

AGE-GRADED THRILL SEEKING, COMPANIONSHIP, AND INFORMAL SOCIAL
CONTROL AMONG THE CLIENTS OF STREET PROSTITUTES

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ABSTRACT

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The majority of empirical attention concerning the sex trade has focused on sex workers and explaining victimization among prostituted women. While this victim-centered approach has led to the development and adoption of various treatment initiatives for prostituted women (e.g. prostitution courts), there is limited understanding of the other party involved in the crime: men who purchase sex. In particular, little is known about the relationship between age, salient life events, and buyers' motivations for seeking out women prostituted via the outdoor sex market. This is particularly interesting given that past research has shown that sex buyers do not follow the standard age-crime curve of offending; rather, purchasing sex often occurs intermittently throughout the life-course and is shaped by the key determinants of informal social control. Using data from a multi-city survey of men who purchase sex, this dissertation begins to fill this gap in the literature by examining how age and life experiences influence sex buyers' motivations and preferences throughout the life-course. The implications of these findings for future research and policy are also discussed.

KEY WORDS: Prostitution johns, Prostitution clients, Age-graded informal social control theory, Thrill seeking, Companionship

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Over the past few decades, the commercial sex trade has become an increasingly prominent topic in criminal justice research; especially among victim-oriented scholars. Although this has led to great strides in empirical understanding concerning prostituted women, who are increasingly being viewed as victims (Bernstein, 2001; Jeffreys, 2009; Lederer, 2010), it has resulted in an underdeveloped understanding of the other components of the sex industry; specifically the men who purchase sex (Jordan, 1997; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Monto, 2004; Monto & Julka, 2009). Previous research that has examined this population typically seeks to either compare them to the general public (Farley, Golding, Schuckman Matthews, Malamuth, & Jarrett, 2015; Jordan, 1997; Monto & McRee, 2005) or examine their motivations for engaging in the commercial sex industry (e.g. Vanwesenbeeck, de Graaf, Van Zessen, & Straver, 1993; Xantidis & McCabe, 2000). While such research has been beneficial in increasing understanding about the composition of this population, it is often relatively narrow and focuses solely on a few key differences between buyers (e.g. rape myth acceptance, condom use). Due to this, sex buyers are often viewed by policy makers and other criminal justices as a single group despite having varying motivations, criminal backgrounds, perceptions of prostitution, and degrees of rape myth acceptance (Busch, Bell, Hotaling, & Monto, 2002; Monto & Hotaling, 2001; S. Sawyer, Rosser, & Schroeder, 1998). Indeed, Monto and McRee (2005) note that, “more research is needed to identify whether there are distinctive causal constellations, [or] distinctive categories of customers” (p. 527).

In particular, there is little known about how age influences sex buyers' motivations, preferences, and attitudes; especially among those who purchase sex from women who are prostituted in the outdoor sex market. This is interesting given that a multitude of research shows that sex buyers do not follow the well-established age-crime curve of offending. Unlike most offenders, who typically stop engaging in crime and deviant behavior altogether by the age of 25 (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983), the mean age for sex buyers averages between 35 and 50 (F. H. Farley & Davis, 1978; Freund, Lee, & Leonard, 1991; McKeganey, 1994; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Sanders, 2008, 2012; Simpson & Schill, 1977).

The idea that some subgroups of offenders continue to offend later on in the life-course is indeed not new to criminology (Dalla, 2000; Farrington, 2007; Glueck & Glueck, 1943; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Moffitt, 1993; Nagin & Land, 1993; Paternoster, 1989; Piquero, Farrington, & Blumstein, 2003; Piquero, Moffitt, & Wright, 2007), nor is the concept of late-onset offending (Carroll et al., 2006; Farrington, Ttofi, & Coid, 2009; Zara & Farrington, 2009). What does seem unique about the patterning of prostitution offending across the life-course, however, is how it occurs intermittently (Sanders, 2012) and that such involvement is distinctly shaped by thrill-seeking and the key determinants of informal social control; such as marriage, employment, and social acceptability (Bernstein, 2001; Cameron & Collins, 2003; Della Giusta, di Tommaso, & Strøm, 2009; Sanders, 2012).

Life-Course Correlates of Sex Buying

According to Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded theory of informal social control, changes in deviant behavior throughout the life-course can be explained by

the strength of informal bonds to conventional social structures; specifically family, marriage, employment, and peer groups. The relative influence of these bonds varies with age and one's stage in the life-course. For example, whereas one's family and peers are among the most important factors influencing deviance during adolescence, the importance of these structures diminishes with age, and are eventually overtaken in importance by social bonds to one's marriage and career (Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1993). The interruption or weakening of such bonds (e.g. through events such as divorce or periods of marital discord) can therefore cause a shift towards deviant behavior.

There is significant overlap between many of the characteristics of informal social bonds and prostitution johns' motivations for seeking out prostituted women. For example, research has shown that sex buyers are generally motivated by a variety of different factors, including the need for sexual variety, failure to find sex through legitimate means, social ineptitude, the thrill of the purchase, and companionship (Bernstein, 2001; Cameron & Collins, 2003; Joseph & Black, 2012; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, & Gifford, 1997; Preston & Brown-Hart, 2005; Sanders, 2008, 2012; Simpson & Schill, 1977; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 1993). Men with strong bonds to peer groups who encourage involvement in the sex trade may therefore be more likely to seek out commercial sex than those who do not place such a high value on this type of informal bond. Similarly, men with weak marital bonds or who have failed to find a prosocial partner may also be 'pulled' towards purchasing sex for the purpose of achieving sexual release.

Current Study

Using Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded theory of informal social control as a theoretical guide, this dissertation evaluated how street prostitution clients' motivations, attitudes, and preferences vary according to their stage in the life-course. Such research is essential to the overall understanding of sex buyers' behavior because of the characteristic influence that certain informal social bonds, which can vary over time, have on sex buyers' previously established motivations for seeking out prostituted women.

While a similar study (Sanders, 2012) has already examined the age-graded differences evident among prostitution johns, however this study sets itself apart from the available literature in terms of the sample studied, methodology, and scope. Specifically, Sanders (2012) focused almost exclusively on clients of the indoor market, whereas this dissertation focuses solely on the clients of street prostitutes. Given the clearly evidenced differences between the indoor and outdoor sex markets (see Church, Henderson, Barnard, & Hart, 2001; Cunningham & Shah, 2014; Holt & Blevins, 2014; Lever & Dolnick, 2010; May, Edmunds, Hough, & Harvey, 1999; May, Harocopos, & Hough, 2000; Sanders, 2012; Weitzer, 2005a, 2007), it is highly likely that the role that one's age and stage in the life-course has on johns' motivations, attitudes, and preferences varies across markets. In addition, Sanders (2012) relies on primarily qualitative data collected from a small sample of prostitution johns in the United Kingdom ($n = 52$), whereas this dissertation uses multi-city data from the United States collected as part of the Clients of Street Prostitutes study (Monto, 2000). The richness of this dataset in terms of size ($n = 1,342$) and the number of variables (87) will allow for the in-depth analysis of

attitudinal, demographic, and behavioral data as well as the comparison of johns according their stage in the life-course.

Specifically, this dissertation answered three key research questions: 1) is there a relationship between age and men's motivations to seek out women who are prostituted via the outdoor sex market, 2) do the key tenets of age-graded informal social control influence the motivations of street prostitution clients, and 3) how does marriage quality influence men's motivations to purchase sex? The findings of this research have important implications for both scholars and criminal justice practitioners. First, the age-graded influence of social control mechanisms will add to the burgeoning literature regarding the motivations of prostitution johns. This represents an important addition given that previous studies of sex buyers have treated these motivations as static behaviors despite research understanding to the contrary (Elder, 1994; Nurmi, Pulliainen, & Salmela-Aro, 1992; Sampson & Laub, 1990; Shanahan, 2000). This dissertation also has important implications for the development and implementation of future policy, as motivational and attitudinal understanding can inform future treatment and interdiction efforts. Given the high prevalence of violence that exists between clients and prostitutes, particularly within the outdoor sex market (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Weitzer, 2005a, 2005b, 2007), this knowledge has the potential not only to limit offending among sex buyers, but also reduce the prevalence of victimization among sex workers.

CHAPTER II

Crime and the Life-Course

The following chapter serves to review the main arguments of different life-course theories of offending, highlighting Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded theory of informal social control. Using this theory as a guide, the motivations and key influences of informal social control among prostitution johns, as well as how this could influence their involvement in this crime, will then be examined. Finally, previous life-course assessments of prostitution offending will be evaluated, with particular attention given to how the current study will supplement and expand upon this understanding.

The distribution of criminal offending throughout the life-course is one of the most commonly tested and empirically verified 'truths' within criminology (Beaver, Wright, DeLisi, & Vaughn, 2008; Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993). Studies have repeatedly shown that the majority of criminal offending occurs among adolescents and that criminal propensity to offend peaks in late adolescence, and then sharply declines for the remainder of the life-course (Beaver et al., 2008; Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Kazemian, 2007; Maruna, 2001; Mulvey et al., 2004; Nagin & Land, 1993; Rowe & Tittle, 1977; Sampson & Laub, 1992, 1993; Ulmer & Steffensmeier, 2014). While the exact age at which crime peaks has been debated, with most findings supporting an earlier cessation of property offending than crimes against persons (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Sampson & Laub, 1993), it is widely held that the vast majority of individuals have ceased criminal activity by the age of 25 (Ulmer & Steffensmeier, 2014).

Trajectories, Transitions, and Turning Points

Continued offending during adulthood, while relatively rare, remains a focal emphasis of life-course criminologists; who seek to understand how offending unfolds throughout the life-course. This is often done within the context of two key interrelated concepts; namely trajectories and transitions (Elder, 1998; Laub & Sampson, 1993; Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1992, 1993). A trajectory refers to one's life history, or the patterning of events and personal development throughout one's life-course (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005; George, 1993; Laub, Nagin, & Sampson, 1998; Laub & Sampson, 1993, 2003, Sampson & Laub, 1992, 1993, 2005). Transitions, on the other hand, are comparatively short-term changes or processes that occur along this continuum (e.g. maturity, marriage, incarceration, parenthood) (Elder, 1975, 1994; George, 1993; Laub & Sampson, 1993, 2003, Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1992, 1993; Shanahan, 2000; Warr, 1998). Some of these concepts, such as maturity and the development of self-control, are generally linked with age and are thus influential in determining one's initial criminal trajectory (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1992, 1993). Other transitions, such as divorce and changes in employment, however, are not necessarily age-graded and can occur at any point in the life-course (Caspi & Roberts, 2001; Elder, 1994; Laub & Sampson, 1993, 2003, Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1992, 1993, 2004, 2005).

Particularly powerful transitions (e.g. entering the workforce, marriage, divorce) may have the ability to exert a strong deterministic influence on the direction of one's trajectory, either towards or away from criminality. These events are referred to as turning points (Farrington et al., 2009; Laub & Sampson, 1993, 2001, 2003; Lyngstad & Skardhamar, 2013; McGloin, Sullivan, Piquero, Blokland, & Nieuwbeerta, 2011;

Sampson & Laub, 1992, 1993; Uggen, 2000). The relative influence of turning points is a dividing concept among life-course theorists. Some scholars reject the idea that turning points can influence one's criminal trajectory; thus arguing that trajectories are rigid and established during childhood (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Moffitt, 1993). Others, however, view turning points as important events that have the capacity to augment one's propensity to engage in crime (Farrington et al., 2009; R. D. King, Massoglia, & MacMillan, 2007; Laub & Sampson, 1993, 2003, Sampson & Laub, 1992, 1993, 2004, 2005; Sampson, Laub, & Wimer, 2006).

Continuity v. Change

Given the compelling relationship between adolescence and crime (for a review, see Caspi & Moffitt, 1992; Loeber, 1982), it is not surprising that most life-course theories are rooted in the understanding that adult criminal activity is intrinsically linked, at least in part, to adolescent maladjustment and early life experiences (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Laub & Sampson, 1993, 2003, Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1993, 2004; Zara & Farrington, 2009; Zoutewelle-Terovan, van der Geest, Liefbroer, & Bijleveld, 2014). Divergence among theories occurs, however, regarding whether or not this criminal propensity remains stable across the life-course or is subject to change as a result of life events (i.e. turning points) and continued personality development (Caspi & Roberts, 2001; Doherty, 2006; Horney, Osgood, & Marshall, 1995; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1992, 1993, 2004, 2005). Theories of adult offending can therefore be broadly grouped into one of two competing categories based on their view of the stability of criminal propensity over time (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005; Zoutewelle-Terovan et al., 2014).

Static Theories of Crime over the Life-Course

Consistent with the age-crime curve of offending, static theories argue that most individuals desist from crime by late adolescence. As the name implies, however, once one's propensity to engage in criminal behavior is established in adolescence, it remains relatively unchanged for the duration of the life-course (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005; Zoutewelle-Terovan et al., 2014).

Self-control theory. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that an individual's level of self-control, which is firmly established by the age of eight, is directly related to their propensity to commit crime. Individuals with low self-control are thus more likely to be impulsive and engage in risk-taking behaviors, including crime, than those with higher self-control. Furthermore, since this construct is established during adolescence, there is a continuity of offending throughout the life-course. While there is substantial support for self-control theory in the empirical literature (see Pratt & Cullen, 2000), other scholars have pointed to the fact that low self-control seems to be moderated by a variety of different variables (Doherty, 2006; Grasmick, Tittle, Bursik, Jr., & Arneklev, 1993; Wright, Caspi, Moffitt, & Silva, 2001). The theory of life-course interdependence, in particular argues that, criminal propensity is established in adolescence via antisocial or prosocial ties with peers and the family, but that the development of these ties is preceded by self-control. With this, adolescents with low self-control are postulated to be more likely to form ties with antisocial groups (i.e. delinquent friends), whereas adolescents with higher self-control are more likely to form prosocial bonds with family and school. It is these associations, not the underlying degree of self-control, that is then related to offending in young adulthood (Doherty, 2006; Wright et al., 2001).

Moffitt's (1993) dual taxonomy. Moffitt (1993) contends that there are two separate groups of offenders who are distinguished by their persistence of offending into adulthood. The first of these groups, which she calls life-course-persistent (LCP) offenders, are characterized by a high level of antisocial behavior and criminality that not only occurs during adolescence, but persists for the duration of the life-course. According to Moffitt (1993), such behavior is the result of neuropsychological deficits related to abnormal neural development and the absence of a supportive and prosocial environment during adolescence. LCP offenders make up roughly 5% of the population (Moffitt, 1993) and exhibit generalized criminality that occurs irrespective of time or place. Persistence of criminality into adulthood among this group of offenders occurs because they are not exposed to prosocial alternatives to crime and delinquent peer groups, either, because of, their behavioral problems or the consequences of their actions (e.g. parenthood, incarceration, lack of education).

On the other hand, Moffitt (1993) notes that the vast majority of offenders are adolescence-limited (AL) offenders. Like the name implies, AL offenders engage in crime and other antisocial behaviors when they are growing up, but then later desist once they reach adulthood. For AL offenders, crime is situational and occurs because they are attempting to mimic the behavior of LCP offenders. Furthermore, criminality exhibited among members of this group is normative in nature and more a reflection of group social processes than individual-level behavioral problems. Unlike their LCP counterparts, AL offenders are not surrounded by criminogenic environments and do not suffer from neuropsychological deficits. Desistance among AL offenders therefore

occurs when these individuals mature and reassess the perceived costs and benefits of engaging in crime.

