We held hands
G. I gave my partner a present
H. My partner gave me a present
I. I told my partner that I loved him or her
J. We thought of ourselves as a couple
K. We talked about contraception or sexually transmitted diseases
L. We kissed
M. We touched each other under our clothing or with no clothes on
N. We had sexual intercourse
O. We touch each others' genitals (private parts)
P. My partner got pregnant (or "I got pregnant" for female respondents)
Q. We got married

They were then asked to remove cards they would not want to happen in their ideal relationships (ex: "My partner got pregnant"). With the remaining cards, respondents were asked to order them in the sequence they would want them to happen in a relationship so that the earliest event was listed first and final event listed last. This exercise was repeated in the actual relationship

section wherein respondents were given the same full deck of cards and asked about their most recent romantic relationship. They were asked to remove cards listing events that that *did not* happen in the actual relationship. Respondents then ordered the remaining cards in the sequence that they occurred in the relationship. These raw sequences provide the data to construct the dependent variable, which is the computed difference score between the ideal and actual relationship.

By generating the distance score between the ideal and actual relationships, it possible to capture the degree to which the adolescent's ideal and actual relationship did (or did not) align. For example, if a respondent lists her ideal relationship as ABCDEFGHIJK but her actual relationship was ADFELMN, how congruent are these sequences? I use an optimal matching (OM) analysis (Aisenbrey and Fasang 2010; Abbott 1990, 1995; Abbot and Hrycak 1990; Martin and Wiggins 2011) to quantify the difference between a given respondent's ideal and actual relationship sequences. OM is a sequence alignment method that determines how much resorting (i.e. inserting, deleting, or substituting elements in a sequence) needs to be done to align a given pair of sequences. OM algorithms calculate the cost of changing one sequence into another by using specific weights for insertion/deletion (indel) and substitution changes. Compared to the actual relationship in the example above, the ideal sequence has both more elements and a different order of some similar elements. The weights assigned to substitutions and indels determine how the algorithm changes one sequence into another.[1] The resulting dependent

[1] Determining the costs for indels and substitutions is crucial in OM as relatively higher indel costs preserve order whereas higher substitution costs preserve events themselves (Lesnard 2010; MacIndoe and Abbott 2004). For this analysis, I use standard, static costs of 1 for indels and 2 for substitutions, however transition probabilities could also be used to weigh switches for certain transitions (see "Future Research and Limitations" for extended argument). MacIndoe and Abbott (2004) explain that if indels cost any more than 1.5 times the cost of substitutions they will be used only to the extent that they even unequal sequence lengths but never more. For

variable is a Levenshtein distance score that measures the difference between the respondent's ideal and actual relationships. The score ranges from zero to 25, such that a score of zero indicates perfect alignment between the romantic and ideal sequences and a score of 25 demonstrates complete difference between them.

Ideal Romantic Clusters

Before I eliminate students without actual romantic relationships from the sample to perform the OM analysis, I generate cluster groupings of ideal relationships based on responses of to the ideal relationship section. Hierarchical cluster analysis (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984; Everitt et al. 2011; Kaufman and Rousseeu 2005; Romesburg [1984] 2004) agglomerates the ideal trajectories of all students to identify how many groups the sequences broadly fit into based on their sequential content. I utilize Ward's linkage criteria, based on Calinksi and Harabasz's (1974) pseudo F-statistic, alongside visual assessment of the dendrogram in Stata to identify the number of appropriate clusters. Four groupings[2] (or "clusters") emerge from the data as relationship templates that students' ideal sequences tend to follow. These groupings are then used to adjust for the broad relationship model the individual tends to idealize. Which cluster individuals belong to is important if they are seeking partners within the same cluster. Because these clusters roughly segregate respondents into groups with other like-minded respondents

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the models presented, I use a substitution cost of two and an indel cost of one. I utlize higher substation cost so that the events that comprise the sequence are more likely to remain the same during the matching process. When indels are weighted at twice the cost of substitutions in this analysis, the results remain consistent in direction, size and significance, suggesting that they are not driven by indel and substitution cost specifications.

[2] The F-statistic suggests that groups of four or six clusters would be equally appropriate cut points. After visually examining the data and testing the analyses with both sets of four and six clusters, I employ four for the final analysis because of the increased ability it lends to define the clusters based on clear visual trends. The main effects do not change in response to a six or four cluster designation.

(similar relationship trajectories), membership in a group that is relatively unpopular (ex: students with no desire to do anything sexual) may disadvantage them in having a successful relationship given the relative rarity of likeminded others. Further, the variation between clusters is not necessarily uniform—some clusters may share many similarities while others may represent more fringe templates.

