

ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS AND TIME-VARYING MODERATORS OF DESISTANCE:
A FOCUS ON ADOLESCENCE, EMERGING ADULTHOOD, AND ADULTHOOD

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology

Sam Houston State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

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May, 2017

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DEDICATION

First and foremost, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Bill and Rhonda Simmons. Without your constant love, support, and encouragement I would never have made it this far. I love you both so much more than words can say.

Second, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my husband, Wade. You have been a constant source of support since I started this program and I can never thank you enough. You have been there for me through all the stress and given up so much of yourself to help me achieve my dreams. Most importantly, you gave me the best gift of all to make finishing this program so much more worth it: the pending arrival of our son, Cooper. I love you so much.

Third, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my sister, Leesa. I know you think I am crazy for doing this, but you have always been there to listen when I have been overwhelmed. I love you so much and I am so thankful you are my sister!

Fourth, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my Nana, Fonetta Simmons. I will never forget living with you while going to St. Edward's and our adventures. I hope you know how much of an important role you played in why I am here today. I love you so much.

Lastly, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my best friend, Jessica Wells. This whole process is so scary and overwhelming at times and I am forever thankful that we were on this crazy ride together. Not only did I earn my PhD, but I also met the best friend I could ever ask for.

ABSTRACT

Zedaker, Sara Briana, *Romantic relationships and time-varying moderators of desistance: A focus on adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood*. Doctor of Philosophy (Criminal Justice and Criminology), May, 2017, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas.

The impact of marriage on antisocial behavior is consistently documented in extant literature (Giordano, Cernkovich, & Rudolph, 2002; King, Massoglia, & MacMillan, 2007; Sampson & Laub, 1993, 2003); however, the impact of dating and cohabiting relationships has received less attention. As such, this dissertation uses six waves of data from the Pathways to Desistance study to examine how elements of romantic relationships, peer relationships, and sex have differential effects on individuals in adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood with regard to desistance from non-violent offending, violent offending, and official arrest. Results indicated a number of differential relationship affects for adolescents, emerging adults, and adults. In addition, peer influence and sex differences were noted. Peer antisocial influence continued to matter throughout the life course and romantic relationship involvement and quality of romantic relationships did not mitigate this effect. In addition, non-violent and violent offending both decreased as individuals aged. Limitations, future research, and policy recommendations are discussed.

KEY WORDS: Desistance, Life-course, Adolescence, Emerging adulthood, Adulthood

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The effect of marriage on criminal behavior has been a focal point of life-course and desistance research over the past few decades (Giordano, Cernkovich, & Rudolph, 2002; King, Massoglia, & MacMillan, 2007; Sampson & Laub, 1993, 2003); however, the impact of non-marital relationships (e.g., cohabiting and dating relationships) on crime has not received as much focus. Research on the relationship between marriage and crime has indicated two disparate conclusions. On one hand, marriage has often been found to be a turning point in individuals' lives and to contribute to desistance from criminal behavior (Bersani, Laub, & Nieuwebeerta, 2009; Blokland & Nieuwebeerta, 2005; Giordano et al., 2002; Horney, Osgood, & Marshall, 1995; King et al., 2007; Laub, Nagin, & Sampson, 1998; Laub & Sampson, 2003; McCarthy & Casey, 2008; Meeus, Branje, & Overbeek, 2004; Sampson & Laub, 1993, 2003; Sampson, Laub, & Wimer, 2006; Theobald & Farrington, 2009). As such, marriage is considered a protective factor against crime and delinquency and a mechanism of informal social control (Horney et al., 1995; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993). However, non-marital romantic relationships could also promote desistance because of informal social control (Sampson & Laub, 1993) or because romantic relationships, more generally, may reduce individuals' exposure to delinquent peers, which would potentially, result in less criminal behavior (Fleming, White, & Catalano, 2010a; Ross, 1995; Warr, 1998).

These arguments are nested within research by Sampson and Laub (1993) in which they found, using data collected by Glueck and Glueck (1968), that the strength of social bonds, in particular those related to job stability and attachment to partners,

distinguished those who desisted from crime from those who did not. Attachments to romantic partners are the key mechanisms of social control in marriages and are the mechanisms through which men desist from crime (Sampson & Laub, 1990). Consistent with their argument, Sampson and Laub (1990) found that compared to men with lower attachment to their wives, men who reported higher attachment to their wives were less likely to be arrested between 17 and 32 years old.

The quality of the attachment is also important (King et al., 2007; McCarthy & Casey, 2008; Rhule-Louie & McMahon, 2007; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Simons, Stewart, Gordon, Conger, & Elder, 2002); individuals with high relationship quality and attachment tended to report less delinquency compared to individuals in low quality relationships characterized by less attachment (McCarthy & Casey, 2008; Simons & Barr, 2012). It could be, however, that relationship stability and investment in family and relationship roles have a stronger impact on desistance than just the relationship, relationship satisfaction, or attachment (Capaldi, Kim, & Owen, 2008). Additionally, marriage is viewed as an opportunity for identity transformation for offenders, which may foster desistance from crime (Farrall, 2005; Giordano et al., 2002; Leverentz, 2010; Maruna, 2001; Paternoster & Bushway, 2009). Marriage is considered an aspect of one's new identity and, thus, an individual who is desisting from crime may view the criminal part of their life as not compatible with their new, married identity (Bersani & Doherty, 2013).

On the other hand, researchers have argued that romantic partners in marital, cohabiting, and dating relationships may negatively impact partners and actually worsen their partners' behavior (Haynie, Giordano, Manning, & Longmore, 2005; Fleming et al.,

2010a; Sampson et al., 2006; Simons et al., 2002; Woodward, Fergusson, & Horwood, 2002). Although often considered prosocial influences, research also supports the negative impact women may have on men in romantic relationships (Capaldi, Kim, & Shortt, 2007; Kim & Capaldi, 2004; Haynie et al., 2005; Simons et al., 2002). Women are thought to have potential criminogenic influences on their partners because antisocial women may participate in antisocial networks that influence their male partners' behavior and they may also accept, support, and encourage the antisocial behavior of their partner (Capaldi et al., 2008). Of course, male partners can also influence female partners' entrance into crime and delinquency (Haynie et al., 2005; Steffensmeier, 1983; Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996; Warr, 1998). In both instances, partnering with individuals who are involved in antisocial behavior prevents desistance from one's own antisocial behavior and may influence the initiation or exacerbation of that behavior (Chen & Kandel, 1998; Giordano, 2003; Maume, Ousey, & Beaver, 2005; McCarthy & Casey, 2008; Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter, & Silva, 2001; Skardhamar, Monsbakken, & Lyngstad, 2014). The effect of an individual's antisocial behavior on their romantic partner has been found regardless of deviant peer associations (Haynie et al., 2005) and when examining substance use (Rhule-Louie & McMahon, 2007).

While the question of whether marriage is a protective factor against criminal behavior or if marriage to certain antisocial partners can increase criminal behavior has still not received a consensus in the literature, there is significant existing research on this topic that seeks to fully understand this relationship. Researchers have focused less attention on the differential affects that non-married romantic relationships, such as dating and cohabiting relationships, have on desistance from substance use and offending

behaviors from adolescence to adulthood. It is increasingly important to understand the effects of romantic relationships, more generally, as we continue to see a shift away from a marriage-heavy society to one in which individuals float in and out of relationships frequently (Cohn, Passel, Wang, & Livingston, 2011).

Over the past 30 years, marriage has become less common in young adults, but cohabitation has become more common (Bramlett & Mosher, 2002; Bumpass & Sweet, 1989; Capaldi et al., 2008; Cohn et al., 2011; Goldstein & Kenney, 2001; Smock, 2000). From 2009 to 2010, only 51% of all adults ages 18 and older were married, and between 1960 and 2010, the percentage of Americans over the age of 18 who had never married nearly doubled (Cohn et al., 2011). Individuals are still getting married; however, cohabitation has become a precursor, or often a replacement, to marriage, which has effectively delayed and reduced the prevalence of marriage among young adults (Bramlett & Mosher, 2002; Bumpass & Lu, 1999; Goldstein & Kenney, 2001; Guzzo, 2009; Kennedy & Bumpass, 2008; Tanfer, 1987). The result is an increased age for individuals' first marriages (e.g., 26.5 years old for women and 28.7 years old for men; Cohn et al., 2011). As a result, cohabitation has become increasingly normative for individuals during the transition to adulthood (Forrest, 2014; Goodwin, Mosher, & Chandra, 2010; Smock, 2000).

Prior to this shift in marriage rates, the transition from adolescence to adulthood was marked by a progressive path from high school graduation to employment to marriage to parenthood (Cohn et al., 2011; Larson, Sweeten, & Piquero, 2016). However, that sequential path is no longer the same, and the transition to adulthood has been extended, if marriage is considered an indicator of adulthood (Larson et al., 2016).

Understanding this shift to delayed marriage and a lengthier transition to adulthood is important for understanding crime and how relationships factor into desistance from criminal behavior. Therefore, if marriage has been delayed in favor of cohabitation, the question then becomes: does cohabitation work as marriage does in reducing or eliminating individuals' criminal behavior?

Capaldi, Kim, and Owen (2008) argued for the importance of considering other relationships besides marriage because partner influences are still present in dating and cohabiting relationships. Thus, there is reason to think that cohabitation does work like marriage does; it is possible that individuals do not need to be married to desist from criminal behavior because, although dating relationships may be on the low end of the romantic relationship continuum, these relationships still may provide some protective benefits against criminal behavior (Ross, 1995). However, researchers do disagree in some regards. While there is limited research specific to cohabiting relationships and offending (Horney et al., 1995; Sampson et al., 2006; Savolainen, 2009; Yamaguchi & Kandel, 1985), some researchers have noted that if cohabitation influences desistance from criminal behavior, it is likely only to facilitate desistance in relationships that are marked by commitment (Laub et al., 1998; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993). Although cohabiting relationships are found to be marked by less attachment and commitment as compared to marriages (Brown, 2003; Brown & Booth, 1996; Nock, 1995; Skinner, Bahr, Crane, & Call, 2002; Waite & Gallagher, 2001), since cohabitation is increasingly becoming a precursor to marriage, there are some cohabiting relationships that do have high levels of commitment and attachment (Bramlett & Mosher, 2002; Guzzo, 2009; Kennedy & Bumpass, 2008).

Thus, it is important to parse out the differences in these relationships to better understand the differential effects of romantic relationships on desistance from criminal behavior (Forrest, 2014). According to a number of researchers, there are limited existing studies that differentiate specifically between cohabiting and dating relationships to determine how even those relationships differ in terms of levels of commitment, relationship quality, and relationship violence (Larson et al., 2016; Magdol, Moffitt, Caspi, & Silva, 1998; Rhoades, Stanley, & Markman, 2012; Rindfuss & VandenHeuvel, 1990). However, some early research suggested that cohabiting relationships are closer to dating relationships than to marriage, if these relationships are considered on a continuum (Larson et al., 2016; Rindfuss & VandenHeuvel, 1990).

It is possible that cohabiting relationships may be dissimilar to marriage and may not protect individuals from criminal involvement (Forrest, 2014). It is much easier and cheaper to dissolve a cohabiting relationship compared to marriage (Bowman, 1991; Forrest, 2014; Nock, 1995; Teachman, Thomas, & Paasch, 1991; Thornton, Axinn, & Xie, 2007), and the social norms regulating marriage are much different from, and more clearly defined as, those regulating cohabitation (Duncan, Wilkerson, & England, 2006; Nock, 1995; Waite & Gallagher, 2001). The differences between cohabiting relationships and marriage have important implications because the quality of romantic relationships and attachments to partners are important to desistance (Grasmick & Bursik, 1990; Laub & Sampson, 2003). Research has indicated that those in cohabiting relationships have lower levels of satisfaction, stability, and commitment within their relationships (DeMaris & MacDonald, 1993; DeMaris & Rao, 1992; Hansen, Moum, &

Shapiro, 2007; Kamp Dush, Cohan, & Amato, 2003; Skinner et al., 2002; Stanley, Whitton, & Markman, 2004; Thomson & Colella, 1992).

This is particularly important because romantic relationship quality is associated with the effect of one's relationship on desistance (Forrest, 2014). Consequently, if individuals are not emotionally invested in their partners and relationships, then desistance may not occur (Forrest, 2014). If it is true that cohabiters are not as committed to their relationships, this may mean that cohabitation has less of an influence on desistance, especially if it is actual cohabitation that reduces commitment and attachment within a romantic relationship (Forrest, 2014). If, however, the differences between cohabitation and marriage are due to individuals who are avoiding marriage because they are ambivalent about their relationship, then cohabiting relationships characterized by strong commitment and attachment may still foster behavioral change and desistance (Forrest, 2014). Adverse marital outcomes, such as divorce and communication problems, may be partly due to cohabitation (Cohan & Kleinbaum, 2002; Kamp Dush et al., 2003), but may also be due to individual differences between those who live together prior to marriage and those who do not (Axinn & Thornton, 1992; Booth & Johnson, 1988; DeMaris & MacDonald, 1993; de Vaus, Qu, & Weston, 2005; Lillard, Brien, & Waite, 1995; Teachman & Polonko, 1990; Thomson & Colella, 1992). Interestingly, researchers have found that individuals who use marijuana and other illicit drugs (Yamaguchi & Kandel, 1985) and delinquent individuals, in general, were found to be more likely to cohabit with a partner than marry a partner (Lonardo, Manning, Giordano, & Longmore, 2010; Manning, Longmore, & Giordano, 2007).

Researchers note that there may be differences between cohabiters who go on to marry their partners and those who do not (Forrest, 2014). Most cohabiters do one or the other—end their relationship or marry their partner; only 5% of cohabiting relationships last more than 5 years (Bumpass & Lu, 2000; Bumpass & Sweet, 1989). Relationship quality among those who cohabit with and eventually marry their partners and married couples is comparable; however, if cohabiters do not eventually marry, then relationship quality declines (Brown & Booth, 1996; Brown, 2003, 2004; Thornton & Axinn, 2007). Based on the potential marriage-like quality of some cohabiting relationships, more specifically those of engaged cohabiters, it could be that these cohabiting relationships have the qualities to result in changes in commitment, identity, and lifestyles that are needed in order to reduce antisocial behavior (Siennick et al., 2014).

Thus, what effects do cohabiting, dating, and marital relationships have on desistance from criminal behavior and how are these effects different per type of relationship? Different protective effects of relationships are indicated for dating relationships, cohabiting relationships, and marriage (Fleming et al., 2010a). Specific to substance use, studies examining the effects of romantic relationship status have found that there is a strong protective effect of relationships; but the focus has generally been specific to marriage (Chilcoat & Breslau, 1996; Curran, Muthen, & Harford, 1998; Fleming et al., 2010a; Labouvie, 1996; Leonard & Das Eiden, 1999; Leonard & Rothbard, 1999; Miller-Tutzauer, Leonard, & Windle, 1991). However, Fleming and colleagues (2010a) conducted a study using a longitudinal sample of young adults and found that marriage and dating relationships (both cohabiting and non-cohabiting) were

associated with less alcohol and marijuana use compared to individuals who were not in dating relationships.

It could be that dating and cohabiting relationships are somehow inherently different from one another. Cohabiting relationships may influence desistance given that these relationships are differentiated from dating relationships due to coresidence (Forrest, 2014; Thornton et al., 2007). Cohabiting relationships may indicate more serious, committed relationships as compared to dating relationships given that there is no coresidence in dating relationships (Forrest, 2014). Coresidence, or cohabiting, is important to consider because coresidence can lead to increased supervision, control, or monitoring by partners along with changes in daily activities (e.g., less unstructured socializing with peers; Forrest, 2014; Wyse, Harding, & Morenoff, 2014). Perhaps living with a spouse or partner gives an individual more to lose because it shifts the balance of risk and reward (Horney et al., 1995). Additionally, cohabiting individuals are likely to experience lifestyle changes that reduce the opportunity for criminal behavior (Giordano et al., 2002; Horney et al., 1995). Therefore, there could be more of an indirect relationship between romantic relationships and desistance in that involvement in romantic relationships reduce individuals' exposure to delinquent peers (Fleming et al., 2010a; Ross, 1995; Warr, 1998).

Few studies have focused specifically on cohabitation and changes in antisocial behavior (Duncan et al., 2006; Fleming et al., 2010a; Horney et al., 1995; Sampson et al., 2006; Savolainen, 2009; Yamaguchi & Kandel, 1985). Of those studies that have been conducted, disparate findings have been reported; some studies found that cohabitation resulted in decreased criminal behavior (Sampson et al., 2006; Savolainen, 2009) and

marijuana use (Duncan et al., 2006; Fleming et al., 2010a), and others reported that cohabitation did not have an effect on crime except for increased drug offending among cohabiters (Horney et al., 1995; Yamaguchi & Kandel, 1985). Specific to cohabiting relationships, research has indicated that individuals in cohabiting relationships are found to have high rates of substance use in adolescence prior to their involvement in romantic relationships even when controlling for prior substance use (Horwitz & White, 1998). Therefore, it could be that cohabiting relationships provide more tolerance of substance use (Fleming et al., 2010a). Moreover, researchers have found that marriage is associated with less offending and substance use, but cohabitation is only associated with less substance use and only for engaged cohabiters (Siennick et al., 2014).

It is true, however, that stable dating relationships may provide some of the same protective effects of both cohabiting and marriage because there may be a reduction in time spent with delinquent peers, though possibly to a lesser extent (Fleming et al., 2010a; Ross, 1995). However, this is highly debated as those in dating relationships may actually spend more time socializing with peers and going out with peers without their partners, which could drastically reduce the protective effects of dating relationships (Fleming et al., 2010a; Ross, 1995; Seffrin, Giordano, Manning, & Longmore, 2009). Delinquent peers play a large role in desistance (Warr, 1998). Warr (1998) found the relationship between marriage and desistance became null when controlling for delinquent peer association and argues that the relationship between marriage and desistance is indirect and desistance occurs due to a change in routine activities (i.e., married individuals drastically reduce time spent with peers). Thus, opportunities for delinquent behavior are substantially reduced (Warr, 1998).

While it is clear that there are effects of dating, cohabiting, and marriage in adulthood, how do these effects transcend across the life-course starting in adolescence? Do adolescent romantic relationships have an effect on criminal behavior? In adolescence, romantic relationships are the starting point for developing healthy romantic relationships into adulthood (Cornelius & Resseguie, 2007; Hertzog & Rowley, 2013; Simon, Miller, Gorman-Smith, Orpinas, & Sullivan, 2010). Romantic relationships during adolescence, however, can have both positive and negative behavioral outcomes (Fleming et al., 2010a; Furman & Hand, 2006; Larson et al., 2016). Adolescent romantic relationships are particularly unstable, which can be detrimental with regards to delinquent behavior (Larson et al., 2016), and in addition, involvement with more than one romantic partner and more partners over this stage in the life-course have been significantly associated with increased delinquency during adolescence (Meeus et al., 2004; Zimmer-Gembeck, Siebenbruner, & Collins, 2001). Moreover, early involvement in romantic relationships has been associated with increased alcohol use, sexual behaviors, and other delinquent behavior (Cauffman, Farruggia, & Goldweber, 2008; Davies & Windle, 2000; Gowen, Feldman, Diaz, & Yisrael, 2004; Haynie et al., 2005; Marin, Coyle, Gomez, Carvajal, & Kirby, 2000; Mezzich, Tarter, Giancola, Lu, Kirisci, & Parks, 1997).

Also during adolescence, it has been suggested that the impact of delinquent peers is more pronounced, with adolescents listening to their peers more so than their parents (Bowerman & Kinch, 1959; Coleman, 1961; Musgrove, 1965; Rosen, 1965). As such, it is possible that adolescents focus more on peer relationships than romantic relationships

and would therefore not see the any positive benefits of romantic relationships at this stage in the life-course.

In individuals' late teens and twenties, or emerging adulthood, individuals make important decisions that shape their future (Arnett, 2000; Rogers, Willoughby, & Nelson, 2016). This is the period in which individuals make choices regarding employment, education, and their romantic relationships that follow them well into adulthood (Rogers et al., 2016). Emerging adulthood is an important time for the development of romantic relationships and family formation (Arnett, 2004) and individuals report that the relationships they have with their partners are essential to their happiness and intimacy needs (Connolly, Craig, Goldberg, & Pepler, 1999; Demir, 2010), and are just as close as their relationships with friends and family (Berscheid, Snyder, & Omoto, 1989). Given the influence of romantic relationships during this period of the life-course and the effect on relationships far into adulthood, it is important to fully understand how the quality of these romantic relationships, especially given that cohabitation is highly prevalent in emerging adulthood (Manning, 2013), affect desistance from substance use and offending behaviors in adulthood.

This dissertation focuses on adolescence through adulthood because this is a time of great change in individuals' lives, with regard to romantic relationship development, peer influences, and desistance from criminal behavior. According to Hirschi and Gottfredson (1983), crime rates rise to a peak from the early teen years to the mid-to-late teens and then crime rates decline. This description of the age crime curve is well established; however, researchers argue over what the interpretation should be (Uggen, 2000). For example, life-course criminologists believe that age is a large factor in the

causes of crime and that these causes change over the life-course (Greenberg, 1985; Matza, 1964; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Shover, 1996; Steffensmeier, Allan, Harer, & Streifel, 1989). Thus, certain life events, such as employment and marriage will affect crime, but these effects will vary with age (Greenberg, 1977; Grogger, 1998; Pezzin, 1996; Shover, 1996). Given the age variation of the impact of certain life events, it is important to consider all stages of the life-course when examining the influence of romantic relationships and the various other changes that occur over the life-course, such as parenthood, that may have differential effects on desistance. Moreover, based on the tenets of gendered pathways to offending and gendered desistance, there are reasons to believe that there are gender differences in the factors that influence behavior across the life-course.

Therefore, using Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded theory of informal social control, this dissertation evaluates how elements of romantic relationships and peers affect desistance from offending and likelihood of arrest across adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood. This dissertation uses data from six waves of the Pathways to Desistance Study in order to answer one overarching research question: Is there a relationship between age, romantic relationships, and desistance from self-reported non-violent offending, self-reported violent offending, and likelihood of arrest? This research question is further separated into three different developmental periods, with three to four elements under each period.

First, for adolescents (ages 14-17): (1) does romantic relationship status affect adolescents' desistance from offending and likelihood of arrest? (2) Does the quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by romantic partners, and antisocial influence of

romantic partners affect desistance from offending and likelihood of arrest? (3) Is the relationship between romantic relationships and desistance moderated by sex and peer influence?

Second, for emerging adults (ages 18-22): (1) does romantic relationship status affect emerging adults' desistance from offending and likelihood of arrest? (2) Does the quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by romantic partners, and antisocial influence of romantic partners affect desistance from offending and likelihood of arrest? (3) Does cohabitation status affect emerging adults' desistance from offending and likelihood of arrest? (4) Is the relationship between romantic relationships and desistance moderated by sex and peer influence?

Third, for adults (ages 23-26): (1) does romantic relationship status affect adults' desistance from offending and likelihood of arrest? (2) Does the quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by romantic partners, and antisocial influence of romantic partners affect desistance from offending and likelihood of arrest? (3) Does cohabitation status affect adults' desistance from offending and likelihood of arrest? (4) Is the relationship between romantic relationships and desistance moderated by sex and peer influence?

These questions are important to consider because, if results indicate that there are effects of romantic relationships on desistance, targeted programs can be geared toward these populations to help educate and influence individuals' behavior. For instance, middle school, high school, and college students are populations of individuals who are influenced greatly by their peers, whether that is in friendship groups or intimate relationships. As such, by educating individuals about healthy peer and romantic

relationships and how these relationships change during their lives, beneficial changes in behavior may occur.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

The following chapter reviews the relevant information on the different stages of the life-course pertinent to this study, including adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood. Additionally, within each developmental period, the key moderators of offending and desistance, including peer relationships and romantic relationships, are highlighted. Moreover, offending, desistance processes, and Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded theory of informal social control are examined.

Adolescence

Adolescence is considered the period between the onset of puberty and when individuals achieve self-sufficiency (Blakemore & Mills, 2014). Specifically, there are three commonly recognized sub-periods of adolescence: early adolescence (10-13 years old), middle adolescence (14-17 years old), and late adolescence (18-early twenties; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006). Although, it should be noted that the period of late adolescence is now considered 'emerging adulthood' by some scholars (Arnett, 2004). According to Arnett (2004), the end of adolescence is typically considered to be age 18 because this is the age when most individuals graduate high school and move out on their own. Adolescents typically are in school, live with their parents, and are experiencing puberty (Arnett, 2004; The World Health Organization [WHO], 2016).

Adolescence is a period in which physical and sexual maturation occur, but there is a lot of variability in the age of onset of puberty and how quickly physical and sexual maturation occurs (Kipke, 1999). For most adolescents, they have a period of rapid

skeletal growth, between the ages of 10 to 12 years old for girls and 12 to 14 years old for boys (Hofmann & Greydanus, 1997). This growth spurt is usually not complete until girls are between 17 to 19 years old and boys are between 17 to 20 years old (Hofmann & Greydanus, 1997). Sexual maturation during this stage involves fertility and the physical changes that coincide with fertility, including the development of breasts and menstruation for girls and the enlargement of testes for boys (Archibald, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn, 1999; Marshall & Tanner, 1969, 1970). Maturation has important outcomes for both girls and boys. Girls who mature early are found to be at increased risk for depression, substance use, disruptive behaviors, and eating disorders (Ge, Conger, & Elder, 2001; Graber, Lewinsohn, Seeley, & Brooks-Gunn, 1997; Striegel-Moore & Cachelin, 1999) and boys who mature early are at increased risk for sexual activity, smoking, and delinquency (Flannery, Rowe, & Gulley, 1993; Harrell, Bangdiwala, Deng, Webb, & Bradley, 1998). Alternatively, boys who mature late are at higher risk for depression, conflict with parents and at school, and for being bullied (Graber et al., 1997; Pollack & Shuster, 2000).

Adolescence is also when individuals start to move toward independence, start to develop their identities, and begin to acquire the necessary skills to develop adult relationships and to complete adult roles (Erikson, 1968; WHO, 2016). With regard to identity formation, this involves how adolescents see themselves in the present, but also begins to move toward how adolescents see themselves in the future (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Identity formation includes two different aspects: self-concept and self-esteem (Zimmerman, Copeland, Shope, & Dielman, 1997). Self-concept involves beliefs about one's attributes (e.g., height and intelligence), beliefs about roles and goals for the future,

and their interests, values, and beliefs (Zimmerman et al., 1997). Self-esteem has two components: global self-esteem, which is approval of one's perceived self as a whole and specific self-esteem, which involves how one feels about certain parts of oneself (e.g., physical attractiveness, intelligence) (Zimmerman et al., 1997). Adolescents also experience emotional development in which they learn to cope with stress and manage their emotions (Santrock, 2001). The ability to manage stress and to relate to other people on a deeper level is referred to as emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1994). Emotional intelligence involves not only self-awareness, but also relationship skills, empathy development, and relationships with one's peers (Aronson, 2000; Goleman, 1994).

At the same time, however, adolescence is fraught with negative pressures to use drugs and alcohol and have sexual relationships, and, as adolescents are not fully able to understand behavioral consequences, they are particularly vulnerable to peer pressure (WHO, 2016). This is particularly troubling due to the potential for pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases (WHO, 2016). Additionally, peer influence is strong during adolescence as this is the time in which adolescents' focus transfers from just family relationships to peer relationships, as well (Gentry & Campbell, 2002).

Adolescent Relationships with Peers

The adolescent period is a time when peer influence is strong (Adams, Laursen, & Wilder, 2001; Berndt, 1999). During adolescence, individuals branch out from their parents to become more independent and, as such, they start interacting more with their peers (Gentry & Campbell, 2002). Peer interaction during adolescence is important for the development of identity and autonomy (Bishop & Inderbitzen, 1995; Douvan &

Adelson, 1966; Erikson, 1968; Sullivan, 1953); they learn how their beliefs and opinions are different from their parents (Micucci, 1998) and how they compare with other adolescents' beliefs and opinions (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Erikson, 1968; Sullivan, 1953). Friendships are also important sources of popularity and acceptance (Gentry & Campbell, 2002). Acceptance by peers is important to positive feelings of self-worth (Bagwell, Newcomb, & Bukowski, 1998) and social and self-identities (Collins & Repinski, 1995; Harter, 1990), positive psychosocial adjustment (Hansen, Giacoletti, & Nangle, 1995; Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990), and healthy romantic relationships in the future (Collins & Repinski, 1995; Harter, 1990), while rejection by peers is associated with adolescent delinquency, early school dropout, psychological disorders, and psychosocial difficulties during adulthood (Coie, Lochman, Terry, & Hyman, 1992; Dishion, Patterson, Stoolmiller, & Skinner, 1991; Hansen et al., 1995; Hartup, 1989; Kupersmidt & Coie, 1990; Parker & Asher, 1987).

Peer relationships in adolescence are characterized by similarity between friends—this is when the phrase “birds of a feather flock together” is important to consider (Crockett & Randall, 2006; Giordano, 2003). Kandel (1978) found evidence of both selection and socialization processes in adolescent friendships; individuals selected friends with similar behavioral profiles, but also friends became increasingly similar over time. Consistent with selection processes, adolescent peer relationships tend to involve individuals of similar age and social status (Crockett & Randall, 2006). Additionally, Haynie (2002) found peer delinquency to be a significant predictor of respondents' delinquency and this was especially true when all respondents' friends were delinquent. However, the majority of respondents had a mix of delinquent and non-delinquent friends

(Haynie, 2002), which may suggest that adolescents change friends as they mature (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994; Giordano, Cernkovich, & Holland, 2003).

Peer relationships tend to be more egalitarian and thus, provide opportunities for cooperation, mutual altruism, and reciprocity (Furman, 1999; Giordano, 2003).

Adolescent peer relationships also teach individuals about conflict resolution (Crockett & Randall, 2006). These conflict resolution strategies are more likely to involve mutual negotiation and non-coercive strategies because individuals can easily opt out of peer relationships (Laursen, 1993). However, adolescent friendships include conflict, disagreement, and change, as well (Degirmencioglu, Urberg, Tolson, & Richard, 1998; Laursen, 1996).

There are gender differences in adolescent friendships (Giordano, 2003). Girls tend to be closer to their friends than boys (Collins & Laursen, 1999). This could be because of the early play styles of girls in which they prefer dyadic interaction, whereas boy's socialization tends to be with team sports (Maccoby, 1990). While girls are found to have a greater sensitivity to other's opinions (Gilligan, 1982; Maccoby, 1990) and peer delinquency is predictive of both male and female problem behaviors, including sexual activity, delinquency, and smoking (Thornberry & Krohn, 1997), girls, in general, are less likely to have delinquent friends (Giordano, 2003).

There are a number of similarities and differences between adolescent peer relationships and romantic relationships (Furman & Shomaker, 2008). Regarding similarities, relationships with romantic partners and peers tend to be egalitarian, are voluntary and can be terminated at any time by either person, and have primary goals of affiliation, companionship, and recreation (Furman & Wehner, 1997). Friendships and

romantic relationships function as positive feedback systems, in which adolescents receive more positive feedback and acceptance from peers, have less serious communication (Giordano, 2003; Larson, 1983), and feel more open and free than with their parents (Furman & Shomaker, 2008; Giordano, 2003). Regarding differences, romantic relationships are characterized by sexual desire, relationship exclusiveness, and heightened emotionality that is not found in peer relationships (Davis & Todd, 1982; Giordano, Manning, & Longmore, 2006; Giordano, Phelps, Manning, & Longmore, 2008; Larson, Clore, & Wood, 1999). Romantic relationships are also more likely to develop into attachment relationships than are friendships. In this way, as romantic relationships become more serious, adolescents become more invested in these relationships and these relationships start to resemble other obligatory relationships, like parent-child relationships (Laursen & Jensen-Campbell, 1999).

Adolescent Romantic Relationships

Adolescence is a period in which youth branch out from close relationships with family and friends and begin to develop romantic relationships (Adams et al., 2001; Collins, Welsh, & Furman, 2009; Giordano et al., 2006; Raley, Crissey, & Muller, 2007; Simpson, Collins, & Salvatore, 2011; Sullivan, 1953; Waller, 1937). Prior to adolescence, interactions are typically with peers of the same gender (Furman, 2002; Kovacs, Parker, & Hoffman, 1996; Maccoby, 1990; Zimmer-Gembeck, 2002). In early to middle adolescence, youth move into mixed-gender friendship groups, and romantic involvement typically follows (Clark-Lempers, Lempers, & Ho, 1991; Connolly, Craig, Goldberg, & Pepler, 2004; Furman, 2002; Hansen, Christopher, & Nangle, 1992; Zimmer-Gembeck, 2002). Romantic relationship formation is what helps to demarcate

adolescence from childhood (McCarthy & Casey, 2008) and, as a result, romantic relationships are now considered a central feature of adolescence, with romantic activity increasing from late childhood through adolescence (Carver, Joyner, & Udry, 2003; Connolly et al., 2004; Connolly & McIsaac, 2011; Crouter & Booth, 2006; Darling, Dowdy, Van Horn, & Caldwell, 1999; Giordano et al., 2006; Larson et al., 2016; Shulman & Scharf, 2000; Zimmer-Gembeck, 2002). By age 16, approximately 60% of adolescents report having a romantic relationship (Carver et al., 2003), and by the end of high school, between 70% and 90% of individuals report having been involved in a romantic relationship (Zimmer-Gembeck, 2002). Researchers hold that, on average, adolescents begin dating around 13 or 14 years old (Feiring, 1993), and approximately 35% of 15 to 16 year olds and 60% of 17 to 18 year olds report their relationships lasting 11 months or longer (Collins, 2003; Cauffman et al., 2008), and some researchers note that over half of relationships among those 16 years of age and older last at least 21 months (Carver et al., 2003).

Research has indicated that the influence of romantic relationships and the amount of social interaction increases in romantic relationships throughout adolescence and, by late adolescence, surpasses that of peers and parent relationships with regard to affection, intimacy, and support (Adams et al., 2001; Furman & Buhrmester, 1992; Laursen & Williams, 1997). However, Adams, Laursen, and Wilder (2001) noted that adolescents view the influence of romantic relationships as equal to that of their relationships with their parents, but more than the influence of peer relationships.

In early romantic relationships, adolescents are less concerned with the fulfillment of attachment, sexual, or affiliative needs, and instead are more concerned with who the

person is, how attractive the person is, and the approval of their peer group (Furman & Wehner, 1997). Additionally, adolescents tend to view these romantic relationships as a form of companionship (Shulman & Kipnis, 2001). This is a period in which adolescents are learning how to interact with the opposite sex and which sexual activities to engage in (Furman & Wehner, 1997). Adolescents must acquire certain competencies on interactions with the opposite sex before the fulfillment of sexual needs become important to the relationships (Furman & Wehner, 1997). The attachment component of romantic relationships becomes more important in late adolescence as parent-child relationships change, and the adolescent is looking for a new, primary attachment (Furman & Wehner, 1997).

Romantic relationships change throughout adolescence (Adams et al., 2001). In early adolescence, individuals are more likely to consider romantic relationships as exchange relationships, in which the individuals within a relationship attempt to balance the costs and benefits of a relationship (Adams et al., 2001). Toward late adolescence, the view of romantic relationships changes to a more communal relationship in which partners strive to fulfill the needs of one another (Adams et al., 2001; Laursen & Jensen-Campbell, 1999). This is also the time in which individuals begin to experience authority and reciprocity in these relationships (Adams et al., 2001); research has indicated that adolescent romantic relationships are typically egalitarian (Galliher, Rostosky, Welsh, & Kawaguchi, 1999), but can have unequal power dynamics (Felmlee, 1994).

Reciprocity is an important and central feature of romantic relationships (Brown, 1999; Collins, 2003) and refers to “partners engaging in a mutual exchange of relationship provisions, such as disclosure and validation, or, at the most basic level, to

the simple acknowledgement of the relationship by both partners” (Carlson & Rose, 2007, p. 263). Reciprocity is seen in friendships, when both peers consider each other friends, and is important for positive social adjustment (Parker & Asher, 1993; Salmivalli & Isaacs, 2005; Newcomb & Bagwell, 1995). Thus, if reciprocity is important in peer relationships it makes sense that it would also be important for romantic relationships during this time period, as well (Carlson & Rose, 2007). Some researchers have found that youths sometimes believe there is romantic involvement, but these relationships may actually be nonreciprocal (Neemann, Hubbard, & Masten, 1995; Shulman & Scharf, 2000). These nonreciprocal relationships may develop because a youth may misconstrue a peer’s friendliness as romantic interest or flirting, or may simply wish for romance that is not reciprocated (Baumeister, Wotman, & Stillwell, 1993; Hill, Blakemore, & Drumm, 1997).

Romantic relationships during adolescence are important for adolescent functioning and for long-term outcomes (Collins, 2003). Adolescent romantic relationships are crucial to the development of independence, dating, and sexual behaviors (Aalsma, Fortenberry, Sayegh, & Orr, 2006; Adams et al., 2001; Giordano et al., 2006). Additionally, adolescent romantic relationships may contribute to the development of interpersonal competence and future attachments (Furman & Wehner, 1997) and they play an important role in the psychosocial development of adolescents (Collins, 2003). Being involved in a romantic relationship and the quality of the romantic relationship are important for positive feelings of self-worth (Connolly & Konarski, 1994; Harter, 1999; Kuttler, LaGreca, & Prinstein, 1999). Romantic relationship experiences may be especially pertinent for adolescent boys because these relationships

provide them the opportunity to learn about intimacy and the emotional aspects of relationships; whereas because adolescent girls' friendships closely resemble romantic relationships with regard to intimacy, they may have more of a chance to learn these things outside of just romantic relationships (Giordano et al., 2006; Maccoby, 1990; Raley et al., 2007).

Romantic relationships, however, can also play a negative role in adolescents' lives (Florsheim & Moore, 2008). Adolescents in romantic relationships are found to experience more conflict and more extreme mood swings compared to adolescents not in romantic relationships (Larson, Csikszentmihalyi, & Graef, 1980; Larson & Richards, 1994; Laursen, 1995; Savin-Williams, 1996). Additionally, Joyner and Udry (2000) found that adolescents who participated in the Add Health study and who reported a romantic relationship in the past year experienced more symptoms of depression than adolescents who did not report a romantic relationship, and this was especially true for female adolescents. However, it could be that it is not the romantic relationship itself that triggered more depressive symptoms, but instead the breakup of the relationship (Monroe, Rohde, Seeley, & Lewinsohn, 1999). These relationships may facilitate participation in risky behaviors including substance abuse and unprotected sex (Barber, 2006; Crouter & Booth, 2006; Seefeldt, Florsheim, & Benjamin, 2003). Antisocial boys and girls are found to select romantic partners who are also involved in and support antisocial behavior (Capaldi & Crosby, 1997; Moffitt et al., 2001). Additionally, the number of dating partners with whom an adolescent was sexually active increased the odds of intimate partner violence experiences during young adulthood (Manning, Longmore, Copp, & Giordano, 2014).