Biosocial explanations. Like Moffitt (1993), several other scholars have begun to theorize that there is a relationship between an individual's biological development and their persistence in crime throughout the life-course. According to Blonigen (2010), "changes in neurochemistry underlie normative changes in personality, which in turn may facilitate desistance from crime in early adulthood" (p. 96). Collins (2004) notes that there is a significant relationship between the prevalence of certain chemical components of the brain and age. Specifically, levels of neurotransmitters such as dopamine, norepinephrine, and acetylcholine decline as individuals age into adulthood, whereas serotonin levels increase (Collins, 2004; Raine, 2002). These neurotransmitters influence behavior and criminality because they are vital to information processing (Raine, 2002). Acetylcholine influences memory function and learning, while dopamine, norepinephrine, and serotonin regulate behavior and emotions (Collins, 2004; Raine, 2002; Seo & Patrick, 2008). Individuals with low levels of serotonin have been shown to have increased impulsivity (Raine, 2002), while high levels of dopamine are related to impulsive aggression (Seo & Patrick, 2008). Imbalances in brain chemistry during adolescence thus facilitate impulsive criminality, but the correction of these imbalances in early adulthood leads to the desistance from such crimes (Collins, 2004).

Research also supports the idea that the development of the prefrontal cortex (PFC) coincides with the surge in desistance that occurs in late adolescence. Specifically, Blonigen (2010) notes that the orbital, dorsolateral, and ventromedial subdivisions of the PFC do not fully develop until an individual is in their mid-20s. These structures are

relevant to an individual's personality and potential criminality in that they have been linked to the ability to comprehend social cues and moderate aggression (Blair, 2004; Seo & Patrick, 2008). As offenders age into adulthood, and the PFC becomes fully developed, their ability to appropriately respond to situations and control their emotions increases (Blair, 2004; Blonigen, 2010). The full maturation of the PFC therefore corresponds with most offenders' desistance from crime in early adulthood (Blonigen, 2010). Furthermore, those who suffer trauma to this part of the brain during development or who experience a delayed maturation of the PFC are at an increased risk of continued criminality at later stages of life (Blonigen, 2010; Seo & Patrick, 2008).

Dynamic Theories of Crime over the Life-Course

Dynamic theories of life-course offending differ from static theories in that they embrace the notion that individuals can alter their trajectory of offending after they enter adulthood. In particular, this category of theories embraces the concepts of human agency and changes in sources of informal social control that can occur as a result of aging and salient life events such as marriage, joining the military, and establishing a career.

Crime as a rational choice. Rational choice theories maintain that individuals' involvement or abstention from crime over the life-course is the direct result of a personal decision-making process in which they weigh the costs and benefits of each option (Akers, 1990; Laub & Sampson, 2001; Paternoster, 1989; Uggen & Kruttschnitt, 1998). This decision is not made in a vacuum, however, but is rather influenced by a variety of different background and situational factors. According to Paternoster (1989), background factors such as an individual's demographic, neighborhood, psychological,

and family characteristics moderate situational factors such as perceptions of formal and informal sanctions, criminal opportunity, attachment to family and friends, commitment to prosocial institutions, and morality. All of these considerations, in turn, influence one's decision to engage in crime. Similarly, desistance occurs from an individual's re-appraisal of their situational context. Although such re-appraisal can occur spontaneously (LeBel, Burnett, Maruna, & Bushway, 2008), it is often argued that it is spearheaded by life events such as becoming a parent, getting married, or obtaining lawful employment (Laub & Sampson, 2001; Paternoster, 1989). While age is not considered to be an integral component of rational choice explanations of crime over the life-course, it can have an indirect effect in that it influences perceptions of informal and formal sanctions (Sampson & Laub, 1993) and delinquent peer associations (Warr, 1998).

Age-graded informal social control. Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) theory of age-graded informal social control seeks to explain not only why certain individuals desist from crime outside of the generally accepted age-crime curve, but also why others do not start offending until later on in the life-course. In doing so, these theorists combine what they view as the "conceptually sound and empirically correct" (Sampson & Laub, 1993, p. 24) components of Hirschi's (1969) social bonding theory, Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) general theory of crime, Coleman's (1988, 1990) concept of social capital, and Elder's (1975) perspective of how age structures social norms and behavior as a means of supporting both continuity *and* change in criminal offending over the life-course.

Continuity of offending. According to age-graded informal social control theory, social bonds that are established during childhood have a direct impact on one's degree of

informal social control throughout the life-course (Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1993).

During adolescence, the most important sources of informal social control are one's family, school, and peers. Strong bonds to these institutions allow for the development of social capital, and in the interest of preserving this, function as a means of informal social control. Low levels of attachment to school (via poor school performance), prosocial peers (via association with delinquent peers), and the family (via inconsistent discipline, low parental supervision, and weak parent/child attachment) therefore limit the influence that these institutions have in controlling an adolescent's behavior because it diminishes the relative control that the preservation of these relationships has on them. It is this absence of informal social control that thus leads to delinquency. As individuals age into young adulthood (i.e. between the ages of 17 and 25), they likely experience salient life events such as marriage and getting a full-time job.

As these events occur, new bonds are created that eventually overshadow those that were established in childhood (Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1993). Social capital that was once invested in parental relationships or with school is therefore shifted in favor of one's spouse and career. It is in the interest of maintaining these new bonds that prevents individuals from engaging in deviant behavior or crime and keeps them on a prosocial trajectory. Maladjustment and low social bonding in adolescence, however, reduces the likelihood that juvenile delinquents will experience such salient life events. Failure to develop these social bonds in adulthood therefore keeps these individuals on a criminal trajectory because they lack the informal social control necessary to desist from crime.

Change in offending. Although juvenile delinquency is indeed seen a precursor of adult criminal offending, Sampson and Laub (1990, 1993) do not preclude adolescent

non-offenders from engaging in crime later on in the life-course, nor do they argue that delinquent adolescents are locked-in on a trajectory of offending. Changes in criminal trajectories are instead postulated to occur because of salient life events and age-graded shifts in the locus of informal social control. For example, juvenile delinquents who are able to overcome the disadvantage of insufficient adolescent social bonding and get married or establish a career are motivated to desist from crime and begin a prosocial lifestyle because they realize that further involvement in delinquency will strain this newly-formed relationship. These transitions therefore serve as turning points in the life-course trajectory because they modify one's long-term pattern of offending and shift these individuals towards conformity. Similarly, individuals can also experience negative turning points throughout the life-course that shift them away from prosocial behavior and towards deviance and criminal offending. Events such as marital discord, divorce, and losing a job can reduce the amount of social capital that individuals have with important sources of informal social control such as their spouse, family, and career; thus straining the social bonds between them and these institutions. A reduction in informal social control results from the weakening of these social bonds, therefore leaving the individual prone towards involvement in deviance and criminal activity.

Empirical support. Age-graded informal social control theory has enjoyed a significant amount of empirical support; most notably from the authors of the theory themselves. In developing this theory, Sampson and Laub (1993) built upon the classic longitudinal data set of delinquent and non-delinquent boys that was originally collected by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. Glueck and Glueck (1943, 1950, 1968) are arguably the pioneers of life-course research on desistance from crime. Over a period of roughly 18

years, these researchers followed 1000 boys that were originally between the ages of 10 and 17; 500 of which were considered to be delinquent because they were placed in a correctional school, with the remaining 500 composing a non-delinquent control group sampled from an area public school (Doherty, 2006; Glueck & Glueck, 1968; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1993). These respondents were then matched on several characteristics, including their age, race, and IQ (Laub & Sampson, 1993). In all, the Gluecks collected three waves of data between 1940 and 1965, with average respondent ages at the time of collection being 14, 25, 32. A massive amount of information was obtained at each wave from self-reports as well as both formal (i.e. official records) and informal (e.g. family members) sources regarding respondents' biology, upbringing, criminal history, employment, social relationships, and other life experiences up to that point.

Sampson and Laub restored the Gluecks' original data set and combined each wave in order to form a cohesive longitudinal account of respondents' trajectories throughout the life-course (see Sampson & Laub, 1993 for a detailed account). In their initial analyses, Sampson and Laub (1993) examined how the context of juveniles' families influenced their propensity to engage in delinquency. With this, ordinary least squares (OLS) and maximum likelihood (ML) regression were used in order to model how structural background (e.g. residential mobility, parental deviance, family socioeconomic status) and family process (e.g. erratic discipline, parental attachment) variables affected official and unofficial measures of delinquency.¹ Results showed that

¹ Sampson and Laub (1993) utilized a summary measure of delinquency that included substance use as well as violent, property, and public order crime. Official statistics were collected from the criminal justice

the majority of structural background factors did not play a direct role on juvenile delinquency, rather their effects were by-and-large moderated by family process variables. In other words, informal social control stemming from the family explained why juveniles from structurally weak and disorganized backgrounds engaged in delinquent behavior.

While these findings essentially echoed Glueck and Glueck's (1950) original findings, Sampson and Laub (1993) expanded upon this understanding by incorporating how informal social control stemming from one's school, peers, or siblings was also influential in explaining juvenile delinquency at wave one. Similar to their earlier analysis, Sampson and Laub used OLS regression to model how academic performance and attachment to school, delinquent peers, and siblings influenced the impact of structural background factors on unofficial delinquency, while ML regression was used to model this relationship for official delinquency. Consistent with their hypotheses, these scholars found that "the strongest and most consistent effects on delinquency flow from the social processes of family, school and peers" (Sampson & Laub, 1993, p. 119). Specifically, delinquent peer association was found to have a strong, although direct, effect on both measures of juvenile delinquency; increasing the probability of official delinquency by 90% (Sampson & Laub, 1993). School attachment, like family factors, moderated structural background factors and their influence on delinquency. Sibling delinquency and school performance were not found to significantly influence either official or unofficial delinquency, however Sampson and Laub (1993) caution that the

system, while unofficial measures were drawn from data provided by parents, teachers, and the respondents themselves.

effects of school performance may be biased because the Gluecks included IQ as one of the matching criteria in their original study.

Sampson and Laub (1993) also utilized their modified version of the Gluecks' data to show how individuals' propensity to offend was marked by both continuity and change throughout the life-course. In order to demonstrate continuity of offending, Sampson and Laub (1993) compared childhood maladjustment as well as unofficial and official measures of delinquency at wave one with subsequent arrest, substance use, and general deviance at both waves two and three. Especially relevant to the current study, Sampson and Laub's (1993) measure of general deviance encompassed frequent gambling as well as the purchase of sexual services from prostitutes. Results showed that all measures of child antisocial behavior (i.e. temper tantrums during childhood, official delinquency, and unofficial delinquency) were significantly related to arrest, substance use, and general deviance during early adulthood (i.e. between the ages of 17 and 25) and middle adulthood (i.e. between the ages of 25 and 32), as well as arrest in later adulthood (i.e. between the ages of 32 and 45). By isolating those who had been arrested in adulthood from those who had not, and then comparing the previously established juvenile delinquent and non-delinquent subsamples, Sampson and Laub (1993) further established that family and early childhood factors did not have a direct influence on subsequent arrest. Rather these factors exerted an indirect effect on arrest throughout the life-course through juvenile delinquency.

While Sampson and Laub (1993) indeed found overwhelming support for their contention that juvenile delinquency, which resulted from a lack of informal social control established during childhood, predicts later adult deviance and crime; they also

examined how adult social bonds influence offending later on in the life-course. With this, Coleman's (1988, 1990) idea of social capital was incorporated as a means of explaining the effect of the relative strength of social bonds on their capacity to serve as sources of informal social control. Sampson and Laub (1993) thus predicted that regardless of prior delinquency, strong social bonds to marriage and employment would prevent deviant behavior, whereas the weakening or breaking of bonds would lead to deviance and crime. Like earlier analyses, crime and deviance were determined at different points in the life-course (i.e. early, middle, and late adulthood) via measures of arrest, substance use, and general deviance. Independent measures for commitment to career and education, job stability, and attachment to spouse were then modeled both concurrently and prospectively to show that these sources of informal social control had a significant influence on all measures of deviance and crime at both points. Put simply, informal social control not only had a significant effect on contemporaneous offending and deviance, but also predicted later outcomes. Comparisons of delinquent and non-delinquent juveniles furthermore showed that marital attachment and job stability had a significant influence on adult offending and deviance throughout the life-course independent of childhood maladjustment and delinquency.

In summary, Sampson and Laub (1993) utilized a modified version of Glueck and Glueck's (1950, 1968) classic dataset of delinquent and non-delinquent boys to demonstrate the salience of their age-graded informal social control theory. With this, they determined that the failure to establish informal social control in adolescence led individuals on a trajectory towards continued offending throughout the life-course, however such maladjustment could be counteracted by the creation of social bonds later

in life. The weakening or destruction of adult social bonds could also similarly shift prosocial individuals towards offending despite a well-adjusted upbringing. Notably, Sampson and Laub (1990, 1993) also concluded that the relative importance of societal institutions fluctuated with age and that it was not just the existence of these bonds that influenced offending, but also these bonds' quality and strength.

A plethora of other studies have also provided ample support for the main components of Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded theory of informal social control. Scholars have routinely showed how limited family bonding and delinquent peer association during adolescence, as well as marriage and employment in adulthood, can influence offending across the life-course. Even so, there have also been several advancements to the theory in recent years with respect to ways in which these mechanisms operate (e.g. 1998) and the ongoing influence of human agency, culture, situational influences, and historical contexts (Laub & Sampson, 2003).

The development and continuity of adolescent social bonds. The criminogenic effect of associating with delinquent peers during adolescence is a well-established empirical reality within the field of criminal justice (Fergusson, Swain-Campbell, & Horwood, 2002; Giordano, Cernkovich, & Holland, 2003; Haynie, 2002, 2002; Matsueda & Anderson, 1998; Maume, Ousey, & Beaver, 2005; Patterson & Dishion, 1985; Warr, 1993b, 1998; J. P. Wright & Cullen, 2004). Individuals with strong informal social bonds to delinquent peers have consistently been found to be more likely to engage in various forms of deviant behavior, including substance use (e.g. Bahr, Hoffmann, & Yang, 2005; Brook, Brook, & Richter, 2001; Hawkins, Catalano, & Miller, 1992; Reed & Rountree, 1997; Urberg, Luo, Pilgrim, & Degirmencioglu, 2003) and gang membership

(e.g. Curry, Decker, & Pyrooz, 2014; Hill, Howell, Hawkins, & Battin-Pearson, 1999).

In contrast, having strong informal social bonds to school and prosocial peers during adolescence has been found to insulate juveniles from engaging in delinquent behavior during this stage in the life-course (Sampson & Laub, 1993; Simons-Morton, Crump, Haynie, & Saylor, 1999; Vazsonyi & Flannery, 1997).

Research also supports the idea that family bonding serves as an insulating factor for delinquent behavior during adolescence (Krohn, Stern, Thornberry, & Jang, 1992; Larzelere & Patterson, 1990; Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Van Voorhis, Cullen, Mathers, & Garner, 1988; Vazsonyi & Flannery, 1997; J. P. Wright, Cullen, & Miller, 2001). The strength of the social bonds between an adolescent and their family, characterized by parental investment in the child, consistency of discipline, and quality of parent/child attachment, determines the development of social capital between the adolescent and this important social institution (Coleman, 1990; Krohn et al., 1992; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Vazsonyi & Flannery, 1997; J. P. Wright et al., 2001). It is in the interest of preserving such social capital that adolescents are persuaded to avoid delinquency and associating with delinquent peers. In addition, research shows that there is an interaction effect between the family, school, and peer relationships whereby having strong familial bonds during adolescence fosters greater attachment to school and prosocial peers (Ardelt & Day, 2002; Massey & Krohn, 1986; Poole & Regoli, 1979; Urberg et al., 2003; Warr, 1993b), thus further ushering adolescents away from delinquent behavior.

There is furthermore evidence within the empirical literature that such adolescent maladjustment influences the timing of salient life events throughout the remainder of the

life-course. For example, Wright et al. (2001) found that participants in the Dunedin study who had antisocial ties in adolescence were less likely to form prosocial ties (i.e. get married, establish a lawful career) in adulthood. Theobald and Farrington (2011) found similar results regarding marriage among men involved in the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development, which followed a cohort of 411 English males for over 40 years. Within this, Theobald and Farrington (2011) discovered that men who came from a broken home and experienced harsh discipline during adolescence were more likely to be married later in life (defined as after the age of 25) than those who had developed stronger adolescent social bonds.