Independent Variables

To collect network data, students who received the in-school questionnaire were asked to identify friends, romantic sexual partners and non-romantic sexual partners from a roster of all enrolled students in the school.[3] For friends, respondents could nominate up to five friends of each sex, identifying their best friends of each sex. These network measures were then used in the calculation of measures of students' positions within their school's network (e.g. send/receive network densities and Bonacich centrality) as well as aggregated to the school level to describe gender and race segregation in the broader school network. Schools with low response rates were not included in the pre-constructed network analysis and are consequently omitted from the sample.

I begin by using measures of centrality, popularity and egocentric network density to predict compromise of romantic ideals.[4] Echoing the theoretical importance of well-connected friends in their roles as matchmakers, I rely on Bonacich centrality (Bonacich 1991; 1972) to measure the centrality of respondents as it extends through their first and second-degree alters. Assuming individuals are not interested in dating their immediate friends, network centrality enables greater opportunity to meet additional partners because of the wider network it provides.

[3] Respondents could also nominate friends who did not attend the same school.

The mean reported centrality is .84 with a right skew and large standard deviation, indicating that most students inhabit the periphery of the network rather than core. Similarly, I include a measure of density as a measure of information diversity. The lower the density of the egocentric network, the more likely the ego is to receive varied information about potential relationship partners given the lack of redundancy among friendship ties. The mean density is .29, suggesting that there is only minimal overlap among friends in the egocentric network.

I further employ a measure of popularity, based on the number of friendship nominations a student receives, to account for social influence. More popular individuals may be able to sway relationship progression in their favor as they confer status unto their partners in return for compromise in their actual relationship sequence. Additionally, popular individuals may have more information regarding potential partners given how many friends they have. Though this information may not be diverse, the fact that the ego has been nominated so often as a friend suggests that this type of information would be available if requested (in contrast to a relationship in which the friendship is unreciprocated by alter). On average, respondents are nominated as a friend by five alters. The distribution is right skewed with a long tail, indicating that although most students receive five or fewer nominations, a very small number of popular students sway the average higher with upwards of ten nominations each.

I also examine the role of school-level variables of sex segregation in friendship networks, the proportion of opposite sex students in the school, the school size, and the gender ratio and segregation of the respondent's listed clubs. Sex segregation in networks may affect the quantity and quality of information transferred about potential partners. Students enrolled in schools where friendship networks are highly segregated by gender may be less likely to receive accurate information about potential partners if it must travel farther to reach members of the

opposite sex.[5] This variable approximates an environmental approach, expanding to a school-level view rather than focusing on the egocentric network, to capture the way through which a respondent's existence in a broader network (over which she has minimal control) affects her personal behavior. I measure gender segregation via in-group preference using Add Health's variable for school-level gender salience, which calculates how frequently boys (girls) nominate other boys (girls) as friends (Rytina and Morgan 1982). Students in schools where there are high same-sex friendship preferences may compromise more given the extra steps necessary to reach members of the opposite sex.

Measures of school size and the proportion opposite sex speak to the composition of the market at the respondent's school. The number of prospective partners the individual has access to is conditioned by whether the school is large or small, as well as whether the gender ratio is imbalanced. Additionally, club variables function as meso-level metrics for the individual's exposure to opposite sex peers. Like gender segregation at the school network level, gender segregation within clubs may advantage some individuals over others. Akin to the sex segregation friendship measure for the school, I adjust for whether clubs in the respondent's school tend to be more or less segregated by gender. Additionally, I include a measure of the average proportion opposite sex in the respondent's clubs to account for whether they are a gender minority in this middle-level market. These club-level metrics speak to Laumann's (1994; 2004) work on the relationship between local spaces and relationship outcomes. Even if the respondent's school hosts a majority of same sex students, being the minority sex in a club may counteract the school level disadvantage if students find partners through their extracurricular activities.

[5] In this paper, I examine only heterosexual students, who I define as being in a relationship with someone of the opposite sex.

---- TABLES 1 AND 2 ABOUT HERE ----

Because my analysis focuses on the congruence between the ideal and actual relationship sequences, students who have not had an actual relationship are not included in the model. Given that AddHealth samples high school students, omitting those who have not engaged in a romantic relationship decreases the sample size by roughly 45% of the in-home interview sample. To account for the influence of these missing cases in the final model, I first run a logistic regression predicting which students enter romantic relationships. Predictors of this selection include age, positions of each element in the ideal sequence, ideal sequence cluster and popularity (among others). I employ the provided sample weights in the calculation of the propensity score so that the resulting score will absorb these weights in its construction. I then use the inverse of the predicted probability of entering a romantic relationship identified in the logistic regression as the new sample weight in my final models (in conjunction with robust clustered standard errors by school). The resulting product gives additional weight to respondents who were least likely to be included in the final model (e.g. they had the lowest probabilities of entering a relationship) to mitigate the selection bias inherent in the final model sample (i.e. those who have been in relationships) (Morgan and Todd 2008). This initial step is a necessary adjustment for selection effects given Lichter, Anderson and Hayward's (1995) finding that market constraints do not so much encourage women to choose less desirable partners as they do dissuade women from marrying at all. The weighting in this paper adjusts for the situation in which respondents who anticipate high romantic ideal compromise simply abstain from having a relationship. Consequently, the results offer predictions of social network

effects on the compromise of romantic ideals after having adjusted for the initial likelihood of entering a romantic relationship.