Adolescents' peers do play a role in the initiation and progression of romantic relationships (Bouchey & Furman, 2003; Friedlander, Connolly, Peplar, & Craig, 2007; Linder, Crick, & Collins, 2002; Simon, Eder, & Evans, 1992). Peers can be a source of pressure to begin dating (Fredland, Ricardo, Campbell, Sharps, Kub, & Yonas, 2005) and can influence the partners adolescents select (Collins, 2003). For example, in early adolescence, individuals select partners with greater emphasis on the superficial features of those individuals and the approval of their peers (Collins, 2003). However, in later adolescence, the selection criteria changes, and adolescents tend to look for characteristics of potential partners that underlie compatibility and intimacy (Roscoe, Diana, & Brooks, 1987; Zani, 1993). There also may be a transactional link between peer connections and romantic relationships; peers support early entrance into romantic relationships and romantic relationships influence further peer connections (Connolly, Furman, & Konarski, 2000; Milardo, 1982; Zani, 1993).

While it is known that youth begin to develop romantic relationships during adolescence, what is less known is the quality of these romantic relationships (Adams et al., 2001). Healthy or positive adolescent romantic relationships are marked by support, trust, open communication, affection, intimacy, nurturance, increased likelihood of positive relationships in early adulthood, and partners who are of similar age (Galliher, Welsh, Rostosky, & Kawaguchi, 2004; Gavin & Furman, 1996; Sorensen, 2007). Unhealthy or negative adolescent romantic relationships are characterized by conflict, irritation, and antagonism (Galliher et al., 2004). The quality of adolescent romantic relationships is associated with higher levels of self-worth and self-esteem (Barber & Eccles, 2003; Connolly & Konarski, 1994; Harter, 1999; Sorensen, 2007) and as

adolescent's age, the quality of their romantic relationships increase in terms of intimacy, companionship, and closeness (Buhrmester & Furman, 1987; Levesque, 1993; Shulman & Scharf, 2000).

Galliher, Welsh, Rostosky, and Kawaguchi (2004) conducted an observational study of adolescent boys' and girls' perceptions of their interactions and self-reports of relationship quality. They found that boys' and girls' perceptions of their interactions were different with regard to predicting relationship quality (Galliher et al., 2004). Specifically, conflict and the balance between conflict and support by boyfriends were associated with girls' relationship quality. Boys' relationship quality experiences were associated with their supportive behavior in their relationships and influence by their girlfriends (Galliher et al., 2004). However, the directions of these associations could not be determined, as this was a correlational analysis.

McCarthy and Casey (2008) argued that adolescent romantic relationships should operate, in terms of attachment, as other relationships do. They held that adolescent romantic relationships provide the opportunity for individuals to develop a romantic love attachment (McCarthy & Casey, 2008). The quality of these romantic relationships and the strengths of the bonds should influence criminal involvement; adolescents with strong attachments should reduce delinquent behaviors, but relationships characterized by weak attachments will have no effect on delinquency involvement (McCarthy & Casey, 2008). It could be, too, that strong, high quality adolescent romantic relationships may have even more of a deterrent effect on adolescent offending than peer relationships that are usually thought to impact delinquency (McCarthy & Casey, 2008).

Research has indicated that, while there are gender differences in the intimacy of friendships, in that girls are closer to their female friends than boys (Camerena, Sargiani, & Petersen, 1990; Jones & Dembo, 1989; Sharabany, Gershoni, & Hofman, 1981; Shulman, Laursen, Kalman, & Karpovsky, 1997), the same has not been found for cross-gender friendships (Reisman, 1990) or for adolescent romantic relationships (Shulman, Levy-Shiff, Kedem, & Alon, 1997). However, girls do spend much more time than boys thinking about the opposite sex (Richards, Crowe, Larson, & Swarr, 1998), and girls also have a higher level of respect for their romantic partners and perceive their partner as more supportive than boys do (Connolly & Johnson, 1996; Shulman et al., 1997). Additionally, romantic relationships are noted to be particularly important for girls' emotional development through adolescence (Crick & Zahn-Waxler, 2003). This is because girls are more likely than boys to derive their sense of self from these relationships (Maccoby, 1990). Girls are more relationship-oriented than boys and, thus, are more distressed when their relationships are threatened (Gilligan, 1982; Martin, 1996; Nelson & Crick, 1999; Perry & Pauletti, 2011) and are more focused on care and attachments in their relationships than are boys (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990; Pipher, 1994; Shulman & Scharf, 2000). Boys view romantic relationships competitively and ridicule other boys who express positive emotions for girls (Giordano et al., 2006). The differences in perception of romantic relationships between girls and boys has been theorized to be because women's lives are organized around maintaining relationships and thus feel more at ease with the closeness of relationships (Gilligan, 1982). Moreover, traditionally, women are expected to be caring toward their partners and family (Papp, 1989) and, therefore, women participate in more caregiving, nurturing behavior toward

their partners (Kunce & Shaver, 1994). Consequently, it is expected that female adolescents would feel closer and more nurturing toward their romantic partners than male adolescents (Shulman & Scharf, 2000). In contrast, male adolescents are often less aware of interpersonal dynamics in romantic relationships (Perry & Pauletti, 2011), which may result in infidelity in their relationships (Bauman & Berman, 2005) and also participating in more frequent sexual behavior (Petersen & Hyde, 2010). In terms of demographics, male adolescents tend to date female partners close to their own age, but female adolescents tend to choose older male partners (Collins et al., 2009). Adolescents also tend to choose partners similar to them in terms of race and ethnicity (Carver et al., 2003) and similar to them in popularity, physical attractiveness, and depressive symptoms (Simon et al., 2008).

Delinquency in Adolescence

It is consistently noted in existing research that there is an association between friends' delinquent behavior and one's own delinquent behavior (Akers, Krohn, Lonza-Kaduce, & Radosevich, 1979; Elliott, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985; Elliott, Huizinga, & Menard, 1989; Elliott & Menard, 1991, 1996; Jensen, 1972; Kandel, 1978; Krohn, 1974; Matsueda, 1982; Matsueda & Anderson, 1998; Matsueda & Heimer, 1987; Short, 1957; Voss, 1964). Adolescence is a period ripe with delinquency and opportunities for delinquency. Increased unsupervised time with peers can result in greater opportunity for sexual experimentation, substance abuse, and crime and delinquency (Sickmund, Snyder, & Poe-Yamagata, 1997; U.S. Department of Education & U.S. Department of Justice, 1998). Research has found that among high school students, 70% have tried smoking cigarettes, 81% have tried alcohol, with half reporting having an alcoholic beverage in

the last 30 days, 47% have tried marijuana, 9% have tried cocaine, 14% have tried inhalants, and 9% have tried methamphetamines (Lee, 2000). Adolescent delinquency is not only prevalent in the form of substance use; about 36% of high school students indicated involvement in a physical fight in the past 12 months, and approximately 9% reported that they have been hit or slapped by their dating partner (Ross, 2000).

There are a number of noted risk factors for the onset of delinquency during adolescence, including: individual factors (e.g., low intelligence, risk-taking, aggression, and bullying); family factors (e.g., child abuse, child neglect, criminal parents, and broken families); socioeconomic factors (e.g., low socioeconomic status and large family size); peer factors (e.g., delinquent peers and peer rejection); school factors (e.g., going to a school with a high delinquency rate); and neighborhood factors (e.g., living in a high-crime neighborhood) (Farrington, 2003; Hawkins et al., 1998). Additionally, higher levels of antisocial behavior in early adolescence are found to be associated with higher levels of substance use in late adolescence (Windle, 2000).

Peers are integral to adolescent antisocial behavior during adolescence because there is an increase in time spent socializing with peers, more susceptibility to peer pressure, and peer relationships are extremely important during this stage of the life-course (Brown, 2004; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). As such, delinquent peers matter in adolescence—adolescent delinquency is strongly associated with social relationships and peer pressure (Crosnoe & McNeely, 2008; Erickson & Jensen, 1977; Gardner & Steinberg, 2005; Monahan, Steinberg, & Cauffman, 2009a; Shaw & McKay, 1931). Peer influence can involve peer pressure, modeling of behavior, and providing opportunities for behavior, which can have both a positive and negative impact on adolescent behavior,

depending on the behavior being committed (Brown, Bakken, Ameringer, & Mahon, 2008; Prinstein & Dodge, 2008). Research has overwhelmingly found that adolescents with delinquent peers are more likely to engage in antisocial behavior, such as minor delinquency, serious offending, and substance use, than adolescents who do not associate with delinquent peers (Akers et al., 1979; Bauman & Ennett, 1996; Brendgen, Vitaro, & Bukowski, 2000; Chassin et al., 2004; Elliott & Menard, 1991, 1996; Elliott et al., 1985; Farrington, 2004; Fergusson, Swain, Nicola, & Horwood, 2002; Heinze, Toro, & Urberg, 2004; Jensen, 1972; Kandel, 1978; Krohn, 1974; Lipsey & Derzon, 1998; Matsueda, 1982; Matsueda & Anderson, 1998; Matsueda & Heimer, 1987; Patterson, Capaldi, & Bank, 1991; Petraitis, Flay, & Miller, 1995; Short, 1957; Simons-Morton, Lerner, & Singer, 2005; Voss, 1964; Warr, 2002; Wills & Cleary, 1999; Zimring, 1998). This relationship has found robust support in extant literature, but cause and effect is difficult to determine (Matsueda & Anderson, 1998) given that a lot of this research is cross-sectional (Monahan et al., 2009a).

According to differential association and social learning theories, adolescents are exposed to definitions favorable to delinquency and modeling of delinquent behavior when they have delinquent friends (Haynie, 2002). Thus, the likelihood of adolescents' own delinquency increases (Haynie, 2002). Peer groups are generally more heterogeneous with both delinquent and non-delinquent peers (Elliott & Menard, 1989; Haynie, 2002), which is important to Sutherland's (1947) differential association theory in which individuals' are exposed to both delinquent and non-delinquent definitions, which works to shape peer influence (Haynie, 2002). However, it has been consistently documented that individuals are much more influenced by delinquent peers' actual

behavior than simply their attitudes toward delinquency (Jensen, 1972; Matsueda & Heimer, 1987; Warr & Stafford, 1991). Consistent with this, McCarthy and Hagan (1995) found that adolescents who lived on the street were more likely to commit delinquent acts if they associated with individuals who taught them criminal skills.

Gardner and Steinberg (2005) found that simply having peers present doubled the risk-taking behaviors of adolescents. Additionally, peer similarity, or homophily, is important during adolescence, which translates to involvement and tolerance of antisocial behavior in some cases (Kandel, Davies, & Baydar, 1990; Monahan et al., 2009a). This is, however, not always the case as not all adolescents are equally as influenced by their peers (Monahan et al., 2009a). Some individuals could have higher levels of resistance to peer influence, which is a trait that varies with age and across individuals (Berndt, 1979; Erickson, Crosnoe, & Dornbusch, 2000; Steinberg & Monahan, 2007; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986).

Susceptibility to peer influence with regard to engaging in antisocial behaviors increases during adolescence, with a peak at around 14 years old (Erickson et al., 2000; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986), but a more global measure has suggested that susceptibility to peer influence remains stable or declines over adolescence (Berndt, 1979; Steinberg & Monahan, 2007). Regardless, susceptibility to peer influence clearly declines between middle adolescence and young adulthood (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007). Monahan, Steinberg, and Cauffman (2009a) found that antisocial behavior is due to selection and socialization in middle adolescence, but only with socialization during late adolescence. This makes intuitive sense when we think about peer group selection; in the earlier years of adolescence, individuals are establishing their friend groups and

essentially are sorted into different groups, but by late adolescence these friend groups are established and, therefore, a selection effect would not be seen (Monahan et al., 2009a).

Regarding adolescent romantic relationships and delinquency, because romantic relationships during this period develop quickly, but also dissolve quickly, this can be problematic because relationship breakup is a risk factor for criminal behavior (Larson et al., 2016; Simpson, 1987). Moreover, romantic relationships, regardless of break-ups, are found by some researchers to have negative influences on adolescents in terms of delinquency (Cauffman et al., 2008; Furman & Shaffer, 2003; Meeus et al., 2004; Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2001).

Earlier involvement in romantic relationships (i.e., before the age of 15) is found to be associated with increased alcohol and drug use, as well as delinquent behaviors and sexual activity (Cui, Ueno, Fincham, Donellan, & Wickrama, 2012; Davies & Windle, 2000; Farrington, 1995; Meeus et al., 2004; Miller et al., 2009; Thomas & Hsiu, 1993; Wong, 2005; Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2001) and increased conduct problem behaviors in middle adolescence (Neemann et al., 1995). Consistent with this, Haynie and colleagues (2005) found that romantic partners' delinquency was positively related to respondents' delinquency even after controlling for peer delinquency and other control variables. It could be, however, that it is not simply the romantic relationship that influences deviant behavior, but instead, dating a deviant partner may have more of an impact on individuals' behavior (Miller et al., 2009) and adolescents may get caught in the passion of their relationship (Montgomery, 2005) and engage in behaviors that they otherwise would not (Miller et al., 2009). Although, it should be noted, that not all researchers have

found an association between adolescent romantic relationships and delinquency (van Dulmen, Gony, Haydon, & Collins, 2008).

Delinquency in adolescence can have long-term impacts on individuals regarding their transition into adulthood (Busseri, Willoughby, & Chalmers, 2007; Jessor, 1998; Thornberry, Krohn, Augustyn, Buchanan, & Greenman, 2015), and it is likely that adolescent risk behaviors, including delinquency, drug use, and sexual behavior could contribute to the inability to establish healthy romantic relationships in adulthood (Thornberry et al., 2015). Adolescents who participate in risky behaviors are more likely to continue these behaviors into young adulthood (Thornberry & Krohn, 2001). Thornberry and Krohn (2001) extended Thornberry's (1987) interactional theory to include adolescence through adulthood and suggested that engaging in problem behaviors in adolescence has a cascading effect on future consequences that then have a negative impact on successful development.

By engaging in delinquent behaviors as adolescents, individuals indicate that they have a tendency to engage in adverse behaviors that may have consequences for them into adulthood (Busseri et al., 2007; Jessor, 1998; Metzler, Noell, Biglan, Ary, & Smolkowski, 1994). For example, dropping out of high school or becoming a teenage mother are linked to prior adolescent risk behavior (Fagan & Pabon, 1990; Krohn, Lizotte, & Perez, 1997; Krohn, Thornberry, Collins-Hall, & Lizotte, 1995; Newcomb & Bentler, 1988). This, in turn, gives individuals a disadvantage when it comes to acquiring the social capital that is necessary for them to adopt adult roles, including financial independence and stable employment (Arum & Beattie, 1999; Bernburg & Krohn, 2003; Blomberg, Bales, Mann, Piquero, & Berk, 2011; Clausen, 1986; Coley & Chase-

Lansdale, 1998; Elman & O'Rand, 2004; Lanctot, Cernkovich, & Giordano, 2007; Tanner, Davies, & O'Grady, 1999; Thornberry, Smith, & Howard, 1997; Thornberry et al., 2015).

Gender is consistently noted as one of the most important correlates of delinquency, specifically males are found to commit more delinquent acts than females (Giordano & Cernkovich, 1997; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Mears, Ploeger, & Warr, 1998; Rutter, Giller, & Hagell, 1998; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985) and males use drugs more than females (Elliott et al., 1989; Hindelang, Hirschi, & Weis, 1981; Penning & Barnes, 1982). There are a number of different arguments as to why there are gender differences in delinquency. First, girls are at a higher risk of victimization than boys (Holsinger, 2000; Walker, Bonner, & Kaufman, 1988), and the negative consequences of victimization, including offending and running away from home, are found among girls more than boys (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 1998; Jones, Gruber, & Timbers, 1981; McCabe, Lansing, Garland, & Hough, 2002; McClellan, Farabee, & Crouch, 1997; Miller, 1993; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1990; Siegel & Williams, 2003; Spohn, 2000; Welsh, Archambaut, Janus, & Brown, 1995). This gender difference may be because girls have stronger bonds than boys and thus, this could explain the lower delinquency among girls (Giordano & Cernkovich, 1997; Hagan, Simpson, & Gillis, 1979; Heimer & DeCoster, 1999; Jang & Krohn, 1995). Second, depression is associated with a number of negative consequences, including offending, and is particularly deleterious for girls' offending behavior (Daigle, Cullen, & Wright, 2007). Third, supervision is important for understanding gender differences in adolescent offending (Daigle et al., 2007). Female adolescents are supervised more closely than male adolescents (Bottcher, 1995;

Cernkovich & Giordano, 1987; Giordano, 1978; Hagan & Kay, 1990; McCarthy, Hagan, & Woodward, 1999; Smith & Paternoster, 1987; Svensson, 2003) and this supervision may limit female adolescents' interactions with their peers, reduce sexual activity and teen pregnancy, and may reduce their participation in delinquency (Daigle et al., 2007). Peer influence on delinquency has been regularly found in extant literature (Akers & Cochran, 1985; Paternoster & Triplett, 1988; Thornberry & Krohn, 1997), but some researchers have found that associating with delinquent peers increases the risk of delinquency for both girls and boys (Elliott et al., 1985) and others have found that this is truer for boys than for girls (Johnson, 1979; Mears et al., 1998; Smith & Paternoster, 1987).

It is thought that female delinquency may be more relationship-oriented than male delinquency (Cauffman et al., 2008; Odgers & Moretti, 2002). This may result in girls being more influenced by their partner's behavior (Rhule-Louie & McMahon, 2007). There is support for this; female health-harming behavior has been found to be more influenced by romantic partners than has male health-harming behaviors (Moffitt et al., 2001; Moretti, DaSilva, & Holland, 2004). Additionally, romantic partners' delinquent behaviors, such as stealing, burglary, and fighting are found to influence girls more than boys to engage in minor forms of deviance (Haynie et al., 2005). This risk may increase if girls are involved in romantic relationships with older boys; girls dating older boys may be more likely to use alcohol, engage in sexual behaviors under the influence of drugs or alcohol, and to experience sexual coercion (Cauffman et al., 2008; Gowen et al., 2004; Marin et al., 2000; Mezzich et al., 1997). However, girls do tend to have longer relationships with fewer partners, participate in less risky dating behaviors, but they are

more likely to date older partners (Carver et al., 2003; Young & D'Arcy, 2005).

Cauffman, Farruggia, and Goldweber (2008) found that general partner characteristics, including age, did not have a direct influence on offending; the only relationship characteristic that did have a direct effect on offending was antisocial encouragement by a romantic partner, and antisocial encouragement was similar for boys and girls.

Adolescent girls' delinquency is most likely to occur in mixed-gender settings, whereas boys' delinquency is most likely to occur with other boys (Warr, 2002). Additionally, girls are more likely to start using substances with a male friend or boyfriend (Eaves, 2004; Moon, Hecht, Jackson, & Spellers, 1999).

Regarding reasons why they use substances, girls are more likely to start to use substances because they want to improve their self-image, gain social approval, and enhance their confidence, which may work to make them more susceptible to others' influences (Amaro, Blake, Schwartz, & Flinchbaugh, 2001). In terms of substance use, boys are more likely than girls to have used drugs (Svensson, 2003), used alcohol, to have alcohol-related aggression, and alcohol dependency (Barnes & Welte, 1986; Rachal et al., 1980; Windle, 2000). However, there are no significant differences in the frequency of drug use among boys and girls (Rouse, 1998). Moreover, adolescent drug use may be particularly troubling for girls because they are more likely to develop drug dependence (Kandel, Warner, & Kessler, 1998) and girls' drug use in late adolescence is highly associated with committing property offenses in early adolescence as opposed to status or person offenses (Windle, 2000). There are additional negative consequences of drug use for girls including AIDS, as it is linked to drug use and risky sexual behavior

(Blumenthal, 1998; Haller, Knisley, Dawson, & Schnoll, 1993; Pager, 1998), and victimization (Dakof, 2000).

Emerging/Young Adulthood

Modern young American adults experience a different and longer road to adulthood as compared to their counterparts prior to the 1960s (Arnett, 1998, 2004; Furstenberg, 2010; Shanahan, 2000). While the typical 21-year-old in the 1960s was married, perhaps with a child, 21 year olds now delay marriage and parenthood until their later twenties in favor of extended education and frequent job changes (Arnett, 2004). Arnett (2004) proposed the use of 'emerging adulthood' in place of a number of frequently used terms, including extended adolescence and young adulthood. First, this period cannot be considered 'extended adolescence' because it is a period characterized by much more independence (Arnett, 2004). The connotation of adolescence (ages 10-18) is one in which individuals live with one or both of their parents, are experiencing puberty, are in school (elementary, middle, high school), and are legally considered minors (Arnett, 2004). This is different from emerging adulthood because emerging adults are typically living on their own outside their family of origin, have already gone through puberty, may be going to college or through job training, and are legally considered adults (Arnett, 2004).

Second, this period cannot be considered 'young adulthood' either because Arnett (2004) noted that 'young adulthood' implies that early adulthood has been reached, but typically individuals in their early twenties have not achieved the historically-considered adult transitions, such as marriage and family. Young adulthood is also used so widely with some considering young adulthood to encompass individuals from 18-22 and others

up to age 40 (Arnett, 2004). This gives rise to the issue of what to call people who are in their thirties if those in their mid-to-late twenties are called young adults because those in their thirties cannot be considered 'middle-aged' yet and this can lead to confusion (Arnett, 2004). Instead, emerging adulthood is a new stage, one that has not been explored before because it was not observed until more recently. As a result, Arnett (2004) proposed the term 'emerging' to denote that this is a period of exploration, instability, and fluidity (Arnett, 2004). Accordingly, emerging adulthood is now a distinct stage in the life-course because of individuals putting off typical 'adult' transitions, such as marriage and parenthood (Arnett, 2004; Arnett & Taber, 1994; White, 2003). However, the emergence of a new stage in the life-course was not a sudden, random development; the Technology and Sexual Revolutions and the Women's and Youth Movements all played an integral role in the delay of marriage and family (Arnett, 2004).

First, the Technology Revolution refers to the transformation of the American economy that, due to the development of manufacturing technologies, made machines available to perform the jobs that were once the primary source of employment (Arnett, 2004). To respond to the changes in employment, the United States became more of a service economy, in which certain skills were required of employees, including information and technology skills (Arnett, 2004; Furstenberg, 2010; Shanahan, 2000). The emphasis on information and technology required higher education and training for jobs, including jobs in business, finance, education, and health (Arnett, 2004). As a result, Arnett (2004) noted that almost 70% of young Americans continue their educational paths beyond high school now, and because most individuals want to finish

school before getting married and becoming parents, this has increased the age of marriage and parenthood into the later twenties (Furstenberg, 2010). The growth of the consumer economy also led to the desire to make more money before settling into marriage and, given the increased demand for material goods and the actual cost of raising children, along with the invention of the birth control pill, young people made more deliberate, planned decisions about when to have children (Furstenberg, 2010).

Second, the Sexual Revolution was sparked by the invention of the birth control pill in 1964 (Arnett, 2004). It became more acceptable for individuals to have premarital sexual relationships by the late 1960s (Arnett, 2004; Furstenberg, 2010). As seen today, it is common for younger individuals to have a number of sexual relationships and with this increased tolerance, there is less push to enter into marriages (Arnett, 2004). The rising marriage instability during the late 1960s and early 1970s that was associated with early marriage and shotgun weddings when women became pregnant out of wedlock, created reluctance among young people to get married even if the woman was pregnant (Furstenberg, 2010).

Third, the Women's movement during the 1960s and 1970s also changed the lives of young people, especially for young women (Arnett, 2004). Prior to the 1960s, marriage was a top priority for American women, few women attended college, and job opportunities were limited to secretarial work, nursing, and teaching for the most part (Arnett, 2004). Now, however, this has changed. More women attend college (57% of undergraduates are women; Arnett, 2004) and job possibilities are limitless, with a few exceptions of male-dominated fields including engineering (Arnett, 2004). With so many

more options open to them, women no longer have to get married in their early twenties, and instead wait longer to get married and have children (Arnett, 2004).

Fourth, the Youth Movement of the 1960s and 1970s also brought about change for young people (Arnett, 2004). The Youth Movement “denigrated adulthood and exalted being, acting, and feeling young” (Arnett, 2004, p. 6). In this way, young people were no longer eager to enter adulthood and settle down with spouses and families; instead, they saw marriage and parenthood as hurdles to avoid in their late teens and early twenties because they represented the end of their independence and spontaneity (Arnett, 2004). This is not to say that young people do not eventually want to get married and have children, there is just a ‘not yet’ mentality during this stage (Arnett, 2004).

Emerging adulthood lasts from 18 to 25 years old (Arnett, 2004). At approximately 25 years old, young people begin to look for commitments that are a part of adulthood, including marriage, parenthood, and job stability (Arnett, 2004). However, 18-29 years old can also be used to describe emerging adulthood because some individuals, even in their late twenties, have still not made the transition into adulthood (Arnett, 2004). Arnett (2004) proposed five distinguishing features of emerging adulthood that make this stage different from adolescence and adulthood: identity explorations, instability, self-focus, feeling in-between, and possibilities/optimism.

Emerging adulthood is a time for young people to explore the options available to them, especially with regard to relationships and employment (Arnett, 2004). By exploring these options, emerging adults begin to develop their identity and start to clarify who they are as an individual and what they want their future to look like (Arnett, 2004; Schwartz, Cote, & Arnett, 2005). At this stage, most emerging adults have moved

out on their own, but do not have long-term commitments to romantic partners, jobs, or children (Arnett, 2004). Thus, they are able to try out different ways of life and figure out what they really want in life. While research has suggested identity formation typically begins in adolescence (Erikson, 1968), Arnett (2004) proposed that it may begin in adolescence, but during emerging adulthood is when identity formation intensifies. This represents an extension of Erikson's (1968) psychosocial moratorium, which is the period in which youth are able to explore different aspects of their identities and different alternatives without the burden of adult commitments (Schwartz et al., 2005). The identity stage is "potentially a time to enhance ego capacities, such as agentic abilities and strengths, and to master difficulties and obstacles presented by the social environment" (Schwartz et al., 2005, p. 204). In this way, there is the possibility that individuals who grew up in difficult home environments may be able to rise above and change their future outcomes (Arnett, 2004). For example, for those who grew up in poverty or in high-crime neighborhoods, this period is a time in which young people can move from those neighborhoods and away from poverty (Arnett, 2004). Individuals who grew up in happy families can also transform their lives into something that is not a replica of their parents, but instead become their own people, with their own distinct identity away from their families (Arnett, 2004).

Emerging adulthood is also a time of instability (Arnett, 2004). Through the shifting jobs and relationships that are associated with emerging adulthood and identity formation, instability is prevalent. While individuals know they need a life plan, during emerging adulthood, this plan is often revisited and revised numerous times (Arnett, 2004). Instability is important during this stage in the sense that emerging adults learn

what works for them and what does not and what they want out of life and what they do not want, but it is still a difficult stage to go through (Arnett, 2004).

Emerging adulthood is a time of self-focus (Arnett, 2004). More so than any other stage in the life-course, emerging adulthood is a time with limited daily commitment and obligations toward others (Arnett, 2004). Unlike adolescence where one has to answer to parents and teachers and adulthood where one has to answer to spouses, employers, and children, emerging adulthood requires none of this (Arnett, 2004). Emerging adults make decisions for themselves—easy and hard decisions, such as what to have for dinner and what their college major should be. Self-focus does not necessarily mean that emerging adults are selfish; this self-focus is important during this time of exploration because they develop the skills necessary to be self-sufficient and understand what they want in life (Arnett, 2004).

For emerging adults, this period can feel like an ‘in-between’ period (Arnett, 2004). Individuals are no longer living with their parents as in adolescence, but they have not entered into marriage or parenthood as in young adulthood. As this is a time for exploration and instability, it can feel very much like an in-between period in which they have not quite reached adulthood (Arnett, 2004). This period is also a time of possibilities and optimism; with emerging adults having high hopes and dreams for their futures (Arnett, 2004). Most emerging adults have not yet faced any bitter end to their dreams; they dream of happy marriages and jobs they love and have not faced the potential of unhappy marriages, divorce, and dead-end jobs (Arnett, 2004).

Emerging adulthood is not a stage that occurs across the world, through all cultures (Arnett, 2004). Instead, it is something that occurs mostly in the Western

developed countries and Asian countries (Arnett, 2004). Different cultures experience emerging adulthood differently too, and some may not have this period (Arnett, 2004; Heinz & Marshall, 2003). In smaller societies, a single age system can be used to mark transitions into the next age-grade (Neugarten & Datan, 1973). For example, individuals become adults at a certain age, once they complete a certain task or rite of passage, or on a certain date (Hogan & Astone, 1986). In other, complex, societies, ceremonies, such as the bar or bat mitzvah, confirmations, or debutante balls, symbolize the transition from childhood for some individuals (Hogan & Astone, 1986). Additionally, Mormons have a shorter period of emerging adulthood given their beliefs prohibiting premarital sex and the desire for large families, so the age of entering into adult roles of marriage and parenthood is a lot younger for Mormon individuals (Arnett, 2004). Socioeconomic status and other life circumstances also affect emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2004). Teenage parents and those in the working class and below may have less of an ability to focus on themselves and their identity formations that are important for emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2004).

Other researchers, such as Hendry and Kloep (2007), rebuked Arnett's conceptualization of emerging adulthood, however. They noted that development demonstrates plasticity (Baltes, 1987, 1997), and, thus, it cannot be said that all areas of human functioning are affected the same ways at the same time and in the same direction (Hendry & Kloep, 2007). Depending on what are considered the elements of adulthood, some individuals may reach some elements earlier than others and may never reach other elements (Hendry & Kloep, 2007). Additionally, development is nonlinear and it is also reversible (Baltes, 1987, 1997), in that, individuals can reach a certain stage in adulthood,

but then something may happen that causes them to regress (Hendry & Kloep, 2007). Regression in this case could mean a young adult who was cohabiting with a romantic partner, they broke up, and now he or she must move back into his or her parent's house (Hendry & Kloep, 2007). Therefore, the transition to adulthood is bumpier than Arnett suggested in his perception of emerging adulthood (Hendry & Kloep, 2007).

Other researchers have considered this period 'young adulthood' and set the age boundaries at 18 to 30 years old (Rindfuss, 1991). Eighteen is the lower boundary to young adulthood because it is the age, recognized by law, for individuals to first enter into the adult stage (Rindfuss, 1991). The upper boundary, 30 years old, is based on anecdotal evidence that suggests that by the time individuals reach 30 years old, they begin to take stock of their adult roles (Rindfuss, 1991). Of course, there is great variation in this; some 18 year olds have already taken on major adult roles and are subsequently considered adults, but other 18 year olds may not have and are still considered young adults (Rindfuss, 1991). In the current study, this period will be referred to as emerging adulthood given that there has been such a large shift in traditional adult roles in the past few decades. Accordingly, it is important to demarcate this period as distinct from both adolescence and adulthood.

Adulthood

Adulthood has been conceptualized in many different ways (Arnett, 2001; Furstenberg, Kennedy, McCloyd, Rumbaut, & Settersten, 2003). The transition to adulthood is most often considered to be reliant on marriage in the anthropological sense (Arnett, 2001; Schlegel & Barry, 1991). The process of preparing for marriage is important because it signifies that an individual has the ability to handle family

responsibilities, such as providing and protecting the family for men, and running a household and caring for children for women (Arnett, 2001; Chinas, 1991; Gilmore, 1990; Schlegel & Barry, 1991). In order to be considered ready for marriage and, subsequently an adult, individuals must show that they have the capacity to perform these gender-specific roles (Arnett, 2001).

In sociology, marriage is emphasized as also important in the transition to adulthood, but other role transitions, such as finishing education, exiting the parental household, full-time employment, and parenthood, are considered as well (Arnett, 2001; Furstenberg et al., 2003; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999; Hogan & Astone, 1986; Modell, 1989). Psychological studies are focused on what the transition to adulthood looks like in the eyes of Americans (Arnett, 2001). Results have indicated that young people consider the quality of character and individualism as important in the transition to adulthood (Arnett, 1997, 1998, 2001). Studies have found that young people consider “accepting responsibility for one’s self and making independent decisions, with financial independence close behind” as the primary indicators of adulthood (Arnett, 2001, p. 134).

According to Arnett (2004), today, becoming an adult means being self-sufficient. One must take responsibility for oneself, make independent decisions, and become financially independent (Arnett, 2004; Klein, 1990). By taking responsibility for oneself, one must accept responsibility and the consequences of one’s actions and not look to place the blame on anyone else (Arnett, 2004). Independent decision-making is also an integral part of being an adult (Arnett, 2004). Adulthood requires one to make the decisions about one’s life, such as where to live, what job to pursue, and what one’s beliefs and values should be (Arnett, 2004). Financial independence is another marker

for adulthood (Arnett, 2004). Adulthood requires individuals to make enough money to support themselves, without relying on their parents (Arnett, 2004).

Another traditional marker of adulthood is parenthood (Arnett, 2004). The relationship between parenthood and adulthood is complex; having a child does not necessarily make someone an adult and to be an adult does not mean someone must have a child (Arnett, 2004). However, parenthood requires an individual to take on new responsibilities—the life of another person—which thrusts individuals into adult roles (Arnett, 2004).

By using these markers as evidence of attainment of adulthood, many individuals do not reach adulthood until their late twenties or early thirties (Furstenberg et al., 2003). This is much later than in past decades; if adulthood is considered leaving home, finishing one's education, financial independence, marriage, and parenthood, then only 46% of women and 31% of men who were thirty years old in 2000 were considered adults, whereas in 1960, 77% of women and 65% of men who were thirty years old were considered adults (Furstenberg et al., 2003). This delay into adulthood has been attributed to the work force; to obtain a full-time job that pays enough to support a family is harder than it used to be and it usually requires a college education or a graduate degree (Furstenberg et al., 2003). Therefore, individuals must finish and pay for college first before securing a job and individuals need to secure a job before thinking about marriage and family formation (Furstenberg et al., 2003).

Relationships with Peers in Emerging Adulthood and Adulthood

Friendships are important for individuals' overall well-being (Hintikka, Koskela, Kontula, Koskela, & Viinamaeki, 2000; Knickmeyer, Sexton, & Nishimura, 2002).

Friends provide support and help individuals adapt to different life stressors (Daley & Hammen, 2002). However, adult friendships are different between men and women; women's friendships are closer, more supportive, and are marked by high levels of shared confidence (Bank & Hansford, 2000; Belle, 1991), and women are more likely to support friends in hard times and celebrate with them in good times (Roy, Benenson, & Lilly, 2000; Wheeler, Reis, & Nezlek, 1983). Help-seeking in friendships also differs between men and women; men view asking for help as dependency and incompetence, whereas, women see asking for help as a way to maintain their friendships (De Paulo, 1982).

Researchers have consistently documented the strong influence that individuals' peers play in antisocial behavior during adolescence, but what is less clear is the continuing influence peers play during the transition to adulthood and into adulthood (Farrington, 2004; Monahan et al., 2009a). More research is needed to fully understand how peer influences transition to adulthood because peer influences could become weaker as individuals enter into adult work and adult romantic relationships (Brown, 2004). This is a particularly important time period to understand given that this is when most individuals desist from criminal activity (Farrington, 2004). However, because research has focused on peer influence on antisocial behavior in adolescence, it is not yet clear if peers may influence positive changes in antisocial behavior during emerging adulthood (Monahan et al., 2009a).

Importantly, over time, individuals become more resistant to antisocial peers (Albert, Chein, & Steinberg, 2013; Gardner & Steinberg, 2005; Sumter, Bokhorst, Steinberg, & Westenberg, 2009). In adolescence, socialization and selection seem to play a role in peer influence and association (Samek, Goodman, Erath, McGue, & Iacono,

2016); however, in adulthood it is argued that selection effects should become stronger than socialization effects, especially because individuals have the freedom to select their environments at this point in their lives (Monahan, Steinberg, Cauffman, & Mulvey, 2009b; Scarr & McCartney, 1983). College students, though, are particularly susceptible to peer influences on alcohol use and they use more substances compared to non-college students (SAMHSA, 2014; Schulenberg & Patrick, 2012; Schulenberg & Maggs, 2002; Slutske, 2005; White, Labouvie, & Papadaratsakis, 2005). However, as adolescents transition to emerging adults, the association between antisocial peers and individuals' own antisocial behavior decreases, which suggests that antisocial peers may not have as great of an influence in adulthood as they do in adolescence (Monahan et al., 2009b).

Romantic Relationships in Emerging Adulthood and Adulthood

The history of romantic relationships in emerging adulthood is interesting. Currently, it is considered normal for individuals to have many dating partners before settling down and getting married; it is often considered unhealthy to marry one's first and only boyfriend (Arnett, 2004). This, of course, has not always been the case. In the early 20th century, a young man would come 'calling' on a young woman and he would visit her home, meet her family, and the two would spend some time together in the home (Bailey, 1989). By 'calling' on a young woman, the young man was announcing that he had serious intentions, possibly marriage, for him and the young woman (Bailey, 1989). During this time, premarital sex was considered taboo, particularly for young women (Brumberg, 1997). During the 1920s, sometimes considered the first sexual revolution, things changed quite dramatically (Arnett, 2004). Dating became more common and couples would go out to restaurants or dancing without the woman's family as

chaperones (Arnett & Taber, 1994). This is the period when premarital sexual activity became less of a taboo, but premarital sexual intercourse was still widely discouraged (Arnett, 2004).

From the 1920s to the 1960s, not much changed in dating or sexual experimentation, but the marriage age started to decline (Arnett, 2004). The median age of marriage for men in 1920 was 24.6 years old and it fell to 22.8 years old in 1960; for women in 1920 the median marriage age was 21.2 years old and it dropped to 20.3 by 1960 (Arnett & Taber, 1994). By the 1950s, dating had become much more serious at a younger age, with many couples getting engaged in high school and getting married soon after graduation (Arnett, 2004). Premarital sex became much more common (Dreyer, 1982), but the majority of young people continued to wait until marriage (Arnett, 2004). The period of the late 1960s to the early 1970s, however, is what set the stage for emerging adulthood and romantic relationships (Arnett, 2004). There was a new sexual revolution, during which time the birth control pill was invented, which made it easier for young people to have premarital sex without pregnancy (Arnett, 2004).

By the middle of the 1970s, 70% of American college students reported having premarital sex (Hatfield & Rapson, 1996). During this time, the marriage age began to rise, with very few emerging adults considering marriage until after high school and college (Arnett, 2004). Instead, emerging adulthood is characterized by serial monogamy, in which young adults pursue a number of romantic relationships, usually with sex included (Arnett, 2004). However, although emerging adults focus on a number of romantic relationships during this time in their lives, the ultimate goal for most is marriage (Popenoe & Whitehead, 2001, 2002).