Marriage. Multiple studies have provided support for the effect of marriage on desistance from crime (Bersani & Eggleston Doherty, 2013; Horney et al., 1995; Katz, 1999; R. D. King et al., 2007; Laub & Sampson, 2001, 2003; Lyngstad & Skardhamar, 2013; Maume et al., 2005; McGloin et al., 2011; Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1993; Sampson et al., 2006; Theobald & Farrington, 2009, 2011; Warr, 1998; Zoutewelle-Terovan et al., 2014). The importance of the *quality* of spousal bonds on non-offending has been underscored by research on the ‘courtship effect,’ which argues that the inhibitory effect of marriage on crime gradually builds over time and coincides with the development of social capital between an individual and their spouse (Bersani & Eggleston Doherty, 2013; Laub et al., 1998; Lyngstad & Skardhamar, 2013; McGloin et al., 2011). Within this context, the social bonds that lead to marriage are believed to influence offending prior to the establishment of a formalized life-long commitment and then intensify over the course of the union (Laub et al., 1998; McGloin et al., 2011). Marriage itself is still viewed as a turning point in the life-course, however, because it is associated with both

identity transformation (Bersani & Eggleston Doherty, 2013; Giordano, Cernkovich, & Rudolph, 2002; Laub et al., 1998; Maruna, 2001) and the physical ‘knifing off’ of individuals from certain peer groups and routine activities (Bersani & Eggleston Doherty, 2013; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Warr, 1998; Weiss, 1975). Indeed, Warr (1998) argues that the main way in which marriage causes desistance from crime is not through the creation of informal social bonds with one’s spouse, but rather because it reduces one’s ability to associate with delinquent peers; a theoretical mechanism that was later acknowledged and incorporated into Laub and Sampson’s (2003) revised theory. Finally, divorce has also been shown to function as a turning point in that it allows for the re-establishment of prior delinquent bonds and routine activities; thus shifting individuals back towards offending (Bersani & Eggleston Doherty, 2013; Blokland & Nieuwebeerta, 2005; Sampson & Laub, 1993).

The age-graded effects of marriage are also well-documented (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Theobald & Farrington, 2009, 2011). Using data from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development, Theobald and Farrington (2009) found that the age at which one got married was significantly related to its influence on desistance. Specifically, those who were married in either early or mid-adulthood (respectively defined as between the ages of 18 and 21 and between the ages of 22 and 24) were more likely to desist from crime after marriage than those who were married after the age of 25 (Theobald & Farrington, 2009). Similar to other scholars (e.g. Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Warr, 1998), Theobald and Farrington (2009) note that this is likely the result of being separated from delinquent friends, whose influence is stronger in early-to-mid adulthood than it is later in life. Additionally, Theobald and Farrington (2009)

postulate that men who are married later are more resistant towards attitudinal change because of their more fully developed personality.

Employment. Commitment to one's career has additionally been shown to limit criminal offending because it results in the development of social capital (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Uggen, 2000; Wright & Cullen, 2004). Similar to Warr (1998) Wright and Cullen (2004) extend Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) theory of age-graded informal social control by noting that employment not only reduces the frequency of association with delinquent peers, but increases the likelihood of establishing prosocial friendships with coworkers. Using data from waves five and six of the National Youth Survey, Wright and Cullen (2004) confirmed that employment served as a turning point for offenders and that was characterized by both the development of social capital between the individual and their employer and the restructuring of friend groups.

Uggen (2000) further demonstrated that the effects of employment on criminality were age-graded by examining recidivism among individuals who participated in the National Supported Work Demonstration Project; an experiment which utilized random assignment in order to examine the influence of lawful minimum-wage employment on lower-class offenders. In line with Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded theory of informal social control, Uggen (2000) found that employment reduced recidivism among offenders over the age of 26, but not for younger offenders.

In summary, there is indeed substantial support for Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) theory of age-graded informal social control. Empirical research has routinely determined that the existence and quality of informal social bonds between an individual

and their family, peer groups, spouse, education, and career influence one's involvement in deviant behavior and crime. In addition, there is widespread support for the continuity and change of criminal behavior over time and how age influences the importance of certain social bonds over the life-course.

Revised theory of age-graded informal social control. Despite such validation, Laub and Sampson (2003) later revised their age-graded theory of informal social control by incorporating how human agency, situational influences, historical contexts, and local culture can influence age-graded informal social controls. Keeping the same basic structure, that there is both continuity and change in the propensity to offend throughout the life-course and that this is influenced by salient life events that vary in importance at different points in life, Laub and Sampson (2003) added that human agency influences the development of social bonds within the constraints of routine activities and historical events. Individuals thus desist or resist from engaging in crime not necessarily because they choose to live a non-deviant life, but rather because they have made the conscious decision to get married or start a career. Limited criminality, in turn, indirectly results from this, due to the fact, that such deviance would negatively impact the social capital that they are building within these institutions and strain any associated social bonds.

Marriage and employment are furthermore related to prosocial behavior in that they modify an individual's routine activities. Investment in these institutions can result in the development of new friend groups, thus disrupting delinquent peer associations (Theobald & Farrington, 2011; Warr, 1998), as well as exert direct control on one's ability to engage in crime. In essence, the sheer amount of time necessary to maintain these bonds, whether it be a forty-hour work week or necessary time spent bonding with

one's spouse, does not leave much extra time to engage in deviant behavior; thus resulting in conformity. Interruptions in or strain to these bonds, caused by events such as marital discord, divorce, or loss of employment, can similarly manipulate one's routine activities. Instead of shifting an individual towards a prosocial trajectory, however, the weakening of such bonds can result in the development of antisocial routine activities and involvement in delinquent friend groups (Laub & Sampson, 2003).

Finally, Laub and Sampson's (2003) revised theory notes that historical events can shape the development of informal social bonds. Specifically, they note that the historical context in which one's trajectory is embedded has a significant impact on their likelihood of forming certain social bonds. Events such as World War II, the Great Depression, and the increase in street crime in the late 1980s therefore play a role in shaping one's ability to form certain social bonds, as well as the relative level of social control that these bonds have on their lives.

Summary of Life-Course Theories of Offending

Both static and dynamic theories share the underlying assumption that early childhood events are vital in shaping the trajectory of criminal offending throughout the life-course (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Laub & Sampson, 1993, 2003, Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1993, 2004; Zara & Farrington, 2009; Zoutewelle-Terovan et al., 2014). Where they differ, however, is in their view of continuity and change in adulthood. Biosocial explanations, Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) general theory of crime, and Moffitt's (1993) dual taxonomy all argue that criminality is established by the end of adolescence and that the propensity to offend remains stable throughout adulthood. Dynamic theories, on the

other hand, contend that salient life events can function as turning points that can alter one's trajectory of offending at any stage in the life-course.

One of the most prominent dynamic theories of life-course offending is Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded theory of informal social control, which states that criminality is influenced by the establishment and quality of social bonds between individuals and their family, peers, career, and marriage, and that the influence of these bonds varies with age. Although the mechanisms through which these social structures influence crime have been the focus of some criticism throughout the years (e.g. Warr, 1998; J. P. Wright & Cullen, 2004), Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) theory by-and-large remains one of the most robust explanations of offending throughout the life-course.

CHAPTER III

Reasons Why Men Purchase Sex

The reasons why men choose to seek out commercial sex, as well as why they refrain from doing so, have been the source of much scholarly debate within recent years. In general, there are two conflicting perspectives regarding what types of men purchase sex (M. Farley, Schuckman, et al., 2011; Monto & McRee, 2005). First, the “every man perspective” maintains that men who purchase sex are fundamentally representative of the general male population and are not defined by specific behavioral or social characteristics. In this sense, men who are purchasing sex are simply acting on instinctive male urges (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948) that are accepted as a part of a patriarchal society which sexually entitles men and dominates women (M. Farley, Schuckman, et al., 2011). Some research has supported this position, finding that sex buyers are similar to non-buyers with regard to age, education level, number of children, and the length of their longest relationship (Xantidis & McCabe, 2000). Monto and Hotaling (2001) furthermore found that the sex buyers in their sample actually had lower levels of rape myth acceptance than men in a comparison sample of the general population. Specifically, 30% of their sample of sex buyers did not agree with any statements that would support men’s forcible rape of women, such as “in the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation” or “when women go around braless or wearing short skirts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble” (Monto & Hotaling, 2001, p. 282). More frequent sex buyers, however, were more likely to ascribe to such rape-supportive beliefs, thus pointing to a possible relationship between frequency of seeking out sex workers and patriarchal attitudes.

Unlike the “every man perspective,” the “peculiar man perspective” argues that sex buyers are different from non-buyers in a variety of ways and that their involvement in prostitution represents a deviation from societal norms. Specifically, recent research by Farley et al. (2015) that compared a matched sample of sex buyers to non-sex buyers found that men who purchased sex were more likely to be sexually aggressive, accept rape myths, and report that they would forcibly have sex with a woman if they could get away with it. Monto and McRee (2005) also determined that sex buyers were more likely to have sexually liberal attitudes, more sexual partners, and engage in multiple aspects of the sex industry than non-buyers, however they were not more likely to report forcing a woman to have sex or to be a victim of sexual molestation. In addition, buyers were found to have sex less frequently than non-buyers; however this is likely an artifact of marital status as buyers were more likely to be unmarried or be in unhappy marriages (Monto & McRee, 2005).

Although research has attempted to split the population into two distinct groups of buyers and non-buyers, there is growing support for the notion that involvement in the commercial sex industry is transient (e.g. Sanders, 2012; Verlarde & Warlick, 1973). Within this school of understanding, decisions to purchase sex are made within a contemporary framework of one’s social situation, thirst for sexual adventure or variety, and need for intimacy or companionship (Cameron & Collins, 2003; Månsson, 2005; McKeganey & Barnard, 1996; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Monto, 2004, 2010, Sanders, 2008, 2012; Winick & Kinsie, 1971). These motivations can act as a ‘pull’ towards the commercial sex trade, but the strength of this attraction is mitigated by other factors (i.e.

the interest of preserving one's marriage or career) that can 'push' them away from such deviance.

Motivations

There is a growing wealth of empirical research concerning why men choose to purchase sex. What is clear from past research is that sex buyers are not all inherently similar, nor is there a single reason why men choose to purchase sex. As Milrod and Monto (2012) note, however, there are five common themes concerning men's motivations for seeking out prostitutes; namely the 'dirty whore fantasy,' viewing sex as a commodity, the need for sexual domination or control, diversification of sexual interests, and emotional/physical intimacy. Although there are distinct differences between these types of motivations, they can generally be grouped into two broad categories: thrill-seeking and companionship-seeking.

Thrill-seeking. Throughout history, sex that occurs for a function other than procreation has been viewed as morally corrupt; especially when it occurs out of wedlock (Christensen, 1960; Christensen & Gregg, 1970; K. King, Balswick, & Robinson, 1977; Peakman, 2013). While the so-called 'sexual awakening' of the mid-twentieth century has indeed reduced the level of stigma placed on extramarital sex (e.g. Christensen & Gregg, 1970; K. King et al., 1977; Reiss, 1990), it no doubt remains at least somewhat culturally taboo. The sheer ability to be able to not only engage in this fringe behavior, but to purchase this experience, is often a motivating factor for prostitution johns (Bernstein, 2007b; M. Farley, Macleod, Anderson, & Golding, 2011; Milrod & Monto, 2012).

Many of the men who purchase sex because of the inherent ‘thrill’ of doing so view prostituted women as being fundamentally different from other women; whether it be as a lesser class of person or as a ‘professional.’ Similarly, prostitutes are seen as providing distinctive services that are unachievable through traditional, more prosocial means (Bernstein, 2007b; Cameron & Collins, 2003; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012; Plumridge et al., 1997). Thrill-seeking among prostitution johns can thus be characterized by a patriarchal desire for sexual domination and control over women, a need for sexual diversification, or sheer intrigue about prostitution and limited understanding about the true nature of the crime.

Power and control over women. Feminist critiques of the sex trade often center on the view of prostitution as a means for men to achieve power and control over women (Bernstein, 2007b; Busch et al., 2002; Coy, Wakeling, & Garner, 2011; M. Farley et al., 2015; Monto, 2004; Simmons, Lehmann, & Collier-Tenison, 2008; Weitzer, 2005a). With this, men are hypothesized to purchase sex because they are inherently violent and view prostituted women as ‘easy targets’ that are knowingly placing themselves in harm’s way. Prostituted women are thus incapable of being the victims of violence or rape because they are consenting to the sexual transaction (Durschlag & Goswami, 2008; Monto, 2004; Sullivan, 2007). Some researchers furthermore argue that this violent ideology is so intertwined with prostitution johns’ underlying motivations that acts of violence are not even recognized as such because they are viewed as being ‘part of the job’ (Agnich, 2007; Barnard, 1993; Durschlag & Goswami, 2008; Miller & Schwartz, 1995; Monto, 2004).

Patriarchal motivations of power and control over women are supported by comparative studies of men who purchase sex and those who do not. Farley et al. (2015), for example, found that men who purchased sex were more likely to engage in sexually aggressive behaviors than men who did not seek out prostituted women. In addition, there was a highly significant relationship between involvement in the sex trade and self-reported likelihood to rape. Fifteen percent of the sex buyers interviewed by Farley et al. (2015) noted that they would rape a woman if they knew that they would not be caught, whereas only 2% of non-sex buyers admitted that they would force sex upon a woman. Sex buyers and non-sex buyers did not vary, however, with regard to their degree of rape myth acceptance. This finding is reiterated by several other studies that have failed to find this relationship between these two populations (Monto & Hotaling, 2001; Monto & McRee, 2005).

Multiple scholars have examined the constructs of violent sexual ideology among men who purchase sex. Agnich (2007), for example, argues that violent beliefs among this population are significantly related to frequency with which these men think about sex, consume pornography, and have sex with prostituted women; as well as their degree of rape myth acceptance. These findings are echoed by Monto and Hotaling (2001) and Busch et al. (2002); who, in particular, note that violent tendencies were also linked to having sexually conservative values, military experience, and being the victim of physical/sexual abuse during childhood.

Research supports the notion, however, that not all of the men who purchase sex are inherently violent towards prostituted women (Lowman & Atchison, 2006; Monto, 2004). According to Monto (2004), “there is no reason to believe that most customers

are violent” and “many accounts suggest that the problem is exacerbated by a relatively small proportion of more violent men who deliberately seek out prostitutes to victimize because of the reduced likelihood of arrest” (pp. 176-177). This assertion is supported by Lowman and Atchison’s (2006) survey of Canadian sex buyers. Of the 80 men in their sample, only two reported forcibly confining or assaulting a prostituted woman. Similarly, only one man noted that he had raped a prostituted woman. While this study failed to take into consideration the frequency of encounters that respondents had with prostituted women, it does provide support for the intermittency of violent motivations within this population.

Sex as a commodity. Coy et al. (2011) argue that the widespread sexual objectification of women in the media and the proliferation of pornography has led to the normalization of the following perceptions of the sex trade: “women’s bodies are commodities in a global marketplace to be bought and sold; women are sexually available for men’s pleasure, represented as sexual objects; and that women are empowered by sexualisation and objectification” (p. 442). This glorification of patriarchal ideals has led some men to believe that prostitution is not only a normal component of society, but a legitimate industry in which services are provided in exchange for a fee (Monto & Julka, 2009). Men who ascribe to such a belief therefore seek out commercial sex for the sheer purpose of being able to do so, not because they are in need of companionship or for the fulfillment of deviant sexual desires that are otherwise incapable of being satisfied (Bernstein, 2007b; Durschlag & Goswami, 2008; M. Farley, Macleod, et al., 2011; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Raymond, 2004).

Thrill-seeking and patriarchal motivations are evident among the men who embody this “consumeristic ‘playboy philosophy’” (Bernstein, 2007b, p. 122). Empirical examinations of men’s perception of sex as a commodity have operationalized this concept via their number of sex partners, frequency of pornography consumption, preference for prostitution instead of a traditional romantic relationship, and their need to have sex immediately when aroused (e.g. Monto & Julka, 2009). For these men, sexual interaction with prostituted women has little to do with emotionality or a need for companionship; rather, their involvement in the sex trade is just another facet of their deeper entrenchment in the commercialization of sex and their objectification of women’s bodies.