RESULTS

Current research has identified a growing variety preferred relationship sequences among adolescents (Bearman and Bruckner 2001; England, Shafer and Fogarty 2008; Harding 2007). Because relationship sequences have not been fully explicated in previous research, I begin by describing broad ideal relationship patterns observed in the Add Health data. In Figure 1, I present state distribution graphs for each of the four clusters identified. These graphs display the relative proportion of the different events of the ideal sequence that individuals nominate at different positions within the sequence. The X-axis displays sequence position, ranging from the first event to the last event, while the Y-axis shows the relative nomination frequency of each event, displayed by the colored rows, relative to other events. These graphs illustrate some interesting trends in both convergence and divergence of trajectories across clusters. Across all clusters, the relative frequencies of sexual activity and pregnancy peak at the end of the sequence. Contrary to England and colleague's (2008) work on hookup culture, these trends suggest that adolescents still prefer to prioritize non-physical bonding over sexual activity at the beginning of the relationship. Similarly, in most clusters, especially Clusters Two and Four, it is clear that certain events track together, such as the giving and receiving of presents and exchanges of saying "I love you." These events gain popularity in the middle of sequence.

----- FIGURE 1 AND FIGURE 1 LEGEND ABOUT HERE -----

However, across clusters, there is ample discrepancy in the ordering of specific events. Cluster One's most defining factor is the spike in the frequency of spending less time with friends in order to spend more time with one's partner as the last event in the sequence. Whereas other clusters show no spike in this event, Cluster One sees it as the last step of the relationship. The data presented suggest that respondents who fall in Cluster One would rather become pregnant with their partner before sacrificing time spent with friends. Accordingly, this cluster is labeled "Friends Come First" as short hand for identifying which script the cluster broadly follows.

In Cluster Two, the first position is dominated by two events related to couplehood: the respondent thinking of herself belonging to a couple in which she and partner both thought of themselves a couple and as telling others they were in couple. Accordingly, this cluster conceptualizes the relationship as starting with the mutual agreement or public announcement of being in a couple; other activities and exchanges are secondary. Hence, the cluster is labeled "Couple First." Group Three is relatively nondescript in its patterns. The relative frequency of almost all events is stable and similar throughout the relationship, except for when sex and pregnancy become more popular at the end. This cluster may serve as a "catch all" group, picking up sequences that do not fit well enough into the other clusters, but which do not necessarily have much in common with one another within their own cluster.[6] Because this cluster is likely picking up a wide variety of comparatively unpopular sequences, it is labeled "Anything Goes."

[6] Multiple variations of hierarchically nested cluster grouping were tested to see if defining additional clusters would present a clearer picture about sequence types, but increasing the number of clusters did not appear to present a cleaner story. Additional clusters showed little variation amongst one another, suggesting the optimal number of clusters was fewer rather than many.

Finally, Cluster Four displays a pattern in which the beginning of the relationship is characterized by going out in a group with the partner, going out alone with the partner, kissing and the partner and respondent thinking of themselves/announcing to friends that they are a couple. This group is labeled "Kiss and Tell" because of the spike in kissing at the fourth position, followed by the spike in telling friends they are a couple in the fifth position.

Next, I examine how compromise of romantic ideals is distributed throughout the sample. To do this, I provide descriptive statistics of the measure, sorted by gender, in Table 1. The compromise measure has an average of 11.15, suggesting that for most respondents, there is a 45% discrepancy in the events and/or order of events between their ideal and actual relationship progression. Theoretically, we would expect there to be more students with distances closer to zero than 25 given that the low likelihood that a person would enter a relationship requiring a comprehensive change in between the idealized and actual relationships. The variable is approximately normally distributed, centered around 12 with a thinner right tail. The data show that the average length of actual and idealized relationships is similar and does not vary significantly by gender. Additionally, the average compromise score appears to be mostly unaffected by gender. Although female students have slightly lower scores in the unstandardized estimate, this gender is not a significant predictor of compromise of romantic ideals in the final models.