Today, emerging adulthood is a period often characterized by heterogeneity and instability in romantic relationships (Arnett, 2004; Bachman, Wadsworth, O'Malley, Johnston, & Schulenberg, 1997). As individual's age, however, and progress through emerging adulthood, these relationships become more committed, stable, and exclusive, but they are still likely to move in and out of relationships quickly before eventually committing to a long-term relationships and perhaps marriage (Cohen, Kasen, Chen, Hartmark, & Gordon, 2003; Crockett & Randall, 2006; Foxman, Newman, Percha, Holmes, & Aral, 2006). For emerging adults, the question becomes "what kind of person am I, and what kind of person would suit me best as a partner through life?" as opposed to a question during adolescence that involves the here and now, without the deep level of intimacy found in emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2004, p. 10). However, since emerging adults now have more freedom in deciding when to marry, the age of marriage has consistently spread out with some individuals still marrying right after high school graduation, others waiting until their early, mid, or late twenties and even into their thirties (Arnett, 2004).

Additionally, emerging adults are free to make their own decisions about sexual behavior, without the input of their parents or other authority figures (Arnett, 2004) and are more likely to be sexually active during this time period than in adolescence (Arnett, 1996). There are, however, gender differences in the permissibility of sexual behavior (Arnett, 2004). Young men tend to have a much more recreational, *passé*, attitude about premarital sex than young women; 65% of men and 41% of women stated that there were people they would have sex with but had no desire to marry (Popenoe & Whitehead, 2001).

Early family and peer relationships play an important role on the quality of romantic relationships in adulthood (Crockett & Randall, 2006). Families are considered important for teaching individuals how to act in romantic relationships (Tallman, Burke, & Gecas, 1998). Based in social learning theory, parents model proper behavior for their children and children learn certain behaviors, such as conflict resolution and they develop expectations for appropriate behavior in romantic relationships by observing parents' marriages (Feldman, Gowen, & Fisher, 1998). Research has indicated that there is a connection between positive adolescent parent-child relations and the quality of romantic relationships later in the life-course (Conger, Cui, Bryant, & Elder, 2000; Feldman et al., 1998; Joyner & Campa, 2006; Seiffge-Krenke, Shulman, & Klessinger, 2001).

Regarding peer relationships, friendship theorists have posited that close childhood friendships are important for learning intimacy, and this intimacy may lay the foundation for intimacy in later romantic relationships (Connolly et al., 1999; Sullivan, 1953).

Adults meet their romantic partners in a variety of ways—through introductions by friends and family, to bars, parties, and through work (Arnett, 2004). College is a particularly easy way to meet romantic partners, but after college things become more challenging because individuals are no longer surrounded by people of similar age (Arnett, 2004). While all of these methods have been around for decades, a newer way of finding love for adults involves the Internet (Arnett, 2004). There are a number of Internet dating websites (e.g., Match.com) that can set people up with other individuals with similar characteristics (Arnett, 2004). More recently, there are dating phone applications, such as Tinder, that allow individuals to find potential partners within a certain radius of their location (Birnholtz, Fitzpatrick, Handel, & Brubaker, 2014).

The characteristics of their dating partners tend to be similar to the individual (Laursen & Jensen-Campbell, 1999; Lykken & Tellegen, 1993; Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata, 1995). In this sense, opposites do not usually attract and instead, adults tend to like people of similar age, similar personality, intelligence, social class, race/ethnicity, religious beliefs, and physical attractiveness (Lykken & Tellegen, 1993; Michael et al., 1995). Sociologists have referred to this as consensual validation, in which people find others who are a match with their own characteristics, so the more similar one's partner is to oneself, the less likely conflict will arise due to having different preferences (Arnett, 2004). Of course, people who have similar interests are likely to meet in settings that allow them the opportunity to meet and to connect (Arnett, 2004). One of the greatest indicators that two adults will meet and start dating is their ethnic background (Arnett, 2004). While the number of interethnic couples has increased over the years (Bianchi & Casper, 2000), people still tend to select romantic partners of the same ethnic background (Bianchi & Casper, 2000). This could be due to proximity in that most of their social network is comprised of people of the same ethnicity (Arnett, 2004), because individuals are more comfortable with the familiar customs and traditions of their own ethnic group (Arnett, 2004), or due to racism in their family of origin (Arnett, 2004).

As emerging adulthood progresses into adulthood, individuals go through changes that begin to prepare them for marriage; they start to appreciate intimacy and staying with one person for the long-term to develop a deeper connection (Arnett, 2004). As these relationships progress, they become more beneficial in terms of individuals' desistance from alcohol and substance use (Bachman et al., 1997; Miller-Tutzauer et al., 1991).

Additionally, security and commitment in relationships become more of a priority (Arnett, 2004). Romantic relationships in adulthood are important for well-being (Argyle, 2001; Hinde, 1997; Myers, 2000; Reis, Collins, & Berscheid, 2000) and are a source of happiness for adults (Argyle, 2001; Berry & Willingham, 1997; Diener, Gohm, Suh, & Oishi, 2000). For those who are not quite ready for marriage but who want to have some of the benefits of marriage, individuals are now more readily able to cohabit with their romantic partner (Arnett, 2004). Cohabitation is now very common, with more than 2/3 of adults living with their partners (Arnett, 2004). Arnett (2004) proposes three types of cohabitation for adults: premarital cohabitation, uncommitted cohabitation, and committed cohabitation. Premarital cohabitation occurs between two individuals who plan to marry, but who want to make sure they are compatible before taking that next step (Arnett, 2004). Uncommitted cohabitation occurs between two adults who have no long-term commitment to one another and, instead, are almost solely moving in together for practical reasons, such as money (Arnett, 2004). Committed cohabitation occurs between two individuals who have a stable, committed relationship, but do not want to get married (Arnett, 2004). Committed cohabitation is essentially a substitute for marriage in these situations (Arnett, 2004).

Romantic partners can also negatively affect individuals' behavior; romantic partner antisocial behavior and antisocial influence are associated with greater antisocial behavior (Monahan, Dmitrieva, & Cauffman, 2014). This effect is weaker among men than women, and is especially strong among women who are in short-term relationships with antisocial individuals, as their antisocial behavior is more likely to persist even upon dissolution of the relationship (Monahan et al., 2014). Romantic relationship dissolution

also has negative implications for individuals (Fisher, 2006b; Kirkpatrick, & Caplow, 1945; Simon & Barrett, 2010). Individuals who experience breakups are more likely to report depression, stress (Monroe et al., 1999; Sbarra & Emery, 2005), anxiety (Field, Diego, Pelaez, Deeds, & Delgado, 2009), aggression, frustration, rage (Fisher, 2006a; Fisher, Brown, Anon, Strong, & Mashek, 2010), insecurity, fear, lower self-esteem, and confusion (Chung et al., 2003). It is not just those who are left by their partners that are negatively affected; individuals who leave their partners also report guilt, regret, and shame (Baumeister et al., 1993; Vaughan, 1986). When relationships dissolve, individuals may rely on substance use as a coping mechanism to get them through the breakup (Chung et al., 2003; Choo, Levine, & Hatfield, 1996; Fleming, White, Oesterle, Haggerty, & Catalano, 2010b; Smith, Homish, Leonard, & Cornelius, 2012). Additionally, individuals have more freedom to associate with their peers after a breakup; therefore, this may lead to increased substance use (Bachman, O'Malley, Schulenberg, Johnston, Bryant, & Merline, 2002).

Larson and Sweeten (2012) found modest support for the contention that going through a breakup results in increased offending and marijuana use, but found significant increases in alcohol use and binge drinking. They also found that even among individuals who rebound into a new relationship shortly after the dissolution of another relationship there are significant increases in alcohol use and illicit drug use (Larson & Sweeten, 2012). Additionally, Fleming and colleagues (2010b) assessed changes in romantic relationship status and substance use and found that heavy drinking, marijuana use, and cigarette smoking all increased with the dissolution of a romantic relationship, and increased marijuana use and cigarette smoking were noted when individuals switched

partners within 6 months. Gender differences were also noted; male respondents had increased offending, alcohol and substance use after a breakup, but females did not report increases in offending, only increases in alcohol use, binge drinking, and marijuana use (Larson & Sweeten, 2012). Smith and colleagues (2012) found that divorce from a non-problem drinker resulted in increased and heavier drinking, but divorce from a problem-drinker resulted in less frequent drinking, less heavy drinking, and fewer alcohol-related problems.

Offending in Emerging Adulthood and Adulthood

Researchers consistently note the positive association between criminal involvement at one stage in the life course and criminal involvement at later stages (Nagin & Paternoster, 2000) and that adult offending is linked to adolescent maladjustment, as well as early life experiences (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Laub & Sampson, 1993, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1993, 2004). Two main theoretical explanations for offending in adulthood exist. On one hand, the persistent heterogeneity explanation of continuity in criminal behavior has suggested that individual differences in the proclivity for criminal behavior are formed in adolescence and, thus, variations in the tendency to offend in adulthood are formed prior to adulthood (Eggleston & Laub, 2002; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Moffitt, 1993; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). As such, if someone is an adult offender, it is considerably more likely that they were also an adolescent offender. On the other hand, the association between prior criminal behavior and future criminal behavior may be due to the changes in the life circumstances of the offender (Sampson & Laub, 1993, 1997). In this way, life events and circumstances affect individuals'

behavior even when individual differences are accounted for (Sampson & Laub, 1993, 1997). This is also known as the state dependence argument (Nagin & Paternoster, 1991).

Moffitt (1993) proposed her dual taxonomy of offenders: adolescent-limited offenders and life-course persistent offenders. In general, the prevalence of offending peaks at about 17 years old and then drops in young adulthood (Moffitt, 1993). Therefore, the majority of offenders are teenagers, but by individuals' early twenties, over half have desisted and by the late twenties, almost 85% of former offenders have desisted from criminal behavior (Blumstein & Cohen, 1987; Farrington, 1986). The life-course persistent offender is characterized by continuity in offending. Over the life-course, individuals' antisocial behavior changes, from biting/hitting at four years old to steadily more violent offending throughout adolescence (e.g., shoplifting, selling drugs) to robbery and rape at 22 years old, and then fraud and child abuse by age 30 (Moffitt, 1993). These individuals show cross-situational consistency in their deviant behavior; they lie at home, cheat at school, and steal from their place of employment (Farrington, 1991; Loeber, 1982; Robins, 1966, 1978; White, Moffitt, Earls, Robins, & Silva, 1990). The second type of antisocial individual is the adolescence-limited offender (Moffitt, 1993). This type of offender is characterized by no history of delinquency in childhood and an unlikely chance for offending in adulthood; instead, delinquency is sporadic, inconsistent, and limited to adolescence. That is, individuals may shoplift and use drugs, but still obey school rules and parents (Moffitt, 1993).

Research has indicated that antisocial behavior declines during the transition to adulthood (Loeber, 2012; Schulenberg & Zarrett, 2006). However, binge drinking,

cigarette smoking, and marijuana use actually peak during emerging adulthood until about 21 years old, and then rates begin to decline (Bachman et al., 1997; White et al., 2005; White, McMorris, Catalano, Fleming, Haggerty, & Abbott, 2006; White, Bray, Fleming, & Catalano, 2009). The onset of delinquency and offending behaviors in adulthood has also been noted (Blumstein, Cohen, Roth, & Visher, 1986; Eggleston & Laub, 2002; Stattin, Magnusson, & Reichel, 1989; Wolfgang, Thornberry, & Figlio, 1987). Although, the number of late onset adult offenders is small (Wolfgang et al., 1987). Farrington and Maughan (1999) found, using data from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development and the Inner London Study, that there was significant adult onset of criminal offending; 10 per 100 participants in the Cambridge cohort had their first conviction at 17-20 years old and 7 per 100 participants had their first conviction at 21-33 years old and within the Inner London cohort 15 per 100 participants had their first conviction at 17-20 years old and 7 per 100 participants had their first conviction at 21-33 years old.

There are gender differences in adult offending behaviors; however, not much is known about the patterns of female offending (Giordano & Cernkovich, 1997). Men are found to commit more criminal activity than females throughout all stages of the life-course, at a younger age, and for all but a few offenses, including prostitution (Belknap, 2007; Blumstein et al., 1986; Eggleston & Laub, 2002; Hindelang, 1971; Johnson et al., 1995; Lanctot & LeBlanc, 2002; Smith & Visher, 1980; Stattin et al., 1989; Steffensmeier, 1993; Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996). Additionally, the gender gap is found to be greater for serious crimes than for more minor offenses (Blumstein et al., 1986; Eggleston & Laub, 2002; Hindelang, 1971; Johnson, Su, Gerstein, Shin, &

Hoffman, 1995; Smith & Visher, 1980; Steffensmeier, 1993; Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996). However, the main predictors of male offending are also found to predict female offending (Hoffmann & Su, 1997; Smith, 1979; Smith & Paternoster, 1987).

Discussion of whether the magnitude of the gender gap in offending has changed over time is ongoing (Lauritsen, Heimer, & Lynch, 2009). Some researchers hold that the gender gap has remained stable over time (Steffensmeier, 1993; Steffensmeier, Schwartz, Zhong, & Ackerman, 2005; Steffensmeier, Zhong, Ackerman, Schwartz, & Agha, 2006); but other researchers note that, over time, the gender gap has become smaller for some offenses (Heimer, 2000; O'Brien, 1999). Simon (1975) and Adler (1975) noted that women's offending increased at a greater rate than men's offending and, thus, the gender gap was narrowing. Researchers who evaluated the change in offending during the 1960s and 1970s found that if any change in offending between men and women had occurred it was specific to minor property crime (Steffensmeier, 1980; Steffensmeier & Cobb, 1981). More recently, studies have indicated that the gender gap has significantly narrowed with regard to some property and violent offenses (Heimer, 2000; O'Brien, 1999; Steffensmeier et al., 2005, 2006).

Numerous hypotheses have been suggested as possible explanations of the narrowing of the gender gap in violent crime (Lauritsen et al., 2009). First, the liberation hypothesis posits that women have more opportunities to commit crime because they are not subjected to the informal social controls as they once were due to increased social power and freedom (Adler, 1975; Austin, 1982; Hunnicutt & Brody, 2004; Simon, 1975). Second, the economic marginalization hypothesis holds that while the economic circumstances for poor and uneducated men have become better, this is not the case for

women and, as a result, it is expected to see a greater increase in women's crime (Baskin & Sommers, 1998; Box & Hale, 1984; Heimer, 2000; Heimer, Wittrock, & Unal, 2006). Third, it has been suggested that the behavior of men and women has not changed all that much, but instead what has changed is societal definitions of violence (Steffensmeier et al., 2005, 2006). That is, societal perceptions of women's violence have changed and become less accepting. Therefore, women's violent behavior is seen as more problematic, which leads to increased arrests of women (Lauritsen et al., 2009). An example of this is domestic violence arrests; mandatory arrest policies in domestic violence cases led to more people being arrested for domestic violence, including women (Chesney-Lind, 2002; Miller, 2001; Steffensmeier et al., 2006).

Desistance

Various definitions of desistance have been elucidated in extant literature (Kazemian, 2007). In fact, according to Laub and Sampson (2001), very few studies have operationalized desistance and, as such, there is not a consensus on the operational definition of desistance. As it stands, researchers have considered desistance to be the successful disengagement from criminal behavior (Meisenhelder, 1977), a process during which offenders become increasingly specialized and engage in minor offenses until, finally, a point is reached in which they stop offending (Le Blanc & Frenchette, 1989; Loeber & Le Blanc, 1990), a shift from offending to non-offending, with maintenance of non-offending (Uggen & Kruttschnitt, 1998), and a process "of reduction in the rate of offending (understood conceptually as an estimate of criminality) from a nonzero level to a stable rate empirically indistinguishable from zero" (Bushway, Piquero, Broidy, Cauffman, & Mazerolle, 2001, p. 500). In addition, desistance has often been measured

as the last officially, or self-reported offense (Kazemian, 2007). Due to the various ways desistance has been operationalized, there have been disparate findings regarding the causes and correlates of desistance (Kazemian, 2007).

One of the most widely noted findings in criminology is that involvement in crime is reduced as individuals age (Steffensmeier & Allan, 2000); however, this appears to be variable across offense type (Steffensmeier et al., 1989). Involvement in offending peaks between the ages of 15 and 19 years old (Farrington, 1986; Wolfgang et al., 1987), with the peak of onset between the ages of 8 and 14 years old, and the peak of desistance from offending between the ages of 20 and 29 (Farrington, 1992; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983). Developmental and life-course researchers have also noted that the early onset of criminal behavior predicts a long criminal career and a greater number of offenses (Farrington, Lambert, & West, 1998; LeBlanc & Frenchette, 1989). Additionally, there is continuity in offending and antisocial behavior from childhood to adulthood (Farrington, 1989, 1992; Tracy & Kempf-Leonard, 1996), but there is also within-individual change in behavior over time (Verhulst, Koot, & Berden, 1990). Consequently, there is much existing research that has attempted to untangle the processes that contribute to desistance in early adulthood (Capaldi et al., 2008).

Researchers consistently have found that, even among chronic, high-risk offenders, involvement in crime appears to diminish across early adulthood (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Thornberry, 2005; Wiesner, Capaldi, & Kim, 2007). What is understood, however, is that desistance is not a sudden occurrence, but instead, is a gradual process (Bottoms, Shapland, Costello, Holmes, & Muir, 2004; Bushway et al., 2001; Fagan, 1989; Greenberg, 1975; Haggard, Gumpert, & Grann, 2001; Laub &

Sampson, 2001, 2003; Le Blanc, 1993; Loeber & Le Blanc, 1990; Maruna, 2001; Shover, 1983). Thornberry (2005) noted that desistance appears to occur before any of the turning points that have been hypothesized as important for desistance (e.g., marriage, work, parenthood). Some researchers have noted that the predictors of delinquency are also predictors of persistence and desistance from crime (Akers, 1985; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983). However, others have noted that the causes and correlates of initiation, persistence, and desistance from delinquency are likely to be different (Farrington et al., 1990). This is referred to as asymmetrical causation (Fagan, 1989; Farrington & Hawkins, 1991; Laub et al., 1998; Nagin & Farrington, 1992). That is, for example, the onset of criminal behavior is due to social influences (e.g., from peers or spouses) and desistance from criminal behavior is also due to social influences from peers or spouses, however, the social influences predicting desistance are the reverse of those risk factors that influence initiation of criminal behavior (Farrington, 1992). Additionally, the factors that influence desistance are different at different stages in the life course (Laub & Sampson, 2001; Weitekamp & Kerner, 1994), and most desistance is said to take place during and after adolescence (Laub & Sampson, 2001).

A number of different perspectives have been postulated regarding the predictors of desistance. Researchers contend that desistance occurs due to increased maturity of individuals (Glueck & Glueck, 1940), because crime naturally declines from late adolescence to adulthood (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), and because developmental and cognitive changes, including identity change, occur with aging (Moffitt, 1993; Neugarten & Neugarten, 1996). Additionally, desistance occurs due to the formation of informal social controls or bonds (Sampson & Laub, 1993), because individuals make the rational

decision to desist from crime (Cusson & Pinsonneault, 1986), and Akers (1990) posited that the same variables that account for initiation of offending also account for the cessation of offending.

Loeber, Pardini, Stouthamer-Loeber, and Raine (2007) posited that there are two complementary developmental processes that account for desistance from offending. First, between childhood and adolescence there is a transition from external controls, such as through teachers and parents that prevent aggression, to internal controls, such as the perceived likelihood of getting caught, that prevent aggression (Loeber, Pardini, Stouthamer-Loeber, & Raine, 2007). Second, behavioral and emotional controls play a role (Loeber et al., 2007). Behavioral controls are important because this is when individuals learn non-violent conflict resolution strategies (Loeber et al., 2007). Emotional controls are necessary in order for individuals to process anger or irritation and transform those emotions into more adaptable emotions (Loeber et al., 2007; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). These two processes tend to co-occur and inhibit aggression (Loeber et al., 2007).

By individuals' early twenties, most have desisted from serious criminal behavior; however, marijuana use tends to persist further into young adulthood (SAMHSA, 1998). Research has indicated a number of possible reasons for desistance from marijuana use, including marital status (Esbensen & Elliott, 1994), the transition into a romantic relationship, especially those characterized by high levels of attachment (Chen & Kandel, 1998; Kandel & Raveis, 1989; Maume et al., 2005), getting older (Chen & Kandel, 1998), and less marijuana use to begin with (Chen & Kandel, 1998; DeWit, Hance, Offord, & Ogborne, 2000; Goodstadt, Chan, Sheppard, & Cleve, 1986; Kandel & Raveis,

1989). Other researchers have found that lower offending rates of married individuals developed in the years prior to the marriage and thus, lower offending was not the consequence of the marriage itself (Lyngstad & Skardhamar, 2013). Laub, Nagin, and Sampson (1998) examined whether mechanisms leading to lower rates of offending occur prior to marriage, during the dating period, however, they did not find an effect until the years after the marriage took place. Evidence has indicated that most of the reduction in alcohol use occurs in the first couple of years of marriage and then stabilizes soon after (Bachman et al., 1997; Miller-Tutzauer et al., 1991) and these changes remain relatively intact as long as the relationship remains (Leonard & Rothbard, 1999).

A substantial amount of research has been completed that discusses men's desistance from criminal behavior (Giordano et al., 2002). However, less has been conducted specific to female offending and subsequent desistance from criminal behavior (Giordano et al., 2002), which is problematic because there are reasons to think that there may be gendered pathways to desistance that are specific to women (Rodermond, Kruttschnitt, Slotboom, & Bijleveld, 2016). This is generally attributed to the fact that longitudinal studies typically do not have sufficient numbers of delinquent girls and women to use in analyses (Giordano et al., 2002). Existing literature has postulated that certain attachments and transitions may be more important (e.g., marital attachments and having children), or less important (e.g., employment or the attainment of power/success), for women than for men with regard to potential desistance processes (Giordano et al., 2002; Graham & Bowling, 1995). However, other researchers, including Baskin and Sommers (1998) found that the reasons women gave for desisting

from criminal behavior were similar to men's reasons, including identity transformations and increased ties to prosocial lifestyles.

A number of challenges are unique to women, including income, family roles, and differences in victimization histories (Belknap, 1996). Additionally, certain life events, including marriage and parenthood, could have gender-specific effects on desistance (Laub et al., 1998; Siennick & Osgood, 2008). For example, researchers have argued that, because of gender role socialization, women are more concerned with maintaining intimate relationships compared to men (Van Schellen, Apel, & Nieuwbeerta, 2012). Therefore, women may initiate criminal behavior as a result of these attachments but also may desist because of them, as well (Van Schellen et al., 2012). Some researchers, though, have found that marriage is more likely to increase the odds of desistance for male offenders than female offenders (Bersani et al., 2009; Doherty & Ensminger, 2013). For relationships more generally, however, researchers have indicated that there is a stronger effect on desistance for women (Barry, 2010; Benda, 2005; Cobbina, Huebner, & Berg, 2012; Simons et al., 2002).

With regard to parenthood, motherhood is often found to be a marker of desistance (Benda, 2005; Huebner, DeJong, & Cobbina, 2010; Kreager, Matsueda, & Erosheva, 2010; Uggen & Kruttschnitt, 1998), but this effect was higher when the pregnancy was wanted (Giordano, Seffrin, Manning, & Longmore, 2011). Other studies found that pregnancy led to initial reductions in offending, but after the child was born, offending increased (Monsbakken, Lyngstad, & Skardhamar, 2013) and that children increased mothers' stress, thus contributing to recidivism (Michalsen, 2011; Taylor, 2008). Even in studies that did not find an effect of attachment to children on desistance,

mothers often mentioned their children as reasons, or catalysts, for changes they had previously made (Giordano et al., 2002).

In terms of social factors, employment was found to have more of an effect on male desistance than female desistance (Benda, 2005; Cobbina et al., 2012; De Li & MacKenzie, 2003; Verbruggen, Blokland, & Van der Geest, 2012). Results pertaining to the influence of education by sex are contradictory; some studies found education to have a larger influence on female desistance than male desistance (Uggen & Kruttschnitt, 1998), but others found education to have more of an influence on men (Benda, 2005; De Li & MacKenzie, 2003). The influence of friendships on desistance varied for men and women. For men, deviant peer relations were found to have a larger effect on persistence in offending (Cobbina et al., 2012; Giordano et al., 2003). The elements of friendships, including satisfaction and having a prosocial best friend, were found to have more of an influence on desistance for women than for men (Benda, 2005; Uggen & Kruttschnitt, 1998).

The findings of these studies indicated that there are unique factors that are influential in male and female desistance. As such, it is important to consider the gendered pathways that relate to persistence in offending, as well as, desistance from offending. This is true even though the majority of mainstream criminological theories do not specifically address gender differences in offending behaviors.

CHAPTER III

Theoretical Perspective

Age-Graded Theory of Informal Social Control

A number of behaviors, including aggression, are argued to be stable over the life-course (Caspi & Moffitt, 1992; Eron, 1987; Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz, & Walker, 1984; Loeber, 1982; Olweus, 1979; Pajer, 1998). Conduct problems in childhood increase the risk of juvenile delinquency and adult crime (Loeber, 1982). A couple of processes have been suggested for this continuity (Mason & Windle, 2002). Nagin and Paternoster (1991) suggested a population heterogeneity perspective in that the strong association between past offending and future offending may result from persistent individual differences in propensities to commit delinquent and criminal acts. A selection effect, such as that noted through assortative mating, is one that may influence marriage and subsequent antisocial and criminal behavior (Caspi & Herbener, 1990; Du Fort, Boothroyd, Bland, Newman, & Kakuma, 2002; Knight, 2011; Krueger, Moffitt, Caspi, Bleske, & Silva, 1998). Assortative mating posits that people choose like-minded partners (Caspi & Herbener, 1990; Knight, 2011) and, as such, antisocial individuals select other antisocial individuals to mate with (Caspi & Herbener, 1990; Knight, 2011).

In the literature, assortative mating is defined as “the nonrandom coupling of individuals based on their similarity to each other on one or more characteristics” (Watson et al., 2004, p. 1030). There is often a distinction made between primary and secondary assortative mating (Knight, 2011). Primary assortative mating refers to when this selection is due to shared demographic characteristics or to a shared social environment (Kalmijn, 1991; Knight, 2011; Mare, 1991; Taylor, McGue, & Iacono,

2000). This occurs when individuals select partners based on observable, genetically influenced traits (Funder & West, 1993; McLeod, 1995; Watson et al., 2004), but can also include the selection of partners based on involvement in or support of problem behaviors, or traits that are relevant to participation in antisocial behavior, such as impulsivity and sensation seeking (Ennett & Bauman, 1994; Kandel, 1978). Secondary assortative mating, referred to as social homogamy, suggests that the similarity between partners' behavior is a secondary, perhaps even unintentional, byproduct of people who are participating in a variety of antisocial behaviors spending time in the same areas (Rhule-Louie & McMahon, 2007).

Empirically, there is support for assortative mating with regard to alcohol consumption (Fals-Stewart, Birchler, & O'Farrell, 1999; Gleiberman, Harburg, DiFranceisco, & Schork, 1992; Jacob & Bremer, 1986; Murphy, Winters, O'Farrell, Fals-Stewart, & Murphy, 2005; Olmsted, Crowell, & Waters, 2003; Reich, Cloninger, van Eerdewegh, Rice, & Mullaney, 1988; Windle, 1997), criminal convictions in general (Baker, 1986; Rowe & Farrington, 1997), property offenses (Baker et al., 1989), marijuana use (Yamaguchi & Kandel, 1997), and antisocial behavior (Capaldi & Crosby, 1997; Kim & Capaldi, 2004; Moffitt et al., 2001). Even when geographical, education, and social factors are accounted for, individuals consistently select partners based on similar cognitive abilities and personality traits (Caspi & Herbener, 1990). If this is accurate, and individuals select spouses based on shared traits, then it is possible that romantic relationships will reinforce both positive and negative behavior (Caspi & Herbener, 1990). Therefore, romantic relationships may substantially contribute to continuity in behavior because, by selecting certain mates, individuals are selecting their

environments until the relationship ends (Caspi & Herbener, 1990). However, even though researchers have noted the presence of this selection effect, there is evidence that even if individuals partner with antisocial individuals, desistance from criminal behavior is still possible (Maume et al., 2005; Sampson et al., 2006).

There may also be a state-dependent effect in which there is a causal link between past and future problem behaviors (Nagin & Paternoster, 1991). Children's conduct problems may result in weakened social bonds, which may in turn lead to continued delinquent involvement (Nagin & Paternoster, 1991). Paternoster, Dean, Piquero, Mazerolle, & Brame (1997) have suggested that it is not simply population heterogeneity or simply state dependence that explains offending behavior. Instead, it may be appropriate to explain the stability of delinquency through the use of both static and dynamic processes (Paternoster et al., 1997). This perspective is that of Sampson & Laub's age-graded theory of informal social control.

Sampson and Laub (1993) developed their age-graded theory of informal social control based off the central idea of social control theory. That is, they held that crime and deviance are more likely to occur when individuals' bonds to society are weak or broken (Sampson & Laub, 1993). The 'life-course' is defined as "pathways through the age differentiated life span" (Elder, 1985, p. 17), with particular attention to the "sequence of culturally defined age-graded roles and social transitions that are enacted over time" (Caspi, Elder, & Herbener, 1990, p. 15). Sampson and Laub (1997) and Laub and Sampson (1993) argued that important institutions for both formal and informal social control vary across the life span, but they further emphasized how the role of age-graded informal control varies through the bonds between individuals and to other social

institutions, such as work, family, and school. Unlike formal sanctions, such as through the criminal justice system (Laub & Sampson, 1993), informal social controls “emerge as by-products of role relationships established for other purposes and are components of role reciprocities” (Kornhauser, 1978, p. 24).

The three main concepts to this theory are trajectories, transitions, and turning points. A trajectory is defined as “a pathway or line of development over the life span such as worklife, parenthood, and criminal behavior” and trajectories “refer to long-term patterns and sequences of behavior” (Sampson & Laub, 1992, p. 66). Transitions, then, are “marked by life events (e.g., first job or first marriage) that are embedded in trajectories and evolve over shorter time spans” (Sampson & Laub, 1992, p. 66).

Turning points are conceptualized as a part of a long-term process and are not a dramatic change that occurs at one point in time and has a lasting effect (Pickles & Rutter, 1991; Rutter, 1989; Clausen, 1993; Laub et al., 1998). Therefore, turning points involve a focus on incremental and age-related change that influence individuals’ future outcomes (Rutter & Rutter, 1993; Sampson & Laub, 1997; Laub & Sampson, 1993). Turning points may be positive or negative because they represent opportunities for which life trajectories can move toward positive or negative paths (Rutter & Rutter, 1993; Sampson & Laub, 1997; Laub & Sampson, 1993) and turning points are considered chance events (Laub et al., 1998). The major concept is that trajectories and transitions work together to generate turning points for individuals (Elder, 1985; Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1992, 1997; Laub & Sampson, 1993).

Additionally, Sampson and Laub emphasized the strength or quality of social ties as opposed to just the timing or the occurrence of these life events (Sampson & Laub,

1992). Accordingly, it is the strong attachment and close emotional ties in marriage and the stability, commitment, and ties to work in employment that increase social control and influences desistance from criminal behavior. Sampson and Laub (1993) found that those who desist from crime were more likely to have stable marriages and employment. So, the strength of the social bonds depends on individuals' attachment to parents, schools, delinquent peers and siblings, as well as parental discipline and socialization processes (Farrington, 2003). Additionally, other factors including structural background variables, such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and criminal parents, as well as individual differences, including low intelligence and conduct disorder, indirectly affect offending because these factors have an effect on attachment and socialization processes that form the basis of informal social control (Farrington, 2003). Based in age-graded informal social control then, delinquency peaks during adolescence because attachment to delinquent peers is of high importance during that stage (Farrington, 2003).

It is true, however, that not all life transitions have the same impact on everyone (Sampson & Laub, 1997). In fact, while marriage is often considered to have a positive impact on individuals, marriage could actually be detrimental to an individual depending on when a person marries, who the person marries, the quality of that marriage, and if there are any other changes regarding one's social group that accompanies that marriage (Rutter & Rutter, 1993). Thus, while not usually considered to be possibly deleterious for an individual, turning points can potentially exacerbate one's antisocial behavior depending on the situation (Sampson & Laub, 1997).

Specifically, the major crutch of age-graded informal social control is that social bonds to family, peers, and school in adolescence and social bonds in adulthood to

employment and marriage, explain changes in criminal behavior as individuals age (Esbensen & Elliott, 1994; Horney et al., 1995; Laub et al., 1998; Sampson & Laub, 1997, 2005; Shover, 1996). In that, the stronger the bonds, the less crime and deviance among both delinquent and non-delinquent controls (Sampson & Laub, 2005). The strongest effects on adolescent delinquency involved social control with regards to family, school, and peers (Sampson & Laub, 2004). With regard to the family, low levels of parental supervision, weak parental attachment, and harsh discipline were predictive of adolescent delinquency (Sampson & Laub, 2004). Additionally, although delinquent peers are important, family and school processes are more important in terms of predicting adolescent delinquency (Sampson & Laub, 2004).

Sampson and Laub (2005) found that this was true for marriage even when one's spouse participates in deviant behavior, but they found that job instability fosters crime regardless of one's heavy drinking. This is contrary to theories such as Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) social control theory that argued that it is about criminal propensity. Sampson and Laub (1997) also held that "early (and distal) precursors to adult crime (e.g., conduct disorder, low self-control) are mediated in developmental pathways by key age-graded institutions of informal social control, especially in the transition to adulthood (e.g., via employment, military service, marriage, official sanctions)" (p. 10).

Sampson and Laub (1990) contended that childhood antisocial behavior is associated with adult criminality and deviance, economic dependency, educational failure, and job instability, as well as discord within romantic relationships. Additionally, they argued that strong social bonds to family, education, neighborhood, and work, which provide informal social control, influence adult criminal behavior regardless of an

individuals' past antisocial behavior. The social institutions and social ties of most importance vary across the life course (Maume et al., 2005; Sampson & Laub, 1990). For example, in childhood and adolescence, the most important social ties are to family, school, and peers, in emerging adulthood the most important social ties are higher education/vocational training, work, and marriage, and, finally, in later adulthood, the most important social ties are to work, marriage, parenthood, and community investment (Maume et al., 2005; Sampson & Laub, 1990).

Another component of the age-graded theory of informal social control is that prior delinquency plays an important role in the facilitation of adult crime through cumulative disadvantage (Sampson & Laub, 1997). This part of the theory takes components from a state dependence argument (Nagin & Paternoster, 1991) to imply that committing a crime increases the probability of committing future crimes (Nagin & Paternoster, 1991). While the effect of prior crime on later crime may be direct according to state dependence arguments, in this particular theory, Sampson and Laub are focused on a developmental model in which delinquent behavior in adolescence may impact individuals' social and institutional bonds in adulthood indirectly. That is, juvenile delinquency may result in school failure or incarceration, which then impacts an individual's employment experience, which could result in an increase in adult crime (Sampson & Laub, 1997; Tittle, 1988).

Cumulative disadvantage is also seen with regard to peers (Sampson & Laub, 1997). When children are aggressive, they may be more likely to be rejected by their peers (Cairns & Cairns, 1992; Coie, Underwood, & Lochman, 1991; Dodge, 1983; Patterson, DeBaryshe, & Ramsey, 1989), which then creates a cycle of negative

interactions with one's peers (Sampson & Laub, 1997). Other researchers have also found that peer rejection and association with delinquent peers are linked to the perpetuation of antisocial behavior through adolescence (Dishion et al., 1991; Sampson & Laub, 1997).

Specific to marriage, Sampson and Laub (2005) held that, theoretically, marriage can lead to criminal men 'knifing off' from their past, it can provide new relationships with increased social support and new social networks for men to become invested in and that increase the costs of offending, it can provide increased direct and indirect supervision and monitoring of individuals' behavior, it can provide more structured routines with family instead of unstructured socializing with peers, and it can provide men with opportunities to transform their identities to conform with this new married role (Bersani & Doherty, 2013; Forrest, 2014; Giordano et al., 2002; Kirk, 2012; Knight & West, 1975; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Osgood, Wilson, O'Malley, Bachman, & Johnston, 1996; Sampson & Laub, 1993, 2005; Warr, 1998; Yamaguchi & Kandel, 1985). Other criminological research has suggested that certain life events influence individuals' behavior (Sampson & Laub, 1990). For example, Knight, Osborn, and West (1977) found that marriage reduced some antisocial behaviors; including drinking and drug use, Osborn (1980) found that individuals who moved from London were less likely to reoffend than those who did not move. Additionally, researchers have found that unemployment may lead to increases in criminal behavior (Farrington, Gallagher, Morely, St. Ledger, & West, 1986).

Marriage restricts partners' daily activities and promotes change in structured and unstructured routine activities (Bersani & Doherty, 2013). Highly structured routine

activities are important for prosocial behavior; those involved in highly structured daily routines are less likely to participate in deviant behavior (Giordano et al., 2002; Osgood et al., 1996). Marriage works to change unstructured time into structured time revolving around family-centered activities (Osgood & Lee, 1993). Warr (1998) argued that marriage results in a reduction in time spent with delinquent peers and, as a result, a reduction in criminal behavior is apparent. Additionally, marriage may result in a change in residence, which may effectively cut off antisocial individuals' ties with their criminogenic environments, resulting in less criminal behavior (Kirk, 2012; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sharkey & Sampson, 2010).

The timing and quality of marriages also matters (Laub et al., 1998). Marriage acts as a form of social capital (Bersani & Doherty, 2013). Good marriages are important for desistance. The effects of good marriages do not appear instantaneously, but the effect continually grows over time until it influences desistance (Laub et al., 1998). The effect of marriage is not restricted to the day the individuals say 'I do' but the effect of these relationships may be felt while individuals are dating, during the wedding day, and after the wedding day, and this effect strengthens over the years (Bersani & Doherty, 2013; Laub et al., 1998). Horney and colleagues (1995) found that when high-rate convicted felons entered into cohesive marriages, these marriages were shown to reduce criminal behavior.

It is, of course, difficult to assign people to these particular statuses, so it is challenging to determine which transitions and turning points are causes or correlates of changes in offending (Uggen, 2000). Research has indicated, however, that employment and marriage have age-specific effects on crime (Uggen, 2000), which is an important

note for the current study. Therefore, researchers must account for the nonrandom selection of individuals into marriage because marriage is not a random event (Sampson & Laub, 2005). As such, researchers must control for a multitude of potential confounding factors including things such as prior crime, unemployment, deviance and personality (Sampson & Laub, 2005).

