

The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

College of the Liberal Arts

**SEXUALITY OF CRIMINAL OFFENDERS: A CROSS-SECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF  
SEXUAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR, CRIMINAL HISTORY, AND MARRIAGE**

A Thesis in

Crime, Law, and Justice

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

August 2008

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## ABSTRACT

Romantic relationships in adulthood are important phenomena in contemporary criminology. Criminological research has begun to emphasize the need for more information on the quality and nature of romantic relationships, and the processes that contribute to successful relationships; such as happy marriages. However, there is relatively little research on the processes involved in offenders' intimate relationships. This study examines offenders' intimate relationships by focusing on sexuality. Criminological theory and research often assume offenders have different sexual attitudes and behaviors compared to non-offenders and it is possible these differences contribute to the prevalence and quality of sexual relationships. In this project I derive hypotheses from classic criminological theory, and from family literature's research on sexuality. Using data from the National Health and Social Life Survey, offenders were found to have different sexual attitudes and less satisfying sexual relationships compared to non-offenders. Offenders' sexual attitudes also mediated much of the negative effect that a criminal history has on emotional satisfaction with sexual relationships. Marriage processes appear to be different for offenders compared to non-offenders. Implications for life-course criminology and future research are discussed.

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## **Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION**

Delinquents' social relationships have been longstanding focal concerns for criminological theory and research. Studies consistently find that delinquency occurs most often within group contexts and that the association between individual and peer delinquency is one of the strongest in criminological research (Akers, 1998). Moreover, peer and parental influence lie at the heart of two of the most important theoretical traditions within criminology, learning and subculture theories (Thrasher, 1963; Giordano, Cernkovich, and Pugh, 1986). However, other perspectives, most notably self-control theory and social control theory dismiss the causal importance of delinquent relationships and portrayals of delinquent groups as caring or intimate (Hansell and Wiatrowski, 1981; Giordano et al., 1986; for a similar discussion see also Steffensmeier and Ulmer, 2005). These views on peer influence can be grouped into two competing models: the "social ability model," which states that delinquency is a learned behavior by "normal" adolescents, and the "social disability model," which states that delinquents lack social skills and delinquency is not a product of peer influence but a result of low self-control and low social control (Hansell and Wiatrowski, 1981).

Prior criminological research has used this framework to understand the quality and nature of delinquents' adolescent peer relationships (e.g., see Giordano et al., 1986; Kandel and Davies, 1991; Akers, 1998; Warr, 1996; Kreager, 2004). However, we still know relatively little about offenders' *adult romantic* relationships (Giordano, Cernkovich, and Schroeder, 2007:1614; see also, Sampson, Laub, and Wimer, 2006; Siennick and Osgood, forthcoming). That is, we do not have a full understanding of why some individuals with a criminal history are able to forge and/or maintain loving relationships (e.g., stable marital ties), while others are not (Giordano et al., 2007: 1635). Research on adult relationships (e.g., marriage) is important because, as life-



course research demonstrates, marriage and adult relationships influence desistance from crime (Laub and Sampson, 2003). Yet absent from life-course criminology's discussions on offenders' adult relationships is any mention of sexuality, sexual attitudes, and sexual satisfaction.

Recent research has shown that the emotional elements of romantic relationships are important for the desistance process (Giordano et al., 2007); as such, it is important to examine such things as emotional satisfaction with sex. As Laub and Sampson (2003) note, being loved and cared for by a partner, and having a partner to love and care for, is highly important for a marriage to be successful and facilitate criminal desistance. Theoretically, the emotional elements of a relationship, and the exchange of emotional support, are vital characteristics of a successful relationship (Marx, 1844; Fromm, 1956; Berger and Kellner, 1964). More importantly, theories that speak of "love" and relationships (i.e., Freud, 1953; Sullivan, 1953; Fromm, 1956; Berger and Kellner, 1964; Erikson, 1968) also advocate that sexual activity and sexual satisfaction are major constituents of ego-disclosing, intimate and loving relationships. A dyadic relationship's foundation is often based on the expectation of a sexually exclusive relationship, which is emotionally and physically satisfying (Fromm, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Laumann et al., 1994). Thus, the connection between intimacy and sex is an important part of marriage and romantic relationships.

Although generally overlooked by criminological research, the *family literature* has a long history of studying sexual attitudes, sexual behaviors, and the effects of these phenomena on the quality of intimate relationships. For example, a common finding is that married individuals tend to be more sexually satisfied compared to single individuals, net of frequency of sexual activity (Waite, 1995; Waite and Joyner, 2001; Edwards and Booth, 1994). In the current

study, I will draw on the family literature to test the relationship between criminality and adult sexuality, by applying the social ability and social disability models to adult sexual relationships. Specifically, I will test whether offenders differ from non-offenders in terms sexuality (i.e., attitudes and behaviors), and sexual satisfaction. In addition, I will test whether or not *marriage* and *sexual attitudes* can explain any differences in *sexual satisfaction* for offenders compared to non-offenders. In answering these empirical questions, it is my goal to bridge the gap between life-course criminology's discussion of intimate relationships and the family literature's discussion of sexual satisfaction and sexual attitudes.

### **Background**

Several early gang researchers argued that delinquent peer groups and gangs are purposely formed based on the need for intimacy and family. For example, in his studies of Chicago gangs, Thrasher (1963) often witnessed emotional closeness and intimacy between members. He and other scholars laid the foundation for what would later become the subcultural perspective (also see Cohen, 1955; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Miller, 1958). In terms of the nature of friendships, the subculture perspective essentially states that deviants are subject to the same group processes as non-deviant individuals. As such, delinquent peer groups are capable of achieving similar levels of intimacy as non-delinquent peer groups. However, delinquents learn different norms regarding deviant behavior compared to non-delinquents, so that delinquents learn to accept deviant behavior as normative. Differential association theory and social learning theory share similar views of the normative quality of delinquent peer groups and the closeness that may develop between delinquent peers (see Sutherland, 1940; Akers, 1998). Hansell and Wiatrowski (1981) argued that these criminological theories comprise the *social ability model*.

Thus, in terms of quality and nature, the social ability perspective implies that delinquents are capable of achieving loving and intimate relationships (Giordano et al., 1986).

Some criminologists and criminological theories have criticized this conception of delinquents and delinquent peer groups. For instance, Hirschi (1969) argues that delinquents lack bonds with conventional adults, peers, and social institutions; and delinquents' friendships tend to be "cold and brittle" (Hirschi, 1969: 141). Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) similarly argue that delinquents have lower levels of self-control compared to non-delinquents, and therefore are unable to form close social relations because of severely limited social skills (Hirschi, 1969; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). Other psychological perspectives (e.g., Moffitt, 1993; Caspi et al., 1994) also argue that persistent offenders tend to have antisocial personality traits and low social functioning, which contribute to a propensity towards peer rejection and isolation (see also discussion in Steffensmeier and Ulmer, 2005). Together, these criminological theories can be grouped into the *social disability model*, which implies that offenders and delinquents are incapable of achieving loving and intimate relationships.

Past research has contrasted the social ability and disability models in studying the nature and quality of delinquent peer relationships in adolescence. The focus on adolescents' peer relationships is largely due to the fact that most criminological theories explicitly address the strong association between individual and peer delinquency, which peaks in adolescence. However, these two models also implicitly provide inferences about the nature of offenders' relationships in general. Thus, it is possible to apply these competing conceptions to the study of offenders' romantic relationships in adulthood. The import for the current project is that the social ability and social disability models provide a theoretical framework from which one can

draw hypotheses for offenders' sexual relationships. Specifically, it is my goal to apply these competing conceptions to adult sexual satisfaction.

### ***Peer Groups and Marriage***

Criminologists have amassed a substantial body of knowledge regarding the nature and quality of delinquent peer affiliations (see Akers, 1998). For instance, Giordano et al. (1986) discovered no differences by levels of self-reported delinquency for levels of intimacy within peer groups (i.e., caring and trust), stability of friendships, and frequency of contact with friends. Thus, they found that delinquents were capable of achieving intimate friendships (see also Kandel and Davies, 1991). As a result, Giordano et al. (1986) concluded that levels of intimacy were not as low as the social disability model would predict. However, intimacy levels were not as high as Thrasher once proposed.

Other research has focused on the causal relationship between peer influence and individual delinquency. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argued that the relationship between peer delinquency and individual delinquency is spurious and that delinquents select into delinquent peer groups, while other scholars have argued that causal mechanisms for adolescent delinquency exist within peer relationship processes (Akers, 1998; Warr, 1996). Research has supported the latter view, but variation generally exists (see Matsueda and Anderson, 1998; Haynie, 2002; Kreager, 2004). Matsueda and Anderson (1998) found that peer influence was an important predictor of delinquency; however, adolescents' selection into delinquent peer groups was a stronger predictor. Consequently, in spite of contrasting theoretical expectations, criminologists continue to develop a deeper understanding of the complex processes involved in peer relationships. Yet our understanding of such relationships is generally limited to

relationships in adolescence. We still do not have a full understanding of the processes involved in romantic relationships later in life.

As noted earlier, most research on offenders' intimate relationships later in the life course involves the discussion of the "good marriage effect" (see Sampson and Laub, 1992, 2005; Sampson, Laub, and Wimer, 2006; Laub, Nagin, and Sampson, 1998; Laub and Sampson, 2001, 2003). We know that strong marital ties (Sampson and Laub, 1993), marital satisfaction (Osgood and Siennick, 2005), and marital happiness (Giordano et al., 2007) can lead to desistance from crime. In general, this marriage effect is a common finding in recent research, even net of selection effects (Sampson et al., 2006; King, Massoglia, and MacMillan, 2007; Siennick and Osgood, forthcoming).

Scholars have proposed multiple reasons for why the transition to marriage can change criminal trajectories (Laub and Sampson, 2003). For one, marriage provides the opportunity for the acquisition of social bonds and increased social control (Sampson and Laub, 1993; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Umberson, 1992). Accordingly, married women are thought to socially inhibit the harmful or deviant behavior of their male spouses. Marriage may also alter one's routine activities, such that married offenders spend less time in situations conducive to crime (Osgood et al., 1996). Additionally, marriage can cut off offenders from delinquent peer groups (Warr, 1998), or spur identity changes via cognitive transformations (Giordano, Cernkovich, and Rudolph, 2002; Maruna, 2001; Shover, 1985). For the latter, marriage can provide offenders with the chance to create a conventional identity and conventional lifestyle and leave crime behind. Although abundant research has sought to document marriage effects, the exact underlying mechanisms remain unidentified (Siennick and Osgood, forthcoming).

Research on marriage effects is relevant for this project for three primary reasons<sup>1</sup>. For one, the desistance research clarifies the need for a greater understanding of the quality and nature of offenders' romantic relationships (Giordano et al., 2007). Accordingly, it is apparent that we do not know enough about the quality of offenders' sexual and intimate relationships. In addition, research on the quality of romantic relationships, such as this project, may have important implications for life-course criminology discussions. Research on romantic relationships can shed light on within-marriage processes that facilitate desistance from crime. Finally, the marriage effect literature demonstrates that offenders are capable of achieving loving and intimate relationships with pro-social partners, and this finding is highly relevant for the current project. The social ability model and the social disability model would have contrasting predictions about offenders' ability to form loving and stable relationships. This project will test these competing expectations.

Since we know that the *quality* of marital ties and marital happiness contribute to desistance from crime (Sampson and Laub, 1993, Laub, Nagin, and Sampson, 1998; Giordano et al., 2007), Giordano et al. (2007) argue that we should begin to analyze the emotional elements that comprise romantic relationships (e.g., love). Theories on the social reality of marriage would agree that love and intimacy processes are undoubtedly important, primarily because intimacy, love, and social support trigger marriage's social and psychological benefits (Berger and Kellner, 1964; Gove, Style, and Hughes, 1990). Marriage and family research supports the notion that benefits of marriage are contingent on marital quality (see Ross, Mirowsky, and Goldstein, 1991; Booth and Amato, 1991); similar to how desistance from crime is contingent on marital

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<sup>1</sup> It is important to clarify that I will not directly test marriage and desistance.

quality. For example, the most common benefit of a good marriage is mental and physical health. That is, married individuals tend to be better off mentally, physically, and economically, compared to those who are not married (Gove et al., 1990; Ross et al., 1991; Umberson, 1992). Importantly, these effects cannot be explained by the selection of healthy and happy individuals into marriage (Booth and Amato, 1991; Ross, 1995; Brown, 2000).