Most strikingly, the overwhelming majority of sequences, both ideal and actual, are unique, meaning that the combination of events in the order the respondent has listed them appears only once in the data. As displayed in Table 1, 98% of ideal sequences and 94% of actual sequences are unique, meaning that they appear only once in the data. Put differently, only 2% of ideal sequences and 6% of actual sequences are repeated. To have an ideal sequence

repeated exactly by a peer is highly unlikely. While script theory would lead us to believe that there is extensive consistency across ideal and actual narratives, the data suggest that relationships (ideal and actual) are highly individualized. The average ideal relationship length, 12.99 elements, is longer than the average actual relationship, 10.69 elements. These lengths differ notably by gender, with females preferring and participating in shorter relationships than males. The final sample consists of 6,942 students with slightly more females (53%) than males. The average student is nominated as a friend by five other students, experiences low density among his friends (.29) and has low centrality (.85) in the school friendship network (see Table 2). The average school is medium-large in size and equally split between male and female students, in which students' friendship networks display significant gender homophily (1.15 for males; 1.23 for females). Students are fairly religious, scoring an average of 14 out of 20 on a scale of religious behavior and activities.[7]

------ INSERT TABLES 1 & 2-------

In Table 3, three OLS models are presented to display the independent effects of individual position and school market composition in addition to a cumulative model adjusting for both levels. The school-level measurements speak to the composition of the market while the egocentric network variables account for the consequences of the individual's position within the network. These perspectives are compounded in the form of school-level network variables that describe the broader friendship patterns within the school, which then influence the accessibility of information about the preferences and behaviors of the opposite sex. Each model includes

[7] Analyses were conducted with additional dummy variables for specific religious sects (ex: Jewish, Evangelical Christian, etc), but main effects did not vary from the models displayed below.

probability weights from the aforementioned model of relationship entry likelihood and is clustered by school to reduce between school variation bias. Student grade and whether the student identifies as black are included as adjustment variables to account for additional sources of influence on individual's compromise of romantic ideals. Additionally, I include a dummy variable of whether the relationship is ongoing to adjust for the fact that relationships in progress may be shorter than those that have already concluded.[8] Models are initially separated so that the independent effects of individual position and market composition can be disentangled before a final model that examines how they work in tandem to predict compromise of romantic ideals. Combined, these effects produce a model best fit to predict changes in the individual's level of ideal compromise. I describe the results from Model 3 because it is the most comprehensive and because most coefficients do not shift notably across different models.[9]

--- TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE ----

Individual-Level Network Position

Popularity, as measured by the number of times an individual is nominated as a friend by others, is negatively related to ideal compromise. Each nomination an individual receives is associated with a decrease of .03 ($p = .048$) in their compromise score. This association is especially notable for those exceptionally popular students who receive upwards of twenty friendship nominations. Bonacich centrality is also negatively related to compromise of

[8] I retain those cases of ongoing relationships to increase the eligible the sample size.
[9] Gender segregation among friendships at the school-level is the exception. The predicted effects of gender segregation on compromise of romantic ideals become stronger in Model 3, indicating that they are better understood and more influential in the presence of individual-level network measures.

romantic ideals ($p < .01$). For the average student with a centrality score of .85, their compromise scores are expected to be .28 points lower than peripheral students with a centrality score of zero (CI [-.45] – [-.18]) ceteris paribus. Density of the send-receive ego network is also significant at the 95% confidence level, demonstrating that ideal compromise is predicted to decrease by 20% per one point increase in density (least dense to most dense network). In sum, those students who receive many friendship nominations, who are central in the network and who have dense friendship networks are more likely to realize their ideal romantic relationship than those students who are less popular, less central and who have less dense networks.

School-Level Market Structure

Same-sex preference in friendships is positively and significantly aossiated with compromise of romantic ideals, indicating that enrollment in schools with higher levels of gender segregation is correlated with greater disjuncture between ideal and actual relationship trajectories. The predicted impact of gender homophily among males in friendships is nearly 50% larger than among females (1.38 vs. .96). These findings suggest that while gender homophily is an important predictor of romantic ideal compromise, the predicted effects are largely dependent on whether boys or girls are more likely to nominate members of their own gender as friends. In line with the economic approach to matching markets, the proportion of opposite sex students at the school level is negatively related to the compromise of romantic ideals, but the association is not significant. However, the average proportion of the opposite sex in the respondent's clubs is a significant, negative predictor of compromise of ideals, suggesting that gender ratios are indeed important in understanding the romantic market. A 10% increase in the ratio of opposite sex students in the respondent's clubs (on average) is correlated with a .05

point decrease in the individual's compromise score. The greater the number of opposite sex students in the respondent's club, the better the selection of potential partners. School size is not significant, suggesting that it not the size of the market but, rather, its composition that best predict rates of compromise in romantic ideals.