Indeed, multiple studies have shown that men view the commercial sex industry as a means of expanding upon their already promiscuous lifestyles (Durschlag & Goswami, 2008; Xantidis & McCabe, 2000). Xantidis and McCabe’s (2000) study of Australian men who visited brothels revealed that the underlying motivations for seeking out commercial sex widely embodied this commodified view of women. Over three-fourths of the men in the study reported that they visited the brothel because they had a high sex drive, sought diversity of sexual partners, and believed that visiting the brothel would be a less complicated way to achieve sexual release than seeking out a sexual partner through more prosocial means. Furthermore, only 30% of respondents noted that they were motivated to visit the brothel out of loneliness, compared to 92% who were triggered by arousal, 48% because they were drinking, and 33% who were merely bored.

While the legality differences² inherent in Xantidis and McCabe's (2000) study clearly underscore concerns regarding the generalizability of their sample, these findings still highlight some men's perception that women's bodies are a 'product' that is capable of being purchased.

Many of the men who view sex as a commodity rationalize their involvement in the sex trade by neutralizing the inherent harm to prostituted women. A plethora of empirical research shows that the many of women who are involved in the street sex trade are the victims of sex trafficking (M. Farley, 2006; Leidholt, 2003) and are frequent victims of physical and sexual assault (Busch et al., 2002; Church et al., 2001; Deering et al., 2014; Durschlag & Goswami, 2008; McKeganey & Barnard, 1996; Miller & Schwartz, 1995; Penfold, Hunter, Campbell, & Barham, 2004; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Silbert & Pines, 1981) – often at the hands of prostitution johns (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004). Despite this, however, multiple studies have found that many men who purchase sex are either unaware of, or indifferent to, the degree of abuse and manipulation that exists within the sex trade (Durschlag & Goswami, 2008; Monto & Hotaling, 2001; S. Sawyer, Metz, Hinds, & Brucker, Jr., 2001; Winick, 1962).

Durschlag and Goswami's (2008) interviews of men who purchased sex highlight the indifference that some sex buyers have towards the victimization of prostituted women. Of the 113 men that they interviewed, 42% recognized that there was inherent physical and emotional harm tied to the sex trade and 20% noted that they had purchased

² Certain forms of prostitution (i.e. brothels and escorts) are currently legal within the Australian state of Victoria (see Sex Work Act 1994), which is where Xantidis and McCabe's (2000) study was conducted. This is in contrast to the majority of the United States (with the exception of certain counties in Nevada), where any form of prostitution is illegal (see Davis, 2006).

sex from a woman that they believed was the victim of human trafficking. Despite this, however, 87% believed that prostituted women chose to become involved in the sex trade and 65% viewed the sex trade as a legitimate service industry. Such contradictory statements regarding the exploitative nature of the commercial sex trade clearly point to some men's view of prostituted women as a commodity that is capable of being purchased within an economic market.

Diversification of sexual interests. Research has also shown that men are often lured towards the commercial sex industry because they view prostitutes as 'professionals' that are capable of providing a higher-quality or more specialized service than they would be able to find elsewhere (M. Farley et al., 2015; Joseph & Black, 2012; McKeganey & Barnard, 1996; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012; Plumridge et al., 1997; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 1993). Such motivations further embody the commodified view of women and their bodies, as well as point to a thrill-based reasoning for seeking out commercial sex.

Men's choice to seek out prostituted women instead of other partners for specialized sexual acts is likely influenced by gender differences in sexual desire and preferences. Studies have shown that men tend to have different sexual fantasies and preferences than women (Ellis & Symons, 1990; Hatfield, Sprecher, Pillemer, Greenberger, & Wexler, 1989; Purnine, Carey, & Jorgensen, 1994). While women's fantasies tend to relate directly to the emotional connection between them and their partner, men's fantasies are more so characterized by a diversity of sexual experiences and specific sexual acts (Ellis & Symons, 1990). Sexual behaviors that are viewed as

deviant by the majority of society (i.e., acts other than vaginal or oral sex) are thus likely easier to find via the commercial sex trade than from one's partner or an acquaintance.

The men interviewed as part of Plumridge's (1997) study of men who visited massage parlors in New Zealand noted that there was an inherent thrill associated with having sex with a prostituted woman instead of someone they had met through more prosocial means. In particular, they described commercial sexual encounters as being "enjoyable in contrast with the monotony or routine of non-paid sex" (Plumridge et al., 1997, p. 170). Sexual variety and the lack of commitment associated with having sex with a prostituted woman were thus indeed motivating factors for many of the men in the study. Furthermore, some respondents also stated that they could fulfill 'fringe' sexual desires with prostituted women that they would otherwise not be able to partake in with other sexual partners.

The ability to obtain a variety of sexual acts was also a commonly stated motivation among the men interviewed by Durschlag and Goswami (2008). Close to half of the participants in this study noted that they sought out a prostituted woman because they wanted a specialized type of sex that they would otherwise be unable to get from their current partner (i.e. anal sex, group sex, bondage, etc.). In addition, 83% of the respondents viewed their involvement in the sex trade as an addiction due to the variety of sexual acts and partners that it afforded them.

Although multiple studies have found that the desire for sexual variety is a motivating factor for some of the men who purchase sex, some scholars maintain that this is a fringe motivation (Della Guista, di Tommaso, Shima, & Strøm, 2009; Pitts, Smith, Grierson, O'Brien, & Mission, 2004; S. Sawyer et al., 2001; Simpson & Schill, 1977).

For example, 80.5% of the sex buyers in Pitts et al.'s (2004) admitted to having vaginal sex with a prostituted woman and 61.9% acknowledged paying for oral sex. In comparison, 7.1% sought out commercial sex in order to engage in role play or live out a fantasy, and less than 5% did so in order to engage in bondage, watersports, or other fringe sexual behaviors. Furthermore, only 8.3% noted that they were motivated to seek out a prostituted woman because they were seeking a specialized type of sex that they were unable to find through more prosocial means. This study, among others, demonstrates that while the diversification of sexual interests may motivate some prostitution johns, it is not necessarily common among men who purchase sex.

Age-graded nature of thrill-seeking. There is evidence that thrill-seeking is both age-graded and related to informal social control. Whiteside and Lynam (2001) argue that thrill-seeking is a vital component of impulsivity; along with urgency, failure to premeditate the consequences of actions, and the inability to complete tasks because of associated boredom. There has been a vast amount of empirical research among psychology scholars regarding the relationship between age and thrill-seeking behaviors (Collins, 2004; Gardner & Steinberg, 2005; Roberti, 2004; Steinberg et al., 2008; Zuckerman, 1994; Zuckerman, Eysenck, & Eysenck, 1978). In particular, thrill-seeking has been linked to neurobiological correlates such as the development of the prefrontal cortex and levels of dopamine, norepinephrine, and serotonin; all of which are highly related to biological development and the aging process (Collins, 2004; Raine, 2002; Roberti, 2004; Seo & Patrick, 2008). As one ages, they are thus less likely to engage in thrill-seeking because their bodies have matured to a point at which they are not inhibited by an underdeveloped prefrontal cortex, nor abnormal levels of these neurochemicals.

Furthermore, multiple scholars have not only linked impulsivity and its correlates to criminal offending (Collins, 2004; Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 2007; Jones & Lynam, 2009; Lynam & Miller, 2004; Pratt & Cullen, 2000), but shown that informal social control can moderate the relationship between these two variables (Jones & Lynam, 2009; B. E. Wright et al., 2001). Specifically, Jones and Lynam (2009) surveyed 1,002 prior participants in the Lexington Longitudinal Study to see if their involvement in crime was related to certain components of impulsivity and perceptions of neighborhood supervision. Results of hierarchical regressions showed that the impulsivity measures, in particular thrill/adventure seeking and lack of premeditation, were the strongest predictors of criminal offending. Informal social control, which was operationalized via perceptions of neighborhood supervision, however moderated this relationship. Individuals who came from neighborhoods that were perceived to have lower levels of supervision were more likely to be impulsive, and thus engage in criminal offending.

Informal social control and thrill-seeking. Research shows that several of the components of informal social control (i.e. peers, marital status, employment) also influence one's degree of thrill-seeking. Several studies that have looked at the motivations for drug use have found that associating with delinquent peers can lead to increased participation in risky behavior (Donohew, Hoyle, et al., 1999; Donohew, Clayton, Skinner, & Colon, 1999; Yanovitzky, 2005). Yanovitzky (2005), for example, determined that although sensation-seeking was directly related to illegal drug use, association with delinquent peers amplified this motivation because it led to conversations that reinforced such behavior. Similarly, Donohew et al. (1999) also found

that peers' degree of sensation seeking had a direct positive effect on individuals' use of alcohol and marijuana.

Research has also indicated that experiencing salient life events such as divorce or job loss can increase sensation seeking behaviors (Jonah, 1997). Specifically, marital instability has been shown to increase one's risk of alcohol abuse (Richards, Hardy, & Wadsworth, 1997), propensity to engage in risky driving (Donovan, Umlauf, & Salzberg, 1988), and likelihood of participating in body modification (i.e. body piercing; Roberti, Storch, & Bravata, 2004).

Companionship. There is widespread evidence within the empirical literature that men's motivations to seek out commercial sex extend beyond patriarchal desire and thrill-seeking (e.g. Bernstein, 2001, 2007a, 2007b; Hoang, 2010; Huff, 2011; Jordan, 1997; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012; Plumridge et al., 1997; Sanders, 2012). Within the context of the sex trade, 'emotion work' refers to the provision of counseling, conversation, and perceived courtship in addition to sexual services (Bernstein, 2007b; Hoang, 2010; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012). These interactions create a sense of intimacy between the prostituted woman and her client that often resembles, if only for a temporary time, a traditional relationship; a mutual exchange that Bernstein (2007b) refers to as bounded authenticity. With this, both the sex buyer and the prostituted woman are fully aware of the economic constraints of their interactions with one another, however a sense of intimacy develops between them that is beyond the scope of a traditional commercialized sexual encounter (Bernstein, 2001, 2007b; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012; Sanders, 2008).

The similarities between a conventional relationship and such emotion work have resulted in this form of commercialized sex being referred to as a ‘girlfriend experience’ (GFE) (Bernstein, 2001; Huff, 2011; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012; Sanders, 2008; Weitzer, 2007). In addition to sexual services, a GFE often involves other sensual acts such as cuddling, kissing, caressing, and in-depth conversation that are not often associated with the sex trade (Bernstein, 2001; Huff, 2011; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012; Sanders, 2008). In line with the pseudo-relationship goal, men who seek out a GFE typically only purchase sex from a single prostituted woman and attempt to court them by bringing them presents, taking them on trips, and developing rapport with them over time (Sanders, 2008). Milrod and Weitzer (2012) further underscore the importance of companionship and emotionality in this form of commercial sex by noting that “the quality of the physical experience is often contingent on the perceived reality of at least some emotional chemistry between the parties” (p. 449).

There has been little empirical inquiry into what types of men seek out prostituted women for companionship purposes. There is speculation that men might be motivated to turn to the sex trade because they are unable to otherwise find a romantic partner, however this has yet to be established. Similarly, men who are unhappy with their marriage or current romantic relationship may also be lured towards the sex trade in order to find emotional, as well as sexual, comfort; however this stance has received minimal support from past empirical studies (Jordan, 1997; S. Sawyer et al., 2001). Bernstein (2007b), in particular, argues that the perception that men attempt to make up for social and romantic inadequacies by turning to the commercial sex trade is outdated:

Though sexual dissatisfaction within marriage may have at least partly characterized the motivations of a prior era of male sexual clients, in the contemporary sexual marketplace paid sex is not seen as compensation for something lacking in men's primary domestic relationships. Rather, commercial sex provides access to multiple attractive partners that – in the wake of the historical shift from the family-based 'good provider role' to the unfettered, consumeristic 'playboy philosophy' – many male sexual clients feel that they are *entitled* to [emphasis in original] (p. 122).

There are some studies, however, that have incorporated men's need for intimacy and feelings of loneliness into motivational typologies of why they choose to purchase sex from prostituted women. Vanwesenbeeck et al.'s (1993) interviews of 91 men who purchased sex between 1990 and 1991 identified three separate categories of men that were chiefly driven to the sex trade due to their need for companionship. Differences in the categorization of these men hinged on their use of condoms and feelings of guilt concerning seeking out commercial sex. Altogether, however, Vanwesenbeeck et al. (1993) determined that 27% of the men that they interviewed expressed feelings of loneliness, sexual inadequacy, and dissatisfaction with their personal lives that directly resulted in their involvement in the sex trade. For these men, sexual involvement with a prostituted woman was more about feeling close to someone and establishing a personal connection than sexual release.

Pitts et al. (2004) grouped men's motivations for purchasing sex into three categories: ease, characterized by the belief that the sex with a prostituted woman was beneficial in that it allowed them to seek specialized services and did not require a long-

term commitment; arousal, in which men's choice to purchase sex was directly related to substance use and the need to sexual release; and engagement, which was directly related to the desire for companionship. Using a sample of sex buyers from Australia, Pitts et al. (2004) determined that marital status and employment were significantly correlated with men's scores on the engagement scale. Specifically, high scores on the engagement scale were linked with lower levels of employment and being unmarried. There was no relationship, however, between different motivations and men's age, relationship status, or level of education.

Age-graded nature of marriage and companionship-seeking. The socialized male gender role of being tough and unemotional often limits the degree to which men seek out emotional connections (i.e. companionship) with others (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Good, Dell, & Mintz, 1989; O'Neil, 1981). The degree of internal conflict that men have regarding adhering to such proscribed roles within society has been shown to fluctuate with age (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; O'Neil, 2008). Specifically, Cournoyer and Mahalik (1995) found that middle-aged men had lower levels of gender role conflict than college-aged men, however differences with regard to restrictive emotionality failed to reach significance. The degree of intimacy within relationships, as measured via the Miller Social Intimacy Scale (SIS), was however related to their stage in the life-course. With this, middle-aged men were more likely to be in relationships that were characterized by personal intimacy and companionship than college-aged men.

Companionship, at the most basic level, involves the development of positive social bonds with another individual. According to Davidson and Fennell (2002), one's need for companionship is linked to their self-identity throughout the duration of the life-course and "[f]or partners in a romantic relationship, this love is commonly expressed through sexual intimacy" (p. 3). Companionship is also closely linked with both the development of romantic relationships and marital happiness (Greeff & Malherbe, 2001). It is this sense of communion that draws individuals towards one another and creates the basis of romantic commitment. Furthermore, Palisi (1984) notes that there is a significant correlation between marital happiness and companionship, as measured by length and quality of time spent together as a couple.

Not surprisingly, marriage and the development of romantic relationships are clearly linked to age and one's stage in the life-course. The age at which individuals first marry has fluctuated greatly over the past century (Elliott, Krivickas, Brault, & Kreider, 2011). During the 1950s, or the so-called 'golden age of marriage,' the median age at which men were first married was 22.8 (Elliott et al., 2011). This median age has steadily increased over time, with men in the new millennium generally getting married for the first time between the ages of 25 and 27 (Elliott et al., 2011). Reductions in sexual intimacy and companionship over time, however, can result in marital stress and divorce (Gigy & Kelly, 1993; Greeff & Malherbe, 2001). Like marriage, divorce can also happen at most points during the life-course, however statistics denote that men in their mid-30s are at the greatest risk for marital dissolution (Plateris, 1980). Salient life events such as these can possibly lead to involvement in the sex trade because they leave one feeling lonely and craving companionship (Rose & Price-Bonham, 1973; Woodward,

Zabel, & DeCosta, 1981) and can also result in changes in friendship networks and routine activities (Milardo, 1987).