There are many parallels between family research and theory and life-course criminology research. We see that social attachment (e.g., “love”) and marital quality positively influence married individuals, criminal and otherwise, net of selection effects. However, there is an absence of any discussion of adult sexuality in criminological research, while this concept is prevalent in family research. As previously noted, this is mainly due to sexuality’s importance for stable and satisfying romantic relationships and marriages (Fromm, 1956; Laumann, 1994; Waite, 1995; Edwards and Booth, 1994). Family theory and research demonstrates that (1) successful marriages and high quality marriages are associated with sexual satisfaction, and (2) stable loving relationships depend on the adherence to the sexual exclusivity contract inherent in romantic relationships (Fromm, 1956; Erikson, 1968; Laumann et al., 1994; Berger and Kellner, 1964; Edwards and Booth, 1994; Waite, 1995). Family research and theory therefore provide a framework for analyzing the quality and nature of offenders’ sexual relationships. In the following section, I will explain the framework commonly applied by family researchers to the study of sexual relationships.

### *Sexuality Framework*

Social theories of sexuality suggest that elements of sexuality are influenced by individual and social factors. Choice theory and scripting theory tend to comprise the theoretical

frameworks for the social analysis of sexuality. Laumann et al. (1994) suggest that choice theory is useful because finding a partner and maintaining a sexual relationship requires resources, time, and social capital.<sup>2</sup> Thus, individuals choose to devote themselves to one sexual relationship because it is more rational than continuously switching and reinvesting in different partners. For instance, individuals might choose to invest in skills that are specific to one partner, which contributes to the physical and emotional sexual satisfaction achieved in that relationship. As such, married individuals might invest in developing sexual skills with their partners, which could explain the common finding that happily married individuals and emotionally close couples are more likely to be sexually satisfied (Laumann et al., 1994; Waite, 1995).

Waite (1995) also suggests that married and cohabiting individuals have equivalent levels of sexual activity (i.e., sexual frequency), and that both of these groups have higher levels of sexual activity compared to singletons. Interestingly, married men report higher levels of physical *and* emotional satisfaction in their sexual lives compared to *both* single men and cohabiting men (Laumann et al., 1994; Waite, 1995). Married women only differ from their cohabiting and single counterparts in levels of emotional satisfaction with sex (Waite, 1995). Even though the associations between marital status and sexual fulfillment are relatively striking, the causal relationships are difficult to disentangle. Thus, choice theory and the idea of investment in sexual skills offer one explanation, however there are other possible explanations. For instance, Laumann et al. (1994) also argue that literal commitment and emotional commitment may affect individuals' levels of sexual satisfaction. Indeed, most research demonstrates that sexual satisfaction is a function of relationship happiness (measured as the

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<sup>2</sup> Laumann et al. (1994) describe choice theory. Choice theory is highly related to rational choice theory; however, due to minor alterations, Laumann et al. (1994) call it “choice theory” and not “rational choice theory.”



amount of love and support in a given relationship), overall well-being, and marital stability (Edwards and Booth, 1994).

Scripting theory, on the other hand, focuses less on individuals and more on social contexts. Scripting theory essentially states that sociodemographic characteristics influence sexuality, primarily through cognitive and interpersonal dimensions of sexual interaction (Gagnon, Rosen, and Leiblum, 1982). For instance, due to cultural and individual differences, people develop different attitudes toward sex. As such, individual choices cannot entirely explain variations in sexual satisfaction. Normative orientations towards sex also matter.

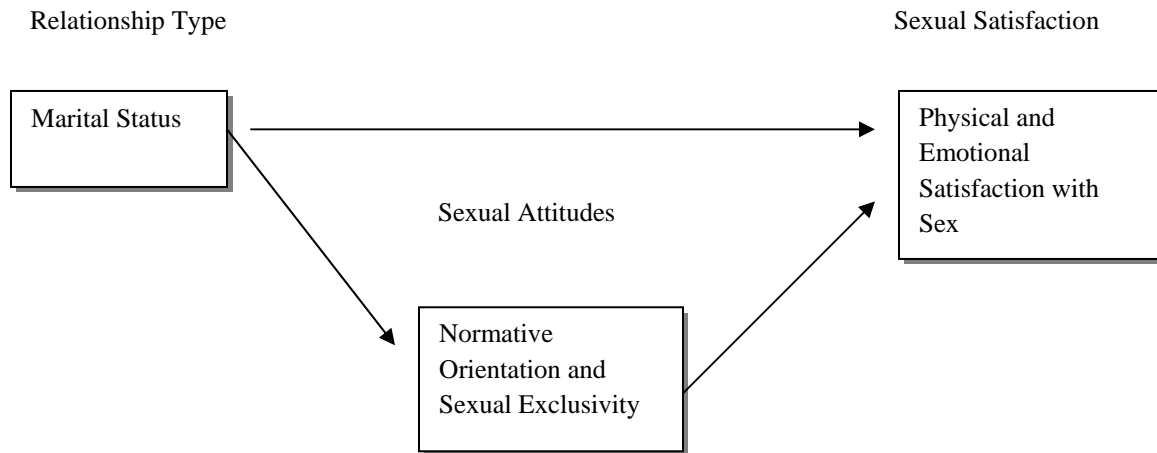
Laumann et al. (1994) delineated three primary normative orientations toward sexual behavior (i.e., behaviors such as premarital intercourse, homosexuality, sex without love, masturbation, etc). The first orientation is *procreational* (or traditional); that is, the primary purpose of sexual activity is to reproduce. Within the procreational orientation, premarital sex is inappropriate, as is such behavior as masturbation. The second orientation is *relational*; that is, sexual activity is considered a natural part of an intimate and loving relationship. This orientation considers premarital sex as acceptable in the context of a loving relationship, and discourages extramarital activity. Essentially, this orientation considers any sexual activity as appropriate as long as it is bounded within an exclusively loving relationship. The third orientation is *recreational*; that is, pleasure is the primary purpose of sexual activity. This orientation allows for any sexual activity between two consenting adults (see discussion in Laumann et al., 1994).

Laumann et al. (1994) concluded that individuals tend to group into one of these three orientations towards sexual behavior. These normative orientations influence sexual attitudes (i.e., value of love, value of sexual exclusivity) and sexual behaviors (i.e., participation in oral sex, masturbation, extramarital affairs). The import for the current project is that these normative

orientations towards sexuality also affect sexual satisfaction. Normative orientations towards sex are not the only important sexual attitudes to consider, however. Attitudes towards what one considers sexually appealing are also important, such as the appeal of monogamy or nonmonogamy.

Laumann (1994) stated that sexual nonmonogamy leads to a less satisfying sexual relationship with any one partner, primarily because nonmonogamy reflects a lack of commitment (and thus a lack of specific sexual skills with a specific partner). In addition, Fromm (1956) and Erikson (1968) theorized that personal preferences (i.e., attitudes towards exclusivity within sexual relationships) could mediate much of the effect on emotional and physical satisfaction with sex. Empirically, we see that indeed the appeal of sexual exclusivity influences sexual satisfaction. For example, Waite and Joyner (2001) discovered that men who were attracted to exclusive sexual behavior, compared to those who valued non-exclusive sexual behavior (i.e., appeal of group sex, appeal of sex with a stranger, etc.), reported more emotional and physical satisfaction with sex within primary or recent relationships. These attitudes towards the exclusivity of sexual behavior also helped to mediate much of the effect of marital status on sexual satisfaction (Waite and Joyner, 2001). Thus, we see that sexual attitudes (e.g., normative orientations and sexual exclusivity attitudes) significantly affect emotional and physical satisfaction (see Figure 1). In terms of overall sexual satisfaction, it is also clear that married individuals are more physically and emotionally satisfied compared to individuals who are unmarried.

Figure 1: Family Literature Model of Sexual Satisfaction



In sum, theory and empirical evidence demonstrates that individuals differ in terms of attitudes towards sexual exclusivity and normative sexual behavior. These sexual attitudes and sexual behaviors affect levels of sexual satisfaction; and these elements of sexuality vary by type of sexual relationship (e.g., marriage vs. cohabitation). It is also evident that sexual satisfaction is important because it is highly related to love and marital quality. Therefore, sexual satisfaction and sexual attitudes should be included in any discussion of marriage, love, marital quality, and the social and psychological benefits of marriage.

To review, the discussion of sexual satisfaction is important for the current project for two reasons. First, sexual satisfaction relates to the life-course criminology discussion of marital quality. That is, since sexual satisfaction and sexual activity are contingent on marital quality, and since sexuality is a primary part of intimate relationships, criminologists should begin to study the social elements of sexuality. Second, we see that individuals differ by sexual attitudes, and individuals differ in terms of ability to achieve sexual satisfaction. Since the social ability and social disability models emphasize differences between offenders' and non-offenders' attitudes and social skills, the social ability and social disability models can be applied to the

study of offenders' sexual relationships. The main goal of this project is to study the sexual satisfaction of offenders using the social ability and social disability framework. The main research questions for this project are: Do offenders have different sexual *attitudes* compared to non-offenders? Are offenders more or less sexually *satisfied* compared to non-offenders? Might marriage affect sexual satisfaction equally for both offenders and non-offenders? To bridge the gap between criminology's discussions of romantic relationships and the sexuality literature, we must first consider what we know in general about delinquents' and offenders' sexuality.

### ***Sex and Crime***

Not surprisingly, sexuality and sexual activity are not entirely new subjects to the field of criminology. Non-marital, sexual unions are prevalent amongst offenders and within high crime neighborhoods (Sullivan, 2004), and as a result there is a well-established literature covering the crime-sexual activity relationship (e.g., see Lemert, 1951; Glueck and Glueck, 1968, 1974; Irwin, 1970; Reiss, 1970; Jessor and Jessor, 1977; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Anderson, 1999). For example, Glueck and Glueck (1968) observed in their Boston sample that delinquent boys sought the companionship of girls more so than non-delinquent boys. This greater interest in girls also reflected the delinquent boys' greater sexual precocity (Glueck and Glueck, 1968:37). Even though Glueck and Glueck made detailed inferences about elements of sexuality, much of what we know empirically about sexual attitudes and the behavior-delinquency relationship is limited to the onset of sexual intercourse. In describing the empirical findings on delinquents' sexual attitudes and behaviors I will first discuss the quantitative research on sexuality followed by qualitative research.

Jessor and Jessor's (1977) discussion of their "problem-behavior structure," the loss of virginity was highly associated with problem drinking, marijuana use, and general deviance. Much of the research on adolescents' sexual debut has followed in the footsteps of Jessor and Jessor. As such, most researchers focus on how sexual debut is itself a delinquent act or a part of a problem-behavior structure or delinquent propensity (e.g., see Udry, 1988; Rowe et al., 1989; Rosenbaum and Kandel, 1990; Capaldi, Crosby, and Stoolmiller, 1996; Bersamin et al., 2006). Research generally demonstrates that adolescent sexual debut is associated with delinquency, and that sexual debut and delinquency have similar antecedents. For example, drug use and general delinquency increases the chances of early onset of sexual activity (Jessor and Jessor, 1977; Rosenbaum and Kandel, 1990; Capaldi et al., 1996). Furthermore, the "determinants of first intercourse in adolescence [...] include a broad range of variables: ascribed sociodemographic background characteristics, biological maturity, psychological factors, attachment to social institutions [...] family structure, influence of peers and siblings, and community characteristics" (Rosenbaum and Kandel, 1990:784). Even though the current project's focus is on adult sexual behavior, the research on adolescence has relevance for this project. In particular, the sexual debut research illustrates that criminological theories can be applied to sexual behavior. For instance, Rosenbaum and Kandel (1990) documented that early sexual activity is more prevalent for Black male urbanites than other youth. Capaldi et al. (1996) also established that elements of low social control (i.e., low parental monitoring, etc.) are related to early sexual behavior. That is, the effects of parental monitoring and parental romantic relationship status (i.e., single mothers and fathers vs. married parents) mediated the relationship between SES and early sexual activity.

From a more strict social control framework, Udry (1988) showed that social control and bonds to conventional society (see Hirschi, 1969) highly influenced adolescent sexuality. This research demonstrated that adolescents who experienced low social control and weak bonds, compared to adolescents with strong bonds to conventional adults and society, had increased chances for early sexual debut, more “sexual experience,” different “turn-ons,” and different frequencies of thoughts about sex (Udry, 1988).

Research on adolescent sexuality also demonstrates that there are connections between early sexual debut and the prominent theories of differential association (Sutherland, 1940) and social learning theories (e.g., Akers, 1998). For instance, deviant peer associations, along with individual delinquent behavior, are significant predictors of early sexual intercourse (Capaldi et al., 1996). Others have also found that delinquent peer group association is related to early sexual debut (e.g., Jessor and Jessor, 1977; Ensminger, 1990; Bingham and Crockett, 1996).