Romantic Ideals Clusters

Ideal relationship clusters are also significantly correlated with ideal compromise. Members of Cluster One (Friends First) and Cluster Four (Kiss and Tell) appear more likely to achieve their ideal relationships than members of the reference group, Cluster Three (Anything Goes). Individuals with ideal relationships that fall into these alternative clusters are predicted to have compromise scores .72 – 2.06 points lower than those in Cluster Three (Anything Goes). These coefficients are some of the largest in the model, suggesting that ideal relationship cluster is a critical predictor of compromise in romantic ideals. Interestingly, membership in Cluster Two (Couple First) is associated with increases in romantic ideal compromise. One reason this may occur is that the emphasis placed on being a couple in the beginning of the relationship outweighs the order of later events, such that partners in this cluster are more flexible to changes in their actual relationship assuming "couple status" has been established. Membership in Cluster Three (Anything Goes) may be a disadvantage because Cluster Three functions as "catch all" group and includes sequences that are so infrequent that they cannot form a cluster unto themselves. Hence, membership in Cluster Three may actually signal that the respondent has an ideal template that is comparatively divergent from other ideal sequences. Accordingly, adjusting for cluster membership may be adjusting for the ease with which individuals are able to locate partners with roughly similar ideal trajectories.

Adjustment Variables

Additional adjustment variables are included in the model to account for the influence of gender, race, grade and religiosity on romantic ideal compromise. Although neither grade nor gender predict a significant change in the compromise of romantic ideals, religious students are significantly more likely to have lower compromise scores than their secular peers (CI [-.05] - [-.01]). For each one point increase in religiosity score, compromise in romantic ideals decreases by .03, such that the most religious individuals (score of 20) are predicted have compromise scores .60 smaller, on average, than students who are not at all religious. To adjust for racial homophily in dating preferences, black is included as a race dummy variable to test whether black students are at a disadvantage in realizing their ideal romantic relationships compared to their peers.[10] Being black is associated with higher compromise scores, such that black students are predicted to have compromise scores that are .35 points greater, on average,than their non-black counterparts.

DISCUSSION

Network position and market composition are important predictors of compromise of romantic ideals. The significance of ego-level network variables suggests that individual position in the network is indeed salient to understanding who compromises most. Counter to the theoretical prediction that more dense networks would increase compromise of romantic ideals, density is

[10] Black students were the largest ethnic group after whites in final sample. Including a race dummy allows for the adjustment of surface-level influence in how racial status is related to compromise of romantic ideals. Because I do not focus on race as a main effect in this paper and because the heterogenity ideal relationship trajectoreis may be greater within race than between races, I include black as the only race variable in this analysis.

strongly associated with decreases in compromise. When more of the ego's friends are friends with one another, this structure may encourage the transfer of finer grain information (Uzzi 1996). Because each member may hold slightly different information about the potential partner in question, the interconnectedness of the peer network creates a detailed picture of a few partners, rather than overwhelming the ego with coarser information about many. Additionally, density may reduce the likelihood that relevant information about partners is withheld from the ego. In the scenario where a friend is unwilling to share information with the ego about a potential partner (for example, out of self interest), density among the ego's friends enables the ego to receive such information from a different friend. Therefore, when there is high density in her network, the ego is able to access relevant information about partners even if one friend intentionally withholds it.

Centrality is negatively related to romantic ideal compromise, suggesting that people whose friends are themselves more centrally connected are more likely to realize their ideal relationships. More central individuals have better access to information because their first and second-degree alters are better positioned to come across new and diverse information compared to individuals whose friends are less well-connected. That is, more central individuals may be advantaged in two ways: 1) they have greater access to potential partners and, 2) they are better able to adjudicate between prospective candidates due to increased information. In this way, increased information expands the number of alternatives known to the individual, increasing the completeness of the individual's information about the market. Additionally, with a wider selection of alternatives, the individual can more reliably select a "best-fit" partner.

This finding is echoed by the positive effect of gender segregated friendship networks on compromise of romantic ideals. In schools where friendship networks are highly segregated by

gender, individuals are more likely to compromise in their relationships than when friendship networks are better integrated. Gender segregation in friendship networks may be related to poor information transfer between members of the opposite sex. With greater gender segregation, the number of steps necessary to relay information about one partner to another increases. These additional steps have the potential to warp information in the process of transmission, the same way a message becomes more distorted as the number of people playing a game of "telephone" increases. Hence, in the process that information travels from one gendered friendship cluster to another, the information itself may be lost, muddled, or withheld by intermediaries with different interests. The effect for male in-group preference is substantially larger than that for female in-group preference, suggesting that the effect of gender homophily in friendships on the compromise of romantic ideals is larger in schools where there is a "boys' club" mentality.[11]