Gender Differences in Offending

Sampson and Laub's (1993) theory did not directly discuss gender differences in delinquency and crime over the life-course (Mason & Windle, 2002). However, both Sampson and Laub (1993) and Laub and Sampson (1993) discussed how criminal propensity (i.e., low self-control) explains the delinquency of both boys and girls which suggests that boys and girls offend for the same reasons (Mason & Windle, 2002). This, however, is a gender-neutral theory that postulated that the pathways to delinquency are largely based on individual-level factors that are linked to criminal behavior including, delinquent peers, impulsivity, family and marital relationships, and substance use (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). However, feminist theories have held that there are gender differences in offending and female trajectories of offending are unique and, thus, necessary to understand separately from male delinquency (Jones, Brown, Wanamaker, & Greiner, 2014).

There may be different social processes at play regarding boys' and girls' delinquency (Mason & Windle, 2002). Girls' delinquency may be indirectly controlled through emotional bonds to family (Mason & Windle, 2002). Boys' delinquency, however, may be more directly controlled through parental monitoring and parental supervision (Heimer, 1996; Heimer & DeCoster, 1999). Additionally, delinquent peers

may have more of an influence on boys than girls (Giordano, Cernkovich, & Pugh, 1986; Johnson, 1979). Specifically, for boys, Mason and Windle (2002) found that cumulative disadvantage was at play—early conduct problems increased the probability of delinquent behavior by working to limit opportunities for conventional behavior (Moffitt, 1993; Mason & Windle, 2002). Deviant peers mediated the relationship between childhood conduct problems and adolescent delinquency for boys (Fergusson & Horwood, 1996), specifically, low self-control was positively associated with associations with deviant peers, which was then positively associated with delinquency (Mason & Windle, 2002). For girls, however, there was a direct relationship between self-control and major delinquency (Mason & Windle, 2002).

Horney, Osgood, and Marshall (1995) found that even among high-offending men, these individuals were less likely to commit crimes while they were living with a wife. As such, their analyses indicated that regardless of individual differences in offending propensity, the variation in local life circumstances produces change in the rates of offending (Graham & Bowling, 1995; Horney et al., 1995; Labouvie, 1996; Mischkowitz, 1994). Piquero, Brame, Mazerolle, and Haapanen (2002) also found that local life circumstances mattered for desistance, but this differed depending on offender trajectories and offense types.

As discussed previously, the gender gap in arrest rates has narrowed over the past few decades with regard to crimes such as burglary, aggravated assault, simple assault, larceny/theft, motor vehicle theft, and drug possession (Snyder, 2011). Understanding the context of this is important however, because it is not just that women are apparently committing more crimes (Jones et al., 2014). While the female arrest rate for aggravated

assault has doubled, the gender gap has also narrowed for burglary, but this is because men are committing less burglaries, not that women are committing more (Jones et al., 2014). Moreover, with regard to drug arrests, arrests have increased significantly for both men and women, but the increase has been more pronounced for women (Jones et al., 2014). It is important to note, however, that this substantial uptick in female offending is potentially due to changes in legislation and police reporting practices (e.g., the war on drugs and mandatory arrest policies) that have disproportionately affected women (Feld, 2009; Jones et al., 2014; Steffensmeier et al., 2005).

Extant research on feminist, or gendered, pathways to offending could help elucidate why women have become increasingly represented in the criminal justice system (Jones et al., 2014). Based in this research, feminist scholars held that the pathways to female offending are unique and are attributed specifically to the oppression of girls and women, including economic marginalization, systemic poverty, lack of access to state capital/government funding, and lack of access to community resources (Jones et al., 2014). Thus, the patriarchal structure of society plays a significant role in female oppression and in their criminalization (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 2003). Moreover, individual-level factors, such as past victimization exposure/experiences, are particularly relevant to understanding the pathways to female offending (Daly, 1992; Reisig, Holtfreter, & Morash, 2006). Specifically, researchers have noted that prior sexual and physical victimization (Daly, 1992; Hubbard & Pratt, 2002; Owen & Bloom, 1995), substance abuse (Owen, 1998), and poverty (Covington, 2001) are all related to female offending in particular.

Daly's (1992, 1994) work on feminist pathways, in which she reviewed the collateral information from presentence investigation reports for 40 women who were convicted of felonies, indicated five different pathways through which women come to the attention of the criminal justice system: street women, harmed-and-harming women, drug-connected women, battered women, and other. The street women scenario referred to women who had a history of child abuse and neglect who fled from that environment, but turned to substance use as a way to cope with the trauma and eventually became involved in prostitution and petty crime (Daly, 1992, 1994). The harmed-and-harming women scenario involved women who also experienced child abuse and neglect, but engaged in interpersonal crimes, had psychological difficulties, and were addicted to drugs (Daly, 1992, 1994). The drug-connected woman scenario involved women who did not demonstrate a history of child abuse, but regardless, became involved with drugs either through romantic partners or children. The battered woman involved women who suffered abuse by male partners and subsequently became involved with the criminal justice system through efforts to fight back. Lastly, the 'other' category encompassed women who did not fit in with the rest of the groups; these women had no history of victimization or substance use and tended to be motivated by greed and abused positions of trust in order to commit crimes (Daly, 1992).

Salisbury and Van Voorhis (2009) conducted the first quantitative test of the feminist pathways model using a sample of 313 adult female probationers. They found three distinct gendered crime trajectories that all predicted recidivism and reincarceration within a 2-year period. First, the childhood victimization model consisted of women who were victimized as children and whose victimization resulted in mental health issues who

subsequently used substances as a way to cope with earlier trauma. Second, the relational model related to intimate relationships and how, when these intimate relationships are dysfunctional, this can result in an erosion of self-efficacy and further victimization, which promulgates into mental health issues and substance abuse. Third, the social and human capital model incorporated education challenges and familial and intimate relationship dysfunction which result in less self-efficacy and employment and financial difficulties. Taken together, both Daly's (1992, 1994) work and Salisbury and Van Voorhis' (2009) work supported the concept of feminist pathways to offending.

In acknowledgement of the limitations to existing feminist pathways research in which there are generally no male comparison groups, Jones and colleagues (2014) examined gendered pathways into crime among a sample of female and male juvenile offenders. Consistent with previous research, Jones et al. (2014) did find gendered pathways for the female subsample with regard to abused, poverty-stricken girls who have mental health issues and engage in minor forms of delinquent behavior. Another theme emerged among the female subsample; there was a group of female juveniles who represented the traditional antisocial offender who participated in more violent forms of offending (Jones et al., 2014). For the male sample, a gendered pathway was not found, which supports the contention that women follow a unique gendered pathway into crime (Jones et al., 2014).

In conclusion, age-graded theory of informal social control informs empirical research on romantic relationships and desistance for a deeper understanding of what factors influence desistance when focusing on transitions into romantic relationships. In addition, Sampson and Laub were particularly concerned with changes in behavior

throughout the life course, which is the aim of the current dissertation—to understand how elements of romantic relationships affect desistance throughout individuals' lives. Moreover, examining gender differences in desistance and the factors that contribute to desistance is essential given the extant research on gendered pathways to desistance that support the contention that women desist for different reasons than men. Therefore, although this dissertation is not a test of gendered pathways, some gender differences are hypothesized to emerge regarding romantic relationships and desistance.

CHAPTER IV

Methods

This dissertation examines how romantic relationships and peers influence offending behavior and desistance in adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood through the application of Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded theory of informal social control. Gender differences in the effects of romantic relationships and peers on desistance are also examined.

Data

The Pathways to Desistance Study is a two-site, prospective, longitudinal study following serious juvenile offenders from adolescence to adulthood between 2000 and 2010 (Mulvey & Shubert, 2012). The Pathways to Desistance Study began in 2000 with 645 adjudicated youth from juvenile and adult court systems in Maricopa County, Arizona and 700 adjudicated youth from Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania (Mulvey, 2000). Baseline interviews were conducted from November 2000 to January 2003, and follow-up interviews were conducted at 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36, 48, 60, 72, and 84 months after the initial baseline interview. Release interviews were conducted after any stay in a residential facility. Participants were between 14 and 19 years old at the first interview and had been found guilty of a serious offense, mostly felonies. Initially, the study was meant to identify pathways out of the juvenile justice system, describe how social context and developmental changes facilitate desistance or persistence of behavior, and compare how certain sanctions or interventions influence participants' pathways from the juvenile justice system (Mulvey, 2000).

Data were collected with computer-assisted interviews that took place in participants' homes, public places, or in facilities. Participants self-reported their responses, and self-reports were validated through collateral interviews and official records (i.e. FBI arrest records and juvenile and adult court records). Additionally, life history calendar information was collected on a number of different constructs, including antisocial activities, living, education, gainful activity, head injury, money, romantic relationships, community based services, contacts with the justice system, court monitoring services, medication, and out of community placements.

To test the hypotheses for this dissertation, the data for this study are drawn from Wave 1, Wave 2, Wave 7, Wave 8, Wave 10, and Wave 11 of the Pathways to Desistance study. The baseline interview (Wave 1) was collected between 2000 and 2003 when respondents were between 14 and 19 years old, the 6 month follow-up (Wave 2) was collected between 2001 and 2003 when respondents were between 14 and 20 years old, the 36 month follow-up (Wave 7) was between 2003 and 2006 when respondents were between 17 and 22 years old, the 48 month follow-up (Wave 8) was between 2004 and 2007 when respondents were between 18 and 23 years old, the 72 month follow-up (Wave 10) was between 2006 and 2009 when respondents were between 20 and 25 years old, and the 84 month follow-up (Wave 11) was between 2007 and 2010 when respondents were between 20 and 26 years old. These waves of data were selected in order to capture the different stages of the life-course of interest (i.e., adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood).

Measurement

Independent variables. Independent variables for this dissertation are outlined below. Independent variables included elements of romantic relationships and peer influence.

Romantic partners. *Relationship status* is an important consideration in this dissertation. The effects individuals' romantic relationships have on individuals' substance use and self-reported offending is important to understanding the importance of this life event at the various stages in the life-course. As such, *relationship status* is measured through the use of the life history calendar's monthly information regarding respondents' romantic relationship status. This measure is coded as 0=not in a romantic relationship; 1=in a romantic relationship. The romantic relationship variables are measured at each wave and are derived from the Quality of Relationships Index (Pierce, Sarason, Sarason, Solky-Butzel, & Nagle, 1997). Three indexes were adapted by the Pathways to Desistance researchers in order to create measures for the *quality of romantic relationships* (mean of 7 items; how happy respondent was in his or her relationship), *monitoring in romantic relationships* (mean of 5 items; would partner know if you have been using drugs), and *antisocial influence of romantic partners* (count of 7 items; has partner suggested you should sell drugs).¹ Higher scores on the *quality of romantic relationships* and *monitoring in romantic relationships* indexes indicate higher quality of romantic relationships and higher levels of monitoring by romantic partners. Higher levels on the *antisocial influence of partner's* index indicates higher levels of

¹ The overall alpha for the Quality of Romantic Relationship subscale was $\alpha=0.69$. At the 6 month, 12 month, 18 month, and 24 month follow-ups, the Quality of Relationships subscale was found to have good internal consistency (0.78, 0.80, and 0.83, respectively; Pierce et al., 1997). Information is not available for the individual monitoring and antisocial influence subscales.

antisocial influence by the partner on the respondent. This measure was reverse coded for the *quality index* measure discussed below. According to extant literature, the quality of the romantic relationship is important for desistance (King et al., 2007; McCarthy & Casey, 2008; Rhule-Louie & McMahon, 2007; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Simons et al., 2002) because those with higher quality attachments report lower levels of delinquency. These three quality measures were summed to form the *quality index*, which was then mean-centered, and is used in the peer influence interaction model. Because this dissertation is focused on the different elements of romantic relationships that are important for desistance, the quality of the romantic relationship bond is an important measure to include. *Cohabitation* is a one-item measure taken from Waves 7, 8, 10, and 11 asking respondents if their significant other lived in the same house as them. It was measured as 0=no and 1=yes.

Peers. *Peer antisocial influence* is measured at each wave and is used to assess the degree of antisocial behavior among respondents' peers and consists of 7 behavioral items, such as "how many of your friends have suggested that you should sell drugs." Responses are measured on a 5-point Likert scale (1=none of them; 2=very few of them; 3=some of them; 4=most of them; and, 5=all of them), and the individual items were summed to create the scale ($\alpha=0.89$), the natural log was taken to help with skew, and the variable was then mean-centered. The antisocial influence of one's peers has consistently been documented in extant literature as important to one's own criminal behavior (Akers et al., 1979; Elliott et al., 1985; Elliott et al., 1989; Elliott & Menard, 1991, 1996; Warr, 1998). Therefore, in order to fully understand desistance, it is important to include a

measure of peer influence in the analyses to see if peers play more of a role in continued antisocial behavior than partners.

Dependent variables. Dependent variables for this dissertation are outlined below. Dependent variables included self-reported offending and official arrest.

Self-reported offending. Self-reported offending was separated into two variables: *non-violent offending* and *violent offending*. *Non-violent offending* is a 6-item variety score measured at each wave. Items include destroying property, entering buildings to steal something, buying or receiving stolen property, stealing cars or motorcycles, driving drunk or high, and carrying a gun. At each wave, exploratory factor analyses confirmed that all measures loaded on one factor representing *non-violent offending*. Internal consistency was confirmed in all six waves ($\alpha=0.72$, $\alpha=0.72$, $\alpha=0.70$, $\alpha=0.68$, $\alpha=0.64$, $\alpha=0.61$, respectively). See Table 1, Table 2, and Table 3 for factor loadings. *Violent offending* is a dichotomous measure that represents whether respondents reported any violent offending as indicated by 6 items. Items include carjacking someone, shooting at someone where the bullet did not hit the person, robbery with a weapon, robbery without a weapon, beating someone up, and fighting as part of a gang.

Arrest. The *arrest* measure is a dichotomous variable that was calculated based on if respondents had been arrested during the time period between interviews for each developmental period. An official measure of arrest was used in order to supplement the self-reported offending findings. Although many researchers suggest that self-report and official records are quite consistent with one another (Hindelang, Hirschi, & Weis, 1979),

others have found differences between self-reported and official measures of offending (Kirk, 2006).

Table 1

Factor Loadings for Wave 1 and Wave 2 Non-Violent Offending

	α	Loading	Mean	SD
Wave 1 Non-Violent Offending	.722		1.74	1.74
Destroyed/damaged property		.611	.299	.458
Broke in to steal (house)		.633	.198	.398
Bought/received/sold stolen property		.713	.388	.487
Stole car or motorcycle		.637	.189	.391
Drove high or drunk		.652	.313	.464
Carried gun		.637	.356	.479
Wave 2 Non-Violent Offending	.717		.624	1.16
Destroyed/damaged property		.638	.146	.353
Broke in to steal (house)		.582	.035	.184
Bought/received/sold stolen property		.700	.172	.377
Stole car or motorcycle		.591	.030	.171
Drove drunk or high		.726	.123	.329
Carried gun		.671	.118	.323

Table 2

Factor Loadings for Wave 7 and Wave 8 Non-Violent Offending

	α	Loading	Mean	SD
Wave 7 Non-Violent Offending	.702		.415	.953
Destroyed/damaged property		.610	.067	.250
Broke in to steal (house)		.736	.023	.149
Bought/received/sold stolen property		.709	.090	.286
Stole car or motorcycle		.683	.016	.124
Drove high or drunk		.630	.130	.336
Carried gun		.586	.091	.287
Wave 8 Non-Violent Offending	.684		.556	1.06
Destroyed/damaged property		.585	.081	.273
Broke in to steal (house)		.616	.020	.140
Bought/received/sold stolen property		.751	.116	.321
Stole car or motorcycle		.562	.030	.170
Drove drunk or high		.674	.173	.379
Carried gun		.613	.135	.342

Table 3

Factor Loadings for Wave 10 and Wave 11 Non-Violent Offending

	α	Loading	Mean	SD
Wave 10 Non-Violent Offending	.635		.434	.906
Destroyed/damaged property		.650	.056	.229
Broke in to steal (house)		.515	.017	.130
Bought/received/sold stolen property		.666	.090	.286
Stole car or motorcycle		.434	.010	.101
Drove high or drunk		.639	.160	.367
Carried gun		.691	.100	.300
Wave 11 Non-Violent Offending	.609		.375	.831
Destroyed/damaged property		.545	.056	.230
Broke in to steal (house)		.534	.013	.111
Bought/received/sold stolen property		.719	.088	.284
Stole car or motorcycle		.494	.007	.084
Drove drunk or high		.611	.135	.342
Carried gun		.658	.076	.265

Control variables. *Age* was self-reported and measured as a continuous variable for each Wave. Individuals' *sex* is a dichotomous variable measured at each Wave, 0=female and 1=male. Individuals' *race* is measured at Wave 1 as 0=White, 1=Black, 2=Hispanic, 3=Other. *Marijuana use* is a one-item measure taken from all waves asking respondents if they had used marijuana during the recall period. It was measured as 0=no marijuana use; 1=marijuana use.

Employment status is a dichotomous variable measured at each Wave. The information for *employment status* was extrapolated from a question at Wave 1 asking if respondents were currently employed and in Waves 2, 7, 8, 10, and 11 through questions

asking how many weeks respondents' worked during the recall period. Respondents' who reported not working or zero weeks worked, were recorded as 0 and respondents who reported working at least one week were recorded as 1. *Impulse control* was measured at each wave and this scale is derived from the Weinberger Adjustment Inventory (WAI; Weinberger & Schwartz, 1990). This index was adapted by the Pathways to Desistance researchers in order to create a measure of individuals' *impulse control* (mean of 8 items; "I say the first thing that comes into my mind without thinking enough about it;" $\alpha=0.76$). Respondents' rank their responses as to how much their behavior coincides with the statements during the past 6 months. Responses are coded as 1=False to 5=True, with higher scores indicating higher levels of impulse control.

Neighborhood conditions was measured at each wave and was adapted by the Pathways to Desistance researchers in order to create a measure to assess the environment around the respondent's home, including physical and social disorder (mean of 21 items; "cigarettes on the street or in the gutters," "graffiti or tags," "adults fighting or arguing loudly," and "people using needles or syringes to take drugs," $\alpha=0.94$). Responses are coded on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from Never to Often with higher scores indicating a greater degree of disorder in the neighborhood. Lastly, a parental index of social position was computed by the Pathways researchers to create the variable, *parent SES*. This measure was computed based on both parent's education and occupation; parental occupation and education were coded from 1=higher executives, proprietors, major professionals; professional degree to 7=unskilled employees; less than seven years of school). This was based on Hollingshead's (1957) index of social position. As such, higher levels on this variable indicate lower SES.

Descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics for the full sample at each wave included in this dissertation are discussed in detail below (see Tables 4, 5, and 6).

Wave 1. The majority of respondents in Wave 1 ($n=1,375$) were male (86.4%) and Black (41.4%). Additionally, as this was a wave in which respondents were adolescents, respondents were between 14 and 19 years old, with a mean age of 16.04 ($SD=1.14$). The average neighborhood disorder was 2.35 ($SD=0.75$), the average impulse control of respondents was 2.96 ($SD=0.95$), and the average parental socio-economic status was 51.41 ($SD=12.30$). The majority of respondents were unemployed (73.9%). Regarding the antisocial influence of respondents' peers, the average antisocial influence was -0.004 ($SD=0.28$). For the romantic relationship variables, the majority of respondents were not in a romantic relationship (57.8%) and the average romantic relationship quality, monitoring, and antisocial influence were 0.01 ($SD=0.55$), 0.004 ($SD=0.84$), and 0.02 ($SD=0.87$), respectively, and the average of the quality index was 0.10 ($SD=2.36$). The majority of respondents were not involved in violent offending (52.1%) and had not been arrested (84.1%). The average non-violent offending was 1.75 ($SD=1.73$). Over half of respondent's reported marijuana use (56.9%).

Wave 2. The majority of respondents in Wave 2 ($n=1,265$) were male (86.5%) and Black (40.9%). Additionally, again this is an adolescent wave, so respondents were between 14 and 20 years old, with a mean age of 16.55 ($SD=1.15$). The average neighborhood disorder was 2.30 ($SD=0.81$), the average impulse control was 3.07 ($SD=0.94$), and the average parental socio-economic status was 51.45 ($SD=12.22$). The majority of respondents were unemployed (69.5%). Regarding the antisocial influence of respondents' peers, the average antisocial influence was -0.62 ($SD=0.25$). For the

romantic relationship variables, the majority of respondents were not in a romantic relationship (59.2%) and the average romantic relationship quality, monitoring, and antisocial influence were 0.003 (SD=0.64), -0.002 (SD=0.88), and 0.003 (SD=0.76), respectively, and the average of the quality index was 0.01 (SD=1.44). The majority of respondents were not involved in violent offending (77.6%) and had not been arrested (84.1%). The average non-violent offending was 0.62 (SD=1.16). The majority of the sample did not use marijuana (67.2%).

Wave 7. The majority of respondents in Wave 7 ($n=1,232$) were male (85.7%), and Black (40.5%). Additionally, this was a wave in which respondents were emerging adults, so respondents were between 17 and 22 years old, with a mean age of 19.03 (SD=1.14). The average neighborhood disorder was 2.30 (SD=0.82), the average impulse control of respondents was 3.24 (SD=0.98), and the average parental socioeconomic status was 51.44 (SD=12.19). Almost half the respondents were employed (47%). Regarding the antisocial influence of respondents' peers, the average antisocial influence was -0.55 (SD=0.22). For the romantic relationship variables, the majority of respondents were in a romantic relationship (52%), approximately a quarter of respondents were cohabiting with a romantic partner (21.8%), and the average romantic relationship quality, monitoring, and antisocial influence were 0.02 (SD=0.69), 0.01 (SD=0.82), and -0.01 (SD=0.62), respectively, and the average of the quality index was 0.11 (SD=1.35). The majority of respondents were not involved in violent offending (90.0%) and had not been arrested (71.2%). The average non-violent offending was 0.42 (SD=0.95). The majority of the sample did not use marijuana (64.6%).

Wave 8. The majority of respondents in Wave 8 ($n=1,215$) were male (85.8%) and Black (39.80%). Additionally, again respondents were considered emerging adults, so they were between 18 and 23 years old, with a mean age of 20.01 ($SD=1.15$). The average neighborhood disorder was 2.28 ($SD=0.85$), the average impulse control of respondents was 3.28 ($SD=0.96$), and the average parental socio-economic status was 51.45 ($SD=12.32$). The majority of respondents were employed (54.30%). Regarding the antisocial influence of respondents' peers, the average antisocial influence was -0.57 ($SD=0.23$). For the romantic relationship variables, the majority of respondents were in a romantic relationship (53.60%), 25.7% of respondents were cohabiting with a romantic partner, and the average romantic relationship quality, monitoring, and antisocial influence were 0.003 ($SD=0.67$), 0.0003 ($SD=0.81$), and -0.01 ($SD=0.76$), respectively, and the average of the quality index was -0.002 ($SD=1.43$). The majority of respondents were not involved in violent offending (86.40%) and had not been arrested (71.20%). The average non-violent offending was 0.56 ($SD=1.07$). The majority of the sample did not use marijuana (59.4%).

Wave 10. The majority of respondents in Wave 10 ($n=1,179$) were male (85.2%) and Black (38.60%). Additionally, this wave was collected when respondents were considered adults, so respondents were between 20 and 25 years old, with a mean age of 22.03 ($SD=1.15$). The average neighborhood disorder was 2.22 ($SD=0.83$), the average impulse control of respondents was 3.33 ($SD=0.98$), and the average parental socio-economic status was 51.41 ($SD=12.07$). The majority of respondents were employed (65.40%). Regarding the antisocial influence of respondents' peers, the average antisocial influence was -0.01 ($SD=0.23$). For the romantic relationship variables, the majority of

respondents were in a romantic relationship (53.10%), 35.3% of respondents were cohabiting with a romantic partner, and the average romantic relationship quality, monitoring, and antisocial influence were 0.002 (SD=0.68), -0.003 (SD=0.78), and -0.001 (SD=0.65), respectively, and the average of the quality index was -0.01 (SD=1.29). The majority of respondents were not involved in violent offending (90.40%) and had not been arrested (74.80%). The average non-violent offending was 0.44 (SD=0.91). The majority of the sample did not use marijuana (62.4%).

Wave 11. The majority of respondents in Wave 11 ($n=1,134$) were male (84.8%) and Black (38.80%). Additionally, respondents were adults between 20 and 26 years old, with a mean age of 23.03 (SD=1.15). The average neighborhood disorder was 2.19 (SD=0.79), the average impulse control of respondents was 3.37 (SD=0.97), and the average parental socio-economic status was 51.37 (SD=12.13). The majority of respondents were employed (59.70%). Regarding the antisocial influence of respondents' peers, the average antisocial influence was -0.55 (SD=0.21). For the romantic relationship variables, about half of the respondents were in a romantic relationship (47.20%), 37.1% were cohabiting with a romantic partner, and the average romantic relationship quality, monitoring, and antisocial influence were -0.0001 (SD=0.49), -0.0004 (SD=0.77), and -0.001 (SD=0.70), respectively, and the average of the quality index was -0.003 (SD=0.95). The majority of respondents were not involved in violent offending (91.30%) and had not been arrested (73.80%). The average non-violent offending was 0.37 (SD=0.83). The majority of the sample did not use marijuana (65.7%).

Table 4

Wave 1 and Wave 2 Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Wave 1			Wave 2		
	Mean (%)	SD	Range	Mean (%)	SD	Range
Age	16.04	1.14	14-19	16.55	1.15	14-20
White	(20.20)	-	1-4	(20.70)	-	1-4
Black	(41.40)	-	1-4	(40.90)	-	1-4
Hispanic	(33.50)	-	1-4	(33.60)	-	1-4
Other	(4.80)	-	1-4	(4.70)	-	1-4
Male	(86.40)	-	0-1	(86.50)	-	0-1
Neighborhood Disorder	2.35	0.75	1-4	2.30	0.81	1-4
Impulse Control	2.96	0.95	1-5	3.07	0.94	1-5
Parent SES	51.41	12.30	11-77	51.45	12.22	11-77
Employed	(26.10)	-	0-1	(30.50)	-	0-1
Peer Influence (Ln/MC)	-0.004	0.28	-0.29-0.81	-0.62	0.25	-0.82-0.28
In a Relationship	(42.20)	-	0-1	(40.80)	-	0-1
Romantic Relationship Quality (MC)	0.01	0.55	-1.80-0.91	0.003	0.64	-2.76-0.95
Monitoring (MC)	0.004	0.84	-1.68-1.32	-0.002	0.88	-1.81-1.19
Partners' Antisocial Influence (MC)	0.02	0.87	-0.28-6.72	0.003	0.76	-0.30-6.70

(continued)

Variables	Wave 1			Wave 2		
	Mean (%)	SD	Range	Mean (%)	SD	Range
Quality Index (MC)	0.10	2.36	-6.37-9.49	0.01	1.44	-4.87-6.18
Violent Offending	(47.90)	-	0-1	(22.40)	-	0-1
Non-Violent Offending	1.75	1.73	0-6	0.62	1.16	0-6
Prior Arrest	(15.90)	-	0-1	(15.90)	-	0-1
Marijuana Use	(56.90)	-	0-1	(32.80)	-	0-1

Note. MC = mean centered, LN=natural log

Table 5

Wave 7 and Wave 8 Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Wave 7			Wave 8		
	Mean (%)	SD	Range	Mean (%)	SD	Range
Age	19.03	1.14	17-22	20.01	1.15	18-23
White	(20.80)	-	1-4	(20.90)	-	1-4
Black	(40.50)	-	1-4	(39.80)	-	1-4
Hispanic	(34.10)	-	1-4	(34.70)	-	1-4
Other	(4.60)	-	1-4	(4.50)	-	1-4
Male	(85.70)	-	0-1	(85.80)	-	0-1
Neighborhood Disorder	2.30	0.82	1-4	2.28	0.85	1-4
Impulse Control	3.24	0.98	1-5	3.28	0.96	1-5
Parent SES	51.44	12.19	11-77	51.45	12.32	11-77
Employed	(47.00)	-	0-1	(54.30)	-	0-1
Peer Influence (Ln/MC)	-0.55	0.22	-0.71-0.39	-0.57	0.23	-0.74-0.36
In a Relationship	(52.00)	-	0-1	(53.60)	-	0-1
Cohabitation	(21.80)	-	0-1	(25.70)	-	0-1
Romantic Relationship Quality (MC)	0.02	0.69	-2.62-0.95	0.003	0.67	-2.86-1.00

(continued)

Variables	Wave 7			Wave 8		
	Mean (%)	SD	Range	Mean (%)	SD	Range
Monitoring (MC)	0.01	0.82	-2.05-0.95	0.0003	0.81	-2.05-0.95
Partners' Antisocial Influence (MC)	-0.01	0.62	-0.22-6.78	-0.01	0.76	-0.24-6.76
Quality Index (MC)	0.11	1.35	-4.51-5.64	-0.002	1.43	-5.15-7.57
Violent Offending	(10.00)	-	0-1	(13.60)	-	0-1
Non-Violent Offending	0.42	0.95	0-6	0.56	1.07	0-6
Official Arrest	(28.80)	-	0-1	(28.80)	-	0-1
Marijuana Use	(35.40)	-	0-1	(40.60)	-	0-1

Note. MC = mean centered, LN=natural log

Table 6

Wave 10 and Wave 11 Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Wave 10			Wave 11		
	Mean (%)	SD	Range	Mean (%)	SD	Range
Age	22.03	1.15	20-25	23.03	1.15	20-26
White	(21.30)	-	1-4	(21.60)	-	1-4
Black	(38.60)	-	1-4	(38.80)	-	1-4
Hispanic	(35.30)	-	1-4	(34.70)	-	1-4
Other	(4.80)	-	1-4	(4.90)	-	1-4
Male	(85.20)	-	0-1	(84.80)	-	0-1
Neighborhood Disorder	2.22	0.83	1-4	2.19	0.79	1-4
Impulse Control	3.33	0.98	1-5	3.37	0.97	1-5
Parent SES	51.41	12.07	11-77	51.37	12.13	16.50-77
Employed	(65.40)	-	0-1	(59.70)	-	0-1
Peer Influence (Ln/MC)	-0.01	0.23	-0.18-0.92	1.39	0.61	-0.70-0.40
In a Relationship	(53.10)	-	0-1	(47.20)	-	0-1
Cohabitation	(35.30)	-	0-1	(37.10)	-	0-1
Romantic Relationship Quality (MC)	0.002	0.68	-2.73-0.98	-0.0001	0.49	-0.59-0.41
Monitoring (MC)	-0.003	0.78	-2.20-0.80	-0.0004	0.77	-2.23-0.77

(continued)

Variables		Wave 10			Wave 11		
Partners' Antisocial Influence (MC)	-0.01	0.65	-0.24-6.76	-0.55	0.21	-0.70-0.40	
Quality Index (MC)	-0.01	1.29	-3.89-4.83	-0.003	0.95	-2.06-7.14	
Violent Offending	(9.60)	-	0-1	(8.70)	-	0-1	
Non-Violent Offending	0.44	0.91	0-5	0.37	0.83	0-6	
Official Arrest	(25.20)	-	0-1	(26.20)	-	0-1	
Marijuana Use	(37.60)	-	0-1	(34.30)	-	0-1	

Note. MC = mean centered, LN=natural log

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This dissertation used a number of statistical methods to examine how age-graded informal social control influences desistance from self-reported offending and likelihood of arrest for men and women. Specifically, these analyses sought to answer four research questions in order to parse out the underlying influences of certain elements of romantic relationships: (1) is there a relationship between romantic relationship status and desistance?, (2) is it more than just romantic relationship status that affects desistance—are the quality of the romantic relationship, monitoring by a partner, and antisocial influence of a partner important for desistance, (3) does cohabitation matter for desistance,² and (4) is the relationship between the elements of romantic relationships and desistance moderated by sex and peer influences? These questions are separated by developmental period (i.e., adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood).

Analytic Strategy

RQ 1: Relationship between romantic relationship status and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest. The first research question asked if adolescent's, emerging adult's, and adult's romantic relationship status was related to desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest. There were three separate hypotheses for this research question:

² Cohabitation is not measured during adolescence because none of the respondents lived with a significant other.

1. Adolescents' romantic relationship status will have a negative effect on desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest.
2. Emerging adults' romantic relationship status will have a positive impact on desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest.
3. Adults' romantic relationship status has a positive impact on desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest.

These hypotheses were tested at the bivariate level using chi-squares and independent samples t-tests and at the multivariate level using negative binomial regression and logistic regression models. For the chi-square analyses, respondents' romantic relationship status was examined against violent self-reported offending and official arrest, and for the independent samples t-tests, respondents' romantic relationship status was examined against the count of non-violent self-reported offending. In addition, logistic regression models with violent self-reported offending and official arrest as dependent variables and respondents' relationship status as the independent variable, with control variables for sex, race, age, employment status, impulse control, neighborhood conditions, parental SES, marijuana use, and prior participation in self-reported violent offending or prior arrests³ were conducted. Negative binomial regression models were also conducted with non-violent self-reported offending as the dependent variable, relationship status, as the independent variable, and control variables for sex,

³ Prior arrest was not included in the models for adolescents because there was not a measure collected before the one that was used as the dependent variable.

race, age, employment status, impulse control, neighborhood conditions, parental SES, marijuana use, and prior participation in self-reported non-violent offending.

The analytic sample for this research question is limited to those who responded to the *relationship status* question at Wave 1 and participated in Wave 2 for adolescents ($n=1,251$), responded to the *relationship status* question at Wave 7 and participated in Wave 8 for emerging adults ($n=926$), and responded to the *relationship status* question at Wave 10 and participated in Wave 11 for adults ($n=891$).

RQ 2: Relationship between the quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by a romantic partner, and antisocial influence of a romantic partner and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest. The second research question asked if certain elements of adolescent's, emerging adult's, and adult's romantic relationships and romantic partners, were related to desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest. There were three hypotheses for this research question:

1. For adolescents, the quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by a romantic partner, and antisocial influence of a romantic partner will have a positive influence on desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest.
2. For emerging adults, the quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by a romantic partner, and antisocial influence of a romantic partner will have a positive influence on desistance from self-reported offending, and official arrest.

3. For adults, the quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by a romantic partner, and antisocial influence of a romantic partner will have a positive influence on desistance from self-reported offending, and official arrest.

These hypotheses were tested at the bivariate level using independent samples t-tests and correlations and at the multivariate level using negative binomial regression and logistic regression models. For the independent samples t-tests, the quality of respondents' romantic relationship, monitoring by romantic partners, and antisocial influence of romantic partners were examined against violent self-reported offending and official arrest. For the correlations, the quality of respondents' romantic relationships, monitoring by partners, and antisocial influence of partners were examined against non-violent self-reported offending. For the multivariate analyses, a negative binomial regression model was used, with non-violent self-reported offending as the dependent variable and quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by a partner, and antisocial influence of one's partner as independent variables, with control variables for sex, race, age, employment status, impulse control, neighborhood conditions, parental SES, marijuana use, and prior participation in self-reported non-violent offending. In addition, logistic regression models were used with violent self-reported offending and official arrest as dependent variables and quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by a partner, and antisocial influence of one's partner as independent variables, with control variables for sex, race, age, employment status, impulse control, neighborhood conditions, parental SES, marijuana use, and prior participation in self-reported violent offending or prior arrest.

The analytic sample for this research question is limited to those who responded to the *quality of romantic relationship, monitoring by romantic partners, and antisocial influence of romantic partners* questions at Wave 1 and participated in Wave 2 for adolescents ($n=695$), responded to the *quality of romantic relationship, monitoring by romantic partners, and antisocial influence of romantic partners* questions at Wave 7 and participated in Wave 8 for emerging adults ($n=564$), and responded to the *quality of romantic relationship, monitoring by romantic partners, and antisocial influence of romantic partners* questions at Wave 10 and participated in Wave 11 for adults ($n=614$).

RQ 3. Relationship between cohabitation and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest. The third research question asked if cohabiting with a romantic partner in emerging adulthood and adulthood influenced desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest. There were two hypotheses for this research question:

1. Emerging adults' cohabitation with a romantic partner will have a positive impact on desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest.
2. Adults' cohabitation with a romantic partner will have a negative impact on desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest.

These hypotheses were tested at the bivariate level using chi-squares and independent samples t-tests and at the multivariate level using negative binomial regression and logistic regression models. For the chi-square analyses, respondents' cohabitation status was examined against violent self-reported offending and official

arrest and for the independent samples t-tests, respondents' cohabitation status was examined against the count of non-violent self-reported offending. In addition, logistic regression models were conducted with violent self-reported offending and official arrest as dependent variables and respondents' cohabitation status as the independent variable, with control variables for sex, race, age, employment status, impulse control, neighborhood conditions, parental SES, marijuana use, and prior participation in self-reported violent offending or prior arrest. Negative binomial regression models were used, as well, with non-violent self-reported offending as the dependent variable, cohabitation status as the independent variable, and control variables for sex, race, age, employment status, impulse control, neighborhood conditions, parental SES, marijuana use, and prior participation in self-reported non-violent offending.

The analytic sample for this research question is limited to those who responded to the *cohabitation* question at Wave 7 and participated in Wave 8 for emerging adults ($n=816$) and those who responded to the *cohabitation* question at Wave 10 and participated in Wave 11 for adults ($n=781$).

RQ 4: Relationship between the elements of romantic relationships and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending and official arrest, and the moderating effects of sex and peers. The fourth research question asked if the elements of adolescent's, emerging adult's, and adult's romantic relationships, including relationship status, relationship quality, and cohabitation, affect desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest and are moderated by respondents' sex and peers. There were three hypotheses for this research question:

1. Adolescent boys' compared to adolescent girls' romantic relationship status and relationship quality will have less of an effect on desistance.
2. Adolescent respondents who are in high quality romantic relationships will be less influenced by their peers while adolescent respondents who are in low quality romantic relationships will be more influenced by their peers and this affect will vary by sex.
3. Emerging adult men compared to emerging adult women's romantic relationship status, relationship quality, and cohabitation status will have less of an effect on desistance.
4. Emerging adult respondents who are in high quality romantic relationships will be less influenced by their peers while emerging adult respondents who are in low quality romantic relationships will be more influenced by their peers and this will vary by sex.
5. Adult men compared to adult women's romantic relationship status, relationship quality, and cohabitation status will have less of an effect on desistance.
6. Adult respondents who are in high quality romantic relationships will be less influenced by their peers while adult respondents who are in low quality romantic relationships will be more influenced by their peers and this will vary by sex.