Research on the delinquency-sexual debut relationship is also compatible with self-control theory (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) directly address sexual activity in their general theory of crime. The theorists include “illicit sex” as one behavior that is analogous to crime (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990: 90). In line with the work of Jessor and Jessor (1977), researchers who study the delinquency-sexual debut relationship typically work within Gottfredson and Hirschi’s theoretical framework; or the generality of deviance and propensity framework (see Osgood et al., 1988). For example, Rowe et al. (1989) compared virgins and non-virgins and found that nonsexual deviance is associated with more sexual “experience” and early sexual debut. These findings are not novel. However, the findings are important because Rowe et al. (1989) interpreted the findings as evidence of a latent trait, which

supports the generality of deviance argument. Thus, the authors argued that individuals' different sexual experiences were influenced by one's proneness towards deviance. Rowe et al. (1989) provide a prime example of the research on the delinquency-sexuality relationship that is consistent with personality models of criminality (e.g., Caspi et al., 1994), and more importantly self-control theory.<sup>3</sup>

The compatibility of Rowe et al.'s (1989) research with the generality of deviance is an important concept to discuss for at least two reasons. For one, we see that early sexual activity is in itself considered deviant. For another, we see that early sexual behavior is considered to be part of a deviant propensity. Within this framework, it would appear to be a moot point to research crime *and* sex. However, even though there is evidence that supports the generality of deviance, the notion of criminal propensity and its relation to sexual behavior may be more complex than what Rowe and others have reported. In terms of the generality of deviance, Osgood et al. (1988: 91) concluded that, "a latent variable of general deviance falls short of explaining all of the reliable and stable variance of the separate [deviant] behaviors. Each behavior is, in part, a manifestation of a more general tendency and, in part, a unique phenomenon."

There is evidence that sexual behavior may be one of these unique phenomena. For example, there is evidence that subgroups of adolescents engage in early sexual activity but are otherwise indistinguishable from non-sexual and non-delinquent subgroups. Ensminger (1990) found that, in her sample of Black urban residents, frequent substance abuse and physical assault often co-occurred with sexual activity. However, the sample also had adolescent males who were

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<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) do not claim that self-control theory is compatible with personality trait theories. Thus, I decided to keep these two theories separated.

sexually active, and who were *not* delinquent. These males were hardly distinguishable from the “no-problem,” “no-sex” males (Ensminger, 1990: 2042),<sup>4</sup> suggesting that sexual debut does not always co-occur with nonsexual deviance. Harding (2007), in his analysis of disadvantaged neighborhoods, similarly found significant heterogeneity in sexual debut and social scripts about romantic relationships. There is an association between disadvantaged neighborhood residence and sexual activity (e.g., early sexual debut), but there are multiple scripts about romantic relationships from which disadvantage neighborhood residents can choose (e.g., recreational, relational, and traditional normative orientations are present). Thus there is evidence that for males, sexual activity in adolescence can be normative and conventional (see Giordano, Manning, and Longmore, 2006), and that the generality of deviance argument is not completely applicable to early sexual activity. Evidently, early sexual activity can occur as a unique phenomenon separate from delinquency even though one’s level of delinquency clearly influences one’s chances of early sexual activity.

So what can we conclude from quantitative findings on the delinquency-sexual activity relationship in adolescence? There are three important aspects of this research that relate to the current study. First, we see that there is a relationship between delinquency and sexual debut. Being involved in drugs, deviance, and delinquent peer groups increases the likelihood of adolescent sexual activity. However, it is also evident that delinquency, and conditions conducive to delinquency, are not necessary antecedents for sexual activity in adolescence. Second, criminological theories can easily be applied to research on adult sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. As Reiss (1970) posited, the theories that are most applicable to the sex-crime

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<sup>4</sup> There were different results for females. However, my sample is males only, so I decided to only include the results for the males.



relationship are social bond theory (Hirschi, 1969), and differential association and social learning theory (Sutherland, 1940; Akers, 1998). More recent theories arguably are just as applicable to the sex-crime relationships, such as self-control theory (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990) and other psychological theories (e.g., Moffitt, 1993). In sum, the theories that comprise the social ability and social disability models are highly appropriate criminological theories to apply to sexuality. Third, research on the sex-crime relationship is limited to the study of *adolescence* and *sexual debut*. Past research is limited in scope because research on sexual debut does not provide specific *details* pertaining to sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. In addition, we know that sexual intercourse is far from deviant later in the life course, further necessitating research of adult sexuality and crime.

Research on sexuality in criminology is not limited to the previously discussed quantitative findings. Ethnographic criminological research provides more specific details related to sexual attitudes and behaviors. Much of this work (i.e., Willis, 1977; MacLeod, 1987; Anderson, 1999) is rooted in subculture theories of crime. Accordingly, these works assume that differential group norms related to sexual behavior are reactions to environmental forces (i.e., economic deprivation, urbanity, etc.) (see Cohen, 1955; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Miller, 1958). Moreover, delinquent gangs, subcultures, or high-crime communities develop differential norms which regulate group attitudes and behavior. For example, Anderson's (1999) ethnographic research of Black, inner-city youth demonstrated that the "code of the streets" shapes the rules that govern inner city youths' sexual behavior. Accordingly, young males in these environments value early and frequent sexual activity, resulting in sexual prowess for males accruing social status within peer groups. Anderson concludes that a "mating game" emerges, in which males' heterosexual sexual relationships are "hit-and-runs" infused with the deceptive promises of

“love” for the female partner. The important concept is that for these particular young males, casual sex is valued, and sex becomes a prize to be won in the “mating game.” The prizes for these young men were potential social status and sexual fulfillment. Therefore, sex is not a testament of love for these youth (Anderson, 1999)<sup>5</sup>.

Similar findings are present in Willis’ (1977) qualitative research on working-class London youth. Willis (1977) similarly emphasized that the males in his London sample valued sexual prowess. These males, or “lads,” viewed women as sexual objects with no identity save that of their sexual attraction (Willis, 1977:43). In MacLeod’s (1987) Ain’t No Makin’ It, we also saw that the “Hallway Hangers’ subculture [had elements of] blatant sexism... they saw the woman’s role in their relationships as purely instrumental. Women were stripped of all identity except for that bound up with their sexuality” (MacLeod, 1987:173). MacLeod goes on to mention that the woman’s own sexuality or sexual needs were unimportant to males, and that the women were like “commodities” for these male “consumers” (MacLeod, 1987:173). Even though “love” was never addressed by MacLeod or Willis, these authors make clear that the delinquents in their studies were inclined to only value the physical elements of sexual and romantic relationships. That is, the emotional aspects of sexual relationships (i.e., love) appeared to be less valued within delinquent peer groups, and high crime neighborhoods.

The qualitative work from Anderson, Willis, and MacLeod allows us to gain a deeper and more detailed understanding of the sexual attitudes and behaviors specific to delinquents, delinquent peer groups, and delinquent subcultures. In general, it is clear that these authors witnessed delinquents who tended to value sexual prowess, sexual adventures, and the physical characteristics of sexual and romantic relationships. In turn, delinquents appeared to devalue the

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<sup>5</sup> Anderson did find exceptions to this generalization. There were men who Anderson coined as “honest men.”

emotional elements of heterosexual relationships. The existence of these sexual attitudes and behaviors could be due to the fact that delinquent peer groups conflate sexual prowess or physicality with peer status. Another possible explanation could be that these delinquent subcultures influence individuals to desire only physical pleasure, not emotional pleasure and emotional attachment. These sexual attitudes could be related to low levels of self-control. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that individuals with low self-control are selfish; as such, delinquents may value physical elements of sexual relationships because the selfish rewards associated with sexual relationships are physical satisfaction and social status.

Irrespective of the origins of the sexual attitudes and behaviors of these delinquent youths, it is safe to claim that there is a relationship between sex and crime. We know sexual debut is associated with delinquency. There are researchers who claim that delinquent youth may be more inclined than non-delinquent youth to value sexual prowess and physicality and not emotional aspects of sex and relationships (i.e., love). However, the question still remains whether these sexual attitudes, of those who have a criminal history, generalize to all stages of the life course. That is, do these individuals continue to value physicality and sexual prowess into young adulthood? If so, what are the effects of these attitudes and behaviors on the quality and nature of offenders' sexual relationships? Are these individuals physically *and* emotionally satisfied with their sexual lives? Does marital status influence sexual satisfaction for offenders, as it does for non-offenders?

### ***Hypotheses***

The main goal of this project is to apply the social ability and social disability models to the study of offenders' adult sexual relationships, in an attempt to bridge the gap between the life-course discussion of romantic relationships and family research on sexuality. I will assess

whether or not individuals with a criminal history have different sexual attitudes and behaviors in *adulthood* compared to individuals without a criminal history. Additionally, I will analyze the effects of these attitudes and behavior on *emotional and physical satisfaction with sexual relationships*. To accomplish these goals I will use a sample of 353 males aged 18 or older who reported spending one or more nights in jail.<sup>6</sup>

According to the social disability model, offenders are theoretically less capable of forming meaningful and emotionally fulfilling relationships compared to non-offenders. For instance, Moffitt (1993) proposes that life-course persistent offenders possess innate antisocial traits that are present throughout the offenders' life course. These traits include negative emotionality and arousal/pleasure seeking. Social bond theory (Hirschi, 1969) proposes that offenders have poor attachments to others and weak bonds to conventional society, or low stakes in conformity. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) similarly theorize that offenders have low levels of self-control, and thus offenders tend to be more physical and more impulsive than non-offenders. That is, offenders tend to crave physicality and immediate gratification. Thus, the social inability model would propose that individuals with a criminal history will be more likely than non-offenders to crave physical pleasure from sex; and as a consequence offenders are likely to be physically satisfied in terms of sexual activity with one's most recent or most important partner. The social disability model would also predict that offenders are less capable of achieving loving and intimate relationships compared to non-offenders. Since emotional satisfaction with sex is a function of the amount of love and emotional attachment in a romantic relationship (Laumann et al., 1994; Edwards and Booth, 1994), the social inability model would

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<sup>6</sup> The limitations of this measure of criminal history will be discussed in a later section.

state that since offenders are unable to achieve intimate relationships, offenders should be less emotionally satisfied with their sexual relationships compared to non-offenders.

*Hypothesis 1: Individuals with a criminal record will be less emotionally satisfied with their sexual relationships compared to non-offenders.*

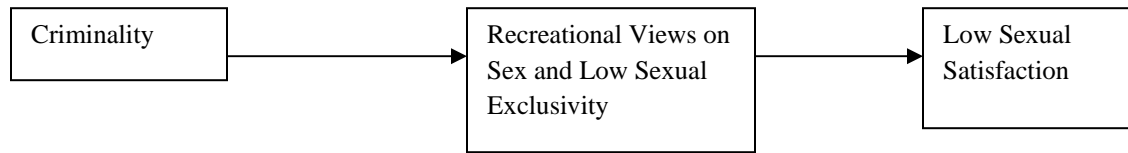
*Hypothesis 2: Offenders' levels of physical satisfaction with sex should be greater than or equal to non-offenders' levels of physical satisfaction with sex.*

As past ethnographic work demonstrates (i.e., Anderson, 1999; Willis, 1977; MacLeod, 1987), delinquent individuals tend to value sexual prowess and sexual conquest. These sexual attitudes are highly related to Laumann et al.'s (1994) recreational normative orientations toward sex, and Waite and Joyner's (2001) measurement of the appeal of sexual exclusivity. Accordingly, delinquents appear to value sex that is not limited to one partner (i.e., not sexual exclusivity), and delinquents tend to value sex more for recreational reasons and not for relational reasons. We also know from family theory and research that sexual attitudes can contribute to emotional and physical satisfaction with sex (Fromm, 1956; Waite and Joyner, 2001). Since offenders compared to non-offenders will be more likely not to value sexual exclusivity and more likely to value sex for recreational reasons, offenders' sexual attitudes should mediate the effects of a criminal record on sexual satisfaction (see Figure 2).

*Hypothesis 3: Individuals with a criminal record will be more likely to find less exclusive sexual behavior appealing compared to non-offenders. Compared to non-offenders, offenders will be more likely to value sex recreationally and less likely to value sex relationally.*

*Hypothesis 4: Offenders' sexual attitudes (i.e., sexual normative orientation and appeal of sexual exclusivity) will mediate the relationship between a criminal record and emotional and physical satisfaction with sexual relationships.*

Figure 2: Hypothesized Model of Sexual Satisfaction for Offenders



The social ability model, however, contends that not all delinquents maintain criminal behaviors for their entire lives, and thus offenders are capable of change (e.g., see Steffensmeier and Ulmer, 2005). In particular, we know that marriage can change offenders' behavior and life course trajectories (Sampson et al., 2006; Giordano et al., 2007). Thus, the social ability model would support the marriage effect literature, due to the fact that there are some offenders who are capable of achieving intimate and meaningful relationships later in the life course (Sampson and Laub, 1992).

In addition, we also know that variance exists amongst adolescents in terms of their sexuality, and thus sexual behaviors are not always connected to crime, delinquency, or high-crime neighborhoods (Ensminger, 1990; Harding, 2007). Since Waite (1995) also found that married individuals tend to be more physically and emotionally satisfied with their sexual relationships, marriage will equally contribute to high physical and emotional satisfaction with sex for both offenders and non-offenders. Additionally, married individuals are more inclined to value sexual exclusivity; and sexual behaviors and attitudes towards sexual exclusivity can explain some of the effects of marriage on sexual satisfaction (Waite and Joyner, 2001).