Influence of Informal Social Control on Pursuing Commercial Sex

Peer groups. The relationship between criminal offending and associating with delinquent peers is one of the most widely cited empirical realities within criminology (Brownfield & Thompson, 1991; Giordano, Cernkovich, & Pugh, 1986; Haynie, 2002). Associating with delinquent peers has been found to increase one's susceptibility to engaging in various forms of deviance and crime, including drug use (e.g. Bahr et al., 2005; Brook et al., 2001; Dishion, 2000; Hawkins et al., 1992; Kandel & Davies, 1991; Reed & Rountree, 1997; Urberg et al., 2003), sexual promiscuity (Dishion, 2000; Dishion, Ha, & Véronneau, 2012), and risky sexual behavior (Lansford, Dodge, Fontaine, Bates, & Pettit, 2014). There are multiple explanations for this relationship, ranging from the belief that 'birds of a feather flock together,' or that deviants gravitate towards other deviants, to the idea that delinquent peers exert their beliefs upon non-delinquent, who then internalize them and become delinquent themselves (Brownfield & Thompson, 1991; Dishion, 2000; Haynie, 2002; Haynie & Osgood, 2005; Kandel & Davies, 1991; Matsueda & Anderson, 1998; Warr, 1993b; Warr & Stafford, 1991).

It is clear that peers play a pivotal role in individuals' knowledge and perceptions of sex (Bleakley, Hennessy, Fishbein, & Jordan, 2009; Epstein & Ward, 2008; Nolin & Petersen, 1992). Bleakley et al. (2009), for example, determined that adolescents learn about sex from multiple sources, including their parents, siblings, friends, teachers, and the media. One's peers seemed to be a pivotal player in the dissemination of information about sex in the study, for almost 75% of respondents reported that their knowledge of

sex came from their friends, followed by 62.2% who cited that their parents had spoken to them about it. The source of sexual information also played an important role in respondents' perceptions of the consequences of sex. Respondents in Bleakley et al's (2009) study stated that information about sex that came from their parents and religious leaders generally focused on the negative consequences of sexual behavior, whereas information about sex from their friends influenced their perceptions of sex as an accepted norm and belief regarding its acceptability in certain circumstances (e.g. unprotected sex, outside of a committed relationship, without the sexual partner's consent). Similarly, Epstein and Ward (2008) also found that peers were adolescents' most important source of information about sex; particularly that concerning dating norms/expectation, birth control, and sexual intercourse. In addition, the messages provided by peers and the media were also more likely to encourage sex or provide advice about how to obtain recreational sex, whereas parental messages focused more on abstinence and using contraception. Interestingly, even though peers provided the most information about these topics, Epstein and Ward (2008) determined that they were no more influential in shaping respondents' sexual values than their parents or the media. Belief in gendered sexual stereotypes, that sex should be reserved until after marriage, and perceptions of sexual liberalism were not significantly related to the source of information.

Peers as a 'pull' towards purchasing sex. Some scholars have examined the role of delinquent peers in men's decision to purchase sex by looking at the circumstances in which they first sought out commercial sex. In Durschlag and Goswami's (2008) study of 113 men who purchased sex in Chicago, 36% noted that their first encounter with a

prostituted woman occurred while they were with a group of friends. In particular, these researchers note that purchasing sex in these situations may be viewed as a rite of passage or an attempt to maintain one's machismo in front of their peers. Furthermore, 18% of the men in their study noted that they sought out a prostituted woman in order to mark a special occasion in their lives (i.e. bachelor party, birthday, etc.) (Durschlag & Goswami, 2008).

Findings regarding the importance of delinquent peers and peer pressure in the decision to purchase sex are echoed by Farley et al. (2011). Of the 110 Scottish men that they interviewed, 41% noted that they had first purchased sex while they were with friends. In addition, qualitative interviews revealed that the reasons why these men engaged in such delinquency was, in order to impress their friends, avoid harassment, or complete a perceived rite of passage.

Winick (1962) also points to the influence of one's friends in decisions to purchase sex. Although, he does not directly ask respondents whether or not peers influenced their involvement in the crime, he does note that 64% of the men in his sample visited a prostituted woman because they got their name from a friend. Although peer pressure or incentives may not be directly influencing the decision-making process in this scenario, seeking out sex based on a friend's 'recommendation' clearly points to the ability of delinquent peers to act as a 'pull' factor towards men's involvement in the sex trade.

On an allied note, Cameron and Collins (2003) found that men who belonged to certain religions (i.e. Islam and Roman Catholicism) had a higher lifetime involvement in the commercial sex industry. While these scholars did not directly test the underlying

mechanisms for this relationship, they speculated that “those men who may experience severe social controls and supply constraints in their community-specific sexual opportunities... are inclined to substitute, at the margin, towards the paid arena” (Cameron & Collins, 2003, p. 285). The informal guidelines and codes of conduct that are shared by members of a certain community therefore also seem to act as a pull towards purchasing sex via the commercial sex trade.

Peers as a ‘push’ towards conformity. Peer associations can also ‘push’ men away from seeking out prostituted women. Both the illegality of prostitution and the negative stigma attached to purchasing sex can act as deterrents for men because they perceive that such offending will negatively impact the social capital that they have built within prosocial friend networks. The stigmatization that is associated with seeking out prostitutes is well documented within the empirical literature (Della Giusta et al., 2009; Della Giusta et al., 2009; Grenz, 2005; Kotsadam & Jakobsson, 2014). Indeed, themes of immorality and associated stigma even transcend legal boundaries, for Grenz (2005) found that many of the German men she interviewed “felt that their commercial sexual activities were not acceptable within their private social environment” even though “men have legal access to prostitutes and that prostitution is sanctioned by society” (p. 2093). Men who believe that their involvement in prostitution is atypical for their friend group thus realize that their involvement in the sex trade puts them at a risk of hurting their reputation and standing within that group (Kotsadam & Jakobsson, 2014). According to Kotsadam and Jakobsson (2014), it is this perceived risk of getting ‘caught in the act’ and being stigmatized, not legal ramifications, that reduces men’s demand for commercial sex.

Marriage. Studies have repeatedly shown that marriage is one of the strongest sources of informal social control (Bersani & Eggleston Doherty, 2013; R. D. King et al., 2007; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Lyngstad & Skardhamar, 2013; McGloin et al., 2011; Sampson & Laub, 1990, 1993, 2005; Sampson et al., 2006; Zoutewelle-Terovan et al., 2014). The social bonding between an individual and their spouse can limit one's likelihood of engaging crime due to the perceived detrimental effects that such involvement would have on the social capital that they have invested in their marriage. In addition, being married can influence association with delinquent peers and involvement in deviant routine activities (Bersani & Eggleston Doherty, 2013; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Warr, 1998; Weiss, 1975). Despite this, however, past research on prostitution has found that a significant proportion of men who purchase sex are indeed married (McKeganey, 1994; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Simpson & Schill, 1977). For example, 66.3% of the men in Milrod and Monto's (2012) examination of men who seek out commercial sex online were married, compared to 17.8% that were single, and 15.9% who were divorced or separated. The high representation of married men within this sample demonstrates that marriage may not only work to insulate men against involvement in the sex trade, but may also 'pull' them towards such deviance.

Marriage as a 'pull' towards prostitution. A common reason that men give for their involvement in the sex trade is that they sought out a different type of sexual encounter than they were commonly exposed to via prosocial means (M. Farley et al., 2015; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Plumridge et al., 1997; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 1993). While married men could clearly achieve such sexual diversity without resorting to prostituted women, most men would perceive this as being a violation of their marriage

vows. Indeed, despite shifting attitudes towards sexual permissiveness in the past few decades, several studies have found that most men consider sexual intercourse outside of marriage to be a form of infidelity (Newport, 2015; Whitty, 2003). Some men, however, do not view commercial sex as cheating on their spouse; or at least view it as being less harmful than starting an affair with someone outside of the commercial sex trade (Jordan, 1997; Kleinman, 1973; Knodel, VanLandingham, Saengtienchai, & Pramualratana, 1996).

Although not fully understood within the empirical literature, it is possible that the failure to equate prostitution involvement to adultery lies with the perception of prostituted women as ‘professionals’ and, specifically for street-based transactions, the perceived lack of intimacy involved in such sexual encounters. In support of this idea, Meskó, Láng, and Bernáth (2012) found that although women in long-term relationships are not fully supportive of their partner’s choice to seek out prostituted women, the transactional nature of such extramarital encounters is perceived as being less harmful to the relationship than other types of cheating. Similarly, Fisher et al. (2009) concluded that respondents viewed being cheated on with a prostitute as less emotionally distressing than being cheated on with one’s friend or sibling.

Marriage as a ‘push’ towards conformity. Men are often deterred from seeking out commercial sex due to the possible ramifications that it can have for their personal relationship with their spouse. Although some studies have shown that involvement in the sex trade is viewed as less harmful to relationships than other forms of infidelity (Fisher et al., 2009; Meskó et al., 2012), there is a general consensus within the empirical literature that prostitution has a significant negative effect on marriage (Durschlag &

Goswami, 2008; Knodel et al., 1996; S. Sawyer et al., 2001; S. P. Sawyer & Metz, 2009).

The interest in preserving the marital bond therefore acts as an informal control against involvement in the sex trade.

This is especially true given the stigma associated with involvement in the sex trade. Although considered a relatively minor crime or misdemeanor in most jurisdictions (Brewer, Roberts, Jr., Muth, & Potterat, 2008; Lefler, 1999), the perceived risks of being arrested for prostitution are still quite high. Multiple cities employ alternative sentencing practices (i.e. posting pictures of known offenders on websites or television, sending a letter to offenders' homes) that are designed to shame men for purchasing sex (Barnett & Nicol, 2012; Brewer et al., 2008; Fischer, Wortley, Webster, & Kirst, 2002; Weitzer, 1999; Wortley, Fischer, & Webster, 2002). Such sanctions can have a direct negative impact on one's marriage because they not only alert their spouse to their infidelity and criminal offending, but also other members of their community.

Employment. Involvement in crime or deviant behavior can have serious ramifications for those who are lawfully employed (Lenton & Heale, 2000; Piliavin, Gartner, Thornton, & Matsueda, 1986). Such consequences, as well as the inherent changes in routine activities that commonly accompany legitimate full-time employment, often result in one's desistance from crime (Laub & Sampson, 1993, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Skardhamar & Savolainen, 2014; Uggen, 2000; J. P. Wright & Cullen, 2004). In addition, the fear of potentially hindering one's career can also act as an informal social control mechanism against future criminal involvement (Bushway, 1998; Pate & Hamilton, 1992; Zimring & Hawkins, 1973). While seemingly contradictory, however, legitimate employment opportunities can also expose individuals to the

commercial sex industry; as well as allow for their involvement in this form of deviance (i.e. M. Farley, Macleod, et al., 2011; Holgersson, 2011).

Employment as a ‘pull’ towards purchasing sex. Some scholars have noted that travelling for business can expose individuals to sex tourism; either for leisure purposes or as a part of business interactions (Abdullah, Fielding, & Hedley, 1998; Chang, 1999; Gibbens & Silberman, 1960; Holgersson, 2011; Oppermann, 1999). In a study of sexual behavior among men who traveled to Hong Kong, Abdullah et al. (1998) found that 41% had engaged in commercial sex while they were visiting the country. Such involvement in the sex trade can be either proactive or passive. For some, the physical distance and separation between one’s family makes seeking the services of an escort or call-girl while on business trips simpler and more cost-effective than it would be at home (Chang, 1999). For others, whom O’Connell Davidson (1996) terms as ‘situational sex tourists,’ involvement in the sex industry is a circumstantial by-product of travelling. Unlike those who travel for the express purpose of engaging in commercial sex, these men “do not travel with the specific intention of buying sexual services but... enter into sexually exploitative relationships as soon as the opportunity presents itself” (O’Connell Davidson, 1996, p. 42).

Holgersson (2011) notes that rendezvouses with the commercial sex industry are a relatively well-known aspect of doing business in certain countries. Of the eleven directors of human resources for multinational Swedish companies that she interviewed, four had directly dealt with a case in which an employee patronized the sex trade within the confines of their job. The majority of the remaining interviewees acknowledged that they were aware that their employees were indeed involved in such transactions, however

were not presented with formal cases. Interestingly, multiple scholars note that such deviance is generally overlooked by supervisors and is not formally addressed in most companies' codes of conduct (Holgersson, 2011; Jyrkinen, 2005). In addition, Farley et al. (2011) argues that this type of involvement in the sex trade may be the result of peer pressure or an attempt to reiterate one's masculinity in front of one's colleagues or business partners. While such studies clearly do not point to a strict relationship between business travel and seeking out prostitutes, they do show that legitimate employment can inadvertently put individuals in situations where there are limited informal social controls against prostitution offending.

Employment as a 'push' towards conformity. As it has been stated, there is vast support within the empirical literature for how employment can cause desistance from crime and acts a deterrent for future criminality (Laub & Sampson, 1993, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Skardhamar & Savolainen, 2014; Uggen, 2000; J. P. Wright & Cullen, 2004). This concept has yet to be tested directly on men who purchase sex, however it is highly possible that men would abstain from participating in the sex trade due to concerns about how it might affect their career; especially given the stigma that is attached to prostitution and society's perception of men who labeled as sex offenders (i.e. Tewksbury, 2005; Tewksbury & Lees, 2006). Such negative consequences could include formal sanctions, such as losing one's job, or informal sanctions, such as dissociation from prosocial friend networks at one's place of employment (Bushway, 1998; Zimring & Hawkins, 1973). Some scholars, such as Pate and Hamilton (1992), argue that the deterrent effect of arrest is mediated by informal social control. For example, in their study of men arrested for domestic violence as part of the Dade County Spouse Assault

Experiment, Pate and Hamilton (1992) found that arrest reduced subsequent domestic violence offending among men who were employed at the time of arrest, however this relationship was mediated by a measure of one's commitment to their job. Finally, being labeled as a john could furthermore negatively impact one's standing and perceived character within professional circles and their ability to successfully find employment opportunities in the future (Bushway, 1998; Finn & Fontaine, 1985; Zimring & Hawkins, 1973). Indeed, in a study of the long-term effects of criminal conviction, Waldfogel (1994) found that the stigma of being convicted of fraud or larceny negatively impacted individuals' income and earning potential over the subsequent few years.

Previous Life-Course Examinations of Prostitution Johns

The best known analysis of the effect of age on sex buyers' attitudes, motivations, and preferences comes from a qualitative study of sex buyers in the United Kingdom (Sanders, 2012). By placing advertisements for research participants in relevant online chat forums and capitalizing off her exposure in a recent television documentary, Sanders was able to conduct qualitative interviews with 52 current sex buyers. Of these men, 48 exclusively purchased sex from indoor providers (e.g. escorts, massage parlors), and only two noted that they sought out prostituted women via the outdoor or street market. From these interviews, (Sanders, 2012) concluded that men's motivations for seeking out prostituted women could be characterized in terms of 'push' and 'pull' factors. Push factors, such as difficulties with dating and sexual relationships, equated to underlying buyer characteristics, whereas 'pull' factors were elements of prostitution and the sex trade itself that were appealing to these buyers (Sanders, 2012). Sanders (2012) furthermore determined that the influence of these factors varied across the life-course,

and given this, that there were five general patterns of involvement in the sex trade. Age or one's stage in the life-course was of little importance for three of these patterns; namely *explorers*, *compulsives*, and *permanent purchasers*. The 'pull' aspect of the sex trade was of utmost importance for *explorers*, who sought out prostituted women due to the perceived excitement and fantasy involved with purchasing sex, but then stopped their involvement after this initial excitement wore off. For *compulsives*, the intrigue of planning the paid sexual encounter was of paramount importance (instead of the sexual acts themselves) and involvement was marked by the periods of time in which they did not have a conventional relationship or sexual partner. Finally, as the name suggests, *permanent purchasers* sought out prostituted women throughout the life-course and were motivated by their sexual needs and fantasies. One's stage in the life course was an important determinant, however, for the two remaining patterns of involvement in (Sanders, 2012) typology. *Yo-yoers* were attracted to the sex trade by the excitement of purchasing sex and only sought out prostituted women during times they were single, however this pattern only occurred in men who were over the age of 30. *Bookends*, on the other hand, represented an interesting case in which involvement in the sex trade occurred both early on the life-course (20s) and after divorce (starting in the 50s or 60s). For this group, encounters were both sexual and for the purpose of companionship and courting.