Theories of market advantage and network influence are also supported by the significant effects of popularity and proportion opposite sex students in the respondent's clubs. These theories are intertwined as the advantages of the in-demand gender in sex and marriage markets are frequently underpinned by the assumption that these minorities can shift the relationship in their favor (Uecker and Regnerus 2010). Put differently, as the number of opposite sex partners decreases, so does the likelihood of finding the "perfect match" partner. Therefore, if one wants to be in a relationship at all, one cannot picky. This disequilibrium privileges the minority gender because they may be able to sway the relationship toward their own ideal relationship progression. Given that the minority gender is not in a position to bargain because alternatives are scarce, compromise of romantic ideals increases for the majority sex. Relatedly, I find that individuals with higher in-degree measures have lower compromise scores. Consistent with

[11] It is possible that the coefficient for females is mitigated by a "kiss and tell" culture that encourages discussion of relationships that does not occur among male friendships.

existing literature, the ability of these individuals to influence their partners may manifest itself in their ability to sway the relationship trajectory toward their ideal relationship

Alternatively, these findings suggest that popular individuals and in demand minorities may simply have more prospective partners to choose from. If an individual is nominated frequently as a friend, it is likely that he or she would also be nominated more often as a desired romantic partner. Similarly, as the number of opposite sex students increases, the minority sex has a larger market in which to shop. Given the wider opportunity structure popular and minority sex individuals have to locate and choose partners, these individuals may be able to better narrow their partner criteria without forsaking relationship entry because the likelihood of finding this more specific partner increases as well. These results are more generally bolstered by the insignificance of school size across all the models. If the size of the market (rather than its contents) were critical in the search for alternatives, we would expect this school size to be negatively related to compromise. Hence, it is not the size of the market that matters, it is the individual's position in it that predicts levels of compromised ideals. This result, alongside the finding that the proportion of opposite sex students within the school is not a significant predictor of ideal compromise, challenges the demographic, macro-scale approach to markets. The insignificance of the school-level gender ratios in tandem with the strong effects of club gender ratios suggest that the markets individuals participate in are constrained even within the school, let alone the city or state.

These analyses provide evidence for the mutual power of markets and networks in predicting compromise of romantic ideals. As structural constraints, they work together in determining who compromises more in relationships. While the content of markets may determine which gender is in the majority or minority, network configurations provide necessary

detail about how information about prospective partners flows. Hence, while the market determines who the most desired persons are, it does not insure that these people end up with the best-fit mates. Although the coefficients in these models are small, it is important to consider their impact on the average compromise score (11.15). The substitution, insertion, or deletion of events can dramatically change the trajectory of an individual's relationship, such as by shifting sexual intercourse earlier in the sequence or by removing the discussion about STIs. Small adjustments in these sequences could have substantial effects on adolescents' mental health (Meier 2007).

Throughout this study, I have employed an egocentric perspective that lends itself to understanding how broader structural factors impact individual-level outcomes. However, information at the dyadic level would contribute substantially to understanding how relationships progress the way they do. Having information about both partners' ideal trajectories would shed light on whether both parties compromise equally or if one partner compromises more. Comparing compromise scores within couples would help to disentangle whether lower compromise scores are the result of better information or greater influence (Aalsma et al. 2012; Eklund, Kerr and Stattin 2010; Gudonis et al. 2012). Further, actual relationship sequences could be compared within the couple to test for concordance in reporting of the relationship itself. Additionally, dyadic level information would yield important information about the role of shared networks (Cornwell and Laumann 2011). Partners with substantial overlap in friends may be less likely to compromise in their relationships because of the better information they initially gain about their partners. In contrast, network overlap may be associated with higher compromise scores if ideals differ between partners but they feel the cost of breaking up is higher than not realizing their ideal relationship.

The score of romantic ideal compromise is not a comprehensive metric of relationship quality or of individual-level mental health. While it captures disjuncture between the individual's ideal and actual relationship with regard to relationship events and sequencing, it does not have the ability to speak to other integral relationship features, such as interpersonal communication, congruence of non-romantic values (e.g. religious or political beliefs), and social support. Additionally, while the compromise of romantic ideals measure accounts for the order of events in relationship progression, it does not control for the speed of progression. Some events may occur in quick succession (e.g. the exchange of the "I love you" statement") while others may have ample time between them even if they are adjacent to one another in the sequence (e.g. a couple having sex and waiting before getting pregnant)

Despite these limitations, the romantic ideal compromise score derives its strength as an intrapsychic measure, accounting for individual-level differences between desired and actual relationship trajectories. In this way, it can be applied to studies of mental health and inequality. Research examining the role of sexual initiation during intercourse (Kaltiala-Heino, Kosunen and Rimpela 2003; Meier 2007) can be expanded to include compromise of romantic ideals as an additional predictor of emotional well-being. Compromise of romantic ideals may be used as an additional measure of inequality. In the same way that some scholars have attributed decreasing marriage rates among black females to the lack of "desirable" black men (Lichter, LeClere and McLaughlin 1991; Schoen and Kluegel 1988), we may find that black women also experience greater compromise of romantic ideals in the relationships they do participate in. When conceptualizing compromise of romantic deals as measure of success in a matching market, such that individuals with lower compromise scores are more successful than those with higher scores,

we create another dimension against which to gauge how social structure shapes individual outcomes.