These hypotheses were tested at the bivariate level for peer influence using independent samples t-tests and correlations and at the multivariate level using negative binomial regression and logistic regression models. For the independent samples t-tests,

peer influence was examined against violent self-reported offending and official arrest and for the correlations, peer influence was examined against non-violent self-reported offending. For the multivariate analyses, three or four negative binomial regression models were used, with non-violent self-reported offending as the dependent variable and each model containing interaction terms for sex and relationship status, sex and the relationship quality measures, sex and cohabitation (for emerging adults and adults), and a three-way interaction term for sex, peer influence, and the quality index, respectively. Control variables for these models included sex, race, age, employment status, impulse control, neighborhood conditions, parental SES, marijuana use, and prior participation in self-reported non-violent offending. In addition, three or four logistic regression models were conducted with violent self-reported offending and official arrest as dependent variables and each model containing interaction terms for sex and relationship status, sex and the relationship quality measures, sex and cohabitation (for emerging adults and adults), and a three-way interaction term for sex, peer influence, and the quality index, respectively. Control variables for these models included sex, race, age, employment status, impulse control, neighborhood conditions, parental SES, marijuana use, and prior participation in self-reported violent offending or prior arrest.

There are three analytic samples for this research question. First, for the *relationship status* interaction model, the sample is limited to those who responded to the *relationship status* question at Wave 1 and participated in Wave 2 for adolescents ($n=1,251$), responded to the *relationship status* question at Wave 7 and participated in Wave 8 for emerging adults ($n=926$), and responded to the *relationship status* question at Wave 10 and participated in Wave 11 for adults ($n=891$). Second, for the *quality of*

romantic relationships and the *quality index/peer influence* interaction models, the analytic sample is limited to those who responded to the *quality of romantic relationship* questions at Wave 1 and participated in Wave 2 for adolescents ($n=695$), responded to the *quality of romantic relationship* questions at Wave 7 and participated in Wave 8 for emerging adults ($n=564$), and responded to the *quality of romantic relationship* questions at Wave 10 and participated in Wave 11 for adults ($n=614$). Third, for the *cohabitation* interaction model, the sample is limited to those who responded to the *cohabitation* question at Wave 7 and participated in Wave 8 for emerging adults ($n=816$) and responded to the *cohabitation* question at Wave 10 and participated in Wave 11 for adults ($n=781$).

Hierarchical generalized linear models. In order to assess the changing effects that the elements of romantic relationships and peer influence have throughout the life course, analyses were conducted using hierarchical generalized linear modeling (HGLM). Eight different analyses were conducted. First, the baseline model for relationship status and non-violent offending was modeled. For this analysis, the outcome variable at level 1 was non-violent offending which was modeled with an overdispersed Poisson distribution in order to account for the skewed nature of count data. Level 1 included other time varying measures, including relationship status, peer influence, age, and the quadratic age measure. The second level of the HLM model included individual-level, time invariant, variables to predict variation in non-violent offending. The individual-level variables included were sex, race, parent socioeconomic status, impulse control, and marijuana use all controlled for at Wave 1. Second, an interaction model was modeled for relationship status and non-violent offending. For this model, all of the same

elements included in the baseline model stayed the same; however, sex and peer influence were included as interaction terms with relationship status.

For the third and fourth analyses, the outcome variable was violent offending which was modeled with a Bernoulli distribution given that this is a dichotomous measure. The other level 1 and level 2 variables were the same as in the previous two models for the baseline and interaction models, respectively. The analytic sample size for the four relationship status models was $n=6,349$ for the level 1 variables and $n=1,247$ for the level 2 variables.

The next set of analyses were for the quality of romantic relationship measure. Therefore, the fifth model, included non-violent offending as the outcome measure, again using an overdispersed Poisson distribution. Level 1 included other time varying measures, including the quality index, peer influence, age, and the quadratic age measure. The second level of the HLM model included the same individual-level, time invariant, variables included in the other models. Sixth, an interaction model was modeled for the quality index and non-violent offending, which included all of the same elements included in the baseline model; however, sex and peer influence were included as interaction terms with the quality index.

For the seventh and eighth models, the outcome variable was violent offending which was again modeled with a Bernoulli distribution. The other level 1 and level 2 variables were the same as in the previous two models for the baseline and interaction models, respectively. The analytic sample size for the four relationship quality models was $n=4,087$ for the level 1 variables and $n=1,222$ for the level 2 variables.

CHAPTER V

Results

The results of this dissertation are presented by developmental period for ease of understanding.

Adolescents

Romantic relationship status models. The first research question, which asked if there was an association between adolescents' romantic relationship status and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest, was answered at the bivariate level for the full sample of adolescents, adolescent boys, and adolescent girls, through chi-square tests and independent samples t-tests and at the multivariate level with negative binomial and logistic regression models. For the full sample, the results of the bivariate tests indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between those who were not in romantic relationships and those who were in romantic relationships with regard to self-reported violent offending ($\chi^2(1)=14.47, p<.001$). In addition, for the full sample, there was a significant difference between those who were in a romantic relationship and those who were not, with those who reported involvement in a romantic relationship indicating more non-violent offending behavior ($t(991.31)=-3.46, p<.001$). When the sample was split by sex, no significant results were found for adolescent girls. However, for adolescent boys, the results of the bivariate tests indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between boys who were not in romantic relationships and boys who were in romantic relationships with regard to self-reported violent offending ($\chi^2(1)=19.67, p<.001$) and official arrest ($\chi^2(1)=4.34, p<.05$). Moreover, for adolescent boys, there was a significant difference between boys who were

in a romantic relationship and boys who were not, with boys who reported involvement in a romantic relationship indicating more non-violent offending behavior ($t(780.20) = -4.16, p < .001$; see Table 7).

Table 7

Bivariate Analyses Between Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Relationship Status

	Relationship Status		Test Statistic
	No Relationship	In a Relationship	
Full Sample Non-Violent Offending	0.52 (1.04)	0.76 (1.29)	t(991.31)=-3.46, $p<.001$
Full Sample Violent Offending	47.9% (n=135)	52.1% (n=147)	$\chi^2(1)=14.47, p<.001$
Full Sample Arrest	52.5% (n=105)	47.5% (n=95)	$\chi^2(1)=2.74, p=.098$
Male Non-Violent Offending	0.53 (1.04)	0.85 (1.36)	t(780.20) = -4.16, $p < .001$
Male Violent Offending	47.7% (n=127)	52.3% (n=139)	$\chi^2(1)=19.67, p<.001$
Male Arrest	52.5% (n=96)	47.5% (n=87)	$\chi^2(1)=4.34, p<.05$
Female Non-Violent Offending	0.46 (1.05)	0.31 (0.76)	t(144.32) = 1.03, $p = .305$
Female Violent Offending	50.0% (n=8)	50.0% (n=8)	$\chi^2(1)=0.05, p=.825$
Female Arrest	52.9% (n=9)	47.1% (n=8)	$\chi^2(1)=0.24, p=.628$

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$

Multivariate results indicated several significant findings. For the baseline models, first, results indicated that adolescents in romantic relationships reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.35$, $SE=0.10$, $p<.000$), more violent offending ($b=0.50$, $SE=0.15$, $p<.000$, $OR=1.65$), and were more likely to have been arrested ($b=0.34$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.41$). Second, male adolescents reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.41$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.01$), more violent offending ($b=1.10$, $SE=0.28$, $p<.000$, $OR=3.01$), and were more likely to have been arrested ($b=0.78$, $SE=0.28$, $p<.01$, $OR=2.18$) compared to female adolescents. Third, black adolescents compared to white adolescents reported less non-violent offending ($b=-0.41$, $SE=0.14$, $p<.01$) and were less likely to have been arrested ($b=-0.48$, $SE=0.23$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.62$). Fourth, adolescents with higher impulse control reported less non-violent offending ($b=-0.30$, $SE=0.06$, $p<.000$), less violent offending ($b=-0.32$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.001$, $OR=0.73$), and were less likely to have been arrested ($b=-0.21$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.81$). Fifth, adolescents who reported marijuana use indicated increased non-violent offending ($b=0.30$, $SE=0.11$, $p<.01$) and were more likely to have been arrested ($b=0.43$, $SE=0.17$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.53$). Lastly, adolescents who reported prior non-violent offending reported increased non-violent offending at Wave 2 ($b=0.24$, $SE=0.03$, $p<.000$) and those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 2 ($b=1.14$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.000$, $OR=3.12$; see Table 8).

Table 8

Baseline Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Relationship Status

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=1,246)	Violent Offending (n=1,246)		Arrest (n=1,251)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	-1.16 (0.81)	-1.72 (1.16)	0.18	0.27 (1.24)	1.31
In a Relationship	0.35 (0.10)***	0.50 (0.15)	1.65***	0.34 (0.16)	1.41*
Male	0.41 (0.17)**	1.10 (0.28)	3.01***	0.78 (0.28)	2.18**
Black	-0.41 (0.14)**	0.07 (0.22)	1.08	-0.48 (0.23)	0.62*
Hispanic	0.02 (0.14)	0.21 (0.22)	1.24	-0.20 (0.22)	0.82
Other	-0.02 (0.24)	0.06 (0.37)	1.06	0.08 (0.37)	1.09
Age	0.04 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.96	-0.13 (0.07)	0.88
Parent SES	-0.01 (0.004)	-0.01 (0.01)	1.00	0.001 (0.01)	1.00
W1 Impulse Control	-0.30 (0.06)***	-0.32 (0.09)	0.73***	-0.21 (0.09)	0.81*
W1 Neighborhood Conditions	0.05 (0.07)	0.04 (0.10)	1.05	-0.05 (0.11)	0.95
W1 Employment	-0.01 (0.11)	0.14 (0.17)	1.15	-0.30 (0.19)	0.74
W1 Marijuana Use	0.30 (0.11)**	0.16 (0.16)	3.12***	0.43 (0.17)	1.53**
W1 Non-Violent Offending	0.24 (0.03)***	-	-	-	-
W1 Violent Offending	-	1.14 (0.16)	3.12***	-	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Quality of romantic relationship models. The second research question, which asked if there was an association between the quality of adolescents' romantic relationships, monitoring by partners, and antisocial influence of partners and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest, was answered at the bivariate level for the full sample, adolescent boys, and adolescent girls through independent samples t-tests and correlations, and at the multivariate level with negative binomial and logistic regression models. For the full sample, the results of the bivariate tests indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between those who were involved in violent offending and those who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of one's partner, with adolescents who reported violent offending having more antisocial influence by their partner ($t(352.74)=-2.14, p<.05$). Additionally, for the full sample, results indicated that there was a significant relationship between the antisocial influence of adolescents' partners and non-violent offending ($r=.13, p<.001$). Results further indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between adolescents involved in violent offending and those who were not with regard to monitoring by their partners, with those who reported violent offending indicating less monitoring by their partners ($t(602)=-2.00, p<.05$).

When the sample was split by sex, a number of significant findings emerged. First, for adolescent boys, there was a statistically significant difference between those who were involved in violent offending and those who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of one's partner, with adolescents who reported violent offending having more antisocial influence by their partner ($t(344.19)=-2.25, p<.05$). Second, there was a significant relationship between the antisocial influence of adolescents' partners

and non-violent offending ($r=.13, p<.001$). Third, there was a statistically significant difference between those who had been arrested and those who had not with regard to monitoring by a partner, with male adolescents who had been arrested having more monitoring by their partners ($t(602)=-2.00, p<.05$).

For adolescent girls, results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between adolescents involved in violent offending and those who were not with regard to monitoring by their partners, with those who reported violent offending indicating less monitoring by their partners ($t(100)=3.54, p<.001$). Additionally, there was a statistically significant difference between adolescent girls who were involved in violent offending ($t(100)=3.29, p<.001$) and in non-violent offending ($r=-0.22, p<.05$), and those who were not with regard to the quality of individuals' romantic relationships and there was a significant difference between adolescent girls involved in non-violent offending with regard to monitoring by romantic partners ($r=-0.20, p<.05$). There was also a statistically significant difference between adolescent girls who had been arrested and those who had not with regard to the quality of their romantic relationships ($t(100)=2.38, p<.05$; see Tables 9 through 11).

Table 9

Independent Samples T-Tests between Quality of Romantic Relationships, Monitoring by Partner, Antisocial Influence of Partner, Violent Offending, and Arrest

	Violent Offending					Arrest				
	Yes		No		t (df)	Yes		No		t (df)
	M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD	
Full Quality	-0.02	0.53	0.01	0.55	0.60 (703)	0.01	0.48	-0.01	0.56	-0.42 (602)
Full Monitoring	-0.09	0.80	0.03	0.84	1.65 (703)	0.08	0.76	-0.10	0.83	-2.00* (602)
Full Antisocial Influence	0.10	0.75	-0.03	0.83	-2.14* (352.74)	0.08	0.82	-0.03	0.79	-1.42 (174.49)
Male Quality of Romantic Relationships	0.003	0.53	-0.01	0.56	-0.28 (601)	0.01	0.48	-0.01	0.56	-0.42 (602)
Male Monitoring by Partner	-0.07	0.80	-0.07	0.83	0.05 (601)	0.08	0.76	-0.10	0.83	-2.00* (602)
Male Antisocial Influence of Partner	0.10	0.75	-0.05	0.81	-2.25* (344.19)	0.08	0.82	-0.03	0.79	-1.42 (174.49)

(continued)

	Violent Offending					Arrest				
	Yes		No		t (df)	Yes		No		t (df)
	M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD	
Female Quality	-0.61	0.35	0.10	0.53	3.29*** (100)	-0.30	0.59	0.11	0.52	2.38* (100)
Female Monitoring	-0.65	0.87	0.48	0.75	3.54*** (100)	0.01	0.94	0.46	0.77	1.79 (100)
Female Antisocial Influence	0.17	0.82	0.05	0.91	-0.44 (110)	0.39	1.07	0.02	0.88	-1.33 (110)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 10

Full Sample Correlations between Quality of Romantic Relationships, Monitoring by Partner, Antisocial Influence of Partner, and Non-Violent Offending

Variable	1	2	3	4
1) Quality of Romantic Relationship	-			
2) Monitoring by Partner	0.46***	-		
3) Antisocial Influence of Partner	-0.03	0.07	-	
4) Non-Violent Offending	-0.04	-0.07	0.13***	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 11

Male and Female Respondents' Correlations between Quality of Romantic Relationships, Monitoring by Partner, Antisocial Influence of Partner, and Non-Violent Offending

Variable	1	2	3	4
1) Quality of Romantic Relationship	-	0.45***	-0.001	-0.01
2) Monitoring by Partner	0.53**	-	0.07	-0.03
3) Antisocial Influence of Partner	-0.17	0.05	-	0.13***
4) Non-Violent Offending	-0.22*	-0.20*	0.16	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Note. Coefficients above diagonal are for men and below the diagonal are for women

Multivariate analyses revealed several significant associations. For the non-violent offending, violent offending, and arrest models, the quality of romantic relationship measures were not statistically significant. However, a number of control variables were significant. For the baseline non-violent offending model, results indicated that male adolescents compared to female adolescents reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.51$, $SE=0.23$, $p<.05$). In addition, adolescents with higher impulse control indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.20$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.01$). Lastly, adolescents who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 2 ($b=0.27$, $SE=0.04$, $p<.000$).

For the baseline violent offending model, results indicated that male adolescents reported more violent offending compared to female adolescents ($b=1.63$, $SE=0.44$, $p<.001$, $OR=5.10$), adolescents with higher impulse control indicated less violent offending ($b=-0.36$, $SE=0.11$, $p<.001$, $OR=0.70$), and those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 2 ($b=1.03$, $SE=0.21$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.81$). For the baseline official arrest model, there was one statistically significant finding—black adolescents compared to white adolescents were less likely to have an arrest ($b=-0.59$, $SE=0.30$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.56$; see Table 12).

Table 12

Baseline Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Romantic Relationship Quality Measures

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=693)	Violent Offending (n=693)		Arrest (n=695)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	-1.51 (1.10)	-2.85 (1.60)	0.06	-0.15 (1.71)	0.86
Quality of Romantic Relationship	-0.08 (0.14)	0.003 (0.20)	1.00	-0.17 (0.21)	0.85
Monitoring by Partner	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.13)	0.95	0.16 (0.15)	1.17
Antisocial Influence of Partner	0.10 (0.09)	0.15 (0.12)	1.17	0.06 (0.13)	1.06
Male	0.51 (0.23)*	1.63 (0.44)	5.10***	0.64 (0.35)	1.90
Black	-0.24 (0.20)	0.14 (0.30)	1.15	-0.59 (0.30)	0.56*
Hispanic	0.10 (0.20)	0.06 (0.31)	1.07	-0.41 (0.30)	0.66
Other	-0.37 (0.40)	-0.73 (0.62)	0.48	0.01 (0.53)	1.01
Age	0.04 (0.06)	0.02 (0.09)	1.02	-0.04 (0.10)	0.96
Parent SES	-0.003 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	1.01	-0.003 (0.01)	1.00
W1 Impulse Control	-0.20 (0.08)**	-0.36 (0.11)	0.70***	-0.20 (0.12)	0.82
W1 Neighborhood Conditions	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.10 (0.14)	0.90	-0.18 (0.15)	0.84
W1 Employment	-0.03 (0.15)	0.29 (0.21)	1.33	-0.17 (0.24)	0.85
W1 Marijuana Use	0.15 (0.15)	0.04 (0.21)	1.04	0.29 (0.22)	1.33
W1 Non-Violent Offending	0.27 (0.04)***	-	-	-	-
W1 Violent Offending	-	1.03 (0.21)	2.81***	-	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Interaction models. The third research question, which asked if peer influence and sex moderated the relationship between the elements of adolescents' romantic relationships and desistance from non-violent and violent offending was answered at the bivariate level for the full sample, adolescent boys, and adolescent girls through an independent samples t-test and a correlation, specifically looking at peer influence, and at the multivariate level with negative binomial and logistic regression models. For the full sample, bivariate results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between those who were involved in violent offending and those who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of their peers, with adolescents who reported violent offending indicating more antisocial influence by their peers ($t(1245)=-7.87, p<.000$). In addition, there was a statistically significant relationship between the antisocial influence of adolescents' peers and non-violent offending ($r=0.26, p<.000$).

For adolescent boys, the results of the bivariate tests indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between boys who were involved in violent offending and those who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of their peers, with boys who reported violent offending indicating more antisocial influence by their peers ($t(1075)=-6.73, p<.000$). Moreover, there was a statistically significant relationship between the antisocial influence of adolescents' peers and non-violent offending for adolescent boys ($r=.24, p<.000$).

For adolescent girls, the results of the bivariate tests indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between girls who were involved in violent offending and those who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of their peers, with girls who reported violent offending indicating more antisocial influence by their peers

($t(168)=-4.21, p<.000$). Lastly, there was a statistically significant relationship between the antisocial influence of girls' peers and non-violent offending ($r=.34, p<.01$). There were no significant differences found for official arrest for the full sample, boys, or girls (see Tables 13 and 14).

Table 13

Independent Samples T-Tests between Peer Influence, Violent Offending, and Arrest

	Violent Offending					Arrest				
	Yes		No		t (df)	Yes		No		t (df)
	M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD	
Full Peer Influence	0.11	0.28	-0.03	0.27	-7.87*** (1245)	0.01	0.27	-0.01	0.28	-0.70 (1249)
Male Peer Influence	0.11	0.28	-0.03	0.27	-6.73*** (1075)	0.01	0.27	0.01	0.28	-0.36 (1079)
Female Peer Influence	0.18	0.23	-0.08	0.23	-4.21*** (168)	-0.02	0.26	-0.06	0.24	-0.63 (168)

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$

Table 14

Correlations between Peer Influence and Non-Violent Offending

Variable	Non-Violent Offending
Peer Influence (Full)	0.26***
Peer Influence (Male)	0.24***
Peer Influence (Female)	0.34***

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$

Multivariate results indicated a number of significant findings. For the relationship status interaction model, first, results indicated that the interaction term between sex and relationship status was statistically significant for the non-violent offending model, but was not significant for the violent offending or arrest models. This indicates that variation in sex significantly influences the effect of being in a romantic relationship on non-violent offending ($b=0.69$, $SE=0.33$, $p<.05$). That is, adolescent males' non-violent offending is more affected by involvement in romantic relationships. Second, black adolescents compared to white adolescents reported less non-violent offending ($b=-0.41$, $SE=0.14$, $p<.001$) and were less likely to have an arrest ($b=-0.48$, $SE=0.23$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.62$). Third, results indicated that adolescents with higher impulse control reported less non-violent offending ($b=-0.30$, $SE=0.06$, $p<.001$), less violent offending ($b=-0.31$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.000$, $OR=0.73$) and were less likely to have been arrested ($b=-0.21$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.81$). Fourth, those with lower parental SES reported decreased non-violent offending at follow-up ($b=-0.01$, $SE=0.004$, $p<.05$). Fifth, adolescents who reported marijuana use reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.28$, $SE=0.11$, $p<.01$), more violent offending ($b=0.15$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.001$, $OR=1.16$), and were more likely to have been arrested ($b=0.42$, $SE=0.17$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.52$). Lastly, adolescents who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 2 ($b=0.25$, $SE=0.03$, $p<.001$) and those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 2 ($b=1.14$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.001$, $OR=3.14$; see Table 15).

Table 15

Interaction Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Relationship Status

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=1,246)	Violent Offending (n=1,246)		Arrest (n=1,251)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	-0.83 (0.82)	-1.30 (1.19)	0.27	0.56 (1.27)	1.75
In a Relationship	-0.26 (0.31)	-0.21 (0.54)	0.82	-0.21 (0.54)	0.81
Male	0.08 (0.23)	0.68 (0.40)	1.97	0.48 (0.38)	1.61
Male*Relationship	0.69 (0.33)*	0.76 (0.56)	2.14	0.61 (0.56)	1.83
Black	-0.41 (0.14)**	0.07 (0.22)	1.07	-0.48 (0.23)	0.62*
Hispanic	0.03 (0.14)	0.22 (0.22)	1.24	-0.20 (0.22)	0.82
Other	-0.02 (0.23)	0.05 (0.37)	1.05	0.08 (0.37)	1.08
Age	0.04 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.96	-0.13 (0.07)	0.88
Parent SES	-0.01 (0.004)*	-0.01 (0.01)	0.99	0.001 (0.01)	1.00
W1 Impulse Control	-0.30 (0.06)***	-0.31 (0.09)	0.73***	-0.21 (0.09)	0.81*
W1 Neighborhood Conditions	0.05 (0.07)	0.04 (0.10)	1.05	-0.05 (0.11)	0.95
W1 Employment	-0.01 (0.11)	0.15 (0.17)	1.16	-0.29 (0.19)	0.75
W1 Marijuana Use	0.28 (0.11)**	0.15 (0.16)	1.16***	0.42 (0.17)	1.52**
W1 Non-Violent Offending	0.25 (0.03)***	-	-	-	-
W1 Violent Offending	-	1.14 (0.16)	3.14***	-	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Second, for the models with the interaction terms between the romantic relationship quality measures and sex, none of the interaction terms were statistically significant for the non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest models. However, a number of control variables were significant. To begin, male adolescents compared to female adolescents reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.51$, $SE=0.25$, $p<.05$) and more violent offending ($b=2.22$, $SE=0.73$, $p<.01$, $OR=9.17$) and black adolescents compared to white adolescents were less likely to have an arrest ($b=-0.65$, $SE=0.30$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.52$). In addition, adolescents with higher impulse control indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.18$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.05$) and less violent offending ($b=-0.34$, $SE=0.11$, $p<.01$, $OR=0.71$). Lastly, adolescents who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 2 ($b=0.27$, $SE=0.04$, $p<.001$) and those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 2 ($b=1.02$, $SE=0.22$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.78$; see Table 16).

Table 16

Interaction Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Romantic Relationship Quality Measures

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=693)	Violent Offending (n=693)		Arrest (n=695)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	-1.53 (1.10)	-3.45 (1.69)	0.03*	-0.13 (1.72)	0.88
Quality of Romantic Relationship	-0.46 (0.49)	-1.31 (1.08)	0.27	-0.96 (0.69)	0.38
Monitoring by Partner	-0.38 (0.31)	-1.05 (0.70)	0.35	-0.35 (0.47)	0.70
Antisocial Influence of Partner	0.13 (0.21)	0.48 (0.44)	1.61	0.15 (0.33)	1.17
Male*Quality	0.43 (0.51)	1.39 (1.10)	4.01	0.89 (0.72)	2.44
Male*Monitoring	0.33 (0.32)	1.04 (0.71)	2.83	0.57 (0.49)	1.76
Male*Antisocial	-0.04 (0.23)	-0.34 (0.46)	0.71	-0.12 (0.35)	0.89
Male	0.51 (0.25)*	2.22 (0.73)	9.17**	0.60 (0.40)	1.83
Black	-0.29 (0.21)	0.08 (0.30)	1.09	-0.65 (0.30)	0.52*
Hispanic	0.08 (0.20)	0.05 (0.31)	1.05	-0.43 (0.31)	0.65
Other	-0.35 (0.40)	-0.71 (0.63)	0.49	0.04 (0.53)	1.04
Age	0.04 (0.06)	0.02 (0.09)	1.02	-0.04 (0.10)	0.96
Parent SES	-0.003 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	1.01	-0.003 (0.01)	1.00
W1 Impulse Control	-0.18 (0.08)*	-0.34 (0.11)	0.71**	-0.18 (0.12)	0.84
W1 Neighborhood Conditions	-0.01 (0.10)	-0.10 (0.14)	0.91	-0.17 (0.15)	0.84
W1 Employment	-0.03 (0.15)	0.30 (0.21)	1.35	-0.16 (0.24)	0.85
W1 Marijuana Use	0.15 (0.15)	0.02 (0.21)	1.02	0.28 (0.23)	1.32
W1 Non-Violent Offending	0.27 (0.04)***	-	-	-	-
W1 Violent Offending	-	1.02 (0.22)	2.78***	-	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Third, for the models with the three-way interaction term between sex, the quality index, and peer influence, the three-way interaction term was not significant in the non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest models. However, there were a number of other significant findings. First, those with higher levels of peer antisocial influence indicated increased non-violent offending ($b=0.61$, $SE=0.27$, $p<.05$). Second, male adolescents compared to female adolescents reported more violent offending ($b=1.06$, $SE=0.35$, $p<.01$, $OR=2.88$) and were more likely to have an arrest ($b=0.72$, $SE=0.33$, $p<.05$, $OR=2.05$). Third, black adolescents compared to white adolescents were less likely to have an arrest ($b=-0.58$, $SE=0.28$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.56$). Fourth, adolescents with higher levels of impulse control reported less non-violent offending ($b=-0.19$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.01$), less violent offending ($b=-0.33$, $SE=0.11$, $p<.01$, $OR=0.72$), and were less likely to have an arrest ($b=-0.26$, $SE=0.12$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.77$). Lastly, adolescents who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 2 ($b=0.26$, $SE=0.04$, $p<.001$) and those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 2 ($b=1.08$, $SE=0.21$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.94$; see Table 17).

Table 17

Interaction Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, Quality Index, and Peer Influence

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=757)	Violent Offending (n=757)		Arrest (n=760)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	-0.86 (1.04)	-1.73 (1.50)	0.18	-0.11 (1.60)	0.90
Quality Index	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.07 (0.04)	0.94	.001 (0.04)	1.00
Peer Influence	0.61 (0.27)*	0.68 (0.36)	1.98	-0.55 (0.41)	0.58
Male*Quality*Peer Influence	0.08 (0.09)	0.24 (0.13)	1.27	0.15 (0.15)	1.16
Male	0.38 (0.21)	1.06 (0.35)	2.88**	0.72 (0.33)	2.05*
Black	-0.25 (0.19)	0.13 (0.28)	1.14	-0.58 (0.28)	0.56*
Hispanic	0.04 (0.19)	0.03 (0.28)	1.03	-0.37 (0.28)	0.69
Other	-0.41 (0.39)	-0.79 (0.61)	0.46	-0.01 (0.52)	0.99
Age	0.02 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.09)	0.99	-0.05 (0.09)	0.95
Parent SES	-0.003 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	1.01	-0.001 (0.01)	1.00
W1 Impulse Control	-0.19 (0.08)**	-0.33 (0.11)	0.72**	-0.26 (0.12)	0.77*
W1 Neighborhood Conditions	-0.08 (0.10)	-0.12 (0.14)	0.89	-0.15 (0.14)	0.86
W1 Employment	-0.09 (0.14)	0.20 (0.20)	1.22	-0.16 (0.23)	0.85
W1 Marijuana Use	0.23 (0.14)	0.02 (0.20)	1.02	0.48 (0.21)	1.61
W1 Non-Violent Offending	0.26 (0.04)***	-	-	-	-
W1 Violent Offending	-	1.08 (0.21)	2.94***	-	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Emerging Adults

Romantic relationship status models. The first research question, which asked if there was an association between emerging adults' romantic relationship status and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest, was answered at the bivariate level for the full sample, emerging adult men, and emerging adult women through chi-square tests and independent samples t-tests and at the multivariate level with negative binomial and logistic regression models. For the bivariate analyses, no statistically significant differences were found for the full sample, men, or women with regard to non-violent offending, violent offending, and arrest (see Table 18).

Table 18

Bivariate Analyses Between Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Relationship Status

	No Relationship	Dating Relationship	Test Statistic
Full Non-Violent Offending	0.52 (1.07)	0.60 (1.07)	$t(1159)=-1.22, p=.223$
Full Violent Offending	45.7% (n=69)	54.3% (n=82)	$\chi^2(1)=0.31, p=.578$
Full Arrest	47.0% (n=155)	53.0% (n=175)	$\chi^2(1)=0.91, p=.662$
Male Non-Violent Offending	0.54 (1.09)	0.67 (1.12)	$t(986.38) = -1.91, p=.056$
Male Violent Offending	45.8% (n=65)	54.2% (n=77)	$\chi^2(1)=2.03, p=.154$
Male Arrest	47.7% (n=146)	52.3% (n=160)	$\chi^2(1)=2.41, p=.121$
Female Non-Violent Offending	0.36 (0.71)	0.31 (0.80)	$t(165)=0.32, p=.746$
Female Violent Offending	44.4% (n=4)	55.6% (n=5)	$\chi^2(1)=1.48, p=.224$
Female Arrest	37.5% (n=9)	62.5% (n=15)	$\chi^2(1)=1.31, p=.253$

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$

Multivariate results indicated a number of significant findings; however, relationship status was not statistically significant in the non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest models. For the baseline non-violent offending model, results first indicated that male emerging adults compared to female emerging adults reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.56$, $SE=0.18$, $p<.01$). Second, individuals with higher impulse control indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.19$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.01$). Third, individuals who reported marijuana use ($b=0.55$, $SE=0.12$, $p<.001$) indicated increased non-violent offending. Fifth, those who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=0.31$, $SE=0.05$, $p<.001$).

For the baseline violent offending model results indicated that individuals with higher levels of impulse control reported less violent offending ($b=-0.27$, $SE=0.13$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.77$). In addition, individuals who reported marijuana use indicated increased violent offending ($b=0.48$, $SE=0.23$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.62$). Lastly, those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=2.00$, $SE=0.29$, $p<.001$, $OR=7.42$).

For the baseline official arrest model, results indicated that male emerging adults compared to female emerging adults were more likely to have an arrest ($b=1.12$, $SE=0.24$, $p<.001$, $OR=3.05$). Additionally, those who reported higher levels of neighborhood disorder were more likely to be arrested ($b=0.31$, $SE=0.10$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.36$) and individuals who were employed were less likely to be arrested ($b=-0.48$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.01$, $OR=0.62$). Moreover, individuals who reported marijuana use were more likely to have an arrest ($b=0.31$, $SE=0.15$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.37$), and emerging adults

who had a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=0.51$, $SE=0.20$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.67$; see Table 19).

Table 19

Baseline Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Relationship Status

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=923)	Violent Offending (n=923)		Arrest (n=926)	
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	OR
Intercept	-0.19 (1.05)	-2.37 (1.97)	0.09	-3.31 (1.33)	0.04*
In a Relationship	0.02 (0.12)	-0.27 (0.23)	0.77	-0.17 (0.15)	0.85
Male	0.56 (0.18)**	0.71 (0.38)	2.02	1.12 (0.24)	3.05***
Black	-0.05 (0.17)	0.58 (0.33)	1.78	-0.06 (0.22)	0.95
Hispanic	-0.08 (0.16)	0.10 (0.34)	1.10	0.34 (0.22)	1.41
Other	0.46 (0.27)	0.77 (0.53)	2.15	0.47 (0.38)	1.60
Age	-0.05 (0.17)	-0.002 (0.10)	1.00	0.07 (0.07)	1.07
Parent SES	-0.001 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.99	-0.01 (0.01)	0.99
W7 Impulse Control	-0.19 (0.07)**	-0.27 (0.13)	0.77*	-0.02 (0.08)	0.98
W7 Neighborhood Conditions	0.09 (0.08)	0.21 (0.15)	1.23	0.31 (0.10)	1.36**
W7 Employment	0.13 (0.13)	0.06 (0.23)	1.06	-0.48 (0.16)	0.62**
W7 Marijuana Use	0.55 (0.12)***	0.48 (0.23)	1.62*	0.31 (0.15)	1.37*
W7 Non-Violent Offending	0.31 (0.05)***	-	-	-	-
W7 Violent Offending	-	2.00 (0.29)	-7.42***	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	0.51 (0.20)	1.67**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Quality of romantic relationship models. The second research question, which asked if there was an association between the quality of emerging adults' romantic relationships, monitoring by partners, and antisocial influence of partners and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest, was answered at the bivariate level for the full sample, emerging adult men, and emerging adult women through independent samples t-tests and correlations, and at the multivariate level with negative binomial and logistic regression models. For the full sample, results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between those who had been arrested and those who had not with regard to monitoring by a partner, with those who had been arrested indicating less monitoring by a partner ($t(628)=2.85, p<.01$). In addition, there was a statistically significant difference between those who had been arrested and those who had not with regard the quality of one's relationship, with those who had been arrested indicating lower quality romantic relationships ($t(628)=2.55, p<.01$). Lastly, there was a statistically significant relationship between the antisocial influence of emerging adults' partners and non-violent offending ($r=0.18, p<.001$), and the quality of romantic relationships and non-violent offending ($r=-0.09, p<.05$).

For emerging adult men, bivariate results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between men who were involved in violent offending and men who were not with regard to monitoring of one's partner, with men who reported violent offending indicating less monitoring by their partner ($t(118.13)=2.16, p<.05$). Additionally, results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between men who had been arrested and men who had not with regard to monitoring by a partner, with men who had been arrested indicating less monitoring by a partner ($t(501)=2.17,$

$p < .05$). Lastly, there was a statistically significant relationship between the antisocial influence of male emerging adults' partners and non-violent offending ($r = .13$, $p < .01$).

For emerging adult women, results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between women who were involved in violent offending and women who were not with regard to monitoring of one's partner, with women who reported violent offending indicating less monitoring by their partner ($t(118) = -9.83$, $p < .001$). Moreover, there was a statistically significant difference between women who had been arrested and women who had not with regard to the quality of one's relationship, with women who had been arrested indicating lower quality romantic relationships ($t(125) = 2.44$, $p < .05$). Lastly, there was a statistically significant relationship between the antisocial influence of female emerging adults' partners and non-violent offending ($r = .45$, $p < .001$) and the quality of romantic relationships and non-violent offending ($r = -0.18$, $p < .001$; see Tables 20 through 22).

Table 20

Independent Samples T-Tests between Violent Offending, Arrest, and Quality Measures

	Violent Offending					Arrest				
	Yes		No		t (df)	Yes		No		t (df)
	M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD	
Full Quality	-0.08	0.67	0.01	0.70	1.11 (626)	-0.11	0.68	0.05	0.70	2.55** (628)
Full Monitoring	-0.14	0.77	0.03	0.83	1.75 (626)	-0.14	0.79	0.06	0.83	2.85** (628)
Full Antisocial Influence	0.07	0.63	-0.01	0.62	-1.08 (624)	0.01	0.68	-0.01	0.60	-0.29 (626)
Male Quality	-0.04	0.65	0.01	0.68	0.62 (500)	-0.08	0.64	0.04	0.69	1.83 (501)
Male Monitoring	-0.24	0.73	-0.04	0.84	2.16* (118.13)	-0.19	0.78	-0.02	0.84	2.17* (501)
Male Antisocial Influence	0.08	0.65	-0.06	0.48	-1.72 (91.53)	-0.04	0.45	-0.03	0.54	0.01 (499)
Female Quality	-0.48	0.88	0.02	0.75	1.70 (124)	-0.40	0.89	0.06	0.72	2.44* (125)
Female Monitoring	0.95	0.00	0.27	0.75	-9.83*** (118)	0.26	0.75	0.31	0.75	0.27 (125)
Female Antisocial Influence	-0.08	0.38	0.13	0.97	0.57 (124)	0.39	1.65	0.07	0.77	-0.80 (18.25)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 21

Full Sample Correlations between Quality Measures and Violent Offending

Variable	1	2	3	4
1) Quality of Romantic Relationship	-			
2) Monitoring by Partner	0.41***	-		
3) Antisocial Influence of Partner	-0.17**	-0.01	-	
4) Non-Violent Offending	-0.09*	-0.07	0.18***	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 22

Male and Female Correlations between Quality Measures and Non-Violent Offending

Variable	1	2	3	4
1) Quality of Romantic Relationship	-	0.44***	-0.13**	-0.08
2) Monitoring by Partner	0.32***	-	-0.08	-0.08
3) Antisocial Influence of Partner	-0.25**	0.08	-	0.13**
4) Non-Violent Offending	-0.18*	0.15	0.45***	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Note. Coefficients above diagonal are for men and below the diagonal are for women

Multivariate analyses revealed several significant associations; however, the quality of romantic relationship measures were not statistically significant for the non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest models. For the baseline non-violent offending model, results indicated that male emerging adults compared to female emerging adults reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.58$, $SE=0.22$, $p<.01$), individuals with higher impulse control indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.30$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.001$), and individuals who reported marijuana use indicated increased non-violent offending ($b=0.53$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.001$). Additionally, individuals who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=0.31$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.001$).

For the baseline violent offending model, results indicated that black emerging adults compared to white emerging adults reported more violent offending ($b=1.09$, $SE=0.46$, $p<.05$, $OR=2.97$). In addition, individuals who reported higher levels of impulse control indicated less violent offending ($b=-0.35$, $SE=0.17$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.71$). Moreover, those who reported marijuana use indicated increased violent offending ($b=0.61$, $SE=0.30$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.84$) and those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=1.87$, $SE=0.37$, $p<.001$, $OR=6.48$).

For the baseline official arrest model, results indicated that male emerging adults compared to female emerging adults were more likely to have an arrest ($b=1.03$, $SE=0.29$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.80$), individuals who reported higher levels of neighborhood disorder were more likely to have an arrest ($b=0.33$, $SE=0.13$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.40$), and individuals who were employed were less likely to be arrested ($b=-0.42$, $SE=0.21$, $p<.05$,

OR=0.66). Lastly, individuals who had a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=0.58$, $SE=0.26$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.79$; see Table 23).