Justification for Further Research on Age-Graded Prostitution Offending

Sanders' (2012) findings certainly fill a clear oversight in the empirical literature, namely how different stages in the life-course affect buyers' involvement in the sex trade. The influence of such research on criminological understanding of this phenomenon,

however, is limited given the nature of her sample (i.e. primarily clients of escorts and massage parlors). Indeed, the majority of prostitution transactions occur within the context of the indoor sex trade (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Sanders, 2012; Weitzer, 2005, 2007), however a plethora of empirical research has found that there are marked differences between the indoor and outdoor sex markets (Church et al., 2001; Cunningham & Shah, 2014; Holt & Blevins, 2014; Lever & Dolnick, 2010; May et al., 1999, 2000; Sanders, 2012; Weitzer, 2005a, 2007). Specifically, differences exist between these markets with regard to the characteristics of prostituted women, the types of services provided, their impact on society and associated crime, and the prevalence of violence and other risk factors for both prostituted women and clients. According to Weitzer (2005), these “diverse experiences are patterned in such a way that the prostitution market is *segmented* [emphasis in original] between the indoor and street sectors” (p. 215). As it will be shown, this segmentation between the indoor and outdoor prostitution markets has strong implications for criminological research, and points to the need for further research about the age-graded motivations and attitudes of prostitution johns, specifically among those who participate in the outdoor sex market.

Street v. indoor sex workers. Several scholars have sought to examine the differences between street and indoor sex workers (Cunningham & Shah, 2014; Lever & Dolnick, 2010; Weitzer, 2005a, 2007). Specifically, studies show that women who are prostituted as part of the outdoor street market are more likely to be older, less educated, the victims of human trafficking, experience violence at the hands of clients, have sexually transmitted infections (including HIV/AIDS), be intravenous drug users, have psychological problems and issues with their self-esteem, have a history of childhood

abuse, and be at greater risk for arrest (Cunningham & Shah, 2014; Lever & Dolnick, 2010; May et al., 1999, 2000; Porter & Bonilla, 2010; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Sanders, 2004, 2012, Weitzer, 2005a, 2007).

Street v. indoor sex buyers. Similarly, research has shown that there are distinct differences between the clients of the indoor and outdoor sex trades. The most informative of such studies was conducted by Lever and Dolnick (2010), who asked 998 women who had been prostituted on the streets of Los Angeles and 83 call girls from the same area to provide information about their most recent client interactions; including perceived client demographics, whether or not they were repeat clients, and details regarding the actual transaction. This revealed that there was relatively little variation in perceived age between clients of the indoor and outdoor sex markets, however there were meaningful differences regarding perceived race/ethnicity, perceived marital status, and estimated income. The vast majority of call girls noted that they believed that their most recent client was white (82%), while street workers reported significant racial variability. Specifically, 40% of street workers believed that their most recent client was African-American, followed by 34% white, and 23% Hispanic. Regarding estimated income, most call girls believed that their most recent client was from an upper income bracket (65%), while clients of street workers were more commonly perceived as belonging to the middle class (50%). Perceived marital status also varied between markets. Forty-four percent of street workers believed their most recent client was married, whereas 32% noted they were single, and 25% were unable to tell. In comparison, 36% of call girls perceived their most recent client as being married, while 59% believed they were single and only 5% noted that they were unable to tell. As it will be discussed in the next

section, the variability in prostituted women's ability to determine such factors is likely an artifact of differences in the commercial sexual transactions themselves.

Differences between indoor and street sexual transactions. One of the main distinctions regarding the actual acts of indoor and street prostitution is the prevalence of so-called 'emotion work' or the related demand for a 'girlfriend experience' (Lever & Dolnick, 2010; Weitzer, 2005a, 2007). According to Weitzer (2007), "emotion work is rare among streetwalkers, who encounters are limited to quick, mechanical sex" but typical for indoor sex workers, who "are often expected to support and counsel clients, and their encounters may resemble dating experiences, including conversation, gifts, hugging, massage, and kissing" (2007, p. 30). This conclusion is supported by Lever and Dolnick's (2010) comparison of women prostituted on the street and call girls. When asked about their last interaction with a client, 51% of call girls noted that it involved conversation, compared to only 5% of street workers. In addition, caressing, kissing, or hugging the client, as well as giving them a nonsexual massage was much more prevalent among call girl-client interactions (42% and 30%, respectively) than in outdoor paid sexual encounters (3% and 2%, respectively). Given the time requirement necessary for these types of interactions, it is not surprising that 77% of call girls noted that their last interaction with a client last an hour or more, compared to only 45% of street worker-client interactions.

In further support of Weitzer's (2007) contention that street work primarily involves the achievement of quick sexual gratification, 32% of the most recent street worker-client interactions measured by Lever and Dolnick (2010) lasted less than 15 minutes, compared to only 6% for call girls. Lever and Dolnick (2010) also found that

outdoor and indoor prostitution transactions varied regarding the use of alcohol and drugs during the course of the prostitution transaction. During their last recalled interaction, call girls were more likely to drink alcohol with their clients (18%) than street workers (7%), whereas the opposite was true for drug use during the interaction (8% and 4% for street workers and call girls, respectively). While on the surface the idea that increased alcohol consumption during call-girl client interactions seems counterintuitive, as increased substance use would be expected to coincide with the outdoor sex market, the use of alcohol in these scenarios often occurs within the context of courtship and conversation. Alcohol is therefore used as a tool to increase the level of intimacy involved in the interaction and make it seem more like a ‘date’ than a sexual transaction.

Given the varied nature of sexual transactions between the outdoor and indoor sex markets, it is not surprising that the risks for both sex workers and buyers varies according to these contexts. These risks include the potential transmission of sexually transmitted diseases, violence towards prostituted women, and the risk of coming into contact with the criminal justice system.

Condom use. One of the most prevalent methods of harm reduction with regard to prostitution is the use of condoms as a means of limiting the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases between prostituted women and their clients. With this, research has generally shown that clients of street prostitutes are much more likely to choose to use condoms than those who turn to the indoor sex trade (Lever & Dolnick, 2010).³ Lever

³ Legalized commercial sex, which almost always occurs within the context of the indoor sex industry, is typically governed by stipulations that mandate the use of a condom during all sexual interactions (Weitzer, 2005). It is important to note that condom use in the context of this proposal refers to instances only when such an option is available (and not legally required).

and Dolnick (2010), for example, found that 39% of street prostitutes had sex with a client using a condom in the previous week, compared to only 18% of call girls.

(McKeganey, 1994) further found that condom use was relatively common among his study of 70 men who purchased sex from prostituted women on the streets of Glasgow; with only 17% responding that they did not use a condom the last time that they paid for vaginal sex.

Increased self-selected condom use among men who purchase sex from the outdoor market is likely an artifact of their perceived risks of the transaction. According to (McKeganey, 1994) johns perceive that prostituted women have a higher prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, however they believe that they are able to limit their risk of infection by identifying which sex workers are carrying such diseases and either avoiding them or using a condom. Due to the fact that women who are prostituted on the street are more likely to be perceived as being ‘dirty’ or intravenous drug users, sex buyers are more likely to choose to use condoms with them than they are when they purchasing sex from indoor sex workers (McKeganey, 1994; Stone, 2014). Indeed, Weitzer (2005, 2007) contents that research shows that sex buyers are right in this regard, because sexually transmitted disease is less prevalent among call girls and escorts than it is among street workers.

Another key reason why johns are less likely to use condoms with indoor sex workers is because they believe that it interferes with the relationship between them and the sex worker (Sanders, 2012). This further points to the distinction between the indoor and outdoor sex markets. While clients of the outdoor sex market prioritize their sexual health, indoor sex buyers are concerned with the relationship and degree of intimacy that

they perceive to have with sex workers to such a degree that they are willing to overlook the very real health risks that can accompany such interactions.

Violence. While there is much debate regarding the overall prevalence of violence within the indoor sex trade (see Farley, 2005; Raphael & Shapiro, 2005; Weitzer, 2005b), scholars do agree that street workers are much more likely to be the victim of physical violence at the hands of their clients than indoor sex workers. For example, Raphael and Shapiro (2004) asked a mixed sample of 222 prostituted women about the prevalence of different types of violence in a variety of contexts. Across virtually all categories, indoor prostitutes experienced substantially less violence than outdoor prostitutes within the context of their involvement in the sex trade.⁴ Among escorts, for example, 50% had experienced forced sex, 39.3% had been threatened with rape or a weapon, 57.1% had been slapped, and 39.3% had been punched. This is compared to street prostitutes, of which 64.4% reported being forced to have sex, 55.4% had been threatened with rape, 79.2% had been threatened with a weapon, 86.1% had been slapped, and 70.3% had been punched. Furthermore, Raphael and Shapiro (2004) note that sex buyers were responsible for 62-100% of all violence towards street sex workers, whereas pimps were responsible for up to half of all violence experienced by escorts.

Although such findings clearly call into question (Weitzer, 2005a, 2005b, 2007) claim that violence is absent from the indoor sex market, it is obvious that there are distinct differences in the prevalence and types of violence experienced by indoor and outdoor sex workers. Taking Raphael and Shapiro's (2004) finding that pimps are

⁴ In Raphael and Shapiro's (2004) study, indoor sex workers were more likely to experience unwanted spanking than outdoor sex workers.

responsible for a substantial amount of the violence directed towards indoor sex workers, while sex buyers are to blame for the majority, if not all, violence within the street market, it is obvious that sex buyers vary greatly with regard to their general respect towards sex workers as women.

Previous findings regarding sex buyers' age-graded perceptions of the sex trade and sex workers (i.e. Sanders, 2012), therefore cannot be extended to men who purchase sex on the street. Furthermore, given that violence is more common within the outdoor sex trade, and "the reduction of violence must start with understanding the motivations and attitudes of the clients who solicit services of prostitutes" (Bohrer-Padavos, 2015, p. 5), investigating these aspects using a sample of men who purchase sex from street workers has a greater potential to inform criminal justice policy.

CHAPTER IV

Methods

This dissertation determined how mechanisms of informal social control (i.e. peers, marriage, and employment) influenced men's motivations to purchase sex via the outdoor sex trade throughout the life-course. This analysis was guided by Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded theory of informal social control and empirically sound motivations for purchasing sex. In addition, it also examined how men's motivations for purchasing sex fluctuated due to marital status and quality and throughout different stages in the life-course.

Data

Empirical examinations of the sex trade are typically aimed at understanding the victimization of sex workers rather than the men who purchase sex. Given this, there are relatively few wide-scale data sources available to researchers that provide insight into this category of offenders. One study that has, however, examined sex buyers on a large scale is Monto's (2000) multi-city analysis of prostitution clients.

Collected between 1997 and 1999, the Clients of Street Prostitutes dataset (Monto, 2000) contains demographic, behavioral, and attitudinal data for 1,342 men who were arrested for purchasing sex in Portland, Oregon, San Francisco and Santa Clara, California, and Las Vegas, Nevada. In addition, Monto's (2000) study also contains a substantial number of indicators related to respondents' legitimate romantic relationships; specifically related to the quality of the marital bond, and the similarity of sexual interests and desires between the respondent and their spouse.

Study participants were given self-administered surveys prior to the start of a diversionary program for prostitution offenders that focused on educating them regarding the sexual health and social risks of prostitution, as well as the widespread victimization of sex workers (Monto, 2010; Wortley et al., 2002). While there is no concrete timetable available concerning the time lapse between participants' arrest for prostitution and the start of the program, and thus data collection, it is estimated to have occurred within 120 days of the offense.⁵ Furthermore, Monto (2000) estimates that the response rate for the study was over 80% and that this was bolstered by the availability of both English and Spanish questionnaires.

Descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics for the full sample are presented in Table 1. Overall, respondents ranged in age from 18 to 84, and had a mean age of 37.90 ($SD = 11.18$).⁶ Over half of the sample identified as White (57.7%, $n = 757$), whereas 20.1% ($n = 264$) identified as Hispanic, 12.7% ($n = 167$) identified as Asian, 5.2% identified as Black ($n = 68$), and 4.3% identified as another race. Most of the respondents had at least a high school education (89.5%, $n = 1,189$), with over one-third of respondents having either a Bachelor's (24.2%, $n = 321$) or a Master's (10.7%, $n = 142$) degree.

⁵ A review of the documentation that accompanied the dataset as well as previous empirical applications of Monto's (2000) data failed to provide any explicit insight regarding this measure. Of the 1,342 total cases included in the dataset, however, 986 were collected in San Francisco prior to the start of the First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP; Monto, 2000). An evaluation of FOPP notes that all participants in the diversionary program were required to start the program within 120 days of the offense (Shively et al., 2008).

⁶ There were 10 respondents whose age fell three standard deviations outside of this mean (i.e. between the ages of 73 and 84) that were determined to be outliers in Monto's (2000) study. Monto (2000) does not discuss the presence of these outliers, nor are they mentioned in any of the other studies that have utilized this sample.

Table 1

Descriptive Characteristics of Sample (N = 1,342)

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i> (%)
Age	37.90 (18 – 84)	11.18	
Race			
White			757 (57.7)
Black			68 (5.2)
Hispanic			264 (20.1)
Asian			167 (12.7)
Other			57 (4.3)
Education level			
Less than high school			140 (10.5)
High school			244 (18.4)
Some college			482 (36.3)
Bachelor's degree			321 (24.2)
Master's degree			142 (10.7)
N/A			332
Age when first purchased sex	23.50 (10 – 62)	7.45	
Frequency of sex with prostituted women in past year			
Never			282 (26.8)
Once			281 (26.7)
More than once, but less than monthly			365 (34.6)
1-3 times/month			99 (9.4)
1-2 times/week			18 (1.7)
3-4 times/week			4 (0.4)
5+ times/week			5 (0.5)

The age at which respondents first reported purchasing sex from a prostituted woman ranged from 10 to 62, with a mean of 23.50 ($SD = 7.45$). When asked the frequency with which they had sex with prostituted women in the past year, 12% ($n = 126$) noted that they had done so on at least a monthly basis. Roughly a quarter (26.8%, $n = 282$) of respondents maintained that they had never had sex with a prostituted woman in the past year, while 26.7% ($n = 281$) stated that they had purchased sex once in the past year, and 34.6% ($n = 365$) maintained that they had purchased sex more than once in the past year, but less than once a month.

Measurement

There are multiple manifest variables, or variables that were directly measured by Monto's (2000) questionnaire, that were utilized in this dissertation. These variables included age, peers, education level, employment status, socioeconomic status (SES), marital status, and marital unhappiness. In addition to these directly measured variables, several latent constructs were also created; primarily from attitudinal measures collected by Monto (2000). These constructs included each of the theoretically relevant motivations for seeking out prostituted women, as well as respondents' degree of rape myth acceptance (RMA). Combined measures for relationship instability and pornography consumption were also utilized.

Variables guided by age-graded informal social control.

Age. According to González (2007), "age-grading is a reference that must be taken into account when thinking of how sexuality involves bodies, moral meanings, spaces, practices and forms of relationships, as these are clearly tied to the understanding of age" (p.44). Given this, this study examined how age and different stages in the life-

course influence men's motivations to purchase sex. Age was self-reported and measured as a continuous variable within the original dataset, and was utilized in its original form for certain analyses.

Different stages in the life-course were assigned according to whether or not the respondent has reached psychosocial and sexual maturity. The concepts of maturity and personality plasticity have been widely debated by scholars (for a review see Caspi & Roberts, 2001; Roberts & DelVecchio, 2000), however recent research has shown that there is a point at which maturity and personality plateau, and that this typically occurs midway through adulthood (Caspi & Roberts, 2001; Cloninger, Svrakic, & Przybeck, 1993; Josefsson et al., 2013; McCrae & Costa, Jr., 1994). While multiple scholars have argued that individuals' personalities become stable at the age of 30 (James, 1890; McCrae & Costa, Jr., 1994), recent research supports that this does not occur until even further on in the life-course (Caspi & Roberts, 2001; Josefsson et al., 2013). Specifically, Josefsson et al. (2013) found that people's character, defined by their levels of cooperativeness, self-directedness, and self-transcendence, became fully formed by the age of 40.