CONCLUSION

In popular culture, romantic relationships are the stuff of mystery and fortune. Simultaneously quotidian and unique, they are the plot lines for comedies and tragedies alike. However, relatively little is known about how these relationships progress through various romantic and sexual milestones in the way that they do. This sequence is of paramount influence to social scientists because, as children and young adults, we are socialized with specific scripts about how such relationships "should" unfold. In this paper, I provide evidence for the effect of network position on individuals' degree of compromise between their idealized and actual relationships. Integrating sociological script theory and methods of sequence analysis, I construct a measure of romantic ideal compromise determined by the concordance of the respondent's reported ideal and actual relationship. To measure this difference between the idealized and actual relationships, I calculate compromise using an optimal matching analysis. Additionally, to adjust for broader patterns in ideal relationship trajectories, I employ cluster analysis to broadly measure how the individual's rough relationship template predicts his degree of ideal compromise. These metrics reconceptualize relationships as dynamic sequences of events, rather than static predictors or outcomes.

Extending this measure of compromise to a model of sex markets and networks, I find that centrality, popularity and density are important predictors of the individual outcomes in romantic relationships. These factors are negatively correlated with the distance between ideal

and actual relationships, suggesting that individuals privy to such positions in the network are advantaged in their ability to find best-fit partners and/or to sway the relationship in their favor. Conversely, gender homophily in friendship networks is problematic for congruence between idealized and actual relationships, potentially because of the impediments it creates in the transfer of information and likelihood of meeting opposite sex partners through friends. These results highlight the mutual power of sex markets and network analysis, creating a theoretical intersection for scholars of both fields. While local market dynamics determine the in-demand gender, networks play a critical role in the transmission of information about prospective partners. Ultimately, this study speaks to the ways in which the network itself plays an intimate role in not only the creation of, but also the development of our most intimate relationships.

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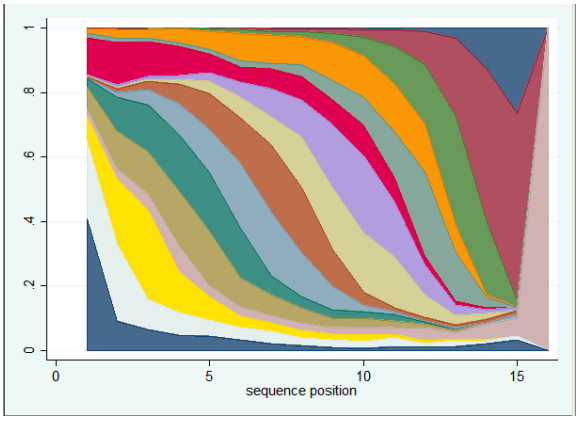
YOU CAN'T ALWAYS GET WHAT YOU WANT: STRUCTURAL DETERMINANTS OF COMPROMISE IN INTIMATE BEHAVIOR

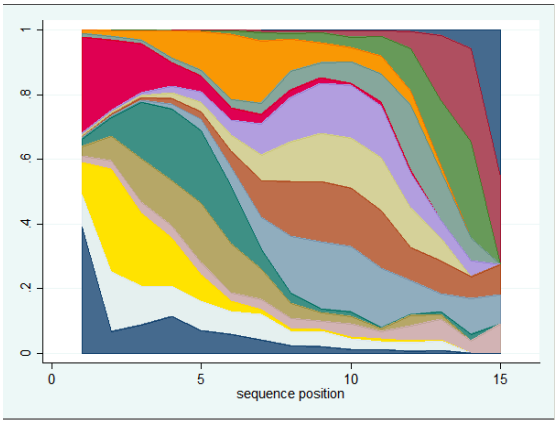
FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1: State distribution graphs of ideal sequences

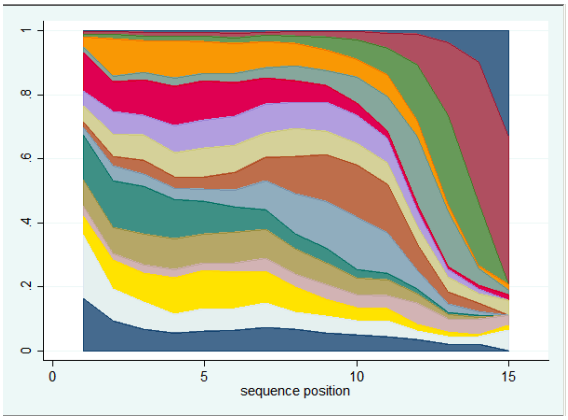
Cluster 1: "Friends Come First"