*Hypothesis 5: Married individuals will be more physically and emotionally satisfied with their sexual relationships compared to unmarried individuals. This will be true for both offenders and non-offenders.*

*Hypothesis 6: Sexual attitudes will also help to mediate marriage's effects on sexual satisfaction.*

## **Chapter 2. DATA AND METHODS**

The data for this project come from the National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLs). The NHSLs is a national probability sample of 3,432 adults between the ages of 18 and 60. The National Opinion Research Center (NORC) conducted the research in 1992. The data contain information on emotional satisfaction and physical pleasure with sexual relationships, elaborate information about sexual attitudes, sexual preferences, and sexual behavior; and other background information (see Laumann et al., 1994). The advantages of this dataset for the current project are that it allows me to use detailed measurements of sexual attitudes and sexual practices (see Table 1). No other dataset with measurements of delinquency and crime have the unique sexuality variables found in the NHSLs.

[TABLE 1 about here]

Data from only male respondents are used in the analysis. There are multiple reasons for limiting the sample to males only. First, the criminological literature on marriage's effects on desistance from crime (e.g., Sampson and Laub use the Glueck data, which only contains male subjects) and literature on offenders' and delinquents' sexual attitudes focus on males only (i.e., Anderson, 1999; MacLeod, 1987; Willis, 1977). Second, the population that reported spending a night in jail was over 80 percent male and thus highly skewed. Third, males and females differed significantly in terms of sexual attitudes and thus the inclusion of female respondents could mask variation within the male population.

The logic of the analysis is to compare males who had a criminal record to males who did not have a criminal record. I thus examine whether measures of sexual attitudes and behavior are different for criminally sanctioned male compared to all other males. OLS regression models are used to analyze how a criminal record affects levels of both physical and emotional satisfaction



with sexual relationships. OLS regressions are also run to see how marital status affects sexual satisfaction, and if the effects of marital status were similar for offenders and non-offenders.

*Dependent Variable: Sexual Satisfaction*

The primary outcome variable throughout the regression analyses is sexual satisfaction. To assess sexual satisfaction, respondents were asked about the sexual partner in the last year whom they considered to be their most important or primary partner. If respondents could not determine who their primary partner was, respondents were asked to describe their most recent sexual partner. To measure sexual satisfaction, respondents reported how emotionally and physically satisfying respondents found sexual relations with the reported primary partner in the last year. There were separate questions for physical and emotional satisfaction: (1) “how emotionally satisfying was the relationship with partner,” and (2) “how physically satisfying was the relationship with partner.” The responses for both physical and emotional satisfaction were recoded so that high scores signified high levels of satisfaction (1=not satisfying at all to 5=very satisfying). To assure that respondents knew they were being asked about sexual activity and sexual relationships, the questions about satisfaction were preceded by the statement that the respondents would now be asked about sexual activity with their primary partner, so the questions were meant to address sexual relationships and sexual satisfaction.

Data were available on sexual satisfaction with primary partners in the last year for 1,330 males. However, due to missing data, the sample used in the regressions was limited to 1,107 males for physical satisfaction and 1,109 for emotional satisfaction. It is important to note that I excluded males who reported having more than one primary partner. This was done because having more than one primary partner has been shown to affect sexual satisfaction (Laumann et

al., 1994). Waite and Joyner (2001) similarly limited their sample for this reason, and it did not significantly alter the researchers' findings on sexual satisfaction. The final population for the OLS regressions predicting physical and emotional satisfaction with sex totaled 1,107 males and 1,109 females, respectively.

### *Criminal Record*

Criminal record was measured by asking respondents whether or not they had spent a night in jail or other correctional facility. As shown in Table 1, 352 males (23%) reported they had spent a night in jail. If a respondent reported having spent a night in jail then the respondent was asked to report how many nights they had spent in jail. This method of measuring a criminal record is good proxy for prior criminal behavior. Past research shows that both self-report and official data on crime are good proxies of criminal behavior (Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis, 1979). In addition, severe measures of criminal behavior are good proxies of criminality and a night in jail represents a relatively severe infraction, compared to minor offenses (Hindelang et al., 1979). In sum, I agree that a night in jail is an adequate measure of criminality and criminal behavior, but I will present limitations of this operationalization in the discussion section.

### *Sexual Attitudes*

The sexual attitude measures were derived from past research using the NHLS. Based on work from Laumann et al. (1994), normative orientations towards sex were measured using respondents' answers to the question of whether or not they would have sex if they were not in love. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: "I would not have sex unless I was in love." Possible responses ranged from 1 to 5. The responses were recoded so that high scores signified strong agreement (5="strongly agreed", 1= "strongly

disagreed”). Similar to Waite and Joyner’s (2001) operationalization, I construct a scale labeled “appeal of sex with others.” The scale consists of three questions, “how appealing is sex with more than one person,” “how appealing is watching someone have sex,” and “how appealing is having sex with a stranger.” I recoded the responses so that high scores signified high appeal (5=very appealing to 1=not appealing at all). As Waite and Joyner (2001) argued, this scale accurately represents how individuals value sexual exclusivity. As such, high scores signify that respondents do not highly value exclusive sexual behavior within dyadic relationships. The “appeal of sex with others” index has an alpha of .752, suggesting that the items load on a single concept but also capture unique variance for each item.

### *Sexual Behaviors*

Sexual behaviors include measures of (1) how many sexual partners the male respondent had since age 18, (2) how many sexual partners the respondent had in the last year, (3) a binary measure of whether or not the respondent had ever participated in group sex, (4) the frequency of sex in the past year, and (5) whether or not the respondent tries to “make sure their partner orgasms.”

To measure number of partners respondents were asked to report the number of sexual partners respondents had since age 18 and in the last year. Males who had spent a night in jail reported on average approximately 21 partners, and males who reported never spending time in jail reported an average of approximately 13 partners. One outlier was removed due to an uncommonly high number of partners since age 18 (1016 partners). For group sex, respondents were asked if they had ever participated in group sex (1=yes, 0=no). Frequency of sex in the last year was measured by asking respondents to choose the most appropriate category that

accurately gauged the respondents' sexual activity. There were 6 categories from which to choose (0=not at all, 1=once or twice, 2=about once a month, 3=2 or 3 times a month, 4=once a week, 5=2 or 3 times a week, 6=4+ times a week). For whether or not respondents try to make their partner orgasm, respondents were asked how much they agree with the statement of "I try to make my partner orgasm most of the time." The responses were recoded so that high scores signified strong agreement (5=strongly agreed to 1=strongly disagreed).

The means for these sexual behavior measures can be seen in Table 1. Number of partners since 18, number of partners in the last year, and the measure of group sex are shown in Table 1. These variables were included in Table 1 to examine the differences between the criminal and non-criminal group for these sexual behaviors. Not all of the measures in Table 1 were included in the regression analyses seen in Tables 3 through 6 because unreported analysis showed that not all of the sexual behavior measures affected levels of physical and emotional satisfaction with sex. As such, number of partners and group sex variables were only used in the analyses presented in Table 1 and were excluded from the regression analyses because the comparison of means allows for a greater understanding of the differences in sexual behaviors, but these measures were unnecessary to include in the regression equations.

The regression analyses included the sexual behavior measures of frequency of sex in the last year and whether or not respondents try to make their partners orgasm. The inclusion of frequency of sex in the last year and partner orgasm variables in the regression analysis was done for multiple reasons. First, frequency of sex is often associated with sexual satisfaction and thus should be controlled when examining predictors of sexual satisfaction (see Waite and Joyner, 2001). Second, the measure of whether or not respondents try to make their partner orgasm

captures whether or not respondents develop specific sexual skills with a partner, which increases both physical and emotional satisfaction with sexual relationships (Laumann et al., 1994). This variable also measures the occurrence of orgasm during sex, which is a primary element of satisfying sexual activity (Laumann et al., 1994).

### *Marital Status*

Marital status is a dichotomous variable signifying whether the respondent was currently married. I grouped never married, divorced, and separated individuals into the unmarried category (1=married, 0=unmarried). The divorced and separated groups were small, and unreported analyses showed that the inclusion of these individuals into the unmarried category did not alter findings on sexual satisfaction. In Tables 3 and 4, marital status is used as a control and in Tables 5 and 6 marital status is used as the primary predictor of sexual satisfaction. It is possible to analyze the effect of marital status on physical and emotional satisfaction and how the effect differs by criminal status by including an interaction term in the regression equations presented in Tables 3 and 4. However, I wanted to use marital status as a primary predictor so I could present all the variables and see how each of the variables predicts emotional and physical satisfaction for each group. In addition, this breakout allows me to test if the variables included in Tables 3 and 4 similarly mediate the marriage-sexual satisfaction relationships.

### *Background Variables*

Respondents' race, education, mother's education, and age were included in the regression. A dichotomous variable for race was constructed by including only Black and White males (Black=1 and White=0). Much of the research I use to hypothesize about offenders' sexual

attitudes only use Black and White samples (i.e., Anderson, 1999; Willis, 1977; MacLeod, 1987), thus I only focus on Blacks and Whites. Education is measured in terms of how much school respondents had finished (1=<12<sup>th</sup> grade, 2=high school graduate, 3=some college/vocational school, 4=college graduate, 5=>college graduate). Mother's education is measured in terms of the highest grade respondents' mothers had finished (1=grade 8 or less, 2=some high school, 3=finished high school or equivalent, 4=vocational/trade/business degree, 5=some college/2 year degree, 6=finished 4 or 5 year degree, 7=masters of equivalent, 8=other advanced degree).<sup>7</sup> Age is measured as a continuous scale. Respondents' ages ranged from 18 to 60.

### *Analysis*

To examine differences between offenders' and non-offenders' sexual behaviors and attitudes, I first break the all-male sample into two separate groups: males who had spent a night in jail and males who had not. T-tests were performed to test if the two groups' means were significantly different (see Table 1). The variables included in Table 1 were used to demonstrate how offenders and non-offenders differ in terms of sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. However, as previously mentioned, this exhaustive list of variables was not included in the regression analyses. The comparison of means is the first step in determining if offenders empirically differ from non-offenders, and since past research on offenders' sexual attitudes has relied on qualitative observations, the comparison of means allows me to see if on average offenders' responses differ significantly from non-offenders' responses.

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<sup>7</sup> I did not include father's education because the inclusion of father's education greatly limited the sample due to missing data.

I run OLS regressions to test how a criminal record affects levels of physical and emotional satisfaction with sex. OLS regressions are appropriate to use because the relationships are assumed to be linear and the dependent variable consists of a scale consisting of 5 categories. OLS regression also allows me to run multiple variables to test if mediation occurs. I use two sets of OLS regressions to (1) predict how criminal status affects physical and emotional satisfaction, and (2) predict how marital status affects physical and emotional satisfaction for both offenders and non-offenders. The latter allows me to determine if there are different trends for the two separate groups; it would be impossible to see these trends if I were only to use an interaction term in the first set out regressions. Thus, the separate analyses in Tables 5 and 6 allow for the examination of how the processes within marriage work for the criminal and non-criminal populations. It is also important to note that an interaction term for “night in jail” and marital status did not significantly affect levels of sexual satisfaction in unreported analyses.

The primary purpose, then, of the analysis of marital status’ effect on sexual satisfaction is to examine the trends within the data. However, this analysis does not allow me to determine if the regression coefficients for the two groups are significantly different from one another. Therefore, I do additional analysis to determine whether the regression coefficients for the jail subpopulation and the non-jail subpopulation differ significantly from one another. To test whether two regression coefficients for two groups with different populations sizes, it is appropriate to calculate z-scores (see Cohen, 1983; Clogg, Petkova, and Haritou, 1995; Paternoster, Brame, Mazerolle, Piquero, 1998). Cohen (1983) argues that it can be appropriate to use a z-score equation that accounts for the size of subgroup populations. This equation is as follows:

$$\hat{\sigma}^2 = \frac{(N_1 - 2)\hat{\sigma}_1^2 + (N_2 - 2)\hat{\sigma}_2^2}{N_1 + N_2 - 4}$$

Since my two samples are have different population sizes, to determine if my criminal subpopulation's regression coefficients differ from my non-criminal population I use this equation proposed by Cohen (1983). However, scholars have argued that this equation may create bias, especially when two subpopulations have vastly different population sizes such as the subgroups in the current project (see Paternoster et al., 1998). Therefore, I use the equation proposed by Clogg et al. (1995) and Paternoster et al. (1998) in an appendix to test if the pooled z-test equation proposed by Cohen (1983) creates a downward bias. The equation from Clogg et al. (1995) is as follows:

$$Z = \frac{b_1 - b_2}{\sqrt{SEb_1^2 + SEb_2^2}} .$$

The z-scores provide further evidence for group differences, and thus I am able to determine if the effects on sexual satisfaction are different for offenders and non-offenders. In sum, I run regressions to determine how a criminal record affects levels of emotional and physical satisfaction. I run separate regressions to see the effects of marital status and sexual attitudes on sexual satisfaction, and to see if there are different trends for offenders and non-offenders. Finally, I test if the trends for offenders and non-offenders are significantly different from each other by comparing regression coefficients for the two groups. To accomplish this, I



calculate z-scores by taking the difference between regression scores in the final models for both emotional and physical satisfaction, for both the criminal and non-criminal groups.