There is furthermore evidence within the empirical literature that sexuality is age-graded and linked to an individual's biology, psychological development, and sociological surroundings (González, 2007; Sheldon & Kasser, 2001). Sheldon and Kasser (2001), in particular, determined that personal attempts to attract the opposite sex and find sexual intimacy peaked between the ages of 21-39 and then fell after the age of 40.

Research shows that stages in the life-course are often determined according to turning points and experiences that are commonly while one is within a specific age range. There is support within the literature for the idea that one's personality does not become fully stable, nor does one become psychosocially mature, until the age of 40. This, as well as Sheldon and Kasser's (2001) findings concerning sexuality, led to the determination that the age of 40 should be used as the self-imposed boundary that delineates maturity within this study. Age of maturity was therefore a dichotomous variable whereby men who are 40 or older were coded as 1 and those who are younger than 40 were coded as 0.

Peers. The only mention of delinquent peer association within Monto's (2000) dataset occurs within a variable that measured the circumstances surrounding the respondent's first paid interaction with a prostituted women. For this measure, respondents were asked "what were the circumstances in which you first had sex with a prostitute?" (Monto, 2000, p. 48). There are two options within the categorical response matrix that were combined and then used to form a dichotomous dummy measure that measured outside peer pressure to purchase sex: "a group of buddies set me up" and "a family member or relative set me up." If the respondent indicated either of these answer choices on this question then peers was coded as 1, whereas respondents who provided any other answer choice resulted in peers being coded as 0.

Employment. This dissertation utilized two separate manifest variables in order to test the influence of employment-related informal social control. Employment status indicated the degree to which the respondent is currently employed and working within the traditional workforce. This measure was consolidated from the original measure

provided in Monto's (2000) dataset to include unemployed but not looking for work (0), unemployed, laid off, or looking for work (1), working part-time (2), and working full-time (3). An additional dichotomous variable for full-time employment was also constructed (0 = no, 1 = yes) for use in subsequent analyses.

Socioeconomic status (SES) was measured according to the Hollingshead SES scale; an occupational estimation that is "presumed to be indicative of the skill and power individuals possess as they perform the maintenance functions in society" (Hollingshead, 1975, p. 23). According to Hollingshead (1975), this multidimensional measure intends to represent one's social standing and relative value within a society, and is influenced by age and one's degree of educational achievement. The original dataset coded SES as executives (1), business managers (2), administrative personnel/small business owners (3), clerical/sales/technicians (4), skilled manual employees (5), semiskilled employees (6), and unskilled employees (7). For the purposes of this study, however, this was simplified into a dichotomous dummy variable for executives (0 = no, 1 = yes).

Marriage. Finally, given the wealth of indicators of marital compatibility and quality present in Monto's (2000) dataset, there was ample opportunity to examine the influence of marital informal social control on purchasing sex. Several variables were thus utilized in order to assess the influence of both marital status and marital quality on men's motivations to become involved in the sex trade. Marital status was defined as never married (0), married (1), widowed (2), divorced (3), or separated (4). For subsequent analyses, a dichotomous variable (0 = no, 1 = yes) was also constructed for married individuals called married.

The relative strength of respondents' marital bonds was assessed via four separate self-reported measures: relationship instability, marital unhappiness, similarity of sexual interests, and similarity of sexual desires. The relationship instability was measured via a combined variable associated with responses to two dichotomous questions on Monto's (2000) original questionnaire; "during the last year did you separate from your wife or partner" and "during the last year did you break up with a steady girlfriend or fiancé." If respondents had either separated or broken up with their partner during the last year then relationship instability was coded as 1, otherwise it was coded as 0. The observed variable for marital unhappiness was coded as very happy (1), pretty happy (2), not too happy (3), and do not know (4). Given the ambiguity associated with this final category, however, all 'do not know' responses were recoded as missing data. Marital unhappiness was therefore coded as very happy (1), pretty happy (2), and not too happy (3).

Respondents were also asked to rate the similarity of their sexual interests and desires in comparison to their wife or partner. Similarity of sexual interests was measured on a 4-part Likert scale ranging from very similar to very different; and was respectively coded as 1 through 4. Similarity of sexual desire, or the frequency of wanting sexual intercourse, was a dichotomous variable whereby being more interested than one's partner was coded as 1 and being equally or less interested than one's partner was coded as 0.⁷

⁷In the original dataset (Monto, 2000), similarity of sexual desire was measured on the following 5-part Likert scale: partner is much more interested (1), partner is somewhat more interested (2), we are about equally interested (3), more interested than my partner (4), and much more interested than my partner (5), however this was condensed for the purposes of this dissertation.

Variables related to men's motivations for purchasing sex. This dissertation measured men's motivations for seeking out prostituted women by creating latent constructs from attitudinal measures in Monto's (2000) original dataset. With the exception of the latent variable for pornography consumption, each of the manifest variables that was utilized in order to construct these latent variables was measured on a 4-point Likert scale that ranges from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 4 (*agree strongly*).⁸

Thrill-seeking. There are three separate categories of motivations related to thrill-seeking that are proposed by the empirical literature: wanting power and control over women, viewing sex as a commodity, and the diversification of sexual interests. Each of these motivations was represented in analyses via latent measures created from attitudinal items in Monto's (2000) study (see Table 2).

A latent measure representing motivations for power and control over women was constructed using five separate manifest indicators that report the degree to which respondents like control during sex, like rough sex, believe that sex is fun if a woman fights, believe that some women like being smacked, and want sex more when angry. Exploratory factor analysis showed that the latent measure for power and control had an acceptable level of internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.615$). In line with previous empirical findings regarding the limited prevalence of this motivation among sex buyers (Lowman & Atchison, 2006; Monto, 2004), power and control had a mean of 1.625 (SD = .509), indicating that most men either disagreed or disagreed strongly with the associated indicators of this construct.

⁸ Monto's (2000) original dataset measured the associated attitudinal variables on a 4-point Likert scale that ranged from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 4 (*agree strongly*), however these scales have been reversed for this study in order to streamline the understanding of analyses.

Table 2

Latent Variable Construction for Motivations to Purchase Sex

	α	Loading	Mean	SD
Power and control ¹	.615		1.625	.509
Like control during sex		.509	2.265	.981
Like rough sex		.573	1.655	.880
Sex fun if woman fights		.753	1.299	.673
Some women like being smacked		.682	1.696	.881
Want sex more when angry		.664	1.236	.617
Sex as a commodity ¹	.772		2.633	.791
Prostitution does not harm anybody		.666	2.264	.981
Prostitution not wrong		.825	2.394	1.013
Should legalize prostitution		.830	2.918	1.091
Should decriminalize prostitution		.755	2.897	1.047
Diversification of sexual interests ¹	.677		2.448	.682
Want different kind of sex		.629	2.143	1.054
Excited by approaching prostitute		.686	2.176	1.030
Like to have a variety of partners		.731	2.150	1.061
Like woman who really likes sex		.605	3.313	.911
Like woman who gets nasty		.650	2.441	1.096
Companionship ¹	.688		1.920	.778
Difficulty meeting women		.794	1.729	1.000
Most women find me unattractive		.766	1.846	.915
Shy & awkward with women		.795	2.198	1.062

¹Responses to these items were measured on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 4 (agree strongly).

The second thrill-seeking motivation that is discussed in the empirical literature is viewing sex as a commodity. Past studies have operationalized this concept in multiple ways, including number of sex partners, frequency of pornography consumption, belief that prostitution should be legalized, and men's neutralization of the inherent harm to prostitution women (e.g. Monto & Julka, 2009; Xantidis & McCabe, 2000). For the purposes of this dissertation, the attitudinal measure for being motivated by the commodification of sex focused on men's perceptions of the inherent harm of the sex trade and being entitled to purchase sex. Viewing sex as a commodity was thus be comprised of four measures, including prostitution does not harm anybody, prostitution is not wrong, should legalize prostitution, and should decriminalize prostitution. Exploratory factor analysis showed that this measure had a mean of 2.633 ($SD = 0.791$), and a rather high degree of internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.772$).

The final thrill-seeking motivation that was examined in this study is the diversification of sexual interests. This latent measure was comprised of the following five attitudinal indicators: wanting a different kind of sex, excited by approaching a prostitute, like to have a variety of partners, like a woman who really likes sex, and like a woman who gets nasty. The resulting latent construct had a mean of 2.448 ($SD = 0.681$) and acceptable internal reliability ($\alpha = 0.677$).

Companionship. Similar to the variables that were created in order to test the three thrill-seeking motivations, a latent measure was constructed to represent being motivated by companionship (see Table 2). This measure included the following three manifest variables related to perceived social inadequacy: difficulty meeting women, shy and awkward with women, and most women find me unattractive. Results of exploratory

factor analysis determined that this measure had a mean of 1.920 ($SD = 0.778$) and an acceptable degree of internal validity ($\alpha = 0.688$).

Mediating variables. There were two additional mediating variables that influenced men's motivation to purchase sex from prostituted women (see Table 3). Rape myth acceptance (RMA) was a latent construct composed of responses to the following attitudinal manifest variables: going home implies willingness to have sex, provocative dress asks for trouble, rape victims have bad reputation, forced sex after necking woman's fault, and hitchhiking woman deserves rape. Results of exploratory factor analysis showed that the latent measure of RMA had a mean of 1.66 ($SD = 0.626$) and has a relatively high level of internal validity ($\alpha = 0.769$).

The second mediating variable is pornography consumption, which was combined measure of the frequency by which the respondent has looked at pornographic magazines or watched pornographic videos within the past year. Exploratory factor analysis showed that this combined measure had a mean of 2.05 ($SD = 0.902$) and an acceptable degree of internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.680$).

Control variables. Finally, two dummy variables were created that acted as control variables in multivariate examinations of men's motivations to purchase sex. The first of these dummy variables concerned race and was called white. For this variable, responses to the question concerning the race with which the respondent identified were coded as 1 (white) and 0 (non-white). The second control variable that was used in multivariate analyses concerned the frequency with which the respondent purchased sex. This variable, called frequent sex buyer, was also a dummy variable, whereby 1 referred

to men who had purchased sex at least monthly, and 0 referred to men who purchased sex less than monthly.

Table 3

Latent Variable Construction for Mediating Variables

	α	Loading	Mean	SD
Rape myth acceptance ¹	.769		1.659	.626
Going home implies willingness to have sex		.675	1.778	.906
Provocative dress asks for trouble		.720	1.944	.965
Rape victims have bad reputation		.729	1.650	.875
Forced sex after necking woman's fault		.795	1.589	.870
Hitchhiking woman deserves rape		.694	1.342	.730
Pornography consumption ²	.680		2.054	.902
Look at magazines		.871	2.047	1.010
Watch videos		.871	2.058	1.061

¹Responses to these items were measured on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 4 (agree strongly).

²Responses to these items were measured on the following 6-point scale: never (1), less than once a month (2), one to a few times a month (3), one to a few times a week (4), daily (5), and several times a day (6).

Analytic Strategy

This dissertation utilized a variety of statistical methods in order to answer the research questions. I examine how age-graded informal social control influences men's motivations to seek out commercial sex. In particular, these analyses sought to answer three research questions: 1) is there a relationship between age and men's motivations to seek out women who are prostituted via the outdoor sex market, 2) does age-graded informal

social control influence the motivations of street prostitution clients, and 3) how does marriage quality influence men's motivations to purchase sex?

RQ 1: Relationship between age and motivations for purchasing sex. The first research question asked if men's motivations for purchasing sex are related to age. In line with the empirical literature, there were four separate hypotheses related to this research question:

1. Power and control motivations will be more pronounced among men who are under the age of 40.
2. Motivations powered by viewing sex as a commodity will be more pronounced among men who are under the age of 40.
3. Men who are under the age of 40 will be more motivated by wanting a different type of sex than men who are older than 40.
4. Men who are over the age of 40 will be more motivated by companionship than men who are under the age of 40.

These hypotheses were tested at both the bivariate level using independent-samples t-tests and at the multivariate level using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. For the bivariate analyses, the dichotomous variable for age of maturity was examined against each of the four motivational scales (i.e. power and control, sex as a commodity, diversification of sexual interests, and companionship). There were furthermore four separate multivariate OLS regression models. Each one of the motivational scales served as the dependent variable for a separate model. The independent variable in these models was age of maturity, and control variables for race, the frequency of sex with a prostituted woman in the past year, and rape myth acceptance (RMA) were also included.

RQ 2: Influence of age-graded informal social control on motivations to purchase sex. The second research question sought to determine if men's motivation to purchase sex was related to the associated indicators of age-graded informal social control. Analyses for this research question was split into two parts. The first set of analyses examined whether or not a relationship exists between age-graded informal social control and men's motivations to purchase sex, whereas the second set of analyses attempted to model how the components of age-graded informal social control lead to men's different motivations.

Determination of a relationship between age-graded informal social control and men's motivations to purchase sex. This set of analyses examines the relationship between the key tenets of age-graded informal social and men's motivations to purchase sex. There were four hypotheses associated with this stage of analysis:

5. Being motivated by power and control will be positively related to association with delinquent peers and executive status, as well as negatively related with age of maturity, being married, and being employed full-time.
6. Being motivated by viewing sex as a commodity will be positively related to delinquent peer association, being employed full-time, executive status, and being married, as well as negatively related to age of maturity.
7. Being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests will be positively related with delinquent peer association, marriage, full-time employment, and executive status, as well as negatively related to age of maturity.

8. Being motivated by companionship will be positively related to age of maturity and negatively related to delinquent peer association, marriage, full-time employment, and executive status.

These hypotheses were tested at both the bivariate and multivariate levels. First, the relationship between each of the motivations and the variables associated with age-graded informal social control (i.e. peers, married, employed full-time, and executive) was assessed at the bivariate level via independent samples t-tests. Second, OLS regression was used to examine this relationship at the multivariate level. Like in the first set of regression analyses, there were four separate models, whereby each of the different motivations for purchasing sex functioned as the dependent variable. The independent variables for these analyses were the dichotomous measures for age of maturity, peers, married, employed full-time, and executive. In addition, control variables were also included for race, the frequency of sex with a prostituted woman in the past year, and rape myth acceptance (RMA).

How age-graded informal social control influences men's motivations to purchase sex. Research has shown that there is a negative relationship between age and the likelihood of associating with delinquent peers (Warr, 1993a). Associating with peers who have rape supportive attitudes or who consume pornography has furthermore been shown to increase the perceived social acceptability of these behaviors, thus increasing the likelihood that individuals will engage in them themselves (Berkowitz, 2003; Loh, Gidycz, Lobo, & Luthra, 2005; Paul, 2008). Given that past research has linked both pornography consumption and rape myth acceptance to thrill-seeking motivations for purchasing sex (e.g. Agnich, 2007; Monto & Julka, 2009), it is possible that association

with delinquent peers, which is determined by age, may have a causal connection with men's motivations to purchase sex.

There is also evidence within the empirical literature that marriage is age-graded (Elliott et al., 2011) and that men who are married may be motivated to purchase sex because they perceive commercial sex as affording them a greater variety of sexual acts than they are able to get within the context of their relationship (Durschlag & Goswami, 2008). Individuals who are not in relationships may furthermore be motivated to purchasing sex because of the companionship that they believe such a transaction can bring them within the constraints of bounded authenticity (Bernstein, 2007b).

Finally, underemployment can have a negative influence on one's mental health; specifically perceptions of self-worth and the ability to interact with others and form relationships (Cohn, 1978; Dooley, 2003; Eisenberg & Lazarsfeld, 1938). Certain types of employment, on the other hand, have been linked to situational sex tourism for the purposes of thrill-seeking or career development (Abdullah et al., 1998; Chang, 1999; Holgersson, 2011; O'Connell Davidson, 1996; Oppermann, 1999).