Table 23

Baseline Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Romantic Relationship Quality Measures

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=563)	Violent Offending (n=563)		Arrest (n=564)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	0.29 (1.35)	-3.20 (2.56)	0.04	-2.84 (1.77)	0.06
Quality of Romantic Relationship	-0.18 (0.12)	-0.14 (0.23)	0.87	-0.28 (0.15)	0.76
Monitoring by Partner	0.12 (0.11)	0.10 (0.21)	1.10	-0.11 (0.14)	0.90
Antisocial Influence of Partner	0.13 (0.10)	0.04 (0.19)	1.04	-0.06 (0.15)	0.94
Male	0.58 (0.22)**	0.70 (0.46)	2.02	1.03 (0.29)	2.80***
Black	0.21 (0.22)	1.09 (0.46)	2.97*	-0.35 (0.30)	0.71
Hispanic	-0.10 (0.22)	0.28 (0.47)	1.32	-0.21 (0.29)	0.81
Other	0.43 (0.39)	0.61 (0.85)	1.84	-0.34 (0.58)	0.71
Age	-0.05 (0.07)	0.03 (0.13)	1.03	0.03 (0.09)	1.03
Parent SES	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.98	0.001 (0.01)	1.00
W7 Impulse Control	-0.30 (0.09)***	-0.35 (0.17)	0.71*	-0.01 (0.11)	0.99
W7 Neighborhood Conditions	0.04 (0.10)	0.26 (0.19)	1.29	0.33 (0.13)	1.40**
W7 Employment	0.23 (0.17)	0.34 (0.32)	1.40	-0.42 (0.21)	0.66*
W7 Marijuana Use	0.53 (0.16)***	0.61 (0.30)	1.84*	0.30 (0.20)	1.35
W7 Non-Violent Offending	0.31 (0.07)***	-	-	-	-
W7 Violent Offending	-	1.87 (0.37)	6.48***	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	0.58 (0.26)	1.79*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Cohabitation models. The third research question, which asked if there was an association between cohabiting with one's partner and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest, was answered at the bivariate level for the full sample, emerging adult men, and emerging adult women through chi-square tests, independent samples t-tests, and at the multivariate level with negative binomial and logistic regression models. For both the full sample ($\chi^2(1)=7.91, p<.01$) and men ($\chi^2(1)=5.49, p<.05$), the results of the bivariate tests indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between emerging adults who were cohabiting with their partner and those who were not with regard to official arrest. No statistically significant results were found for women (see Table 24).

Table 24

Bivariate Analyses between Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Cohabitation

	No Cohabitation	Cohabitation	Test Statistic
Full Non-Violent Offending	0.28 (1.04)	0.55 (1.01)	t(819) = 0.29, p=.771
Full Violent Offending	22.2% (n=161)	16.8% (n=16)	$\chi^2(1)=1.41, p=.234$
Full Arrest	24.3% (n=140)	15.4% (n=38)	$\chi^2(1)=7.91, p<.01$
Male Non-Violent Offending	0.63 (1.07)	0.67 (1.12)	t(655) = -0.38, p=.705
Male Violent Offending	20.0% (n=114)	16.3% (n=14)	$\chi^2(1)=0.65, p=.421$
Male Arrest	22.1% (n=96)	14.4% (n=32)	$\chi^2(1)=5.49, p<.05$
Female Non-Violent Offending	0.34 (0.84)	0.25 (0.52)	t(162) = 0.73, p=.467
Female Violent Offending	30.0% (n=47)	22.2% (n=2)	$\chi^2(1)=0.27, p=.606$
Female Arrest	31.0% (n=44)	25.0% (n=6)	$\chi^2(1)=0.35, p=.554$

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, *** $p<.001$

Multivariate results revealed several significant associations. For the baseline non-violent offending model, cohabitation status was not statistically significant. However, results indicated that male emerging adults compared to female emerging adults were more likely to report non-violent offending ($b=0.63$, $SE=0.18$, $p<.001$), individuals who reported marijuana use indicated more non-violent offending ($b=0.57$, $SE=0.13$, $p<.001$), and those who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=0.37$, $SE=0.06$, $p<.001$).

For the baseline violent offending model, cohabitation status was not statistically significant. But, male emerging adults compared to female emerging adults reported more violent offending ($b=0.74$, $SE=0.39$, $p<.05$, $OR=2.10$), individuals who reported marijuana use indicated more violent offending ($b=0.54$, $SE=0.25$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.71$), and those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=2.22$, $SE=0.32$, $p<.001$, $OR=9.17$).

For the baseline official arrest model, individuals who were cohabiting with their partner were less likely to have an arrest ($b=-0.48$, $SE=0.22$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.62$), male emerging adults compared to female emerging adults were more likely to have an arrest ($b=1.07$, $SE=0.24$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.91$), individuals who reported higher neighborhood disorder were more likely to have an arrest ($b=0.28$, $SE=0.11$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.32$), individuals who were employed were less likely to have an arrest ($b=-0.53$, $SE=0.17$, $p<.01$, $OR=0.59$), individuals who reported marijuana use were more likely to have an arrest ($b=0.42$, $SE=0.17$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.52$), and those who had a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=0.49$, $SE=0.22$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.63$; see Table 25).

Table 25

Baseline Regression Models between Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Cohabitation

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=814)	Violent Offending (n=814)		Arrest (n=816)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	0.50 (1.15)	-2.19 (2.21)	0.11	-4.25 (1.47)	0.01**
Cohabiting	0.03 (0.16)	-0.26 (0.33)	0.77	-0.48 (0.22)	0.62*
Male	0.63 (0.18)***	0.74 (0.39)	2.10*	1.07 (0.24)	2.91***
Black	-0.06 (0.18)	0.13 (0.36)	1.14	-0.18 (0.24)	0.84
Hispanic	-0.09 (0.18)	-0.07 (0.36)	0.93	0.26 (0.23)	1.30
Other	0.24 (0.31)	0.50 (0.59)	1.64	0.24 (0.43)	1.27
Age	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.11)	0.99	0.11 (0.07)	1.11
Parent SES	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.98	-0.002 (0.01)	1.00
W7 Impulse Control	-0.13 (0.07)	-0.18 (0.14)	0.84	0.02 (0.09)	1.02
W7 Neighborhood Conditions	0.12 (0.08)	0.26 (0.16)	1.30	0.28 (0.11)	1.32**
W7 Employment	0.07 (0.14)	-0.13 (0.26)	0.88	-0.53 (0.17)	0.59**
W7 Marijuana Use	0.57 (0.13)***	0.54 (0.25)	1.71*	0.42 (0.17)	1.52**
W7 Non-Violent Offending	0.37 (0.06)***	-	-	-	-
W7 Violent Offending	-	2.22 (0.32)	9.17***	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	0.49 (0.22)	1.63*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Interaction models. The fourth research question, which asked if peer influence and sex moderated the relationship between the elements of romantic relationships and desistance from non-violent and violent offending was answered at the bivariate level for the full sample, emerging adult men, and emerging adult women through an independent samples t-test and a correlation, specifically for peer influence, and at the multivariate level with negative binomial and logistic regression models. For the full sample, the results of the bivariate tests indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between those who were involved in violent offending and those who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of their peers, with those who reported violent offending indicating more antisocial influence by their peers ($t(176.65)=-5.35, p<.000$). In addition, there was a statistically significant difference between those who were arrested and those who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of their peers, with those who had been arrested reporting more antisocial influence by their peers ($t(522.27)=-2.89, p<.01$). Also, there was a statistically significant relationship between the antisocial influence of emerging adults' peers and non-violent offending ($r=0.26, p<.001$). For emerging adult men, results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between men who were involved in violent offending and those who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of their peers, with men who reported violent offending indicating more antisocial influence by their peers ($t(169.36)=-5.21, p<.000$). Moreover, there was a statistically significant difference between men who were arrested and those who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of their peers, with men who had been arrested reporting more antisocial influence by their peers ($t(517.99)=-2.26, p<.05$). Lastly, there was a statistically significant relationship between the antisocial influence of male

emerging adults' peers and non-violent offending ($r=0.25$, $p<.001$). For emerging adult women, results indicated that there was a statistically significant relationship between the antisocial influence of female emerging adults' peers and non-violent offending ($r=0.29$, $p<.001$; see Tables 26 and 27).

Table 26

Independent Samples T-Tests between Violent Offending, Arrest, and Peer Influence

	Violent Offending					Arrest				
	Yes		No		t (df)	Yes		No		t (df)
	M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD	
Full Peer Influence	-0.45	0.27	-0.57	0.21	-5.35*** (176.65)	-0.52	0.25	-0.57	0.21	-2.89** (522.27)
Male Peer Influence	-0.44	0.27	-0.57	0.21	-5.21*** (169.36)	-0.52	0.24	-0.56	0.21	-2.26* (517.99)
Female Peer Influence	-0.54	0.22	-0.59	0.19	-0.69 (166)	-0.52	0.27	-0.60	0.17	-1.48 (26.25)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 27

Correlations between Peer Influence and Non-Violent Offending

Variable	Non-Violent Offending
Peer Influence (Full)	0.26***
Peer Influence (Male)	0.25***
Peer Influence (Female)	0.29***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

For the romantic relationship status interaction models, the sex and relationship status interaction term was not statistically significant for the non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest models. There are a number of other significant results. For the non-violent offending model, individuals with higher impulse control reported less non-violent offending ($b=-0.19$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.01$), individuals who reported marijuana use indicated more non-violent offending ($b=0.54$, $SE=0.12$, $p<.001$), and individuals who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=0.32$, $SE=0.05$, $p<.001$). For the violent offending model, individuals with higher impulse control reported less violent offending ($b=-0.27$, $SE=0.13$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.76$), individuals who used marijuana reported more violent offending ($b=0.48$, $SE=0.23$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.62$), and individuals who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=2.00$, $SE=0.29$, $p<.001$, $OR=7.42$). For the arrest model, men were more likely to be arrested than women ($b=0.96$, $SE=0.40$, $p<.05$, $OR=2.62$), individuals with higher neighborhood disorder were more likely to be arrested ($b=0.31$, $SE=0.10$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.36$), employed individuals were less likely to be arrested ($b=-0.48$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.01$, $OR=0.62$), individuals who used marijuana were more likely to be arrested ($b=0.31$, $SE=0.15$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.36$), and individuals with a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=0.51$, $SE=0.20$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.66$; see Table 28).

Table 28

Interaction Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Relationship Status

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=923)	Violent Offending (n=923)		Arrest (n=926)	
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	OR
Intercept	0.04 (1.08)	-1.98 (2.02)	0.14	-3.16 (1.37)	0.04
In a Relationship	-0.26 (0.36)	-0.80 (0.72)	0.45	-0.38 (0.47)	0.68
Male	0.34 (0.32)	0.35 (0.57)	1.42	0.96 (0.40)	2.62*
Male*Relationship	0.30 (0.38)	0.59 (0.76)	1.80	0.24 (0.50)	1.27
Black	-0.05 (0.17)	0.57 (0.33)	1.77	-0.06 (0.22)	0.94
Hispanic	-0.08 (0.16)	0.10 (0.34)	1.10	0.34 (0.22)	1.41
Other	0.45 (0.27)	0.75 (0.54)	2.13	0.46 (0.38)	1.59
Age	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.002 (0.10)	1.00	0.07 (0.07)	1.07
Parent SES	-0.001 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.66	-0.01 (0.01)	0.99
W7 Impulse Control	-0.19 (0.07)**	-0.27 (0.13)	0.76*	-0.02 (0.08)	0.98
W7 Neighborhood Conditions	0.09 (0.08)	0.20 (0.15)	1.22	0.31 (0.10)	1.36**
W7 Employment	0.13 (0.13)	0.05 (0.24)	1.05	-0.48 (0.16)	0.62**
W7 Marijuana Use	0.54 (0.12)***	0.48 (0.23)	1.62*	0.31 (0.15)	1.36*
W7 Non-Violent Offending	0.32 (0.05)***	-	-	-	-
W7 Violent Offending	-	2.00 (0.29)	7.42***	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	0.51 (0.20)	1.66**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

For the romantic relationship quality interaction models, there were a number of significant findings. For the non-violent offending model, individuals who reported more monitoring in their romantic relationships indicated more non-violent offending ($b=0.81$, $SE=0.33$, $p<.01$) and the interaction term for sex and romantic relationship monitoring was statistically significant ($b=-0.81$, $SE=0.35$, $p<.05$). This indicates that women were more affected by romantic partners' monitoring in terms of increased non-violent offending than men. Additionally, men reported more non-violent offending than women ($b=0.88$, $SE=0.28$, $p<.001$), individuals with higher impulse control indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.33$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.001$), individuals who used marijuana reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.54$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.001$), and individuals who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=0.29$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.001$).

For the violent offending model, because there were too few women who participated in violent offending and responded to the relationship quality measures, not much can be ascertained from this model. However, none of the interaction terms were statistically significant, but black emerging adults compared to white emerging adults were more likely to report violent offending ($b=1.18$, $SE=0.47$, $p<.01$, $OR=3.25$), individuals with higher impulse control reported less violent offending ($b=-0.37$, $SE=0.17$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.69$), those who used marijuana reported more violent offending ($b=0.68$, $SE=0.32$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.97$), and those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=1.76$, $SE=0.38$, $p<.001$, $OR=5.80$).

For the arrest model, none of the interaction terms were significant, but men were more likely than women to be arrested ($b=1.15$, $SE=0.32$, $p<.001$, $OR=3.15$), individuals

with higher neighborhood disorder were more likely to be arrested ($b=0.33$, $SE=0.13$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.38$), and individuals with a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=0.57$, $SE=0.26$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.77$; see Table 29).

Table 29

Interaction Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Romantic Relationship Quality Measures

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=563)	Violent Offending (n=563)	OR	Arrest (n=564)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)		B (SE)	
Intercept	-0.08 (1.37)	-70.17 (5513.88)	0.00	-3.07 (1.78)	0.05
Quality of Romantic Relationship	-0.18 (0.26)	-0.91 (0.54)	0.40	-0.62 (0.34)	0.54
Monitoring by Partner	0.81 (0.33)*	71.64 (5804.08)	1.30	0.05 (0.37)	1.05
Antisocial Influence of Partner	0.16 (0.15)	-1.18 (1.08)	0.31	0.01 (0.23)	1.01
Male*Quality	0.01 (0.29)	0.97 (0.61)	2.64	0.43 (0.38)	1.54
Male*Monitoring	-0.81 (0.35)*	-71.78 (5804.08)	0.00	-0.21 (0.39)	0.81
Male*Antisocial	-0.11 (0.21)	1.50 (1.11)	4.47	-0.18 (0.30)	0.84
Male	0.88 (0.28)***	67.40 (5513.87)	1.87	1.15 (0.32)	3.15***
Black	0.19 (0.23)	1.18 (0.47)	3.25**	-0.33 (0.30)	0.72
Hispanic	-0.18 (0.23)	0.31 (0.48)	1.36	-0.20 (0.29)	0.82
Other	0.40 (0.39)	0.39 (0.91)	1.47	-0.28 (0.58)	0.75
Age	-0.04 (0.07)	0.05 (0.13)	1.05	0.03 (0.09)	1.04
Parent SES	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.98	0.001 (0.01)	1.00
W7 Impulse Control	-0.33 (0.09)***	-0.37 (0.17)	0.69*	-0.01 (0.11)	0.99
W7 Neighborhood Conditions	0.02 (0.10)	0.26 (0.20)	1.29	0.33 (0.13)	1.38**
W7 Employment	0.27 (0.17)	0.49 (0.34)	1.63	-0.39 (0.22)	0.68
W7 Marijuana Use	0.54 (0.16)***	0.68 (0.32)	1.97*	0.31 (0.20)	1.37
W7 Non-Violent Offending	0.29 (0.07)***	-	-	-	-
W7 Violent Offending	-	1.76 (0.38)	5.80***	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	0.57 (0.26)	1.77*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

For the cohabitation interaction models, the sex and cohabitation interaction term was not statistically significant for the non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest models. However, there were a number of other significant findings. For the non-violent offending model, male emerging adults compared to female emerging adults reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.51$, $SE=0.21$, $p<.01$), individuals who reported marijuana use indicated more non-violent offending ($b=0.58$, $SE=0.13$, $p<.001$), and individuals who reported prior non-violent offending indicated more non-violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=0.37$, $SE=0.06$, $p<.001$).

For the violent offending model, individuals who reported marijuana use indicated increased violent offending ($b=0.54$, $SE=0.25$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.71$), and individuals who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=2.22$, $SE=0.32$, $p<.001$, $OR=9.16$). Lastly, for the arrest model, men were more likely to be arrested than women ($b=1.10$, $SE=0.28$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.99$), individuals with higher neighborhood disorder were more likely to be arrested ($b=0.28$, $SE=0.11$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.32$), employed individuals were less likely to be arrested ($b=-0.53$, $SE=0.17$, $p<.01$, $OR=0.59$), those who used marijuana were more likely to be arrested ($b=0.42$, $SE=0.17$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.52$), and individuals with a prior arrest were more likely to report a subsequent arrest ($b=0.49$, $SE=0.22$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.63$; see Table 30).

Table 30

Interaction Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Cohabitation

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=814)	Violent Offending (n=814)		Arrest (n=816)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	0.56 (1.15)	-2.17 (2.22)	0.11	-4.28 (1.47)	0.01**
Cohabiting	-0.36 (0.39)	-0.33 (0.86)	0.72	-0.38 (0.52)	0.68
Male	0.51 (0.21)**	0.72 (0.43)	2.06	1.10 (0.28)	2.99***
Male*Cohabiting	0.46 (0.42)	0.09 (0.92)	1.09	-0.12 (0.57)	0.89
Black	-0.07 (0.18)	0.13 (0.36)	1.14	-0.18 (0.24)	0.84
Hispanic	-0.10 (0.18)	-0.07 (0.36)	0.93	0.26 (0.23)	1.30
Other	0.25 (0.31)	0.50 (0.59)	1.64	0.23 (0.43)	1.26
Age	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.11)	0.99	0.11 (0.07)	1.11
Parent SES	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.98	-0.002 (0.01)	1.00
W7 Impulse Control	-0.13 (0.07)	-0.18 (0.14)	0.94	0.01 (0.09)	1.01
W7 Neighborhood Conditions	0.13 (0.08)	0.26 (0.16)	1.30	0.28 (0.11)	1.32**
W7 Employment	0.06 (0.14)	-0.13 (0.26)	0.88	-0.53 (0.17)	0.59**
W7 Marijuana Use	0.58 (0.13)***	0.54 (0.25)	1.71*	0.42 (0.17)	1.52**
W7 Non-Violent Offending	0.37 (0.06)***	-	-	-	-
W7 Violent Offending	-	2.22 (0.32)	9.16***	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	0.49 (0.22)	1.63*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

For the models with the three-way interaction between sex, the quality index, and peer influence, the three-way interaction was not statistically significant in the non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest models. There were, however, a number of other significant findings. For the non-violent offending model, men indicated more non-violent offending than women ($b=0.59$, $SE=0.22$, $p<.01$), individuals with higher impulse control reported less non-violent offending ($b=-0.31$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.001$), individuals who used marijuana reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.52$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.01$), and individuals who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=0.33$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.001$).

For the violent offending model, black emerging adults compared to white emerging adults reported more violent offending ($b=0.98$, $SE=0.45$, $p<.05$, $OR=2.66$), individuals with higher impulse control indicated less violent offending ($b=-0.36$, $SE=0.17$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.70$), individuals who used marijuana reported more violent offending ($b=0.64$, $SE=0.31$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.89$), and those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 8 ($b=1.87$, $SE=0.41$, $p<.001$, $OR=6.51$).

For the arrest model, men were more likely to be arrested than women ($b=1.01$, $SE=0.29$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.74$), individuals with higher neighborhood disorder were more likely to be arrested ($b=0.32$, $SE=0.13$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.38$), employed individuals were less likely to be arrested ($b=-0.43$, $SE=0.22$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.65$), and individuals who had a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=0.56$, $SE=0.26$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.74$; see Table 31).

Table 31

Interaction Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, Quality Index, and Peer Influence

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=557)	Violent Offending (n=557)		Arrest (n=558)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	0.22 (1.36)	-3.13 (2.55)	0.04	-2.65 (1.77)	0.07
Quality Index	0.14 (0.08)	-0.004 (0.16)	1.00	-0.11 (0.12)	0.90
Peer Influence	0.07 (0.40)	-0.28 (0.71)	0.76	0.12 (0.48)	1.13
Male*Quality*Peer Influence	0.34 (0.18)	0.01 (0.33)	1.01	0.15 (0.24)	1.16
Male	0.59 (0.22)**	0.64 (0.45)	1.90	1.01 (0.29)	2.74***
Black	0.13 (0.22)	0.98 (0.45)	2.66*	-0.38 (0.30)	0.68
Hispanic	-0.18 (0.22)	0.24 (0.47)	1.27	-0.28 (0.29)	0.76
Other	0.42 (0.39)	0.58 (0.84)	1.79	-0.35 (0.58)	0.71
Age	-0.04 (0.07)	0.03 (0.13)	1.03	0.04 (0.09)	1.04
Parent SES	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.98	-0.002 (0.01)	1.00
W7 Impulse Control	-0.31 (0.09)***	-0.36 (0.17)	0.70*	-0.02 (0.11)	0.98
W7 Neighborhood Conditions	0.02 (0.11)	0.30 (0.20)	1.35	0.32 (0.13)	1.38*
W7 Employment	0.23 (0.17)	0.35 (0.32)	1.41	-0.43 (0.22)	0.65*
W7 Marijuana Use	0.52 (0.16)**	0.64 (0.31)	1.89*	0.33 (0.21)	1.38
W7 Non-Violent Offending	0.33 (0.07)***	-	-	-	-
W7 Violent Offending	-	1.87 (0.41)	6.51***	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	0.56 (0.26)	1.74*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Adults

Romantic Relationship status models. The first research question, which asked if there was an association between adults' romantic relationship status and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest, was answered at the bivariate level for the full sample, adult men, and adult women through chi-square tests and independent samples t-tests and at the multivariate level with negative binomial and logistic regression models. Bivariate results indicated one significant finding and that was for female respondents; there was a statistically significant difference between adult women who were not in a relationship and those who were in a relationship with regard to official arrest ($\chi^2(1)=4.18, p<.05$; see Table 32).

Table 32

Bivariate Analyses between Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Relationship Status

	No Relationship	Dating Relationship	Test Statistic
Full Non-Violent Offending	0.34 (0.82)	0.39 (0.82)	t(1075)=-1.13, p=.261
Full Violent Offending	45.7% (n=42)	54.3% (n=50)	$\chi^2(1)=0.04, p=.847$
Full Arrest	44.6% (n=125)	55.4% (n=155)	$\chi^2(1)=0.60, p=.439$
Male Non-Violent Offending	0.34 (0.83)	0.45 (0.88)	t(907.80) = -1.92, p=.055
Male Violent Offending	44.7% (n=38)	55.3% (n=47)	$\chi^2(1)=0.47, p=.493$
Male Arrest	43.5% (n=111)	56.5% (n=144)	$\chi^2(1)=3.16, p=.076$
Female Non-Violent Offending	0.30 (0.80)	0.13 (0.37)	t(78.51)=1.57, p=.121
Female Violent Offending	57.1% (n=4)	42.9% (n=3)	$\chi^2(1)=1.17, p=.279$
Female Arrest	56.0% (n=14)	44.0% (n=11)	$\chi^2(1)=4.18, p<.05$

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Multivariate results indicated a number of significant findings; however, relationship status was not statistically significant for the non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest models. For the baseline non-violent offending model, results indicated that men reported more non-violent offending than women ($b=0.59$, $SE=0.22$, $p<.01$), individuals with higher parental SES indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.01$, $SE=0.01$, $p<.05$), those who had higher impulse control reported less non-violent offending ($b=-.25$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.001$), those who reported marijuana use indicated increased non-violent offending ($b=0.48$, $SE=0.15$, $p<.001$), and those who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=0.36$, $SE=0.06$, $p<.001$);

For the baseline violent offending model, results indicated that those who had higher impulse control reported less violent offending ($b=-0.39$, $SE=0.14$, $p<.01$, $OR=0.68$), those who used marijuana indicated increased violent offending ($b=0.69$, $SE=0.28$, $p<.01$, $OR=1.99$), and those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=0.91$, $SE=0.34$, $p<.01$, $OR=2.48$).

For the baseline arrest model, results indicated that adult men were more likely than adult women to report an arrest ($b=0.88$, $SE=0.25$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.41$), older adults were less likely to have an arrest ($b=-0.15$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.86$), and those who had a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=0.85$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.34$; see Table 33).

Table 33

Baseline Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Relationship Status

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=887)	Violent Offending (n=887)		Arrest (n=891)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	0.74 (1.48)	2.29 (2.67)	9.87	1.67 (1.63)	5.30
In a Relationship	0.14 (0.14)	0.23 (0.27)	1.26	-0.09 (0.16)	0.91
Male	0.59 (0.22)**	0.56 (0.42)	1.75	0.88 (0.25)	2.41***
Black	-0.31 (0.19)	0.18 (0.36)	1.20	0.08 (0.22)	1.08
Hispanic	-0.04 (0.18)	0.01 (0.36)	1.01	0.14 (0.22)	1.15
Other	-0.32 (0.35)	0.48 (0.58)	1.61	-0.14 (0.42)	0.87
Age	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.20 (0.11)	0.82	-0.15 (0.07)	0.86*
Parent SES	-0.01 (0.01)*	0.001 (0.01)	1.00	0.01 (0.01)	1.01
W10 Impulse Control	-0.25 (0.08)***	-0.39 (0.14)	0.68**	-0.11 (0.08)	0.90
W10 Neighborhood Conditions	-0.03 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.17)	0.91	-0.09 (0.10)	0.92
W10 Employment	0.08 (0.18)	-0.20 (0.31)	0.82	-0.16 (0.19)	0.85
W10 Marijuana Use	0.48 (0.15)***	0.69 (0.28)	1.99**	0.22 (0.16)	1.25
W10 Non-Violent Offending	0.36 (0.06)***	-	-	-	-
W10 Violent Offending	-	0.91 (0.34)	2.48**	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	0.85 (0.16)	2.34***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Quality of romantic relationships models. The second research question, which asked if there was an association between the quality of adults' romantic relationships, monitoring by partners, and antisocial influence of partners and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest, was answered at the bivariate level for the full sample, adult men, and adult women through independent samples t-tests and correlations, and at the multivariate level with negative binomial and logistic regression models. For the full sample, bivariate results indicated that there was a statistically significant relationship between the quality of adults' romantic relationships and non-violent offending ($r=-0.14, p<.001$), the antisocial influence of adults' partners and non-violent offending ($r=0.10, p<.01$), and monitoring by adults' partners and non-violent offending ($r=-0.10, p<.01$). For adult men, results indicated that there was a statistically significant relationship between the quality of adult men's romantic relationships and non-violent offending ($r=-0.13, p<.01$), the antisocial influence of adult men's' partners and non-violent offending ($r=0.09, p<.05$), and monitoring by adult men's and non-violent offending ($r=-0.10, p<.05$).

For adult women, results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between those who had been arrested and those who had not with regard to the quality of romantic relationships, with those who had been arrested reporting less quality romantic relationships ($t(123)=2.18, p<.05$). Further, for adult women, there was a statistically significant difference between those whose partners were not involved in criminal behavior and those whose partners were involved in criminal behavior with regard to arrest ($\chi^2(1)=8.27, p<.01$) and non-violent offending ($t(102)=-6.26, p<.001$). Lastly, there was a statistically significant relationship between the quality of adult

women's romantic relationships and non-violent offending ($r=-0.30$, $p<.001$; see Tables 34 through 36).

Table 34

Independent Samples T-Tests between Violent Offending, Arrest, and Quality Measures

	Violent Offending					Arrest				
	Yes		No		t (df)	Yes		No		t (df)
	M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD	
Full Quality	-0.11	0.74	0.01	0.68	1.20 (663)	-0.04	0.67	0.01	0.69	0.79 (666)
Full Monitoring	-0.19	0.87	0.01	0.77	1.91 (663)	-0.02	0.74	0.00	0.80	0.24 (666)
Full Antisocial Influence	0.08	0.68	-0.01	0.67	-0.94 (662)	-0.01	0.77	0.01	0.62	0.18 (665)
Male Quality	-0.07	0.69	0.03	0.65	1.08 (538)	0.01	0.62	0.03	0.66	0.33 (541)
Male Monitoring	-0.22	0.87	-0.03	0.78	1.64 (538)	-0.02	0.73	-0.06	0.82	-0.66 (541)
Male Antisocial Influence	0.07	0.70	-0.01	0.69	-0.85 (537)	-0.02	0.75	0.01	0.65	0.36 (540)
Female Quality	-0.51	1.21	-0.10	0.79	1.10 (123)	-0.52	0.95	-0.05	0.78	2.18* (123)
Female Monitoring	0.12	0.95	0.19	0.71	0.23 (123)	-0.01	0.83	0.22	0.69	1.22 (123)
Female Antisocial Influence	0.16	0.55	0.02	0.60	-0.2 (123)	0.14	1.02	0.01	0.51	-0.49 (16.12)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 35

Correlation Matrix for Non-Violent Offending and Quality Measures for the Full Sample

Variable	1	2	3	4
1) Quality of Romantic Relationship	-			
2) Monitoring by Partner	0.37***	-		
3) Antisocial Influence of Partner	-0.20***	-0.05	-	
4) Non-Violent Offending	-0.14***	-0.10**	0.10**	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 36

Correlation Matrix for Non-Violent Offending and Quality Measures for Men and Women

Variable	1	2	3	4
1) Quality of Romantic Relationship	-	0.41***	-0.20***	-0.13**
2) Monitoring by Partner	0.29***	-	-0.05	-0.10*
3) Antisocial Influence of Partner	-0.17	-0.06	-	0.09*
4) Non-Violent Offending	-0.30***	0.03	0.17	-

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Note. Coefficients above diagonal are for men and below the diagonal are for women

Multivariate analyses revealed several significant associations. For the baseline non-violent offending model, results indicated that individuals in high quality romantic relationships indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.34$, $SE=0.13$, $p<.01$). However, monitoring and partners' antisocial influence were not statistically significant. Additionally, adult men reported more non-violent offending than adult women ($b=0.61$, $SE=0.26$, $p<.05$), individuals with higher parental SES indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.02$, $SE=0.01$, $p<.05$), individuals with higher impulse control indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.24$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.01$), those who used marijuana reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.59$, $SE=0.18$, $p<.001$), and those who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=0.38$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.001$).

For the baseline violent offending model, none of the quality measures were statistically significant. However, results indicated that individuals who had higher impulse control reported less violent offending ($b=-0.41$, $SE=0.17$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.67$), those who used marijuana reported more violent offending ($b=0.88$, $SE=0.33$, $p<.01$, $OR=2.41$), and those who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=1.54$, $SE=0.39$, $p<.000$, $OR=4.65$).

For the baseline arrest model, none of the quality measures were statistically significant. But, results indicated that adult men were more likely than adult women to have an official arrest ($b=1.18$, $SE=0.31$, $p<.000$, $OR=3.27$), older individuals were less likely to have an arrest ($b=-0.22$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.01$, $OR=0.80$), and those who had a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=1.00$, $SE=0.21$, $p<.000$, $OR=2.71$; see Table 37).

Table 37

Baseline Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Romantic Relationship Quality Measures

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=612)	Violent Offending (n=612)		Arrest (n=614)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	0.57 (1.79)	3.16 (3.21)	23.46	2.79 (1.99)	16.26
Quality of Romantic Relationship	-0.34 (0.13)**	-0.06 (0.25)	0.94	-0.22 (0.15)	0.80
Monitoring by Partner	0.001 (0.12)	-0.13 (0.22)	0.88	0.13 (0.14)	1.14
Antisocial Influence of Partner	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.22 (0.19)	0.98	-0.02 (0.14)	0.98
Male	0.61 (0.26)*	0.62 (0.51)	1.85	1.18 (0.31)	3.27***
Black	-0.11 (0.24)	0.09 (0.43)	1.09	0.02 (0.28)	1.02
Hispanic	0.15 (0.23)	0.12 (0.42)	1.13	0.29 (0.27)	1.33
Other	0.03 (0.41)	0.44 (0.69)	1.55	-0.17 (0.50)	0.85
Age	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.19 (0.13)	0.83	-0.22 (0.08)	0.80**
Parent SES	-0.02 (0.01)*	-0.02 (0.01)	0.98	0.001 (0.01)	1.00
W10 Impulse Control	-0.24 (0.10)**	-0.41 (0.17)	0.67*	-0.09 (0.10)	0.91
W10 Neighborhood Conditions	-0.22 (0.12)	-0.37 (0.22)	0.69	-0.10 (0.13)	0.90
W10 Employment	0.16 (0.23)	0.30 (0.43)	1.34	-0.01 (0.26)	0.99
W10 Marijuana Use	0.59 (0.18)***	0.88 (0.33)	2.41**	0.35 (0.20)	1.42
W10 Non-Violent Offending	0.38 (0.08)***	-	-	-	-
W10 Violent Offending	-	1.54 (0.39)	4.65***	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	1.00 (0.21)	2.71***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Cohabitation models. The third research question, which asked if there was an association between cohabiting with one's partner and desistance from non-violent and violent self-reported offending, and official arrest, was answered at the bivariate level for the full sample, adult men, and adult women through chi-square tests and independent samples t-tests, and at the multivariate level with negative binomial and logistic regression models. No statistically significant results were found at the bivariate level for the full sample, men, or women (see Table 38).

Table 38

Bivariate Analyses between Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Cohabitation

	No Cohabitation	Cohabitation	Test Statistic
Full Non-Violent Offending	0.38 (0.83)	0.37 (0.77)	t(787) = 0.08, p=.938
Full Violent Offending	7.1% (n=36)	8.5% (n=24)	$\chi^2(1)=0.55, p=.461$
Full Arrest	27.2% (n=139)	28.8% (n=81)	$\chi^2(1)=0.24, p=.625$
Male Non-Violent Offending	0.43 (0.82)	0.43 (0.88)	t(625) = -0.02, p=.981
Male Violent Offending	8.0% (n=32)	9.3% (n=21)	$\chi^2(1)=0.29, p=.588$
Male Arrest	29.8% (n=120)	33.5% (n=76)	$\chi^2(1)=0.93, p=.335$
Female Non-Violent Offending	0.20 (0.58)	0.15 (0.45)	t(160) = 0.62, p=.537
Female Violent Offending	3.7% (n=4)	5.6% (n=3)	$\chi^2(1)=0.30, p=.585$
Female Arrest	17.6% (n=19)	9.3% (n=5)	$\chi^2(1)=1.98, p=.159$

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Multivariate results revealed several significant associations. Cohabitation status was not statistically significant for the non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest models. For the baseline non-violent offending model, results indicated that men reported more non-violent offending than women ($b=0.51$, $SE=0.22$, $p<.05$), individuals who reported higher impulse control indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.24$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.01$), those who reported marijuana use indicated increased non-violent offending ($b=0.36$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.05$), and those who reported non-violent offending at Wave 10 reported increased non-violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=0.46$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.001$).

For the baseline violent offending model, results indicated that individuals who reported higher impulse control indicated less violent offending ($b=-0.59$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.001$, $OR=0.56$), individuals who reported marijuana use indicated increased violent offending ($b=0.67$, $SE=0.31$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.96$), and those who reported prior violent offending reported increased violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=1.27$, $SE=0.36$, $p<.001$, $OR=3.56$).

For the baseline arrest model, results indicated that adult men were more likely to have an arrest than adult women ($b=0.80$, $SE=0.25$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.22$), those who reported marijuana use were more likely to have an arrest ($b=0.36$, $SE=0.18$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.44$), and those who had a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=0.98$, $SE=0.18$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.66$; see Table 39).

Table 39

Baseline Regression Models between Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Cohabitation

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=779)	Violent Offending (n=779)		Arrest (n=781)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	1.06 (1.60)	2.24 (3.00)	9.35	1.31 (1.77)	3.70
Cohabiting	-0.10 (0.16)	0.21 (0.30)	1.23	0.20 (0.18)	1.22
Male	0.51 (0.22)*	0.34 (0.43)	1.40	0.80 (0.25)	2.22***
Black	-0.38 (0.21)	0.34 (0.40)	1.40	0.19 (0.24)	1.21
Hispanic	-0.05 (0.20)	-0.13 (0.40)	0.88	0.27 (0.24)	1.31
Other	-0.41 (0.39)	0.36 (0.66)	1.43	-0.38 (0.47)	0.68
Age	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.13 (0.13)	0.88	-0.12 (0.07)	0.88
Parent SES	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	1.00	0.01 (0.01)	1.01
W7 Impulse Control	-0.24 (0.08)**	-0.59 (0.16)	0.56***	-0.13 (0.09)	0.88
W7 Neighborhood Conditions	-0.04 (0.10)	-0.24 (0.20)	0.78	-0.21 (0.11)	0.81
W7 Employment	0.04 (0.20)	-0.43 (0.36)	0.65	-0.37 (0.22)	0.69
W7 Marijuana Use	0.36 (0.16)*	0.67 (0.31)	1.96*	0.36 (0.18)	1.44*
W7 Non-Violent Offending	0.46 (0.07)***	-	-	-	-
W7 Violent Offending	-	1.27 (0.36)	3.56***	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	0.98 (0.18)	2.66***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Interaction models. The fourth research question, which asked if peer influence and sex moderated the relationship between the elements of adults' romantic relationships and desistance from non-violent and violent offending, and official arrest was answered at the bivariate level for the full sample, adult men, and adult women through an independent samples t-test and a correlation, specific to peer influence, and at the multivariate level with negative binomial and logistic regression models. For the full sample, results indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between those who were involved in violent offending and those who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of their peers, with those who reported violent offending indicating more antisocial influence by their peers ($t(103.86)=-4.13, p<.000$). In addition, there was a statistically significant difference between those who were arrested and those who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of their peers, with those who had been arrested reporting more antisocial influence by their peers ($t(450.17)=-2.54, p<.01$). Also, there was a statistically significant relationship between the antisocial influence of adults' peers and non-violent offending ($r=0.25, p<.001$).

For adult men, the results of the bivariate tests indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between men who were involved in violent offending and men who were not with regard to the antisocial influence of their peers, with those who reported violent offending indicating more antisocial influence by their peers ($t(98.58)=-3.63, p<.000$). Lastly, there was a statistically significant relationship between the antisocial influence of adults' peers and non-violent offending for men ($r=0.24, p<.001$). For women, the only significant finding was that there was a statistically

significant relationship between the antisocial influence of women's peers and non-violent offending ($r=0.15$, $p<.05$; see Tables 40 and 41).