### **Chapter 3. RESULTS**

#### *Sexual Attitudes and Behavior*

A goal of this project was to empirically test whether or not offenders and non-offenders have different sexual attitudes and behaviors. As such, the analysis first involved mean comparisons between the male population who had spent a night in jail and the male population who had not spend a night in jail. In Table 1 we see that the males who spent a night in jail (N=351) had different background characteristics and different sexual attitudes and behaviors, compared to the males who had not spent a night in jail (N=1,155). For instance, the male population who had spent a night in jail was less educated (jail  $X=2.31$  and non-jail  $X=2.89$ ,  $t=9.00$ ,  $p < .001$ ), had mothers who were less educated (jail  $X=2.78$  and non-jail  $X=3.19$ ,  $t=4.12$ ,  $p < .001$ ), were less likely to be married (jail  $X=.42$  and non-jail  $X=.55$ ,  $t=4.38$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and were more likely to be African American (jail  $X=.20$  and non-jail  $X=.13$ ,  $t=2.69$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

In terms of sexual behavior, the jail-males compared to the non-jail males reported more partners since age 18 and more partners in the last year. Both groups reported similar frequencies of sex in the last year, regardless of the differences in the number of partners (jail  $X=3.83$  and non-jail  $X=3.88$ ). The jail-males were more likely to report to having taken part in group sex, which is a reflection of both sexual adventure and sexual exclusivity. In terms of sexual satisfaction, the jail-males reported lower levels of both physical and emotional satisfaction with their sexual relationships in the past year compared to non-jail males. The physical and emotional satisfaction means for the jail-males were 4.18 and 3.97, respectively; while the non-jail males' means were 4.31 and 4.20. Both the physical and emotional satisfaction means for the

jail-males were significantly lower than the non-jail males, but the two groups differed more significantly in levels of emotional satisfaction.

As demonstrated in Table 1, jail-males had sexual attitudes that differed significantly from non-jail males. The jail-males reported that they were more willing to have sex if they were not in love. The jail-males also found sex with a stranger and sex with more than one person more appealing than did males without a criminal record. Thus, in support of Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3, males with a criminal record had different sexual attitudes and behaviors compared to males without a criminal record. In terms of sexual behaviors, males who had spent a night in jail were more likely to have participated in group sex, and had more sexual partners. In terms of sexual attitudes, jail-males were more likely to value the physical elements of a sexual relationship, and were more likely to value non-exclusive sex and to view sex recreationally rather than relationally, compared to non-jail males.

#### *Sexual Satisfaction*

OLS regressions were estimated to determine if a criminal record affected levels of emotional and physical satisfaction with sex with a partner in the past year. Table 2 shows the correlations between all the variables used in the regression models.

[TABLE 2 about here]

Table 3 shows the unstandardized regression coefficients for physical satisfaction with sex with a primary or most recent partner in the last year. Since data on physical satisfaction were limited (see previous discussion), the sample for the regressions in Table 3 was 1,107 males. Model 1 in Table 3 represents the bivariate regression of spending a night in jail on physical satisfaction. The coefficient was not significant at the .05-level, suggesting that a criminal record does not significantly predict levels of physical satisfaction with sex. Thus,

offenders and non-offenders do not significantly differ in terms of levels of physical satisfaction with sex. The social ability model and social disability would provide competing explanations for this result. The lack of an effect could be due to the equal frequency of sex, or other possibilities such as offenders' propensity to value physical elements of sexual relationships. The social ability model would consider socialization as a primary influence; whereas, the social disability model would rely on the argument that offenders' deficiencies influence offenders' physical satisfaction. As expected based on findings shown in Table 1 (i.e., lower mean scores of physical satisfaction for the jail-males) the direction of the regression coefficient for a criminal record on physical satisfaction was negative. Thus, having spent a night in jail did not significantly decrease physical satisfaction with sex; however, the relationship was in the expected direction. The most prominent effect in Table 3 was the effect of race on physical satisfaction with sex. Blacks compared to Whites are less physically satisfied with sex.

As model 4 shows in Table 3, the regression coefficient for night in jail on physical satisfaction was reduced by almost half (model 1 = -.103, model 4 = -.065) when sexual attitude measures were included. Thus, as expected, sexual attitudes can explain much of the effect that a criminal record has on sexual satisfaction, even though there is not a statistically significant relationship in the original model. In model 5, relationship type is introduced into the model and currently being married predicts higher levels of physical satisfaction; however, the coefficient is barely significant ( $p < .05$ ).

In sum, there is moderate support for Hypothesis 2: a criminal record was not significantly related to physical satisfaction, but the direction of the coefficient showed that offenders had lower levels of physical satisfaction with sexual relationships compared to non-offenders. Since the social disability model would predict that offenders are more concerned with

physicality, there is support for the social disability model. There is also support for Hypotheses 3 and 4 since a criminal record was related to non-exclusive sexual attitudes and recreational sex orientations, and these attitudes were able to explain much of the effect of a criminal record on levels of physical satisfaction with sex.

[TABLE 3 about here]

A different story arises when predicting emotional satisfaction with sex with a partner in the past year. Table 4 shows the unstandardized regression coefficients for the prediction of emotional satisfaction with sex. This sample consisted of 1,109 males, so there were data available on emotional satisfaction for two additional males compared to physical satisfaction. Model 1 in Table 4 represents the bivariate relationship between having spent a night in jail and emotional satisfaction with sex. Having spent a night in jail significantly reduced one's emotional satisfaction with sex ( $\beta = -.173, p < .01$ ). The social disability model assumes that offenders are unable to form emotionally satisfying relationships; as such, Hypothesis 1 is supported because offenders are less emotionally satisfied with their sexual relationships compared to non-offenders.

When background variables and behavioral controls are introduced into the regression equation, the effect of jail on emotional satisfaction remain strong and statistically significant, as shown in Table 4's models 2 and 3. In model 4, sexual attitudes are introduced into the regression equation, and the effect of jail on emotional satisfaction becomes non-significant ( $\beta = -.108, p > .10$ ). Thus, in support of Hypothesis 4, sexual attitudes (i.e., appeal of sex with others scale and sex without love) mediate the relationship between criminal record and levels of emotional satisfaction with sex. As such, offenders' sexual attitudes explain much of the relationship between having a criminal record and low emotional satisfaction with sex. In model

5, relationship type is introduced into the equation. Currently being married significantly positively related to emotional satisfaction with sex, and being married can explain part of the crime-satisfaction relationship. When marital status is introduced into the equation, the coefficient for night in jail predicting emotional satisfaction decreases in size: -.117 to -.085.

In sum, the findings in Table 4 demonstrate that offenders are inclined to view sex recreationally and not to value sexual exclusivity (in support of Hypothesis 3) and that these attitudes affect offenders' sexual relationship quality since these sexual attitudes mediated the relationship between criminal record and low emotional satisfaction (in support of Hypothesis 4). There is support for the social disability model since offenders on average are less satisfied with their sexual relationships. In terms of overall sexual satisfaction, physical satisfaction with sex was not significantly related to criminality; however, a criminal record clearly predicted low levels of emotional satisfaction with sex. Sexual attitudes were important mediators for the relationships between criminality and low emotional satisfaction. It is important to note that sexual attitudes were more significantly related to emotional satisfaction with sex compared to physical satisfaction. The normative orientation towards sex, represented by the "would not have sex unless in love" variable, was a stronger predictor of *emotional* satisfaction with sex, compared to *physical* satisfaction with sex (see Tables 3 and 4). Relationship type mediated some of the effect (i.e., married vs. unmarried) of a criminal record on emotional satisfaction with sex; thus, marital status was also an important predictor of emotional satisfaction with sex. However, the most important mediation occurred when sexual attitudes were introduced into the model.

[TABLE 4 about here]

*Marriage and Sexual Satisfaction*

Since married individuals are more sexually satisfied than unmarried and cohabiting individuals (Waite, 1995), and since males with criminal records are less likely to be married (see Table 1), marital status was included in model 5 in Tables 3 and 4. Marital status is a robust significant predictor of emotional satisfaction (see Table 4), while marital status is a weak but significant predictor of physical satisfaction (see Table 3). It is difficult in Tables 3 and 4 to determine if marriage affects sexual satisfaction equally for both the criminal and non-criminal populations, and thus an interaction term could be introduced. However, as mentioned early an interaction term does not allow me to see how all the variables might affect sexual satisfaction differently for the two groups.

Since, marital status is a strong predictor of levels of sexual satisfaction, and a goal of this project was to assess if marriage affects sexual satisfaction equally for offenders and non-offenders, OLS regressions were run to assess the effects of marital status on physical and emotional satisfaction with sex with a partner in the past year. Separate regressions were run for the males who had spent a night in jail and for males who had not, so that the independent effects of marital status on sexual satisfaction were more visible for each sample. The effects of marital status on sexual satisfaction for the sample of males who reported having spent at least a night in jail can be seen in Table 5. There are data available on physical and emotional satisfaction for 257 males who reported having spent a night in jail.

[TABLE 5 about here]

In Table 5, models 1 and 2 show that net of background characteristics and behavioral controls, marital status does not significantly predict physical satisfaction with sex for the

criminal population. It is important to note that since the sample size is limited and there is a dichotomous predictor variable, the standard errors for the unstandardized coefficients for physical satisfaction with sex are relatively high (Model 1= .114, Model 2=.112). The results in Table 5 do not support Hypothesis 5. Being married does not significantly increase one's level of physical satisfaction with sex for the criminal population. There is also little support for Hypothesis 6 since sexual attitudes did not mediate the effect of marital status on physical satisfaction for the criminal population. Thus, we see that for males with a criminal record marital status did not significantly predict levels of physical satisfaction with sex, the coefficient is, however, in the expected positive direction (exp= .158 for model 1, exp=.121 for model 2).

A different story emerges for the effects of marital status on emotional satisfaction. For the criminal males, being married is significantly and positively correlated with one's emotional satisfaction with sex, after controlling for background and behavioral variables (exp=.404,  $p<.01$ ). Sexual attitudes moderately mediated the effect, but marital status remained a robust predictor of emotional satisfaction in model 4 (exp=.308,  $p<.01$ ). The social ability model would predict that offenders are capable of forming emotionally satisfying relationships. Thus, in support of Hypothesis 5, being married is significantly associated with emotional satisfaction with sex for the male population with a criminal record. In sum, being married is likely to increase offenders' levels of emotional satisfaction with sex, but being married is not significantly related to offenders' levels of physical satisfaction with sex. We see that there is support for the social ability model since the social ability model would predict that offenders are capable of achieving emotionally satisfying relationships.



[TABLE 6 about here]

Past research (Laumann et al., 1994; Waite, 1995) demonstrates that marital status significantly predicts both physical and emotional satisfaction with sex for males. As shown in Table 6, marital status is a robust predictor of both physical and emotional satisfaction for the 850 non-criminal males. Models 1 through 4 demonstrate that being married is a significant and positive predictor of one's physical and emotional satisfaction with sex for non-jail males ( $\beta = .200, .166, .371, .274$ , respectively,  $p < .01$ ). Thus, there is strong support for Hypothesis 5 for the non-jail males since marital status is a strong and positive predictor of sexual satisfaction. However, sexual attitudes did not mediate the relationship between marital status and sexual satisfaction, failing to support Hypothesis 6. The marital status coefficient diminished in size when sexual attitude measures are introduced into the regression equation, but marital status remains a highly significant predictor of both physical and emotional satisfaction.

In sum, there is mixed support for Hypothesis 5. Marital status does not equally affect sexual satisfaction for offenders and non-offenders in my sample. Being married significantly increases emotional satisfaction for both offenders and non-criminal males. However, in terms of physical satisfaction, marital status was not a significant predictor for males with a criminal record (the coefficient was, however, expectedly positive). On the other hand, being married was a robust predictor of physical satisfaction for the males without a criminal record. Therefore, being married is expected to increase emotional satisfaction with sex for both groups of males, but only increase physical satisfaction for the non-jail male population. In sum, Hypothesis 5 received little support since the processes within marriage did not affect offenders and non-offenders equally.