Cluster 2: "Couple First"



Group 3: "Anything Goes"



Group 4: "Kiss and Tell"

Relative frequency is measured by size of each colored bar at each sequence position (X-axis). These graphs show that while some events are consistently reported toward the end of the sequence (navy and maroon bars, representing sex and pregnancy, dipping at Positions 13-15), clusters can be identified by the other events that peak at different points throughout the reported sequence.

Figure One Legend: Events by color from bottom to top of graph

Navy (bottom of graph)	Go out together in group
Lightest blue	Meet partner's parents
Yellow	Tell people we were a couple
Taupe	See less of friends to spend more time with partner
Dark tan	Go out together alone
Dark Teal	Hold hands
Grey blue	Give partner a present
Brown	Receive present from partner
Light tan	Tell partner "I love you"
Lavender	Partner tells me "I love you"
Magenta	Think of ourselves as couple
Light teal	Talk about contraception/STIs
Orange	Kiss
Green	Touch without clothes
Maroon	Sex
Navy (top of graph)	Pregnancy

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Sequence Variables by Gender

Variable	All	Male	Female
Average Length of Ideal Relationship	12.99 (2.17)	13.14 (2.15)	12.87 (2.17)
Average Length of Actual Relationship	10.69 (3.06)	10.72 (3.11)	10.66 (3.01)
Percent Unique Sequences			
Ideal	97.89%	98.44%	98.18%
Actual	94.14%	94.50%	95.83%
Compromise of Romantic Ideals Score (Unstandardized)	11.15 (3.67)	11.45 (3.75)	10.92 (3.57)

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of Key Variables

Variable	Mean (SD)	Min	Max
Compromise of Romantic Ideals	11.15 (3.67)	1.00	25.00
Egocentric Network			
Bonacich Centrality	.84 (.64)	0.00	4.29
In Degree	5.04 (3.79)	0.00	30.00
Send-Receive Density	.29 (.14)	0.07	1.00
School Network			
Male Friendship Segregation	1.15 (.09)	0.97	1.47
Female Friendship Segregation	1.23 (.11)	0.94	1.89
School Characteristics			
Proportion Opposite Sex	.50 (.02)	0.00	1.00
School Size (1 = small, 3 = large)	2.39 (.68)	1.00	3.00

Table 3: Effect of Network Position on Compromise of Romantic Ideals

Variable	Model 1 Coefficient (SE)	Model 2 Coefficient (SE)	Model 3 Coefficient (SE)
Egocentric Network			
Bonacich Centrality	-.32** (.07)	----	-.33** (.07)
In Degree	-.05** (.01)	----	-.03* (.01)
Send-Receive Density (Log)	-.18* (.08)	----	-.20* (.09)
School Network			
Male Friendship Segregation	----	.01** (.00)	1.38* (.65)
Female Friendship Segregation	----	.90 (.52)	.96* (.42)
School Characteristics			
Proportion Opposite Sex	----	-1.56 (1.56)	-1.84 (1.53)
School Size (1 = small, 3 = large)	----	-.01 (.11)	-.01 (.10)
Club Characteristics			
Average Proportion Opposite Sex in R's Clubs	----	-.72** (.14)	-.54** (.14)
Gender Segregation in Club's at R's School	----	-1.15 (.91)	-.80 (.88)
Ideal Relationship (Cluster 3 omitted)			
Ideal Relationship Length	.71** (.11)	.72* (.02)	.71** (.02)
Cluster 1 (Friends First)	-2.06** (.22)	-2.04** (.23)	-2.05** (.28)
Cluster 2 (Couple First)	.63** (.10)	.63** (.10)	.61** (.10)
Cluster 4 (Kiss and Tell)	-.72** (.02)	-.77** (.11)	-.71** (.10)
Individual Characteristics			
Grade Level (7-12)	-.00 (.03)	.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)
Black	.33* (.13)	.38** (.13)	.35* (.13)
Religious	-.03** (.01)	-.03** (.01)	-.03* (.01)
Female (0 = male)	-.17** (.07)	-.09 (.08)	-.08 (.08)
Relationship is Ongoing	-.30 **(.09)	-.29** (.09)	-.30** (.09)
Constant	2.88** (.53)	2.80 (1.66)	1.26* (1.83)
	N= 6942 R^2 = .21	N= 6942 R^2 = .21	N= 6942 R^2 = .22

** p < .01, * p < .05