Table 40

Independent Samples T-Tests between Violent Offending, Arrest, and Peer Influence

	Violent Offending					Arrest				
	Yes		No		t (df)	Yes		No		t (df)
	M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD	
Full Peer Influence	0.10	0.26	-0.02	0.22	-4.13*** (103.86)	0.03	0.24	-0.02	0.22	-2.54** (450.17)
Male Peer Influence	0.11	0.26	-0.001	0.23	-3.63*** (98.58)	0.03	0.24	0.002	0.24	-1.81 (910)
Female Peer Influence	0.03	0.27	-0.09	0.13	-1.20 (6.12)	-0.04	0.20	-0.09	0.12	-1.32 (28.47)

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 41

Correlations between Peer Influence and Non-Violent Offending

Variable	Non-Violent Offending
Peer Influence (Full)	0.25***
Peer Influence (Male)	0.24***
Peer Influence (Female)	0.15*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

For the relationship status interaction model, one significant interaction term was noted and this was for non-violent offending. The interaction term was not statistically significant in the violent offending or arrest models. For non-violent offending, the interaction term between sex and relationship status was statistically significant ($b=0.93$, $SE=0.44$, $p < .05$), which indicates that men are more influenced by involvement in a romantic relationship regarding their non-violent offending than women are. Furthermore, individuals with higher parental SES indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.01$, $SE=0.01$, $p < .05$), individuals with higher impulse control indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.24$, $SE=0.08$, $p < .01$), individuals who used marijuana indicated more non-violent offending ($b=0.48$, $SE=0.15$, $p < .001$), and individuals who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=0.36$, $SE=0.06$, $p < .001$).

For violent offending, results indicated that individuals with high impulse control indicated less violent offending ($b=-0.39$, $SE=0.14$, $p < .01$, $OR=0.68$), individuals who used marijuana indicated more violent offending ($b=0.69$, $SE=0.28$, $p < .01$, $OR=1.99$), and individuals who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=0.90$, $SE=0.34$, $p < .01$, $OR=2.46$). For the arrest model, results

indicated that those in a romantic relationship were less likely to be arrested ($b=0.93$, $SE=0.47$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.40$). Additionally, older individuals were less likely to be arrested ($b=-0.16$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.86$), and individuals with a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=0.86$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.35$; see Table 42).

Table 42

Interaction Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Relationship Status

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=887)	Violent Offending (n=887)		Arrest (n=891)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	1.31 (1.51)	3.06 (2.73)	21.38	2.30 (1.66)	9.99
In a Relationship	-0.67 (0.41)	-0.73 (0.79)	0.48	-0.93 (0.47)	0.40*
Male	0.07 (0.31)	-0.04 (0.57)	0.96	0.36 (0.35)	1.44
Male*Relationship	0.93 (0.44)*	1.09 (0.84)	2.96	0.95 (0.50)	2.58
Black	-0.31 (0.19)	0.17 (0.36)	1.19	0.06 (0.22)	1.06
Hispanic	-0.04 (0.18)	0.01 (0.36)	1.01	0.14 (0.22)	1.15
Other	-0.34 (0.36)	0.44 (0.58)	1.55	-0.17 (0.42)	0.86
Age	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.20 (0.11)	0.82	-0.16 (0.07)	0.86*
Parent SES	-0.01 (0.01)*	-0.001 (0.01)	1.00	0.01 (0.01)	1.01
W10 Impulse Control	-0.24 (0.08)**	-0.39 (0.14)	0.68**	-0.11 (0.08)	0.90
W10 Neighborhood Conditions	-0.03 (0.09)	-0.10 (0.17)	0.91	-0.09 (0.10)	0.81
W10 Employment	0.06 (0.18)	-0.23 (0.31)	0.79	-0.19 (0.19)	0.83
W10 Marijuana Use	0.48 (0.15)***	0.69 (0.28)	1.99**	0.22 (0.16)	1.24
W10 Non-Violent Offending	0.36 (0.06)***	-	-	-	-
W10 Violent Offending	-	0.90 (0.34)	2.46**	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	0.86 (0.16)	2.35***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

For the romantic relationship quality interaction model, none of the interaction terms were statistically significant for the non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest models. However, for the non-violent offending model, results indicated that as the romantic relationship quality of individuals' relationships increased, their non-violent offending decreased ($b=-0.75$, $SE=0.27$, $p<.01$), men reported more non-violent offending than women ($b=0.93$, $SE=0.32$, $p<.01$), individuals with higher parental SES indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.02$, $SE=0.01$, $p<.05$), individuals with higher impulse control reported less non-violent offending ($b=-0.24$, $SE=0.10$, $p<.01$), individuals who used marijuana reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.55$, $SE=0.18$, $p<.01$), and individuals who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=0.39$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.001$).

For the violent offending model, results indicated that individuals with higher impulse control reported less violent offending ($b=-0.41$, $SE=0.17$, $p<.05$, $OR=0.67$), individuals who used marijuana indicated more violent offending ($b=0.86$, $SE=0.33$, $p<.01$, $OR=2.37$), and individuals who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=1.54$, $SE=0.39$, $p<.001$, $OR=4.65$). For the arrest model, results indicated that men were more likely to be arrested than women ($b=1.21$, $SE=0.34$, $p<.001$, $OR=3.35$), older individuals were less likely to be arrested ($b=-0.21$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.01$, $OR=0.81$), and individuals with a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=1.02$, $SE=0.21$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.76$; see Table 43).

Table 43

Interaction Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Romantic Relationship Quality Measures

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=612)	Violent Offending (n=612)		Arrest (n=614)	
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	OR
Intercept	-0.14 (1.84)	2.87 (3.24)	17.62	2.63 (2.01)	13.87
Quality of Romantic Relationship	-0.75 (0.27)**	-0.34 (0.55)	0.71	-0.50 (0.34)	0.61
Monitoring by Partner	0.41 (0.33)	0.03 (0.63)	1.03	-0.35 (0.39)	0.70
Antisocial Influence of Partner	0.12 (0.29)	0.09 (0.58)	1.09	-0.08 (0.42)	0.92
Male*Quality	0.57 (0.30)	0.35 (0.62)	1.41	0.34 (0.38)	1.40
Male*Monitoring	-0.51 (0.35)	-0.19 (0.67)	0.82	0.53 (0.41)	1.70
Male*Antisocial	-0.14 (0.31)	-0.11 (0.62)	0.90	0.07 (0.45)	1.07
Male	0.93 (0.32)**	0.75 (0.58)	2.12	1.21 (0.34)	3.35***
Black	-0.12 (0.24)	0.09 (0.44)	1.09	-0.01 (0.28)	1.00
Hispanic	0.14 (0.23)	0.12 (0.42)	1.13	0.27 (0.27)	1.31
Other	0.04 (0.42)	0.44 (0.69)	1.55	-0.16 (0.50)	0.85
Age	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.18 (0.13)	0.83	-0.21 (0.08)	0.81**
Parent SES	-0.02 (0.01)*	-0.02 (0.01)	0.98	0.001 (0.01)	1.00
W10 Impulse Control	-0.24 (0.10)**	-0.41 (0.17)	0.67*	-0.09 (0.10)	0.92
W10 Neighborhood Conditions	-0.22 (0.12)	-0.37 (0.22)	0.69	-0.10 (0.13)	0.90
W10 Employment	0.14 (0.23)	0.29 (0.43)	1.33	-0.01 (0.26)	0.99

(continued)

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=612)	Violent Offending (n=612)		Arrest (n=614)	
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	OR
W10 Marijuana Use	0.55 (0.18)**	0.86 (0.33)	2.37**	0.35 (0.20)	1.42
W10 Non-Violent Offending	0.39 (0.38)***	-	-	-	-
W10 Violent Offending	-	1.54 (0.39)	4.65***	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	1.02 (0.21)	2.76***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

For the cohabitation interaction model, the interaction term between sex and cohabitation was not statistically significant for the non-violent offending or violent offending models, but it was significant for the arrest model. For the non-violent offending model, however, results indicated that individuals with higher impulse control reported less non-violent offending ($b=-0.23$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.01$), individuals who used marijuana reported more non-violent offending ($b=0.36$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.05$), and individuals who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=0.46$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.001$).

For the violent offending model, individuals with higher impulse control reported less violent offending ($b=-0.59$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.001$), individuals who used marijuana reported more violent offending ($b=0.68$, $SE=0.31$, $p<.05$), and individuals who reported prior violent offending indicated increased violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=1.28$, $SE=0.36$, $p<.001$). For the arrest model, results indicated that the interaction between sex and cohabitation was statistically significant ($b=1.31$, $SE=0.62$, $p<.05$, $OR=3.70$), which indicates that men are more affected by cohabiting with a partner in terms of increased likelihood of arrest, than women. Furthermore, individuals who used marijuana were more likely to be arrested ($b=0.36$, $SE=0.18$, $p<.05$, $OR=1.43$), and individuals with a prior arrest are more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=1.01$, $SE=0.18$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.73$; see Table 44).

Table 44

Interaction Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, and Cohabitation

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=779)	Violent Offending (n=779)		Arrest (n=781)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	1.15 (1.61)	2.02 (3.02)	7.51	1.58 (1.78)	4.83
Cohabiting	-0.47 (0.46)	0.82 (0.80)	2.28	-0.96 (0.59)	0.38
Male*Cohabiting	0.42 (0.49)	-0.71 (0.86)	0.49	1.31 (0.62)	3.70*
Male	0.38 (0.26)	0.59 (0.56)	1.80	0.43 (0.29)	1.54
Black	-0.38 (0.21)	0.36 (0.40)	1.43	0.16 (0.24)	1.18
Hispanic	-0.05 (0.20)	-0.14 (0.40)	0.87	0.27 (0.24)	1.31
Other	-0.42 (0.39)	0.38 (0.66)	1.46	-0.41 (0.47)	0.66
Age	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.13 (0.13)	0.88	-0.12 (0.07)	0.89
Parent SES	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	1.00	0.01 (0.01)	1.01
W10 Impulse Control	-0.23 (0.08)**	-0.59 (0.16)	0.55***	-0.12 (0.09)	0.89
W10 Neighborhood Conditions	-0.04 (0.20)	-0.25 (0.20)	0.78	-0.21 (0.11)	0.81
W10 Employment	0.04 (0.20)	-0.42 (0.36)	0.66	-0.39 (0.22)	0.69
W10 Marijuana Use	0.36 (0.16)*	0.68 (0.31)	1.97*	0.36 (0.18)	1.43*
W10 Non-Violent Offending	0.46 (0.07)***	-	-	-	-
W10 Violent Offending	-	1.28 (0.36)	3.59***	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	1.01 (0.18)	2.73***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

For the model with the three-way interaction between sex, the quality index, and peer influence, the three-way interaction term was not statistically significant for the non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest models. There were several other significant findings of importance. For the non-violent offending model, the quality index was statistically significant, indicating that as the quality of individuals' relationships increases, non-violent offending decreases ($b=-0.17$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.01$). Additionally, individuals with higher parental SES reported less non-violent offending ($b=-0.02$, $SE=0.01$, $p<.05$), individuals with higher impulse control indicated less non-violent offending ($b=-0.22$, $SE=0.10$, $p<.05$), individuals with higher neighborhood disorder reported less non-violent offending ($b=-0.26$, $SE=0.12$, $p<.05$), individuals who used marijuana indicated more non-violent offending ($b=0.59$, $SE=0.18$, $p<.001$), and individuals who reported prior non-violent offending indicated increased non-violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=0.36$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.001$).

For the violent offending model, results indicated that individuals who used marijuana reported more violent offending ($b=0.84$, $SE=0.34$, $p<.01$, $OR=2.30$) and individuals who indicated prior violent offending reported increased violent offending at Wave 11 ($b=1.28$, $SE=0.41$, $p<.01$, $OR=3.61$). For the arrest model, results indicated that men were more likely to be arrested than women ($b=1.14$, $SE=0.31$, $p<.001$, $OR=3.13$), older individuals were less likely to be arrested ($b=-0.21$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.01$, $OR=0.81$), and individuals with a prior arrest were more likely to have a subsequent arrest ($b=0.98$, $SE=0.21$, $p<.001$, $OR=2.66$; see Table 45).

Table 45

Interaction Regression Models for Non-Violent Offending, Violent Offending, Arrest, Quality Index, and Peer Influence

Variable	Non-Violent Offending (n=609)	Violent Offending (n=609)		Arrest (n=611)	OR
	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	
Intercept	0.38 (1.77)	3.23 (3.20)	25.24	2.88 (2.00)	17.80
Quality Index	-0.17 (0.07)**	-0.19 (0.13)	0.83	-0.08 (0.08)	0.93
Peer Influence	0.35 (0.39)	1.00 (0.71)	2.72	-0.38 (0.47)	0.69
Male*Quality*Peer Influence	0.45 (0.24)	0.58 (0.42)	1.79	0.60 (0.31)	1.82
Male	0.45 (0.25)	0.52 (0.51)	1.69	1.14 (0.31)	3.13***
Black	-0.20 (0.23)	0.07 (0.43)	1.07	-0.08 (0.27)	0.93
Hispanic	0.11 (0.22)	0.14 (0.42)	1.15	0.27 (0.27)	1.31
Other	-0.20 (0.45)	0.27 (0.75)	1.31	-0.34 (0.53)	0.71
Age	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.20 (0.13)	0.82	-0.21 (0.08)	0.81**
Parent SES	-0.02 (0.01)*	-0.01 (0.01)	0.99	0.004 (0.01)	1.00
W10 Impulse Control	-0.22 (0.10)*	-0.32 (0.18)	0.73	-0.12 (0.11)	0.89
W10 Neighborhood Conditions	-0.26 (0.12)*	-0.42 (0.23)	0.66	-0.13 (0.13)	0.88
W10 Employment	0.06 (0.23)	0.15 (0.43)	1.17	-0.11 (0.26)	0.89
W10 Marijuana Use	0.59 (0.18)***	0.74 (0.34)	2.30**	0.39 (0.21)	2.66***
W10 Non-Violent Offending	0.36 (0.08)***	-	-	-	-
W10 Violent Offending	-	1.28 (0.41)	3.61**	-	-
Prior Arrest	-	-	-	0.98 (0.21)	2.66***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Hierarchical Generalized Linear Models

Eight hierarchical generalized linear models were analyzed for the current dissertation in order to assess how elements of romantic relationships, including relationship status and romantic relationship quality, and peer influence affect individuals' criminal behavior from adolescence to adulthood. In essence, the current dissertation aimed to uncover the between-person differences, in terms of romantic relationships, peer influence, and offending behavior, in within-person change. That is, do elements of romantic relationships affect individuals' criminal behavior as they age and does this differ from how these elements affect other people? Two types of predictors are included in each model—time-invariant covariates and time-variant covariates. Time-invariant covariates do not change with time (e.g., sex, race) and time-variant covariates are considered to change with time (e.g., drug use, relationship status) (Curran, Obeidat, & Losardo, 2010). As such, the current analyses include a number of time-invariant and time-variant covariates in order to model between-individual and within-individual changes over time.

Romantic Relationship Status Models. Beginning with the baseline relationship status hierarchical generalized linear model for non-violent offending, results indicated a number of significant findings. First, males have a higher level of non-violent offending than females ($\gamma=0.54$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.001$). Second, individuals who report marijuana use ($\gamma=0.31$, $SE=0.05$, $p<.001$) have higher levels of non-violent offending. Third, individuals with higher levels of impulse control have lower levels of non-violent offending ($\gamma=-0.24$, $SE=0.03$, $p<.001$). For the time varying measures, at any given time, when individuals are in romantic relationships, there is more non-violent offending

($\gamma=0.13$, $SE=0.04$, $p<.001$). In addition, at any given time when there is more antisocial peer influence, there is more non-violent offending ($\gamma=0.62$, $SE=0.02$, $p<.001$). For the age measures, as individuals age, there is less non-violent offending ($\gamma=-0.58$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.001$; see Table 46).

For the relationship status model for non-violent offending including the interaction terms for sex and peer influence, results indicate that again, males have a higher level of non-violent offending than females ($\gamma=0.57$, $SE=0.11$, $p<.001$), those who report marijuana use ($\gamma=0.31$, $SE=0.05$, $p<.001$) have higher levels of non-violent offending, and individuals with higher levels of impulse control have lower levels of non-violent offending ($\gamma=-0.24$, $SE=0.03$, $p<.001$). For the time varying measures, at any given time, when there is more antisocial peer influence, there is more non-violent offending ($\gamma=0.66$, $SE=0.12$, $p<.001$). For the age measures, as individuals age, there is less non-violent offending ($\gamma=-0.58$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.001$; see Table 46).

The three way interaction term between relationship status, peer influence, and sex was statistically significant ($\gamma=-0.24$, $SE=0.12$, $p<.05$) which is illustrated in the bar graph in Figure 1 to aid in interpretation. This suggests that for men, when they are not in a romantic relationship and peer influence is low, they report less non-violent offending than when they are not in a romantic relationship and peer influence is high. When they are in romantic relationships and peer influence is low, men report less non-violent offending than when they are in a romantic relationship and peer influence is high. For women, when they are not in a romantic relationship and peer influence is low, women report less non-violent offending than when they are not in a romantic relationship and peer influence is high. When they are in a romantic relationship and

peer influence is low, women report less non-violent offending than when they are in a romantic relationship and peer influence is high. These findings suggest that simply involvement in a romantic relationship does not negate the effect of peer influence on non-violent offending for men or women (see Figure 1).

Table 46

Hierarchical Generalized Linear Model for Relationship Status Predicting Non-Violent Offending

Variables	Baseline		Interaction	
	γ	SE	γ	SE
Intercept	-0.48	0.16**	-0.53	0.17**
Male	0.54	0.08***	0.57	0.11***
Marijuana Use	0.31	0.05***	0.31	0.05***
Impulse Control	-0.24	0.03***	-0.24	0.03***
Parent SES	-0.003	0.002	-0.003	0.002
Race	0.001	0.03	0.001	0.03
Relationship Status Intercept	0.13	0.04***	-0.12	0.24
Peer Influence Intercept	0.62	0.02***	0.66	0.12***
Relationship Status*Peer Influence Intercept	-	-	0.18	0.11
Age Intercept	-0.58	0.08***	-0.58	0.08***
Quadratic Age Intercept	0.01	0.002***	0.01	0.002***
Male*Relationship Status	-	-	0.37	0.26
Male*Peer Influence	-	-	-0.03	0.12
Male*Relationship Status*Peer Influence	-	-	-0.24	0.12*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

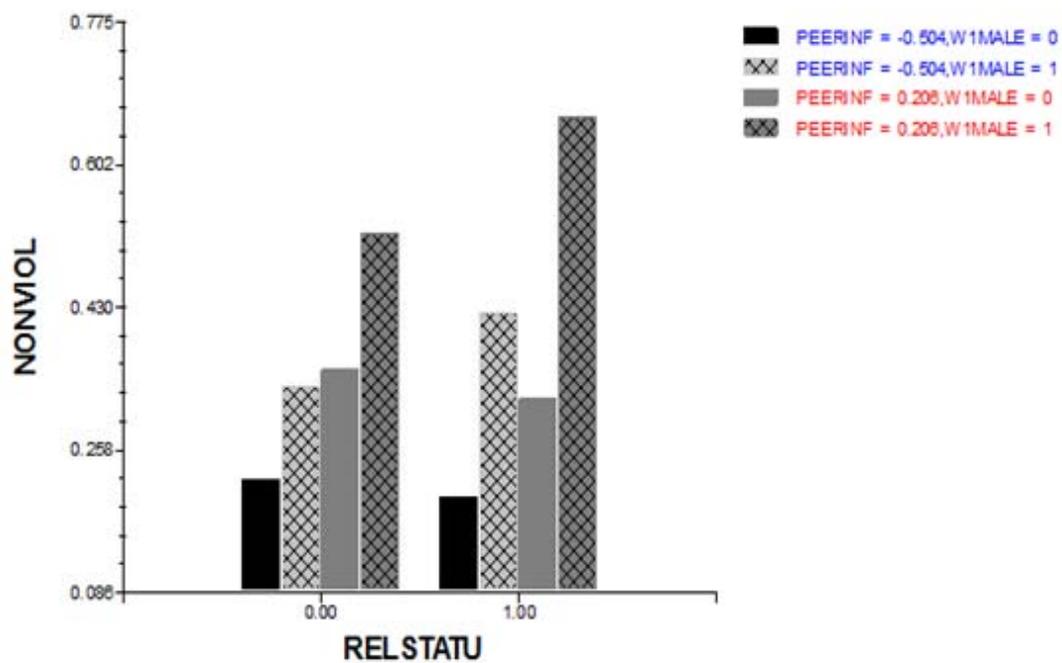


Figure 1. Three-Way Interaction Between Sex, Relationship Status, and Peer Influence for Non-Violent Offending.

The baseline relationship status model for violent offending indicated that males have more violent offending than females ($\gamma=0.82$, $SE=0.13$, $p<.001$), those who report marijuana use ($\gamma=0.34$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.001$) have more violent offending, individuals with higher levels of impulse control have less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.26$, $SE=0.05$, $p<.001$), and individuals with higher levels of parental SES have less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.01$, $SE=0.003$, $p<.05$). For the time varying measures, at any given time, when individuals are in romantic relationships, there is more violent offending ($\gamma=0.21$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.01$). Additionally, at any given time when there is more antisocial peer influence, there is more violent offending ($\gamma=0.97$, $SE=0.05$, $p<.001$). For the age measures, as individuals age, there is less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.93$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.001$; see Table 47).

For the relationship status model for violent offending including the interactions for sex and peer influence, results indicate that again, males have more violent offending than females ($\gamma=0.84$, $SE=0.19$, $p<.001$), those who report marijuana use ($\gamma=0.34$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.001$) have more violent offending, individuals with higher levels of impulse control have less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.26$, $SE=0.05$, $p<.001$), and individuals with higher levels of parental SES have less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.01$, $SE=0.003$, $p<.05$). For the time varying measures, at any given time when there is more antisocial peer influence, there is more violent offending ($\gamma=0.86$, $SE=0.24$, $p<.001$). For the age measures, as individuals age, there is less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.93$, $SE=0.16$, $p<.001$; see Table 47). The interaction terms for sex and peer influence were not statistically significant.

Table 47

*Hierarchical Generalized Linear Model for Relationship Status Predicting Violent**Offending*

Variables	Baseline		Interaction	
	γ	SE	γ	SE
Intercept	-1.75	0.26***	-1.79	0.30***
Male	0.82	0.13***	0.94	0.19***
Marijuana Use	0.34	0.09***	0.34	0.09***
Impulse Control	-0.26	0.05***	-0.26	0.05***
Parent SES	-0.01	0.003*	-0.01	0.003*
Race	0.08	0.05	0.08	0.05
Relationship Status Intercept	0.21	0.07**	-0.07	0.51
Peer Influence Intercept	0.97	0.05***	0.86	0.24***
Relationship Status*Peer Influence Intercept	-	-	0.23	0.30
Age Intercept	-0.93	0.16***	-0.93	0.16***
Quadratic Age Intercept	0.02	0.004***	0.02	0.004***
Male*Relationship Status	-	-	0.57	0.53
Male*Peer Influence	-	-	0.19	0.25
Male*Relationship Status*Peer Influence	-	-	-0.40	0.32

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Quality of romantic relationship models. The baseline quality model for non-violent offending indicated a number of significant findings. First, males have a higher level of non-violent offending than females ($\gamma=0.56$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.001$). Second, individuals who report marijuana use have higher levels of non-violent offending ($\gamma=0.29$, $SE=0.06$, $p<.001$). Third, individuals with higher levels of impulse control have lower levels of non-violent offending ($\gamma=-0.22$, $SE=0.03$, $p<.001$). For the time varying measures, at any given time, when there is more antisocial influence of individuals' peers ($\gamma=0.61$, $SE=0.02$, $p<.001$), there is more non-violent offending. For the age measures, as individuals age, there is less non-violent offending ($\gamma=-0.56$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.001$; see Table 48).

For the quality model for non-violent offending including the interactions for sex and peer influence, results indicate that again, males have a higher level of non-violent offending than females ($\gamma=0.64$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.001$), those who report marijuana use ($\gamma=0.28$, $SE=0.06$, $p<.001$) have higher levels of non-violent offending, and individuals with higher levels of impulse control have lower levels of non-violent offending ($\gamma=-0.22$, $SE=0.03$, $p<.001$). For the time varying measures, at any given time, when there is more antisocial influence of individuals' peers ($\gamma=1.42$, $SE=0.27$, $p<.001$), there is more non-violent offending. In addition, at any given time, when individuals' romantic relationships are of higher quality ($\gamma=0.20$, $SE=0.10$, $p<.05$), there is more non-violent offending. For the age measures, as individuals age, there is less non-violent offending ($\gamma=-0.55$, $SE=0.09$, $p<.001$; see Table 48).

A number of the interaction terms were statistically significant. First, the interaction term for sex was statistically significant for peer antisocial influence ($\gamma=-0.90$,

SE=0.28, $p<.01$), which suggests that sex changes the influence of peer antisocial influence on non-violent offending. Specifically, at any given time, women appear to be more affected by peer antisocial influence with regard to their non-violent offending. Second, the interaction term was statistically significant for the quality index ($\gamma=-0.26$, SE=0.10, $p<.01$), which suggests that sex changes the influence of the quality of romantic relationships on non-violent offending. Specifically, at any given time, women appear to be more affected by romantic relationship quality with regard to their non-violent offending. Third, the intercept for the interaction term between the quality index and peer influence was statistically significant ($\gamma=-0.07$, SE=0.03, $p<.05$), which suggests that, at any given time, when the peer influence and romantic relationship quality are both high, there is less non-violent offending. Fourth, the three-way interaction between sex, peer influence, and romantic relationship quality was statistically significant. This suggests that for men, when peer antisocial influence is low and the quality of men's romantic relationships is low, non-violent offending is high, but as the quality of romantic relationships increases, non-violent offending decreases. This effect is also shown for men when peer influence is high—when peer antisocial influence is high and the quality of men's romantic relationships is low, non-violent offending is at its highest, but as quality increases, non-violent offending decreases, even with high levels of peer antisocial influence. For women, when peer antisocial influence is low and the quality of women's romantic relationships is low, non-violent offending is low, but increases as the quality of romantic relationships increases. This effect is also found for women when peer influence is high—when peer antisocial influence is high and quality of romantic

relationships is low, non-violent offending is high and increases as romantic relationship quality increases (see Figure 2).

Table 48

Hierarchical Generalized Linear Model for Relationship Quality Predicting Non-Violent Offending

Variables	Baseline		Interaction	
	γ	SE	γ	SE
Intercept	-0.38	0.17*	-0.46	0.17**
Male	0.56	0.08***	0.64	0.09***
Marijuana Use	0.29	0.06***	0.09	0.06
Impulse Control	-0.22	0.03***	-0.22	0.03***
Parent SES	-0.004	0.002	-0.003	0.002
Race	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03
Quality Index Intercept	-0.02	0.01	0.20	0.10*
Peer Influence Intercept	0.61	0.02***	1.42	0.27***
Quality*Peer Influence Intercept	-	-	-0.07	0.03*
Age Intercept	-0.56	0.09***	-0.55	0.09***
Quadratic Age Intercept	0.01	0.002***	0.01	0.002***
Male*Quality Index	-	-	-0.26	0.10**
Male*Peer Influence	-	-	-0.90	0.28**
Male*Quality*Peer Influence	-	-	0.08	0.03*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

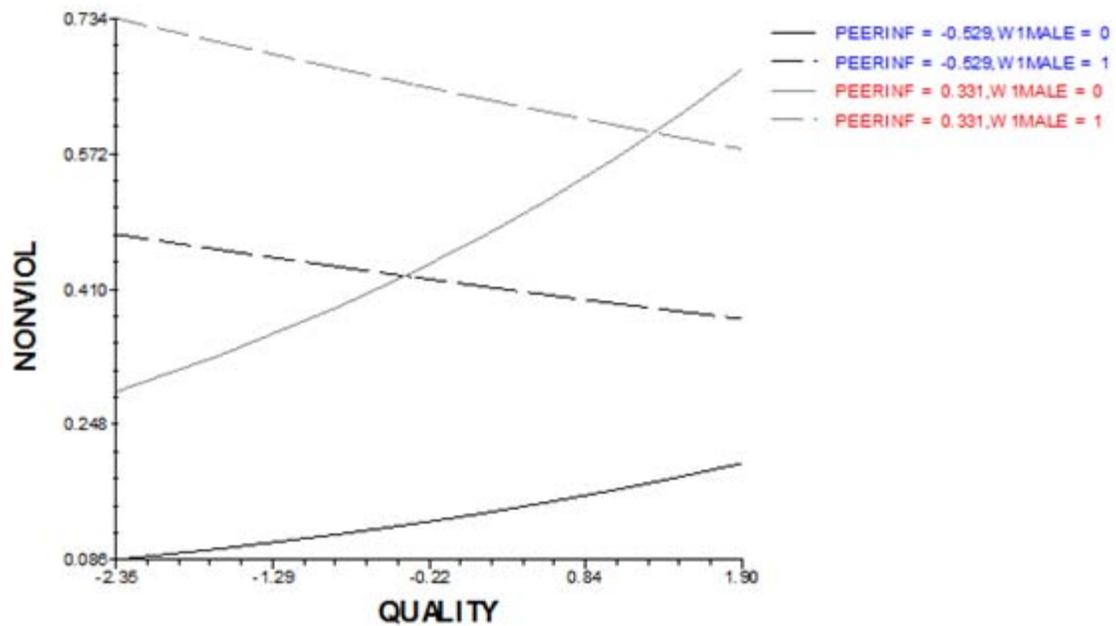


Figure 2. Three-Way Interaction Between Sex, Quality Index, and Peer Influence for Non-Violent Offending.

The baseline quality model for violent offending indicated that males have more violent offending than females ($\gamma=0.81$, $SE=0.14$, $p<.001$), those who report marijuana use ($\gamma=0.29$, $SE=0.11$, $p<.01$) have more violent offending, individuals with higher levels of impulse control have less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.26$, $SE=0.06$, $p<.001$), and individuals with higher levels of parental SES have less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.01$, $SE=0.004$, $p<.01$). For the time varying measures, at any given time, when there is more antisocial influence of individuals' peers ($\gamma=0.97$, $SE=0.06$, $p<.001$), there is more violent offending. For the age measures, as individuals age, there is less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.96$, $SE=0.22$, $p<.001$; see Table 49).

For the quality model for violent offending including the interaction terms for sex and peer influence, results indicate that again, males have more violent offending than females ($\gamma=0.82$, $SE=0.14$, $p<.001$), those who report marijuana use ($\gamma=0.29$, $SE=0.11$, $p<.01$) have more violent offending, individuals with higher levels of impulse control have less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.25$, $SE=0.06$, $p<.001$), and individuals with higher levels of parental SES have less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.01$, $SE=0.004$, $p<.01$). For the age measures, as individuals age, there is less violent offending ($\gamma=-0.95$, $SE=0.22$, $p<.001$; see Table 49). None of the other time varying measures or the interaction terms were statistically significant.

Table 49

Hierarchical Generalized Linear Model for Relationship Quality Predicting Violent Offending

Variables	Baseline		Interaction	
	γ	SE	γ	SE
Intercept	-1.37	0.30***	-1.38	0.31***
Male	0.81	0.14***	0.82	0.14***
Marijuana Use	0.29	0.11**	0.29	0.11**
Impulse Control	-0.26	0.06***	-0.26	0.06***
Parent SES	-0.01	0.004**	-0.01	0.004**
Race	0.10	0.06	0.10	0.06
Quality Index Intercept	-0.04	0.03	-0.13	0.11
Peer Influence Intercept	0.97	0.06***	0.74	0.53
Quality*Peer Influence Intercept	-	-	0.05	0.07
Age Intercept	-0.96	0.22***	-0.95	0.22***
Quadratic Age Intercept	0.02	0.01**	0.02	0.01**
Male*Quality Index	-	-	0.02	0.13
Male*Peer Influence	-	-	-0.03	0.57
Male*Quality*Peer Influence	-	-	-0.01	0.07

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

This dissertation examined how elements of romantic relationships, including romantic relationship status and the quality of romantic relationships, and peer relationships differentially affect individuals in adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood with regard to self-reported non-violent offending, self-reported violent offending, and official arrest. Sex differences were also examined. Studies of romantic relationships remain an important research focus because of the disparate conclusions often noted in existing research: marriage is often found to be a contributor to desistance from criminal behavior, but marriage is also noted as something that can exacerbate criminal behavior (Sampson & Laub, 1993, 2003; Haynie et al., 2005; Sampson et al., 2006). In addition, while studies examining marital effects on adult criminal behavior are quite substantial, much less is known about how romantic relationships affect behavior in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Summary of Adolescent Results

Results for adolescent respondents indicated a number of important findings. First, both bivariate and multivariate results showed that involvement in a romantic relationship had detrimental effects on adolescent behavior, which supports the hypothesis presented for the first research question about the effect of relationship involvement on desistance in adolescence. That is, adolescents who were in romantic relationships compared to adolescents who were not in romantic relationships reported more violent offending, more non-violent offending, and were more likely to have an

arrest. This finding is in line with extant empirical literature on the effects of romantic relationships on adolescents.

Research has indicated that adolescence is a time when youth begin to move beyond peer relationships and into more intimate relationships (Adams et al., 2001; Collins et al., 2009; Giordano et al., 2006; Raley et al., 2007; Simpson et al., 2011). Not a lot is known about how romantic partners in adolescence affect adolescent behavior; however, during adolescence, romantic partners are still very much like peers, so it is possible that at this point in the life-course, the effect is similar to a peer effect. If that is the case, then peer influence is strong (Adams et al., 2001; Berndt, 1999) and could very well help explain why involvement in a romantic relationship increases the likelihood of criminal behavior in adolescence. As noted previously, research has consistently found a strong association between friends' delinquent behavior and one's own delinquent behavior (Akers et al., 1979; Elliott et al., 1985; Elliott et al., 1989). Moreover, adolescence is a time where individuals are particularly vulnerable to peer pressure and, as this is also the time when adolescents' focus shifts from family to friends, this can be particularly detrimental for delinquent involvement (Gentry & Campbell, 2002; WHO, 2016). If romantic relationships work as friendships do, then increased unsupervised time with peers and increased peer pressure, including by romantic partners, could increase one's opportunity or susceptibility for delinquency (Sickmund et al., 1997). As such, the findings that romantic relationship involvement increases offending and likelihood of arrest are consistent with existing research, not only on adolescent romantic relationships, but also adolescent peer relationships.

Second, both bivariate and multivariate results indicated that the quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by a romantic partner, and antisocial influence of a romantic partner all had negative effects on adolescent offending. Overall in the bivariate analyses, the full sample of adolescents were affected by the antisocial influence of their partners regarding violent and non-violent offending, and monitoring by their partners regarding arrest. Boys' violent offending and non-violent offending were affected by partners' antisocial influence and their arrest was affected by partners' monitoring. Lastly, girls' violent offending, non-violent offending, and arrest were affected by the quality of their romantic relationships, and violent offending and non-violent offending were related to monitoring. These results were not substantiated in multivariate analyses, as no statistically significant results were found for the quality of romantic relationship measures. Because these results were not validated and the direction of the influence clarified in the multivariate model, it is unclear whether the hypothesis of research question two, that the quality measures would have a positive influence on desistance, is supported.

Existing research on the quality of adolescent romantic relationships and effects on offending are scarce; however, McCarthy and Casey (2008) noted that the strength and quality of adolescent romantic relationships should influence individuals' criminal involvement, so as the quality of romantic relationships increase, delinquency involvement should decrease. Moreover, it is not unexpected that partners' antisocial influence affects adolescent offending. Adolescence is a time when peer pressure and peer influence are high and romantic partners are, in essence, peers. As such, when adolescents are perpetually faced with partners' delinquent behavior, or their antisocial

influence, they too might become more susceptible to participation in those behaviors. In the bivariate analyses, monitoring was statistically significant regarding certain antisocial behaviors so, going back to romantic partners working like peers do in adolescence, if individuals are spending a lot of time with their partners, there may be more of an effect on behavior, especially regarding involvement in deleterious behaviors, such as offending or delinquent behaviors that may result in arrest. Future research should examine more closely how the quality of romantic relationships in adolescence affect delinquent behavior in order to develop more conclusive findings as to the specific effects of romantic partners at this time in the life course.

Third, results indicated that peer influence was related to offending behavior for the full sample, and both adolescent boys and adolescent girls. This association was found in the interaction model between sex, the quality index, and peer influence for non-violent offending. That is, higher levels of antisocial influence by peers predicted increased non-violent offending. The third hypothesis for adolescents, that peer influence and sex would moderate the relationship between the quality of romantic relationships and desistance, did not find support.

It is interesting that peer influence was only related to non-violent offending considering there is vast research on adolescent delinquency and peers that has linked peer delinquency to adolescent delinquency (Akers et al., 1979; Bauman & Ennett, 1996; Brendgen et al., 2000; Chassin et al., 2004; Farrington, 2004; Zimring, 1998). So, this finding in particular corresponds with existing research. However, this specific model was interested in uncovering whether peer influence and sex moderated the effect of romantic relationship quality on behavior and this was not found. Not much is

understood about how romantic relationships affect delinquency during adolescence, so it is also true that researchers have yet to fully uncover how peer influence works through romantic relationships to affect adolescent behavior.

For the relationship status interaction model, contrary to what was hypothesized regarding sex differences in the influence of romantic relationships on offending, results indicated that adolescent males' non-violent offending was more affected by involvement in a romantic relationship compared to adolescent girls. This finding is particularly curious given that, while existing literature does note that girls have not been found to be closer to romantic partners than boys (Shulman et al., 1997), romantic relationships are found to be important for girls' sense of self (Maccoby, 1990) and, consequently, one would expect girls to feel closer to their romantic partners (Shulman & Scharf, 2000). Therefore, the finding that boys' offending is more affected by romantic relationship involvement than girls' offending, is perhaps contrary from what would be expected. However, there is a potential explanation for this finding. Boys are generally found to have more delinquent peers than girls (Giordano, 2003); therefore, if we consider adolescent romantic relationships and adolescent peer relationships through a similar lens, it is possible that male adolescents generally partner with someone from their social group, who is more delinquent. Adolescent peer relationships are marked by similarity between friends (Crockett & Randall, 2006; Giordano, 2003), so this may also translate to similarity between romantic partners, thus increasing male adolescents' susceptibility for delinquent behavior because more of their friends are likely to be delinquent.

For the interaction model for the quality of romantic relationships measures, the main interaction terms of interest were not statistically significant. It is possible that at

this stage in the life-course, adolescents have not developed strong romantic relationships and, therefore, are not as influenced by their partners or the strength of these romantic relationships, especially as it pertains to delinquency. Given the minimal research on this topic, this can only be speculated on, but it makes sense that adolescent relationships would not be rife with monitoring, as is seen in emerging adult and adult relationships because, at this point, adolescents are still very much under the supervision of their parents. Of course, as individuals move through adolescence, the way they are permitted to spend their time may change, but it is still not surprising that we do not see the effects of the quality measures on offending during adolescence.