## *Differences between Regression Coefficients*

[Table 7 about here]

In Table 3 the normative orientation variable of “would not have sex unless in love” is not significantly related to physical satisfaction when marital status is included in the model (see model 5 in Table 3). This appears to be a trend throughout all my analysis. In Table 5 the sexual attitude of “would not have sex unless in love” is related to physical and emotional satisfaction for the criminal population; however, in Table 6 we see that this sexual attitude is not related to physical satisfaction for non-offenders. Another striking trend is that marital status is not significantly related to physical satisfaction for the criminal population, while being married is associated with more physical satisfaction for non-offenders. To determine if these trends are significant, I use the z-test proposed by Cohen (1983) to test if the regression coefficients in the final models for emotional and physical satisfaction are significantly different for offenders and non-offenders.

As Table 7 shows, the coefficients for marital status regressed on both emotional and physical satisfaction are not significantly different for the two groups (emotional: z-score= 0.86,  $p > .05$ ; physical: z-score= -0.56,  $p > .05$ ). Therefore, the difference between the two groups is insignificant, even though the trend in data shows that marital status is a predictor of only emotional satisfaction for offenders and a predictor of both emotional *and* physical satisfaction for non-offenders. The effect of “would not have sex without love” on physical satisfaction is different for offenders and non-offenders (z-score= -4.73,  $p < .001$ ). In addition, the effect of “tries to make partner orgasm” on emotional satisfaction is significantly different for the two groups (z-score= -4.47,  $p < .001$ ). Thus, there are differences between two of the coefficients for offenders and non-offenders.

Normative sexual orientations (sex without love attitude) have a more significant effect on physical satisfaction for offenders compared to non-offenders. The effect of “tries to make partner orgasm” has a more significant effect on emotional satisfaction for non-offenders compared to offenders. The social disability model would predict that offenders are more selfish than non-offenders, and thus the social disability would predict that offenders are less willing to help their partners orgasm. The attitude measure of “would not have sex unless in love” is more difficult to interpret. The z-test in Table 7 allows us to see that the effect of this measure of normative sexual orientation has a more significant effect on physical satisfaction for offenders compared to non-offenders. For offenders, agreement with the statement that they would not have sex unless in love is associated with more physical satisfaction. This is not the case for non-offenders.

Appendix A shows the results for z-scores using the equation proposed by Clogg et al. (1995). The equation I use in Appendix A is a more conservative z-test used to determine if two regression coefficients for two groups are significantly different from one another. The differences between regression coefficients are the differences between the final models for emotional and physical satisfaction for both offenders and non-offenders, the same as the analysis in Table 7. The more conservative test shows similar trends seen in Table 7. The main effects of marital status on physical and emotional satisfaction are not statistically different; however, the differences in effects of “would not have sex unless in love” physical satisfaction and “tries to make partner orgasm” on emotional satisfaction are approaching significance (respectively, p-value = 0.058, p-value= .061). Therefore, the more conservative test shows similar trends and the differences between groups are approaching significance.

## **Chapter 4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

The main goal of this project is to quantitatively examine the quality of offenders' adult romantic relationships, with a focus on sexual attitudes and sexual relationships. The comparison of sexual attitudes and sexual behavior measures show that support the notion that offenders and non-offenders differ in their sexual tastes and sexual behaviors. For instance, offenders tend to have more sexual partners since age 18. However the other differences in this study are not as large. For example. The variance in the dependent variable of emotional satisfaction was not large, and there was no difference in physical satisfaction. Similarly, marital status appears to be important for both offenders and non-offenders. The differences that were most apparent were the measures of sexual behaviors, and there were minor differences in sexual attitudes and emotional satisfaction measures. In these minor differences one of the major findings of this study is apparent: a criminal record is associated with levels of emotional satisfaction with sexual relationships, and sexual preferences explain much of this effect. The findings relate to past criminological research and provide mixed support for the social ability and the social disability models. Since offenders and non-offenders appear to be relatively similar with a few minor differences, the data show that neither the social ability model nor the social disability model can fully account for the complexity of offenders' sexuality and offenders' sexual relationships. However, important inferences can still be made about both models' predictions.

As the social ability model would predict, offenders are capable of achieving close and intimate relationships (e.g., offenders were capable of achieving successful and satisfying sexual relationships), which are emotionally fulfilling (i.e., married offenders were capable of achieving emotionally fulfilling sexual relationships). The fact that offenders are able to form emotionally fulfilling and close relationships does not support the fundamental tenets of the social disability

model, which claims that offenders are unable to establish close and meaningful relationships. However, as Giordano et al. (1987) similarly found, delinquents' or offenders' close relationships cannot be solely explained by the social ability model or the social disability model; rather, due to the complex nature of close relationships pieces of both models are needed.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that offenders and delinquents are selfish and more concerned with physicality. As such, the social disability model would predict that offenders are more concerned with physical elements of sexual relationships and offenders are unable to establish intimate bonds with conventional adults. The data reveal that offenders, on average, are more focused on the physical elements of sexual relationships compared to non-offenders. Moreover, offenders are less emotionally satisfied with their sexual relationships. Offenders are more interested in sexual adventure and impersonal sexual activity (low sexual exclusivity and recreational sex orientation), and these sexual attitudes can explain much of the effect that a criminal record has on emotional satisfaction with sex. Thus, there is support for what the social disability model would predict. Unmeasured self-control or personality traits (see Moffitt, 1993) could contribute to offenders' sexual attitudes and sexual behavior.

The fact that there was support for the social *disability* model does not empirically disprove the predictions of the social *ability* model. Low self-control may contribute to this study's findings; however, offenders' sexual attitudes and behaviors may also be products of offenders' environments. Offenders' sexual attitudes and subsequent relationship quality may be influenced by what offenders learn socially. For instance, low sexual exclusivity may be a social norm in criminal subcultures and gangs. As a result, offenders may adopt low sexual exclusivity as a socially acceptable value, due to social reinforcement. Gagnon and Simon (2005) argue that sexual scripts (i.e., covert attitudes, and overt behaviors) are cultural constructs. Cultural

characteristics undoubtedly affect individuals' sexual attitudes and behaviors, and offenders are no exception. The culture offenders are exposed to, in theory, is a possible explanation for why offenders and non-offenders possess different sexual attitudes, and why offenders and non-offenders differ in their satisfaction with sexual relationships.

It is also possible that since delinquents begin sexual activity at an earlier age compared to non-delinquents (Jessor and Jessor, 1977), delinquents develop and accumulate more sexual experience and skills, or sexual capital. Laumann et al. (1994) note that sexual skills contribute to physical satisfaction with sex, thus offenders' sexual capital may play a role in the fact that a criminal record does not significantly impact one's level of physical satisfaction with sex. Therefore, the exact catalyst for offenders' sexuality remains an unresolved issue, but it is clear that offenders' sexuality is an important characteristic of intimate relationships that needs to be addressed in future research.

A key finding in my analysis is that sexual attitudes affect the quality of offenders' romantic relationships. Offenders' sexuality is a phenomenon that highly influences offenders' sexual relationships, and this fact supports past findings from criminological research. For instance, past researchers have argued that delinquents and offenders value sexual exploitation and sex without "love" (i.e., Anderson, 1999; MacLeod, 1987; Willis, 1977). Moreover, past ethnographic works demonstrate that delinquents and offenders may have different sexual attitudes compared to non-offenders. This project provides quantitative support for these claims. Offenders value sex for recreational reasons (sex without love) and do not value sexual exclusivity relative to non-offenders. Since emotional satisfaction with sexual relationships is contingent on exclusive sexual behavior between two individuals and emotional bonds between partners (i.e., "love") (Waite and Joyner, 2001; Laumann et al., 1994), offenders' sexual attitudes

towards sexual exclusivity and love (normative sex orientation) affect offenders' romantic relationships in adulthood. Offenders' low sexual exclusivity attitudes and attitudes towards whether one would have sex without love play a major role in offenders' low emotional satisfaction with their sexual relationships.

In sum, the social ability model and the social disability model can account for the trends seen in the data. The social disability model would predict that offenders are socially disadvantaged and are unable to form close relationships. The data show that offenders are more likely to focus on physical elements of sexual relationships, and offenders are more likely to be less emotionally satisfied with their sexual relationships compared to non-offenders. However, as the social ability model would predict, not all offenders are unable to form emotionally close relationships. There are offenders who are able to value "love" and who are able to achieve emotionally satisfying sexual relationships. The data trends show that being married can lead to emotionally satisfying relationships for both offenders and non-offenders, and that sexual behaviors' and sexual attitude measures' effects on emotional and physical satisfaction are similar for both offenders and non-offenders. Low sexual exclusivity and relational normative sex orientations are associated with satisfying sexual relationships for both offenders and non-offenders, even though on average offenders' and non-offenders' scores on these measures are significantly different.

However, there are trends in the data that show that there are a few differences between offenders and non-offenders. The magnitude of these effects on sexual satisfaction also appear to differ for the two groups. For instance, normative sexual orientations (sex without love) have a stronger effect on physical satisfaction for offenders compared to non-offenders. Thus, for offenders, the effect of relational normative sex orientation has a larger impact on physical

satisfaction than it does for non-offenders. The differences between offenders and non-offenders are important findings; however, the most important finding is that it is evident that sexuality is an important mechanism for explaining offenders' adult intimate relationships. Offenders' attitudes towards sex and "love" may thus shed light on the unresolved issue of why some offenders are able to form loving relationships, while others are not (see Giordano et al., 2007).

### *Marriage Effect Implications*

Giordano et al.'s research aims to characterize what makes for a quality marriage (i.e., the elements that contribute to a good or successful marriage). Their research is valuable to criminologists because marriage has been shown to offer offenders the opportunity to desist from crime (Laub and Sampson, 2003). As previously discussed, the exact underlying mechanisms that can help explain marriage's effect on desistance remain unidentified (Siennick and Osgood, forthcoming). This project does not test why marriage leads to desistance from crime. However, it can offer useful implications for the effects of marriage on desistance by shedding light on some of the processes that exist *within* offenders' marriage. For example, Giordano et al. (2007) emphasize that cognitive transformation/identity change and emotions play major roles in marriage's effect on desistance. Offenders who get married may find "hooks for change" that provide them with the opportunity to see themselves as conventional individuals and create new and conventional lifestyles. Since quality of marriage matters (Giordano et al., 2007; Sampson and Laub, 1993), my findings on sexual satisfaction (physical and emotional) are highly relevant for this life-course criminology discussion.

Sexual activity is a fundamental component of intimate relationships (Fromm, 1956), and thus sexual activity may exist as a critical element of marriage that contributes to cognitive transformations. Erikson (1968) theorizes that sexual and affectional processes assist in creating



a fusion with another individual, and as a result individuals can lose their individual identities and create another identity within a partnership. This process may occur due to the notion that sexual processes are the most intimate aspects of a dyadic relationship (Erikson, 1968). If it is true that personal relationships, which are based on some “conventional line of activity,” can reinforce a noncriminal identity (see Shover, 1985; see also Laub and Sampson; 2001), then sexuality may be an avenue for this change. For instance, this study demonstrates that offenders tend to value sex without love; however, if marriage can provide offenders with the opportunity to change this value system (i.e., value sex with love, see sex as a part of “love,” etc.) then sexuality might be an important catalyst for identity change and subsequent desistance from crime. As noted, these attitudes are important because they influence emotional satisfaction with sexual relationships, and subsequently relationship quality.

Sampson and Laub (1993) assert that bonds and social controls exist within a marriage, and that these concepts play a significant role in marriage’s effect on desistance from crime. Research shows that women are more likely to attempt to control unhealthy behaviors of their spouses, and thus marriage is associated with exposure to increased social controls (Umberson, 1992). Sampson and Laub (1993) state that social bonds and social controls, exerted by offenders’ spouses, highly influence criminal behavior, and as a result marriage leads to desistance. Essentially, offenders’ spouses force offenders not to commit criminal acts. Sampson and Laub put great importance on social bonds within marriage, and in this explanation of the marriage effect, sexual activity can relate to the strength and quality of marital bonds (Laumann et al., 1994; Edwards and Booth, 1994). Sexual activity and sexual satisfaction are reflections of the social bonds found in offenders’ marriages, offenders who are weakly bonded to their

spouses are likely to be unsatisfied with their sexual relationships, and offenders who develop strong bonds are likely to be satisfied with their sexual relationships.

The data I use in this project show that being married only affects offenders' levels of emotional satisfaction with sexual relationships; whereas, marriage affects non-offenders' physical *and* emotional satisfaction with sex. However, the interaction of marital status and criminal status is not significantly related to sexual satisfaction. The trend exists, but the relationship is not significant, as I show in Table 7. In interpreting the trend, it is possible that offenders' pursuit of physical satisfaction or offenders' sexual capital may explain why being married does not affect offenders' physical satisfaction with sex. Or non-offenders may be more willing to develop sexual skills specific to their spouses, since strong commitment and strong emotional bonds contribute to the development of sexual skills specific to a partner (Laumann et al., 1994). Offenders may be less inclined to develop sexual skills that are specific to their partner, and this could partially explain why the attempt to make one's partner orgasm only predicts levels of emotional satisfaction for non-offenders. Or it is possible that offenders perceive all sexual relationships as opportunities for physical pleasure, while marriage is the only relationship that can provide the opportunity to have emotionally close sexual activity. Non-offenders, on the other hand, may view marriage as a chance for both physical pleasure and emotional pleasure. Important for Sampson and Laub's explanation for the marriage effect, marriage may be the only sexual relationship that can give offenders the chance to form strong emotional bonds to other conventional adults. Thus, sexual activity within marriage provides an avenue to analyze emotional bonds and how these bonds affect desistance.

Warr (1998) offers yet another explanation for the "marriage effect." He argues that marriage provides offenders with the opportunity to exit deviant peer groups (see also Giordano,

Cernkovich, and Holland, 2003). It is possible that this cutting off from deviant peers contributes to changes in attitudes. Past research reveals that peers play a major role in the establishment of attitudes toward sex and relationships (e.g., Anderson, 1999), and delinquent boys and their peers typically emphasize that romantic relationships should not be “loving” and rather opportunities for sexual adventure, while women are presented as “mere commodities” or prizes to be won (Macleod, 1987; see also Anderson, 1999; Willis, 1977). These sexual attitudes may change as a result of marriage. Thus, marriage may allow offenders to cut themselves off from deviant peers, and this could provide offenders with a chance to change their views on “love” and sex.

Marriage can create an environment in which offenders value the emotional elements of sex and “love,” and these new values can create more emotional satisfaction with sex and more intimate or quality relationships. As a result, offenders may begin to question the gospel according to their peers, and subsequently desist from committing deviant acts. In sum, marriage can cut offenders off from deviant peers and this new environment within the context of marriage can allow offenders the opportunity to learn new values that lead to criminal desistance.

Relatedly, some offenders may value “love” and sex for its emotional aspects prior to marriage, and these offenders use marriage as an opportunity to leave their deviant peers behind. Essentially, it is possible that offenders who value sexual exclusivity and sex for relational reasons select into marriage; and these offenders are inclined to achieve happy and successful marriages, and to escape their criminal pasts. It is relatively difficult to disentangle the precise causal processes at work: sexual attitude changes, changes influenced by sexual satisfaction, or an emotional connection to a spouse, all may be causally and reciprocally related to desistance from crime. This project does not test desistance from crime, and more importantly it uses cross-sectional data were used. Thus rigorous tests of causality are not possible. However, the

important implication of this work is that sexual attitudes and sexual behavior provide avenues through which underlying processes within marriage can be identified. Therefore, sexuality is a useful addition to the discussion of marriage's effect on desistance from crime.

### *Limitations*

As noted, cross-sectional data are used in this study. As such, it is difficult to decipher the precise casual processes at work. For instance, it is possible that individuals who value sexual exclusivity are more likely to get married, and thus selection could bias my coefficients of interest. To test if certain individuals select into successful marriages and or close relationships, panel data on offenders' sexual attitudes and marital statuses would be appropriate. The NHSLS was used for its unique measures of sexual attitudes and sexual behaviors, but unfortunately the NHSLS was collected at one time-point. It is possible that certain individuals value sexual exclusivity and sex for relational reasons and these individuals are more likely to have emotionally and physically satisfying sexual relationships; therefore biasing the effects I find on sexual satisfaction. Certain individuals may be inclined to be both sexually satisfied and to find sexual exclusivity and relational normative orientation appealing. I am unable to control for these individual characteristics. If there selection biases in my results, criminologist should still be concerned with my findings.

For instance, if selection effects are present, this fact may provide even useful information for scholars who research marriage and crime. If certain individuals are more inclined to have certain sexual attitudes and to have certain types of relationships (i.e., satisfying versus unsatisfying, married versus unmarried, etc.) then criminologists should consider selection biases based on individuals' sexuality. For example, since offenders' are more likely to value sex for recreational reasons and more likely not to value sexual exclusivity, these

individual characteristics may encourage offenders not to “settle down” and get married or form meaningful relationships, which would create selection effects for findings on marriage and desistance that do not account for sexuality differences.

In addition to the fact that the NHSLS is a cross-sectional dataset, it is also limited in its criminal population size. For the regression analysis, data were available for only 257 of the males who reported that they had spent at least a night in jail. Fortunately, the sample size provided enough power for statistical analyses. Operationalizing “criminal” with a measure of formal sanctioning also has its limitations. Scholars have argued that measures of criminality similar to that used in the NHSLS are acceptable measures of criminality and criminal behavior (e.g., Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis, 1979). However, there are problems with the criminality measure. For one, the only measure of criminal behavior is based on whether or not respondents had spent at least a night in jail. To account for severity, the numbers of nights in jail were recorded (unreported analyses showed that criminal severity did not affect the findings in this study).<sup>8</sup> An important limitation of this single measure of criminality is that the type of correctional facility was not clearly measured and thus the exact correctional facility is unidentified. It is not possible to determine if respondents had spent time in jail or a different correctional facility (e.g., prison). In addition, the measurement does not allow me to determine if the criminal subpopulation has different sexual attitudes and behavior due to experiences outside of jail or experiences inside of jail. It is possible that the effects of a criminal record on sexuality are influenced by the respondents’ experiences received while in jail, and thus the

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<sup>8</sup> I recoded days in jail into three different categories: 1= 1 week or less, 2= more than 1 week but less than 6 months, 3= more than 6 months. Analysis showed that there were no differences due to length of stay or severity.

environment within a correctional facility could affect released convicts' or offenders' sexual attitudes and sexual behavior.

Prison has been shown to have direct and robust effects on individuals' health, lifestyle, and attitudes. Prison can be a place where individuals can learn a new culture (e.g., see discussions in Sykes, 1958; Jacobs, 1978; Hassine, 2004; Massoglia, forthcoming, 2008). Moreover, there is evidence that prisons are environments consisting of high stress, which in turn affects one's health (mental and physical). Since stressful life events have been shown to affect attitudes and mental health (Pearlin, 1989; Thoits, 1995; Kessler, Price, and Wortman, 1985; Massoglia, 2008), it is reasonable to hypothesize that the experience of prison could contribute to one's sexuality (i.e. sexual attitudes and sexual behavior). In Irwin's (1970) ethnographic work on ex-convicts, he observed that imprisonment and subsequent release from prison can affect one's sexuality: released male prisoners are not acquainted with dealing with women and ex-convicts have a hard time dealing with their sexuality and sexual release. In addition, Gagnon and Simon (2005) note that the environment of prison does not allow for sexual release, and the same-sex environment influences prisoners' sexual adjustment. Jail also can lead ex-convicts not to trust other individuals once released (Steffensmeier and Ulmer, 2005). Thus, the experience of jail may have direct effects on offenders' sexuality, net of background or criminality variables.

The lack of a measure of marriage length is also a limitation. Marriage length is highly variable in the general population, and marriage length is associated with sexual satisfaction and marriage satisfaction (Edwards and Booth, 1994; Waite and Joyner, 2001). Thus, future research should address this limitation by including measures of marriage length in sexual satisfaction analyses.

In sum, I argue that it is acceptable to use jail experience as a proxy for criminality. However, there remain important caveats. Using the NHSLS, it was impossible to disentangle whether the experience of jail directly altered the offenders' sexual attitudes and sexual behavior, or if the individuals who had spent at least a night in jail possessed their sexual attitudes and behaviors irrespective of the jail/prison experience. In addition, this measure of criminal history did not permit for the breakdown of offense type. This is important to note because it is possible that different offenses may relate to sexual attitudes and behavior variables. For instance, individuals convicted of rape or sexual assault may have different scores on sexual measures compared to individuals convicted of other non-sexual offenses. In the 1990's, when the NHSLS was conducted, less than 7 percent of the correctional population was convicted of rape and sexual assault (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000). Thus, it is unlikely that sexual offenses significantly outnumbered other offenses in the NHSLS data. It is possible, however, that respondents' answers to questions about sexuality vary by offense type (drug offense, property offense, violent offense, etc.), which is an important issue that future research should address. Nonetheless, the results of this study are unlikely to be affected by sexual offenders' responses, and the possible limitations of the NHSLS's measure of criminality appear to be irrelevant for the current study's purposes. The results presented in this study were robust enough to accept the criminality measure of a night in jail as a good proxy of criminality.

### *Future Research*

The current study demonstrates that offenders have sexual attitudes that differ significantly from non-offenders' sexual attitudes. These sexual attitudes affect offenders' sexual relationships and the quality of their romantic relationships. Future research should address how

offenders' sexual attitudes may affect offenders' romantic relationships in ways not considered in this paper. For instance, it is possible that sexual attitudes may explain why most ex-convicts do not get married (Hagan and Dinovitzer, 1999; Lopoo and Western, 2005). Future research should address whether offenders' sexual attitudes affect selection into marriage or other types of sexual relationships.

Other characteristics of offenders' sexual relationships, other than sexual attitudes, should also be addressed by future research. Since race is a significant predictor in the study, other races and more research on how race and jail time interact, and how this interaction is associated with sexual satisfaction and marriage. Anderson focuses on inner city Blacks, and how these individuals view relationships and sex. Thus I only examine the differences between Blacks and Whites; however, other races may be influencing the relationships in this study, and thus future research should examine how race and criminal records influence sexuality and marital status.

Other possible explanations for the findings in this study, which can be addressed by future research, include the task environment and lifestyle of the offender (e.g., see Lemert, 1951). Some type of offending requires offenders not to have a wife and thus some offenders choose to have sex with "loose women" or prostitutes (Lemert, 1951). In addition, spending time in jail could simply cut offenders off from opportunities to meet women or sustain romantic relationships. These explanations were not possible to examine with the data I used, thus future research could focus on such issues. Other possible directions for future research could involve how offenders' social networks are relatively absent from criminological discussions of romantic relationships. The impact of offenders' networks on offenders' romantic relationships may prove to be critical. Sexual dyads do not exist in a vacuum but are instead embedded within larger



networks of social relationships. Dyads are affected by surrounding social networks, and this in turn influences the sexual activity of the network members (Laumann et al., 1994: 16; see also Berger and Kellner, 1964). Moreover, social networks have been shown to affect friend formation and romantic relationship stability (see McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1987; Parks, Stan, and Eggert, 1983; Sprecher and Felmlee, 1992). Since offenders and ex-convicts are a stigmatized group embedded in criminal networks (Hagan, 1993), offenders' social networks may affect the type of sexual relationships have access to, and the amount of social support offenders' romantic relationships may receive.

In sum, criminologists who study marriage's effect on desistance from crime have noted that relationship quality should be a focus of criminological research. This study reaffirms this point and my research emphasizes how sexual activity and sexual attitudes are crucial components of romantic relationships. Future research should test how marital quality, marital stability, and desistance from crime are affected by offenders' sexual attitudes and behaviors.

Criminologists are duly concerned with the quality and nature of offenders' and delinquents' relationships. Offenders' adult intimate relationships influence offenders' behaviors and lifestyles, and peer relationships in adolescence are undoubtedly connected to individual levels of deviance. Criminologists have developed a deep understanding of delinquents' peer relationships; however, we still know relatively little about the quality of offenders' adult intimate relationships. This study draws from family literature to help generate a more detailed understanding of romantic relationships for criminological discussions of desistance effects. To accomplish this goal, sexual attitudes and sexual behaviors are used as primary foci. In general, I find that offenders have different sexual values compared to conventional individuals. More

importantly, I show that these sexual values impact the quality of offenders' adult romantic relationships.