Summary of Emerging Adult Results

Results for emerging adults indicated a number of noteworthy findings. First, it is important to note that involvement in a romantic relationship was not significantly related to emerging adults' violent offending, non-violent offending, or arrest in either the bivariate or multivariate models. This is contrary to what was hypothesized, as it was thought that romantic relationship status would positively influence desistance for emerging adults.

Second, the bivariate results indicated that the quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by romantic partners, and antisocial influence of partners all can have detrimental effects on emerging adults' offending behaviors. Overall, in the bivariate analyses for the full sample of emerging adults, arrest was related to the quality of romantic relationships and monitoring by partners, but non-violent offending was related to the quality of romantic relationships and antisocial influence of partners. For emerging adult men, monitoring was related to both violent offending and arrest and antisocial

influence was related to non-violent offending. For emerging adult women, monitoring was related to violent offending, relationship quality was associated with arrest and non-violent offending, and antisocial influence of peers was related to non-violent offending. The multivariate results, however, did not support the bivariate findings as no statistically significant relationships were found between the quality measures and non-violent offending, violent offending, or arrest. This is again inconsistent with what was hypothesized as it was thought that the quality measures would have an effect, therefore, the null findings in this regard are generally opposed to what would be expected at this stage in the life course, but there may be some plausible explanations.

Existing research on the effects of romantic relationships and the quality of romantic relationships on offending in emerging adulthood, specifically, are scarce as most empirical studies have focused on adulthood or do not distinguish between the two periods. However, the quality measure results are interesting because emerging adult romantic relationships are characterized as being unstable, with emerging adults moving in and out of relationships quite quickly (Arnett, 2004; Bachman et al., 1997). As such, it is reasonable to conclude that romantic relationship status by itself does not significantly affect individuals' behavior because there is simply not enough time spent in each relationship. As individuals age, it would be expected, based on Sampson and Laub's (1993) age-graded theory of informal social control, that as it is the quality of the attachment that matters, as individuals' relationships achieve higher quality, desistance would be noted. However, this was not found in the current dissertation. Perhaps though, emerging adults are still in this in-between period where they are moving in and

out of relationships quickly and are not establishing high quality relationships. In this case, high quality relationships would likely not have substantial effects on behavior.

Moreover, as found only in the bivariate results, high antisocial influence of partners was indicative of negative behavior. This may speak to the lack of effects of high quality relationships on desistance because if the antisocial influence of their partner is high, individuals may want to remain with their partner despite the antisocial behavior, or these relationships may not be of high quality due to the antisocial behavior of partners. Both women (Capaldi et al., 2007; Kim & Capaldi, 2004; Haynie et al., 2005; Simons et al., 2002) and men (Haynie et al., 2005; Steffensmeier, 1983; Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996; Warr, 1998) are found to potentially influence their partners' entrance into offending or their persistence of offending due to their own antisocial behavior. This is further corroborated in existing research as it has been noted that partners' antisocial behavior and partners' antisocial influence are associated with increased antisocial behavior of the other partner (Monahan et al., 2014). In this way, even though emerging adults may not be part of long-lasting romantic relationships, it is still possible for partners' behavior to negatively influence emerging adult's own behavior.

Third, cohabiting with one's partner was found to be significantly related to official arrest for both the full sample of emerging adults and emerging adult men in the bivariate analyses and this finding was validated in the multivariate results—emerging adults who were cohabiting with their partner were less likely to have a subsequent arrest. This lends support to the hypothesis for the third research question—it was hypothesized that cohabitation would have a positive influence on desistance. Cohabitation has become much more common in recent decades among this age group (Arnett, 2004), so it

is conceivable that cohabitation may actually reduce the likelihood of arrest because cohabitation usually signals a more committed relationship.

Consistent with age-graded theory of informal social control, when individuals are in stable, committed relationships, such as those that lead to cohabitation, there is likely increased supervision and monitoring that can reduce time spent with peers (Sampson & Laub, 2005). There is, however, limited existing research specific to cohabitation and its effects on offending, but some researchers have held that these relationships still provide a number of protective benefits noted in marriages (Ross, 1995). Other researchers have disagreed and argued that if these relationships do facilitate desistance, it is likely to only be when these relationships are particularly marked by commitment (Laub et al., 1998; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993). This is important to qualify because in the current dissertation, it is unknown what the reasons surrounding the cohabitation were, whether cohabitation was for monetary reasons, cohabitation as a precursor to marriage, or just another step in the dating relationship. As such, it is unclear exactly how committed these relationships were. Not all cohabiting relationships are marked by strong commitment and attachment (Brown, 2003; Brown & Booth, 1996; Nock, 1995; Skinner et al., 2002; Waite & Gallagher, 2001), but given the results of the current dissertation, there is likely something happening in these relationships that affected individuals' likelihood of arrest. It could be the increased monitoring and supervision and the less time spent with peers, or it could be that these relationships had higher levels of attachment.

Fourth, bivariate results indicated that the antisocial influence of peers was related to violent offending, non-violent offending, and arrest for the full sample and emerging

adult men, and with non-violent offending for emerging adult women. The interaction model with sex, the quality index, and peer influence did not lend support for these findings, which is contrary to what was hypothesized in the fourth research question about the moderating influence of sex and peer influence on the quality of romantic relationships and desistance. Not much is known about how peer influence transcends past adolescence and into emerging adulthood and adulthood (Farrington, 2004; Monahan et al., 2009a). However, research has indicated that over time individuals become more resistant to the influence of their peers (Albert et al., 2013; Gardner & Steinberg, 2005; Sumter et al., 2009). This is generally thought to occur during the transition to adulthood because this is also the time when most individuals desist from criminal activity (Farrington, 2004). Quite clearly, the results from the current dissertation note results that are consistent with the position that individuals at this point in their lives are becoming more resistant to peer influence. Emerging adults may not need romantic relationships to distance themselves from antisocial peers because there may be other changes occurring during this time that have an effect on behavior, such as employment, which was found to reduce the likelihood of arrest. For this particular sample, the finding that peer influence was not significant once other factors were accounted for is interesting because this is a high-risk sample of individuals, but just because this is a high-risk sample, does not mean they continue to associate with antisocial peers and participate in negative behaviors throughout their life.

Lastly, the interaction terms were not significant in the relationship status interaction model or the cohabiting interaction model, which are both contrary to what was hypothesized about there being gender differences in these effects. However, in the

quality interaction model, the interaction term between sex and monitoring was statistically significant for non-violent offending, indicating that women were more affected by partners' monitoring regarding non-violent offending than men, which supports the hypothesis that there are gender differences in how these elements effect desistance, at least for monitoring and non-violent offending. Women are noted to be more relationship-oriented than men (Van Schellen et al., 2012) and this may contribute to a reduction in negative behavior when there is high monitoring in women's romantic relationships. If women's partners are in close proximity more often, then women may have less of an opportunity for deviant behavior. Additionally, they may feel like there is more to lose if they participate in deviant behaviors because they may be jeopardizing their relationship. Because women are generally found to be more relationship-oriented than men, this may be particularly troubling for them. Alternatively, this can have a negative impact on behavior as well, especially if the partner who is 'monitoring' participates in antisocial behavior. Then, women could potentially become more involved in offending because they are frequently with their antisocial partner.

Summary of Adult Results

The results for adults indicated a number of significant findings in both the bivariate and multivariate models. First, a significant difference was found between adult women who were in romantic relationships and those who were not with regard to official arrest; however, this particular finding was not found in the multivariate models, which is contrary to what was hypothesized. Second, bivariate results indicated that, for the full sample and adult men, the quality of romantic relationships, monitoring by partners, and antisocial influence of partners were associated with non-violent offending

and for women, the quality of romantic relationships was associated with arrest and non-violent offending. Multivariate results marginally supported the bivariate results and what was hypothesized—higher quality romantic relationships were predictive of less non-violent offending and this was further supported in the interaction model with the quality measures, as none of the interaction terms were statistically significant but the quality of romantic relationships remained significant.

Consistent with age-graded theory of informal social control albeit more focused on romantic relationships more generally, not specifically marriage, high quality romantic relationships, similar to marriage, are considered turning points that influence individuals' desistance from criminal behavior (Sampson & Laub, 1993). It is well-documented that marriage has an abundance of positive influence on individuals' behavior, therefore the finding that higher quality relationships reduce non-violent offending is consistent with what would be expected at this stage of the life course. The development of informal social controls, or bonds, could substantially impact behavior because individuals rationally decide to desist from criminal behavior (Cusson & Pinsonneault, 1986; Sampson & Laub, 1993), perhaps because they do not want to potentially hurt these bonds in any way.

Third, bivariate and multivariate results did not find any significant relationships between cohabiting and desistance. However, for the cohabiting interaction model, the interaction term between sex and cohabitation was statistically significant, indicating that men were more affected by cohabiting with their partners, in terms of arrest, than were women, which was contrary to what was hypothesized as it was thought that women would be more affected by cohabitation than men. Although some researchers have

argued that cohabiting relationships may work similarly to marriages in terms of providing many of the same protective benefits that are found in marital relationships (Capaldi et al., 2008), there is limited research on cohabitation and offending, but what has been conducted holds that this type of prosocial effect is only seen when the relationships are marked by stability and commitment (Laub et al., 1998; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993). Cohabitation also provides increased interaction with partners because more than likely, individuals see each other daily and are home with each other frequently. Men may feel more responsible for providing for their partner if they are actually living in the same household, so involvement in behaviors that may lead to arrest may not be at the forefront of men's minds. Instead, there could be an increased focus on being the breadwinner and ensuring both parties are cared for.

Fourth, as extant research would suggest, adults are still affected by the antisocial influence of their peers. Therefore, it is not surprising that the results of this dissertation also found this, at least in the bivariate analyses with regard to violent offending, non-violent offending, and the likelihood of arrest. In the interaction model with an interaction term between sex, the quality index, and peer influence, the three-way interaction term was not statistically significant, which was inconsistent to what was hypothesized; however, the quality index was significant, suggesting that as the quality of romantic relationships increases, non-violent offending decreases. This is consistent with what was discussed for the results of the quality of romantic relationships analysis—high quality relationships are important for desistance from offending.

For the relationship status interaction model, the interaction term between sex and romantic relationship status was statistically significant indicating that men were more affected by involvement in romantic relationships with regard to non-violent offending than women, which was again contrary to what was hypothesized in that women were thought to be more affected by relationship status than men regarding desistance. In addition, involvement in a romantic relationship reduced the likelihood of arrest. These findings could speak to the increased ages of respondents. Theoretically, in adulthood, individuals' involvement in stable, committed relationships could mitigate any deviant behavior. Although in emerging adulthood women are seen to be more affected by their romantic relationships based on the results of the current dissertation, this could be shifting as individuals transition to adulthood because men may be developing these strong attachments and stable relationships not seen previously. Theory would suggest that relationships and quality do matter for desistance and this has been tested on adult men and, as such, these results corroborate the theoretical perspective used in the current dissertation.

Summary of Hierarchical Generalized Linear Models

Results of the hierarchical generalized linear models were consistent with those found in the multivariate models. First, individuals who were in romantic relationships reported higher levels of non-violent offending and violent offending. In addition, even among those in high quality romantic relationships, higher levels of non-violent offending were noted. Furthermore, sex differences were found. As noted previously, Sampson and Laub (1993) held that it is not just the attachment that matters, but the strength of that bond when it comes to desistance. Therefore, it is possible that

individuals in this study partnered with antisocial partners and then initiated or persisted in their offending behaviors. If this is the case, then a positive effect of involvement in a romantic relationship and high quality relationships would not necessarily be found. If individuals consider their relationships to be of high quality, but they are involved with an antisocial partner, then this finding may not be particularly surprising.

Second, peer antisocial influence is found to contribute to non-violent and violent offending and there are sex differences with this effect. In addition, this effect varies by the quality of the romantic relationship. Regarding peer influence specifically, this is not surprising because peer influence is found to negatively influence delinquency (Akers et al., 1979; Bauman & Ennett, 1996; Brendgen et al., 2000; Chassin et al., 2004; Farrington, 2004; Zimring, 1998), at least in adolescence. Much less is known about the continued effect of peers on delinquency as individual's progress through the life course. However, results from the current dissertation suggest that peers still have a high influence on individuals' behavior, their negative behavior in particular, even as individuals enter into emerging adulthood and adulthood. What is particularly interesting about this finding is that women appear to be more negatively affected by peer influence than men. Perhaps, their partners participate in antisocial behavior and women are, thus, more likely to be embedded in antisocial networks. However, not specific to men or women, when peer influence is high, but romantic relationship quality is also high, there is less non-violent offending. This supports the hypothesis that a high quality romantic relationship will override the effect of high antisocial peer influence on continued involvement in criminal behavior.

Third, two three-way interactions were statistically significant—the interaction between relationship status, peer antisocial influence, and sex, and the interaction between the quality index, peer antisocial influence and sex. For both men and women, this suggests that peer influence plays a large role in continued offending and just being in a romantic relationship does not negate the effect of peer influence. This is contrary to the results found for the interaction term discussed previously, but it may have more to do with the quality of individuals' romantic relationships as opposed to involvement in a romantic relationship by itself. For men, results stay consistent, in that when peer influence is low and relationship quality is low, non-violent offending stays high, but as quality increases, non-violent offending decreases regardless of the level of peer antisocial influence. However, for women, non-violent offending increases even as romantic relationship quality increases. Again, this may potentially speak to underlying elements of female romantic relationships, such as who their partner is and what behaviors and networks their partners are participating in.

Of importance to the hierarchical generalized linear model analyses, both non-violent offending and violent offending decreased as individuals aged. This is particularly in line with Sampson and Laub's age-graded theory of informal social control, as well as Hirschi and Gottfredson (1983). Specifically, the age-crime curve is well-established, but there are arguments over what causes the change in crime rates over time (Uggen, 2000). Results from the present study indicate that desistance from non-violent offending and violent offending does occur as individuals age. Inconsistent with age-graded theory of informal social control, however, is that romantic relationships and

relationship quality did not appear to affect crime, even by age. Results consistently documented that romantic relationships actually negatively impacted desistance.

Control Variables

A number of control variables were consistently related to offending and arrest throughout the analyses. First, men were consistently found to have a higher level of offending and a higher likelihood of arrest in the multivariate and hierarchical generalized linear models. Extant literature has consistently found that men commit more delinquent acts than women (Giordano & Cernkovich, 1997; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Mears et al., 1998; Rutter et al., 1998; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). It is interesting that more gender differences were not found in the current dissertation, especially given the work on gendered pathways to desistance (Rodermond et al., 2016). The lack of gender differences could be attributed to the limited number of women who reported offending and arrest in the dataset, but nonetheless, it is important to speculate on other reasons this could be. Considering this is a high-risk sample, it is possible that the women involved already had antisocial tendencies and may have partnered with another antisocial individual. Research has indicated that women may initiate criminal behavior because of attachments to partners, especially if those partners happen to be antisocial (Van Schellen et al., 2012). However, theoretically, research would suggest that romantic relationships have a stronger effect on desistance for women than for men (Barry, 2010; Benda, 2005; Cobbina et al., 2012; Simons et al., 2002), but this effect was not found in the current dissertation.

Second, impulse control was included in the model as a measure of impulsivity in order to uncover if, perhaps, impulsive individuals, regardless of relationships or other

influences, were more likely to participate in offending behaviors and be arrested.

Results consistently indicated that individuals with higher levels of impulse control did have lower levels of non-violent offending, violent offending, and were less likely to be arrested. However, this is not outside of what is expected because impulsivity has been linked to offending behaviors (Hawkins et al., 1998) because impulsive individuals tend to make less rational choices (Caspi, Moffitt, & Silva, 1994; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985) and tend to not pay attention to the future outcomes of their behavior (Piquero & Pogarsky, 2002).

Third, prior participation in non-violent offending and violent offending, as well as prior arrest were significant across the models. Continuity of behavior is often noted in existing literature. In fact, it is often noted that ‘the best predictor of future antisocial behavior is past antisocial behavior’ (Blumstein, Farrington, & Moitra, 1985; Nagin & Paternoster, 1991; Wolfgang, Figlio, & Sellin, 1972). While this was true from the multivariate analyses that specifically looked at offending in distinct age periods, the hierarchical generalized linear models suggest that even with past behavior, offending is reduced as people age.

Link to Intimate Partner Violence within Relationships

While the current dissertation measured violent crime not specific to intimate partner violence (IPV), it is very possible that participants were involved in IPV, whether as perpetrators or victims, and this form of violence is not specific to one stage in the life course. In fact, women between 16 and 24 years old are at the highest risk for IPV victimization (Rennison & Welchans, 2000), which is during adolescence and emerging adulthood. In addition, 32% of adolescents who are still in school report psychological or

physical IPV (Halpern, Oslak, Young, Martin, & Kupper, 2001). Therefore, IPV can impact individuals at all stages of the life course, so it is important to not just focus on distinct periods, but instead look at IPV longitudinally. Beyond the prevalence of IPV during adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood, IPV affects romantic relationships and potentially desistance, as well.

Although not measured in the current dissertation, there is room for speculation as to the potential of violence within relationships in terms of partners' influence and the null effects of relationship status and the quality measures as individual's progress throughout the life course. Research has regularly documented the negative effect of relationship violence on romantic relationship quality (Coffey, Leitenberg, Henning, Bennett, & Jankowski, 1996; Linder, Crick, & Collins, 2002). Additionally, relationship satisfaction, often in conjunction with relationship conflict, is found to be a risk factor for IPV (Smith Slep, Foran, Heyman, & Snarr, 2010). Future research would benefit from uncovering just what it is in these relationships that reduce the quality. Furthermore, more in depth analysis of if the antisocial influence of partners within romantic relationships is coupled with IPV within romantic relationships is also of importance for future research.

Moreover, empirical research has found that associating with antisocial peers influence violent behaviors in adolescence, so it is not a stretch to think that deviant peer associations may also affect IPV perpetration (Dishion, Veronneau, & Myers, 2010; Foshee et al., 2011). In fact, this is substantiated in extant research, in that having friends who perpetrated IPV was strongly associated with adolescents' perpetration of IPV as well as their IPV victimization (Arriaga & Foshee, 2004; Foshee et al., 2011). Therefore,

based on the findings from the present dissertation, it is clear that peer influence is strong in adolescence and it is not known what specific behaviors individuals' peers are participating in, so it is possible that some of these behaviors include IPV perpetration which would influence adolescents' own behavior.

Limitations and Future Research

Although the current study has contributed to current knowledge on the effects of romantic relationships on desistance from offending and subsequent arrest, it is not without limitations. First, the dataset used in this study (Mulvey & Shubert, 2012) was particularly useful in examining the long-term effects of romantic relationships on desistance, but, in some cases, it did limit the ability to construct precise measures related to the quality of romantic relationships and peer influence. These scales were pre-constructed by the creators of this dataset and the individual measures were not available in the dataset nor were they expounded upon in the codebook or other areas. As such, future research would benefit from using a dataset in which all scales could be constructed by the researcher, in order to ensure absolute accuracy.

In addition, the measures that were obtained from the life-history calendars were not the most robust measures because a limited number of respondents were interviewed for all of the life-history calendar months. As such, a measure of partners' criminal behavior could not be obtained for this study and it would be beneficial for future research to have a better measure of partner behavior to ascertain actual offending. The current dissertation did, however, include a measure of partner antisocial influence, which is useful to help capture the overall influence of individuals' partners. Moreover, parental socioeconomic status was only asked at the baseline interview. This is

problematic given that income can fluctuate and if researchers want to capture how parental socioeconomic status can impact behavior, especially for selection purposes in terms of individuals' environment, it would be useful to have this measure at every wave to ensure that this effect is being fully captured. Further, due to a limited number of respondents who were married or engaged at each wave in the study, the relationship variable had to be limited to measure those who were not in romantic relationship of any sort compared to those who were in some form of romantic relationship, whether that be a dating relationship or a marital relationship. Therefore, additional research should carefully consider changes in romantic relationship status and how those changes may coincide with changes in offending behavior.

In addition, there is not a measure of sexual orientation or whether the relationships measured were relationships among sexual minority populations. As such, the current dissertation was unable to parse out any differences that may occur between those in heterosexual relationships and relationships among sexual minority populations. Future research would benefit from looking more in depth at any differences that sexual minority populations have with regard to the effects of romantic relationships on desistance.

Also of importance is that this was a high-risk sample of previously adjudicated youth. It is possible that these individuals were particularly entrenched in deleterious behaviors, so a romantic partner was not necessarily able to break this pattern of behavior, or the partner was also involved in antisocial behavior, which further perpetuated respondents' behavior. Moreover, peer influence was included in the model with the quality of romantic relationships index as an interaction in order to determine if

peer influence moderated the effects of relationship quality on offending. However, this is a potential limitation because there is contention in empirical literature on this topic that suggests that peer influence is really a proxy for self-reported offending since individuals' potentially report the same delinquent activities for their friends and for themselves (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1987). While that may be true, peer influence was included because existing research consistently expounds on the fact that peers have such a strong impact on individuals' behavior (Warr, 1998).

Policy Recommendations

Despite these limitations, the present study delved into three developmental periods: adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood. Thus, there are a number of policy recommendations to discuss. For adolescents, this is a time when romantic relationships are starting to develop. Adolescents are learning about navigating not only these relationships, but changing relationships with peers and family. It is thus recommended that school officials understand the changing dynamics within adolescents' lives and create or push for programs that educate adolescents on what the effects of relationships can be. For example, a program that teaches adolescents about healthy relationships, both with friends and romantic partners that delves into how to not only resist against peer pressure, but to also recognize the signs of unhealthy relationships and the resources that are available to them if they are ever in need of help. Without the proper tools, it is difficult to ensure that adolescents are receiving this valuable information that may positively impact their susceptibility to delinquency.

For emerging adults and adults, policy recommendations are somewhat more problematic because these individuals are not always in a place, such as a school, where

there is easy access for different programs. That being said, this is often when individuals are in college, so at least in that respect, creating programs aimed at healthy romantic relationships and how unhealthy relationships or antisocial partners can affect one's behavior, is a good place to start to disseminate this information. In addition, offering healthy relationship or healthy marriage classes as a form of marriage counseling, pre-marital classes, or just generally offered at a local community center could be a way of getting individuals interested and learning about how relationships affect other areas of individuals' lives, including offending.

As this was a high-risk sample, it is also important to consider policy recommendations for youth and adults involved in the criminal justice system. Although findings from the present dissertation, are consistent with the age-crime curve, in that offending does decrease as individuals' age, perhaps desistance could occur sooner for these youth and adults if there were interventions in place. Results indicated that peers and romantic partners mattered greatly in adolescence in terms of negative behaviors, so it is not outside the realm of possibility that if adolescents were involved with prosocial influences, perhaps their delinquency would decline. There are protective factors against delinquency that could be strengthened, including family relationships and other adult role models who provide clear indicators of appropriate behaviors (Sullivan, 2006). Participants in the study used for this dissertation had all experienced an arrest, so it is important to break the continuity of behavior that may occur. Potential options include mentoring programs to provide youth with a prosocial influence in their lives, involvement in extracurricular activities that are chaperoned by adults, or, if the youth is of age to work, employment opportunities to keep the youth busy and away from

potentially negative influences (de Vries, Hoeve, Assink, Stams, & Asscher, 2015; Keating, Tomishima, Foster, & Alessandri, 2002).

For adults, this becomes more difficult, but if the focus begins with high-risk youth, it is possible that these early interventions could mitigate any future delinquency (Loeber & Farrington, 2000). Focusing specifically on rehabilitation and prisoner reentry programs could provide some clues as to what would help adults in their decisions to desist from crime. Just like with adolescents, family involvement in the reintegration process is important (Naser & La Vigne, 2006). Families provide support for just-released individuals regarding housing, monetary support, and emotional support that may reduce recidivism (Naser & La Vigne, 2006).

Regarding romantic relationships, divorce is high among incarcerated populations (Massoglia, Remster, & King, 2011). However, efforts have been made and demonstrate some success in addressing marital problems of incarcerated and previously incarcerated individuals (O'Farrell & Fals-Stewart, 1999). In particular, individuals who participated in couple's therapy demonstrated higher relationship satisfaction and fewer incidents of IPV (O'Farrell & Fals-Stewart, 1999). It is important to address romantic relationships among this population by improving healthy relationship skills, including communication and conflict resolution (Shamblen, Arnold, McKiernan, Collins, & Strader, 2013). Two prevention programs in particular have been created to help improve the relationships of soon-to-be released inmates, including the Relationship Enhancement Program (REP; Accordino & Guerney, 1998) and the Prevention and Relationship Enhancement Program (PREP; Markman, Stanley, & Blumberg, 2010). The REP focuses on developing certain skills, such as discussion and negotiation skills, problem or conflict resolution skills, and

maintaining these skills (Accordino & Guerney, 1998). The PREP involves training on communication, development of problem-solving skills, and setting ground rules for romantic relationships (Markman et al., 2010). Neither of these programs have received sufficient research attention to make a lot of conclusions, but results suggest that implementing these programs directly preceding inmates' release into society may be beneficial not only for reducing attrition, but also for making the development of these skills more relevant, considering inmates will be using them quickly after the program (Shamblen et al., 2013).

It is not feasible to require individuals not to associate with deviant partners, especially if that would require divorce. Therefore, implementation of programs during incarceration or upon reentry are viable ways to disseminate valuable information about quality relationships and how relationships can have lasting effects on behavior and also to have an avenue to teach individuals the skills to strengthen relationships and to hopefully reduce any violence in their relationships. Moreover, by strengthening relationships with individuals' family-of-origin, recently released inmates are given more options on where to go upon release, which could move them away from antisocial partners and peer groups.

Conclusion

In conclusion, four hypotheses found at least marginal support in the current dissertation and three findings were contrary to what was hypothesized. The other hypotheses did not find support. For adolescents, results indicated that involvement in a romantic relationship did negatively impact behavior, which was consistent to what was hypothesized. Divergent to what was hypothesized, however, boys were more affected

by romantic relationship involvement than girls. For emerging adults, cohabitation was positively related to reduced likelihood of arrest, which is consistent with the hypothesis and marginal support was found for the hypothesis that there would be gender differences in the effects of the quality measures on desistance. For adults, the hypothesis that the quality of romantic relationship measures would positively influence desistance found marginal support—higher quality relationships were indicative of less non-violent offending. However, differing from what was hypothesized, cohabiting with a partner and involvement in a romantic relationship were found to have a greater influence on men's behavior compared to women's.

In terms of the theoretical underpinnings expressed in the current dissertation, age-graded theory of informal social control did find marginal support because romantic relationships and the quality of romantic relationships did matter—at least to some extent and for some individuals—for desistance. Although usually applied to adult relationships, the current dissertation aimed to assess the influence of romantic relationships on behavior throughout the life-course. As such, there was the expectation that romantic relationships would affect adolescent's, emerging adult's, and adult's behavior, but the direction of that effect was less certain. The results of this dissertation suggest that not all romantic relationships are created equally and this definitely varies by stage in the life-course. In adolescence, involvement in romantic relationships are not considered turning points and these relationships may not enhance and influence the creation of other social bonds, increasing individuals' stakes in conformity. Therefore, adolescent romantic relationships, no matter the quality of the relationships, do not have the pull necessary to move adolescents out of delinquency and onto a more prosocial

path. Instead, these relationships, similar to peer relationships, increase the amount of peer influence in adolescents' lives, which is a potential explanation as to why involvement in romantic relationships has such a negative influence on behavior in adolescence—an effect not found in emerging adulthood or adulthood.

Emerging adult and adult romantic relationships theoretically are turning points that lead to more conforming behavior. However, as Sampson and Laub (1993) held, it is not just the transition into the romantic relationship that matters, it is the strength and quality of those bonds, as well. Additionally, Sampson and Laub focused on marriages and existing research discusses the differences between marital and non-marital relationships, so it is possible that the findings of the present dissertation could have been different had the focus been specifically on marital relationships compared to non-marital relationships. Instead, what the results suggest is that romantic relationship status by itself was not particularly meaningful when looking at desistance, which is generally consistent with what Sampson and Laub would hold, but the quality of romantic relationships was only significant for adults and only when looking at non-violent offending. As such, the findings that the quality of the bond matters are not as robust as one would expect to provide support for this theory. However, what can be taken from the results of this dissertation are that adolescent, emerging adult, and adult relationships are different and it is also probable that marital and non-marital relationships are also quite different when examining relationship effects on desistance.

Age-graded theory of informal social control also found support through the hierarchical generalized linear models, which found, overall, that offending decreased as individuals aged, however, less so because it did not appear that romantic relationships or

the quality of these relationships had any influence on desistance. Therefore, these results more so supported other desistance literature that has argued that even among high-risk offenders, offending decreases as individuals age (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Thornberry, 2005; Wiesner et al., 2007).

Overall, however, the current dissertation adds to existing research on the topic of romantic relationships and desistance because there is so little available that specifically addresses the different developmental periods, as well as, includes the quality measures. -Understanding how the quality of romantic relationships affect desistance is particularly important given that this is a major component of age-graded theory of informal social control. As such, the current dissertation worked to uncover these relationships throughout the life course.

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VITA

Sara B. (Simmons) Zedaker

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Sam Houston State University
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EDUCATION

Ph.D. Criminal Justice and Criminology, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX –
Expected May 2017.

Dissertation: “Romantic Relationships and Time-Varying Moderators of Desistance: A Focus on Adolescence, Emerging Adulthood, and Adulthood”

Chair: Dr. Leana Bouffard

M.A., Criminal Justice and Criminology, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX, 2013

Thesis: “The effects of intimate partner violence on substance use and depression for men and women involved in the National Youth Survey Family Study”

Chair: Dr. Kelly Knight

B.A., Criminology, St. Edward’s University, Austin, TX, 2011

Summa Cum Laude

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2015 – present Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX.

DOCTORAL TEACHING FELLOW

- Responsible for classroom instruction and the assessment of student performance

2014 – present Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX.

DOCTORAL RESEARCH ASSISTANT

- Under the mentorship of Leana Bouffard, Ph.D. and the Crime Victims’ Institute

2011 – 2014 Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX.

GRADUATE RESEARCH ASSISTANT

- Under the mentorship of Kelly Knight, Ph.D.
- Research focused on the intergenerational transmission of drug use, intimate partner violence, and animal abuse.

PUBLICATIONS

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

Zedaker, S. B., & Bouffard, L. (2017). Relationship status, romantic relationship quality, monitoring, and antisocial influence: Is there an effect on subsequent offending? *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology.*

Zedaker, S. B., & Muftic, L. R. (Forthcoming). A safe place to go? A descriptive study of safety strategies among female college students. *Criminal Justice Review.*

- Bouffard, L. & **Zedaker, S. B.** (2016). Are domestic violence offenders specialists? Answers from multiple analytic approaches. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 53(6), 788-813. doi:10.1177/0022427816656897
- Knight, K. E., Menard, S., **Simmons, S. B.** (maiden name), Bouffard, L., Orsi, R. (2016). Life course and intergenerational continuity of intimate partner aggression and physical injury: A 20-year study. *Violence and Victims*, 31(3), 1-21.
- Simmons, S. B.** (maiden name), Knight, K. E., & Menard S. (2015). Consequences of intimate partner violence substance use and depression for men and women. *Journal of Family Violence*, 30(3), 351-361.
- Simmons, S. B.** (maiden name), Knight, K. E., & Ellis, C. (2015). Youthful animal abuse and later problem behavior outcomes: Findings from two generations. *Contemporary Justice Review: Issues in Criminal, Social, and Restorative Justice*, 1-15.
- Simmons, S. B.** (maiden name), Knight, K. E., & Menard, S. (2015). Long-term consequences of intimate partner abuse on physical health, emotional wellbeing, and problem behaviors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 1-32.
- Knight, K. E., Ellis, C., & **Simmons, S. B.** (maiden name). (2014). Parental predictors of children's animal abuse: Findings from a national and intergenerational sample. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 29(16), 3014-3034.
- Knight, K. E., Menard, S., & **Simmons, S. B.** (maiden name). (2013). Intergenerational continuity of substance use. *Substance Use & Misuse*, 49(3), 221-233.

Manuscripts Under Review

- Zedaker, S. B.** (under review). Intimate partner violence strangulation and offender lethality: Relationship status and racial differences. Under Review at *Violence Against Women*.
- Zedaker, S. B.** (under review). Gender differences in multi-partner fertility and subsequent offending and substance use. Under review at the *Journal of Marriage and Family*.

Manuscripts in Progress

- Zedaker, S. B.**, & Muftic, L. R. From shelter to college and back?: An examination of victimization experiences among college women who spent time in a family violence shelter as children.
- Bouffard, L. A., **Zedaker, S. B.**, & Armstrong, T. A. Romantic partners, delinquent peers, and offending.
- Wells, J., **Zedaker, S.**, & Armstrong, T. It depends: Testing biosocial mediation of an environmental model of offender risk.

Non-Peer Reviewed Publications

- Simmons, S. B.** (maiden name). (2016). Ray and Faye Copeland. In *Crimes of the Centuries: An Encyclopedia of Notorious Crimes, Criminals, and Criminal Trials in American History*. (Vol. 1, pp. 189-190). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.

- Simmons, S. B. (maiden name).** (2016). Genene Jones. In *Crimes of the Centuries: An Encyclopedia of Notorious Crimes, Criminals, and Criminal Trials in American History*. (Vol. 2, pp. 420-422). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.
- Simmons, S. B. (maiden name).** (2016). Rudy Eugene. *Crimes of the Centuries: An Encyclopedia of Notorious Crimes, Criminals, and Criminal Trials in American History*. (Vol. 1, pp. 254-255). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.
- Simmons, S. B. (maiden name).** (2016). Mountain Meadows Massacre. *Crimes of the Centuries: An Encyclopedia of Notorious Crimes, Criminals, and Criminal Trials in American History*. (Vol. 2, pp. 561-562). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.
- Simmons, S. B. (maiden name).** (2016). Zebra Murders. *Crimes of the Centuries: An Encyclopedia of Notorious Crimes, Criminals, and Criminal Trials in American History*. (Vol. 3, pp. 869-870). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.

Technical Reports

- Muftic, L. R., & **Simmons, S. B. (maiden name).** (2016). *A safe place to go? A descriptive study of safety strategies among female college students*. Crime Victims' Institute, Sam Houston State University.
- Bouffard, L. A., Jin, H., & **Simmons, S. B. (maiden name).** (2015). *Evaluation of the PTSD/substance abuse program in Bell County, Texas: Final report*. Crime Victims' Institute, Sam Houston State University. Submitted to Bell County (TX) Community Supervision and Corrections Division.
- Knight, K. E., Menard, S., **Simmons, S. B. (maiden name)**, Bouffard, L. A., Orsi, R. (2013). *Generational cycles of intimate partner violence in the US: A research brief*. Crime Victims' Institute, Sam Houston State University.
- Knight, K. E., Menard, S., **Simmons, S. B. (maiden name).** (2012). Faculty Research Grant Report: *Intergenerational continuity of substance use*. Office of Research and Sponsored Programs, Sam Houston State University.

Conference Presentations

- Zedaker, S. B.** (November 2016). Romantic relationships and desistance: A focus on gender differences during emerging adulthood. American Society of Criminology. New Orleans, LA.
- Simmons, S. B. (maiden name)**, & Bouffard, L. (November 2015). Romantic relationship quality, monitoring, and antisocial influence and desistance from offending and substance use. American Society of Criminology. Washington, DC.
- Simmons, S. B. (maiden name)**, & Bouffard, L. (April 2015). Are intimate partner violence offenders specialists or generalists? Second Annual Student Research Symposium. The Woodlands, TX.
- Simmons, S. B. (maiden name)**, & Bouffard, L. (March 2015). Are intimate partner violence offenders specialists or generalists? Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. Orlando, FL.

Simmons, S. B. (*maiden name*), Knight, K. E., Menard, S., & Bouffard, L. (November 2013). Life course and intergenerational continuity of intimate partner violence. American Society of Criminology. Atlanta, GA.

Simmons, S. B. (*maiden name*), Knight, K. E., & Menard, S. (March 2013). The effects of intimate partner violence on drug use and mental health for men and women involved in the NYSFS study. Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. Dallas, TX.

Knight, K. E., **Simmons, S. B.** (*maiden name*), & Menard, S. (November 2012). Intergenerational continuity of drug use. American Society of Criminology. Chicago, IL.

Fellowships

- 2016 Criminal Justice Graduate Student Summer Research Fellowship (\$6,000): Romantic relationship quality, multi-partner fertility, and desistance from offending and substance use.
- 2015 Criminal Justice Graduate Student Summer Research Fellowship (\$6,000): Romantic relationship quality, monitoring, and antisocial influence and desistance from offending and substance use.
- 2014 Criminal Justice Graduate Student Summer Research Fellowship (\$6,000): Long-term consequences of intimate partner abuse on physical health, emotional wellbeing, and problem behaviors.

RELEVANT RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- 2016 – present Sam Houston State University, Crime Victims' Institute, Huntsville, TX.
PROJECT DIRECTOR
- Evaluation of Prosecutorial Efforts in Strangulation Response

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Undergraduate Courses

- CRIJ 2362 Criminology
 CRIJ 3378 Introduction to Methods of Research (Writing-enhanced)
 CRIJ 3350 Victimology
 CRIJ 4398 Problem Analysis in Victim Studies (Writing-enhanced)

ACADEMIC AWARDS/HONORS

- 2014-2016 Ellis-Gibbs Memorial Scholarship, Sam Houston State University
 2014-2015 Rolando V. Del Carmen Student Endowed Scholarship, Sam Houston State University
 2013 Leadership Award, Sam Houston State University
 2013 Excellence in Writing Award, Sam Houston State University
 2013 **Simmons, S. B.** Intimate partner violence: Its effects on women. ACJS Minorities and Women Section, Esther Madriz Student Travel Award (First Place)
 2012-2013 Rolando V. Del Carmen Student Endowed Scholarship, Sam Houston State University
 2011 Outstanding Senior Criminology Student of the Year, St. Edward's University

2010-2011 Alpha Phi Sigma, St. Edward's University
 2009-2011 Alpha Chi Honor Society, St. Edward's University

SERVICE ACTIVITIES

2016 Managing Editor for Special Issue of Criminal Justice Review
 2016 Manuscript Review for the American Journal on Addictions
 2015 Academic peer mentor at SHSU
 2012 – present Member of the Criminal Justice Graduate Student Organization at SHSU
 2012 – 2013 Vice President, Criminal Justice Graduate Student Organization
 2012 – 2013 Research Coordinator, Undergraduate Research Group

- Animal Cruelty, Fall 2012
- Women on Death Row, Spring 2013

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Spring 2015 Teaching Online with Blackboard Certification Series
 Spring 2015 SHSU Online Teaching and Learning Conference
 Sept 15, 2012 Child Abuse Mandatory Reporting in Texas
 Aug 28, 2012 SHSU College of Criminal Justice Statistics Workshop

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences

- Division of Victimology

American Society of Criminology

- Division of Developmental and Life Course Criminology
- Division of Victimology