## Chapter 5. TABLES

<b>TABLE 1</b>								
<i>Descriptive Statistics: Males Only (Total N=1,507)</i>								
		<i>JAIL (N=352)</i>				<i>NOJAIL (N=1,155)</i>		
	<i>Range</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	<i>t-statistic</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>S.D.</i>
<b>Background</b>								
Age	[18-60]	351	35.45	10.05	1.42	1155	36.33	11.35
Race (Black=1, White=0)	[0-1]	325	0.2	0.40	-2.69*	1118	0.13	0.34
Education	[1-5]	347	2.31	1.01	9.00***	1151	2.89	1.11
Current Marital Status	[0-1]	346	0.42	0.42	4.38***	1139	0.55	0.50
Highest Grade Mother Completed	[1-8]	324	2.78	1.53	4.12***	1104	3.19	1.67
<b>Behavior</b>								
# of Partners Since 18	[0-504]	345	21.48	43.56	-3.02*	1143	13.47	41.10
# of Partners in Last Year	[0-8]	351	1.75	1.44	-5.02***	1152	1.32	1.12
Has Ever Had Group Sex	[0-1]	332	0.25	0.43	-5.08***	1068	0.11	0.32
How Often Had Sex in Last Year	[1-6]	318	3.83	1.53	0.45	967	3.88	1.36
Tries to Make Partner Orgasm	[1-4]	339	3.33	0.68	-0.53	1106	3.31	0.61
Physical Satisfaction	[1-5]	328	4.18	0.89	2.23*	1001	4.31	0.78
Emotional Satisfaction	[1-5]	326	3.97	1.01	3.70***	1004	4.2	0.87
<b>Attitudes</b>								
Would Not Have Sex Unless in Love	[1-4]	347	2.44	0.90	4.95***	1147	2.71	0.88
Appeal of Watching Others Have Sex	[1-4]	351	2.02	1.02	-0.41	1150	2	0.97
Appeal of Sex w/ More than One Partner	[1-4]	350	2.37	1.12	-3.77***	1150	2.11	1.06
Appeal of Having Sex w/ a Stranger	[1-4]	351	2.06	0.99	-3.50***	1149	1.85	0.91
<b>Jail</b>								
Age First Went to Jail	[11-30]	350	20.91	4.99				
Number of Days in Jail	[0-10957]	351	228.92	914.86				

Note: (p-value: \*=<.05, \*\*=<.01, \*\*\*=.001)

**TABLE 2**  
*Correlation of Criminal Record, Sexual Attitudes, and Sexual Satisfaction (N=1,511)*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1 Night in Jail (1=yes, 0=no)	1											
2 Age	-0.035	1										
3 Current Marital Status (1=married)	-.115**	.381***	1									
4 Race (Black=1, White=0)	.078**	-0.001	-.112***	1								
5 Education	-.214***	.051*	0.043	-.140***	1							
6 Mother's Education Level	-.103***	-.241***	-.137***	-.107***	.338**	1						
7 Tries to Make Partner Orgasm	0.015	0.016	0.021	-0.034	0.097***	.061*	1					
8 Frequency of Sex in Last Year	-0.013	-.089**	.150***	-.014	-0.026	-0.013	.071*	1				
9 Would Not Have Sex Unless in Love	-0.128***	.078**	.232***	-0.095***	-0.016	-.108***	0.052*	.004	1			
10 Appeal of Sex with Others Scale	.083**	-.134***	-.116***	-.057*	.137***	.133***	.096***	.076**	-.388***	1		
11 Physical Satisfaction	-.066*	0.014	.157***	-0.095**	0.019	0.012	.157***	.247***	.161**	-.114***	1	
12 Emotional Satisfaction	-.109***	.054**	.254***	-0.054	.011	-.042	.083***	.244***	.255***	-.184***	.698***	1

Note: (p-value: \*=<05, \*\*=<01, \*\*\*=<.001)

**TABLE 3**

Unstandardized OLS Coefficients of Physical Satisfaction with Sexual Relationships (N= 1107)

	Physical Satisfaction				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
	Coeff. (b)	Coeff. (b)	Coeff. (b)	Coeff. (b)	Coeff. (b)
<b>Independent Variables</b>					
Night in Jail (1=yes, 0=No)	-.108 (.056)	-.105 (.057)	-.103 (.055)	-.065 (.054)	-.048 (.054)
<b>Background Variables</b>					
Race (1=Black, 0=White)		-.219*** (.069)	-.212*** (.066)	-.214*** (.065)	-.188** (.066)
Age		.001 (.002)	.002 (.002)	.001 (.002)	-.003 (.002)
Education		-.022 (.022)	-.031 (.022)	-.017 (.022)	-.016 (.022)
Mother's Education		.010 (.016)	.008 (.015)	.015 (.015)	.016 (.015)
<b>Behavior Controls</b>					
Frequency of Sex in Last Year			.134*** (.016)	.138*** (.016)	.130*** (.016)
Tries to Make Partner Orgasm			.198*** (.037)	.201*** (.036)	.204*** (.036)
<b>Attitude Measures</b>					
Appeal of Sex with Others Scale				-.047*** (.010)	-.047*** (.010)
Would Not Have Sex Unless in Love				.061* (.028)	(.043) (.029)
<b>Relationship Type</b>					
Current Marital Status (1=Married, 0=Not Married)					.147* (.052)
Constant	4.314***	4.374***	3.168***	3.264***	3.334***
R-Square	(.004)	(.013)	(.100)	(.129)	(.136)

Note: (p-value: \*=<.05, \*\*=<.01, \*\*\*=<.001)

Standard errors appear in parentheses

**TABLE 4**

Unstandardized OLS Coefficient of Emotional Satisfaction with Sexual Relationships (N=1109)

	Emotional Satisfaction				
	Model 1 Coeff. (b)	Model 2 Coeff. (b)	Model 3 Coeff. (b)	Model 4 Coeff. (b)	Model 5 Coeff. (b)
<b>Independent Variables</b>					
Night in Jail (1=yes, 0=No)	-.179** (.062)	-.189** (.064)	-.184** (.062)	-.117 (.060)	-.085 (.060)
<b>Background Variables</b>					
Race (1=Black, 0=White)		-.152* (.077)	-.148* (.075)	-.128 (.073)	-.076 (.073)
Age		.001 (.003)	.003 (.003)	.001 (.002)	-.005 (.003)
Education		-.020 (.025)	-.026 (.025)	-.006 (.024)	-.005 (.024)
Mother's Education		-.018 (.018)	-.017 (.017)	-.006 (.017)	-.003 (.017)
<b>Behavior Controls</b>					
Frequency of Sex in Last Year			.147*** (.018)	.154*** (.018)	.135*** (.018)
Tries to Make Partner Orgasm			.130** (.042)	.128** (.040)	.134*** (.040)
<b>Attitude Measures</b>					
Appeal of Sex with Others Scale				-.056*** (.011)	-.056*** (.011)
Would Not Have Sex Unless in Love				.158*** (.031)	.121*** (.032)
<b>Relationship Type</b>					
Current Marital Status (1=Married, 0=Not Married)					.294*** (.057)
Constant	4.215***	4.311***	3.257***	3.164***	3.304***
R-Square	.007	.013	.079	.141	.161

Note: (p-value: \*=<.05, \*\*=<.01, \*\*\*=<.001)

Standard errors appear in parentheses

**TABLE 5**

**Unstandardized OLS Regression Coefficients of Sexual Satisfaction for Jail-Males (N=257)**

	Physical Satisfaction		Emotional Satisfaction	
	Model 1 Coeff. b	Model 2 Coeff. b	Model 3 Coeff. b	Model 4 Coeff. b
<b>Independent Variables</b>				
Marital Status (1=married, 0=unmarried)	0.158 (.114)	0.121 (.112)	.404*** (.125)	.306** (.123)
<b>Background Variables</b>				
Race (1=Black, 0=White)	-.032 (.137)	-.022 (.135)	0.078 (.150)	0.088 (.147)
Age	-.003 (.006)	-.004 (.006)	-.008 (.006)	-.009 (.006)
Education	-.011 (.058)	-.007 (.057)	-.078 (.063)	-.073 (.062)
Mother's Education	-.063 (.038)	-0.056 (.037)	-.013 (.042)	-.006 (.041)
<b>Behavior Controls</b>				
Frequency of Sex in Last Year	.109** (.036)	.122*** (.035)	.103** (.039)	.118** (.038)
Tries to Make Partner Orgasm	.232** (.080)	.255*** (.078)	.246** (.087)	.271** (.085)
<b>Attitude Measures</b>				
Appeal of Sex with Others Scale		-.044* (.022)		-.051* (.024)
Would Not Have Sex Unless in Love		.149* (.064)		.171* (.070)
Constant	3.278***	3.094***	3.118**	2.908***
R-Square	0.097	0.144	0.111	0.162

Note: (p-value: \*=<.05, \*\*=<.01, \*\*\*=<.001)

Standard errors appear in parentheses

**TABLE 6**

Unstandardized OLS Regression Coefficients Sexual Satisfaction for Non-Jail Males (N=850)

	Physical Satisfaction		Emotional Satisfaction	
	Model 1 Coeff. b	Model 2 Coeff. b	Model 3 Coeff. b	Model 4 Coeff. b
<b>Independent Variables</b>				
Marital Status (1=married, 0=unmarried)	.200*** (.057)	.166** (.059)	.371*** (.064)	.274** (.065)
<b>Background Variables</b>				
Race (1=Black, 0=White)	-.235** (.076)	-.253*** (.075)	-.140 (.086)	-.151 (.084)
Age	-.005 (.003)	-.003 (.003)	-.003 (.003)	-.005 (.003)
Education	-.036 (.023)	-.020 (.023)	-.015 (.026)	0.007 (.026)
Mother's Education	0.03 (.017)	.033* (.016)	-.009 (.018)	-.001 (.018)
<b>Behavior Controls</b>				
Frequency of Sex in Last Year	.128*** (.019)	.135*** (.019)	.129*** (.021)	.141*** (.021)
Tries to Make Partner Orgasm	.178*** (.041)	.185*** (.041)	.095* (.046)	.090* (.046)
<b>Attitude Measures</b>				
Appeal of Sex with Others Scale		-.048*** (.011)		-.057*** (.013)
Would Not Have Sex Unless in Love		0.013 (.032)		.114** (.036)
Constant	3.184***	3.406***	3.381***	3.413***
R-Square	0.122	0.145	0.113	0.161

Note: (p-value: \*=<.05, \*\*=<.01, \*\*\*=<.001)

Standard errors appear in parentheses



TABLE 7  
Unstandardized OLS Regression Coefficient Comparisons for Jail-Males (N=257) vs Non-Jail (N=850)

	Physical Satisfaction		Emotional Satisfaction	
	b1-b2	Z-score	b1-b2	Z-score
<b><i>Independent Variables</i></b>				
Marital Status (1=married, 0=unmarried)	0.045	0.86	-0.032	-0.56
<b><i>Background Variables</i></b>				
Race (1=Black, 0=White)	-0.231	-3.52***	-0.239	-3.27***
Age	0.001	0.37	0.004	1.48
Education	-0.013	2.26*	0.080	3.24***
Mother's Education	0.089	5.93***	0.005	0.30
<b><i>Behavior Controls</i></b>				
Frequency of Sex in Last Year	0.013	0.78	0.023	1.49
Tries to Make Partner Orgasm	-0.070	-1.92*	-0.181	-4.47***
<b><i>Attitude Measures</i></b>				
Appeal of Sex with Others Scale	-0.004	-0.40	-0.006	-0.52
Would Not Have Sex Unless in Love	-0.136	-4.73***	-0.057	-1.77

Note: (p-value: \*=<.05, \*\*=<.01, \*\*\*=<.001)

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## CHAPTER 8. APPENDIX

### Appendix A

Unstandardized OLS Regression Coefficient Comparisons for Jail-Males (N=257) vs Non-Jail (N=850)

	Physical Satisfaction			Emotional Satisfaction		
	Non Jail N=850	Jail N=257	Z-test	Non Jail N=850	Jail N=257	Z-test
<b>Independent Variables</b>						
Marital Status (1=married, 0=unmarried)	0.166 (.059)	0.121 (.112)	0.355 <i>0.127</i>	0.274 (.065)	0.306 (.123)	-0.230 <i>0.139</i>
<b>Background Variables</b>						
Race (1=Black, 0=White)	-0.253 (.075)	-0.022 (.135)	-1.496 <i>0.154</i>	-.151 (.084)	0.088 (.147)	-1.412 <i>0.169</i>
Age	-.003 (.003)	-.004 (.006)	0.149 <i>0.007</i>	-.005 (.003)	-.009 (.006)	0.596 <i>0.007</i>
Education	-.020 (.023)	-.007 (.057)	-0.212 <i>0.061</i>	0.007 (.026)	-.073 (.062)	1.190 <i>0.067</i>
Mother's Education	0.033 (.016)	-0.056 (.037)	<b>2.208</b> <i>0.040</i>	-.001 (.018)	-.006 (.041)	0.112 <i>0.045</i>
<b>Behavior Controls</b>						
Frequency of Sex in Last Year	0.135 (.019)	0.122 (.035)	0.326 <i>0.040</i>	0.141 (.021)	0.118 (.038)	0.530 <i>0.043</i>
Tries to Make Partner Orgasm	0.185 (.041)	0.255 (.078)	-0.794 <i>0.088</i>	0.09 (.046)	0.271 (.085)	<b>-1.873</b> <i>0.097</i>
<b>Attitude Measures</b>						
Appeal of Sex with Others Scale	-0.048 (.011)	-0.044 (.022)	-0.163 <i>0.025</i>	-0.057 (.013)	-0.051 (.024)	-0.220 <i>0.027</i>
Would Not Have Sex Unless in Love	0.013 (.032)	0.149 (.064)	<b>-1.901</b> <i>0.072</i>	0.114 (.036)	0.171 (.070)	-0.724 <i>0.079</i>
Constant	3.406***	3.094***		3.413***	2.908***	
R-Square	0.145	0.144		0.161	0.162	
Note: (p-value: *=<.05, **=<.01, ***=<.001)						0.05<p<0.10
Standard errors appear in parentheses						p<0.05