Guided by such findings concerning the causal linkages between thrill-seeking behavior, companionship, and the key tenets of Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) theory of age-graded informal social control, structural equation modeling (SEM) in Mplus version 7 was used in order to model how age and informal social control lead to men's motivations to purchase sex. This model is presented in Figure 1 and provides a graphical representation of the following hypotheses:

9. Age is hypothesized to have a direct effect on delinquent peer association, employment, and being married.

10. The relationship between peers and the commodification of sex is mediated by pornography consumption.
11. The relationship between peers and power and control is mediated by RMA.
12. Being employed full-time is both indirectly related to being motivated by sex as a commodity through executive status and directly related to being motivated by companionship.
13. Peers has a moderating effect on being married.
14. Being married has an indirect effect on sex as a commodity, which is mediated by pornography consumption.
15. Being married has a direct effect on being motivated by companionship.
16. Being married has a direct effect on being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests.

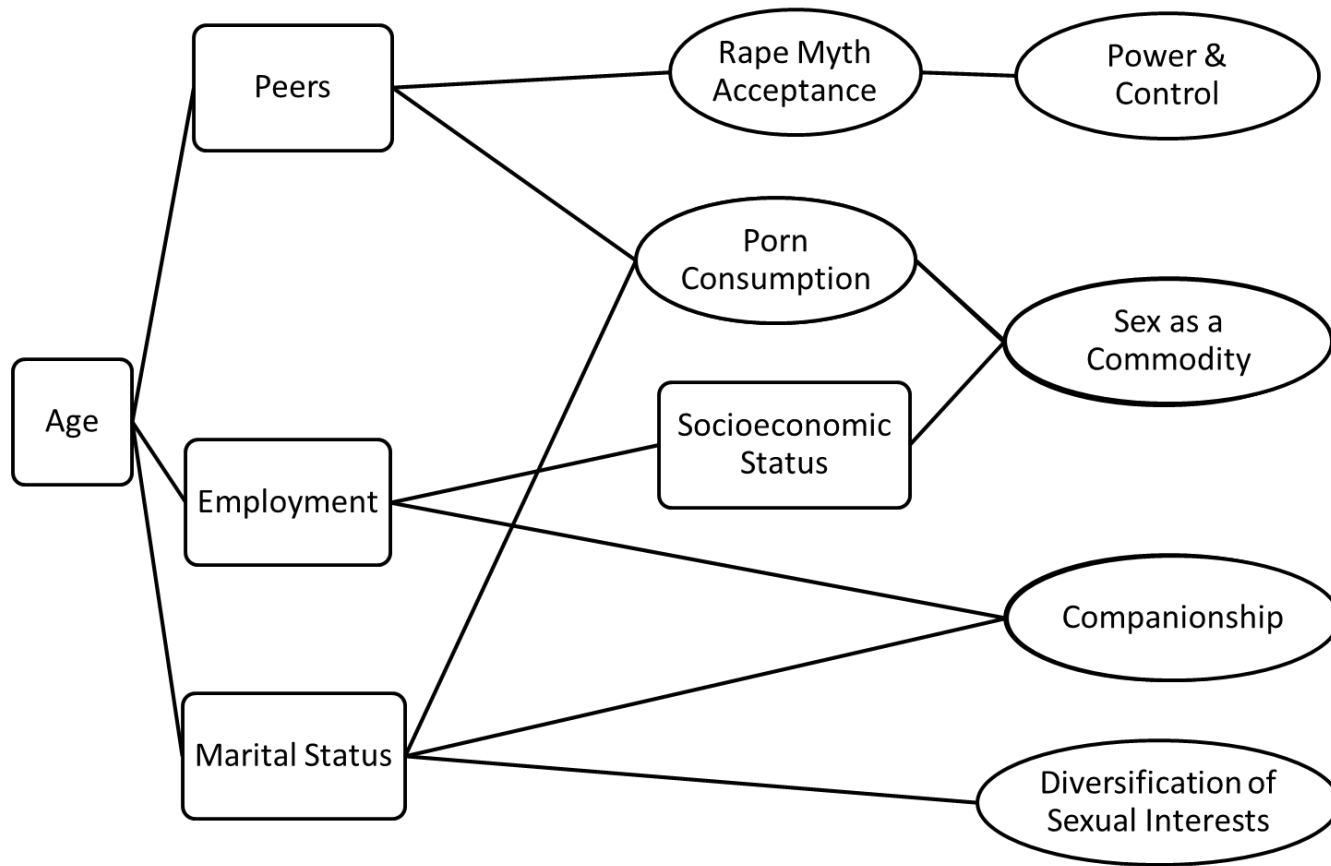


Figure 1. SEM model showing relationship between age-graded informal social control and motivations for seeking out prostituted women.

RQ 3: Influence of marriage quality on men's motivations to purchase sex.

Monto's (2000) dataset contains a wealth of measures that examine spousal compatibility and the strength of the marital bond. The third research question exploited this strength by focusing exclusively on how age and marriage quality influenced men's motivations to purchase sex.

There is evidence within the empirical literature that marital instability can have a negative effect on individual's psychosocial well-being, particularly in the short-term (Amato, 2000). Such turmoil can have a significant influence on one's behavior; particularly leading to an increase in depression or the need for companionship (Amato, 2000; Kraus, 1980; Rose & Price-Bonham, 1973; Woodward et al., 1981). Individuals who are unhappy in their marriage may also turn to the sex trade in order to seek emotional support or intimacy from prostituted women who are providing a 'girlfriend experience' (Bernstein, 2001; Huff, 2011; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012). Married men who have a greater need for sex than their partner, or who desire to engage in sexual acts that are not provided for by their spouse, may also turn to commercial sex as a means of fulfilling these needs (Durschlag & Goswami, 2008).

Like the previous analysis, this question was answered using SEM in Mplus version 7. Contrary to the previous analysis, however, this model only included the men in the sample who were married. Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the following hypotheses that are associated with this research question:

17. Age is hypothesized to have an indirect effect on both companionship and being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests.

18. The relationship between companionship and age is mediated by marital unhappiness and relationship instability.
19. The relationship between age and diversification of sexual interests is mediated by dissimilarity of sexual interests and dissimilarity of sexual desires.

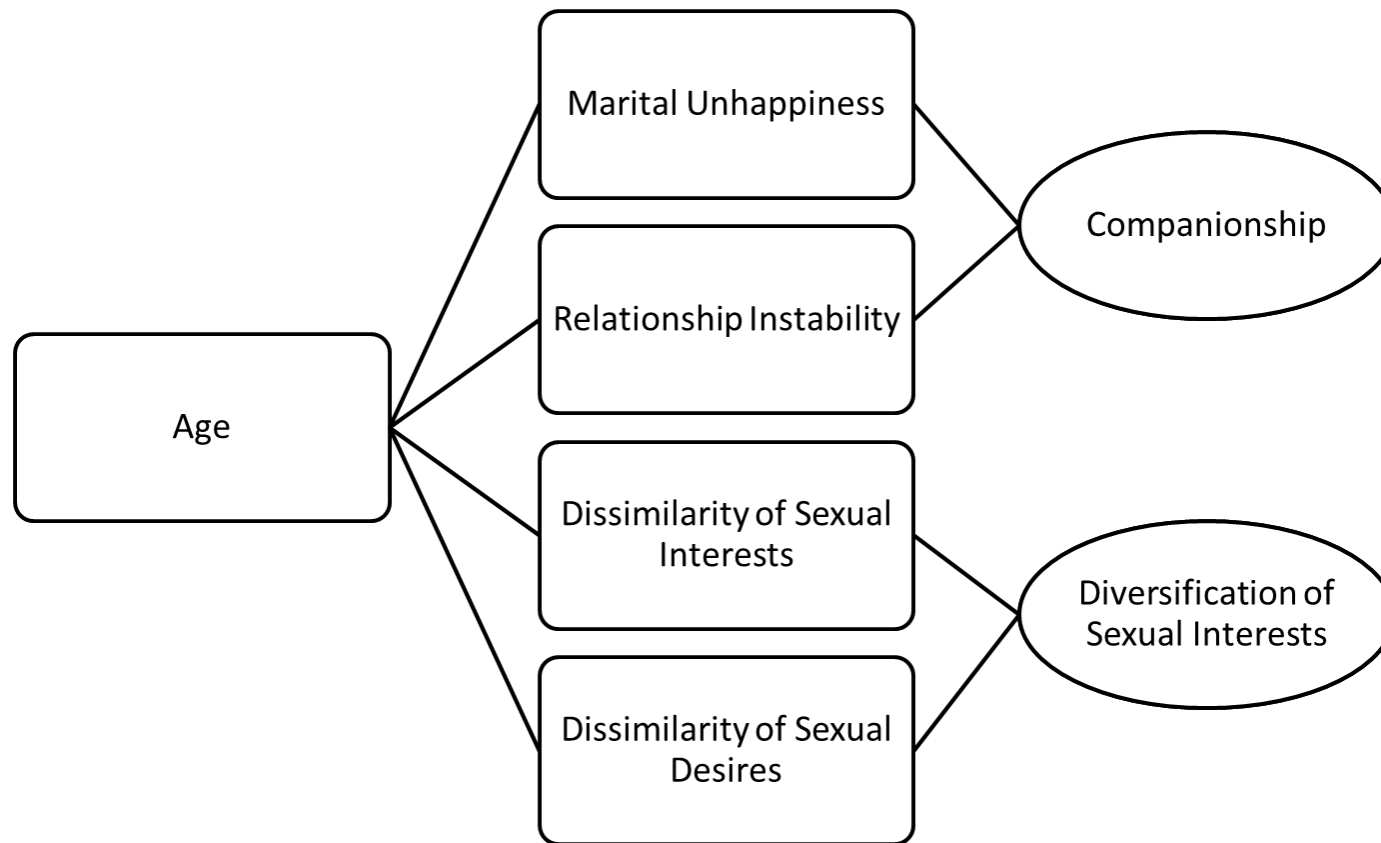


Figure 2. SEM model showing relationship between age and indicators of marital bond strength and quality.

CHAPTER V

Results

Age and Motivations to Purchase Sex

The first research question, which asked if men's motivations for purchasing sex were related to age, was answered at the bivariate level using independent samples t-tests, and at the multivariate level using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression (see Tables 4 and 5, respectively). The results of the bivariate tests show that age was significant related to motivations of power and control ($t(1060.748) = 4.071, p < .001$), sex as a commodity ($t(1038) = -6.672, p < .001$), and companionship ($t(959.191) = -2.235, p < .05$), however it was not related to being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests ($t(1124) = -1.065, p > .05$).

Consistent with the empirical literature (e.g. Collins, 2004; Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Gardner & Steinberg, 2005; Roberti, 2004; Zuckerman, 1994; Zuckerman et al., 1978) and hypotheses 1 and 4, men who were under the age of 40 had a higher mean score on the power and control scale and a lower mean score on the companionship scale than men who were over 40. Bivariate results regarding men's motivation of sex as a commodity, however, determined that this relationship directly contradicts hypothesis 2. Whereas it was hypothesized that men under 40 would be more motivated by sex as a commodity than men who were over the age of 40, preliminary results show that there is a strong inverse relationship between age and this motivation. Specifically, men who were over the age of 40 had a higher mean score on the sex as a commodity scale ($M = 2.825, SD = .752$) than men who were under the age of 40 ($M = 2.501, SD = .786$). Furthermore, results of the independent samples t-test for age and the diversification of

sexual interests scale failed to reach significance, therefore providing preliminary lack of support for hypothesis 3.

Table 4

Bivariate Relationships between Age and Men's Motivations to Purchase Sex

	<u>Under 40</u>		<u>Over 40</u>		t (df)
	M	SD	M	SD	
Power & control	1.671	.529	1.548	.465	4.071 (1060.748)***
Sex as a commodity	2.501	.786	2.825	.752	-6.672 (1038)***
Diversification of sexual interests	2.438	.692	2.482	.662	-1.065 (1124)
Companionship	1.755	.786	1.866	.858	-2.235 (959.191)*

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

The relationships between age and different motivations to purchase sex were furthermore investigated at the multivariate level via a series of four ordinary least squares regression models (see Table 5). The dependent variable on each of these models was the score on a specific motivational scale, while age of maturity acted as the independent variable. Control variables were also included in these models for race, whether or not a respondent was a frequent sex buyer, and their degree of rape myth acceptance.

As the first model shows, age of maturity maintained its significant influence over scores on the power and control scale in the hypothesized direction ($b = -.147$, $p = .000$). Results thus confirmed hypothesis 1, showing a significant inverse relationship between

Table 5

Results of OLS Regressions between Age and Motivations to Purchase Sex

	<u>M1: Power & Control</u>			<u>M2: Sex as a Commodity</u>			<u>M3: Diversification of Sexual Interests</u>			<u>Companionship</u>		
	<i>b</i> (SE)	β	p	<i>b</i> (SE)	β	p	<i>b</i> (SE)	β	p	<i>b</i> (SE)	β	p
Constant	1.146 (.055)		.000	2.472 (.093)		.000	2.381 (.075)		.000	1.467 (.091)		.000
Age of maturity	-.147 (.032)	-.145	.000	.252 (.054)	.162	.000	-.054 (.044)	-.043	.212	-.090 (.052)	-.058	.087
White	-.047 (.034)	-.045	.168	.248 (.058)	.154	.000	.188 (.047)	.142	.000	-.021 (.056)	-.013	.704
Frequent sex buyer	.093 (.047)	.060	.047	.389 (.078)	.166	.000	.466 (.065)	.237	.000	.166 (.076)	.071	.030
Rape myth acceptance	.344 (.026)	.419	.000	-.047 (.044)	-.037	.287	.028 (.036)	.027	.433	.314 (.043)	.249	.000
R ²	.207			.097			.074			.069		

age and being motivated by power and control, even after controlling for race, frequency of purchasing sex, and rape myth acceptance. There is therefore support for the idea that men who are under the age of 40 are more motivated to purchase sex for purposes of power and control than men who are over the age of 40. Results show that the power and control scale was also significantly associated with the frequency of purchasing sex ($b = .093$, $p = .047$) and scores on the rape myth acceptance scale ($b = .344$, $p = .000$). Men who were over the age of 40 were therefore more likely than younger men to purchase sex at least monthly, as well as score higher on the rape myth acceptance scale.

The second OLS regression model shows the controlled relationship between motivations of sex as commodity and age. As found at the bivariate level, there was a significant positive relationship between age of maturity and being motivated by sex as a commodity ($b = .252$, $p = .000$). This relationship is in the opposite direction as suggested by hypothesis 2, which stated that men under 40 would be more motivated by sex as a commodity than men who were over the age of 40. Hypothesis 2 was therefore proven incorrect. Another intriguing finding associated with Model 2 is the failure to find a significant relationship between scores on the sex as a commodity and rape myth acceptance scales ($b = -.047$, $p = .287$), especially given the theoretical connection between these concepts (Bernstein, 2007b; Monto & Julka, 2009). A post-hoc bivariate examination of this relationship ($t(1038) = -6.672$, $p = .000$) reveals that these constructs are indeed related, however age of maturity and the other control variables in this model are likely accounting for the full effect of rape myth acceptance on commodified motivations for purchasing sex.

Model 3 examined how age influenced the degree to which men were motivated to purchase sex in an attempt to diversify their sexual interests. Given the failure to find a significant relationship between age of maturity and being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests at the bivariate level, it is not surprising that this relationship was not significant in this model either ($b = -.054$, $p = .212$). Insufficient evidence was therefore provided in order to reject the null hypothesis for hypothesis 3. There were significant relationships, however, between the dependent variable and two of the control variables in this model. There were positive relationships between both white ($b = .188$, $p = .000$) and frequent sex buyer ($b = .466$, $p = .000$) and scores on the diversification of sexual interests scale. Scores on the rape myth acceptance scale, however, did not significantly influence the dependent variable ($b = .028$, $p = .433$).

Finally, the fourth model showed the relationship between age and being motivated by companionship. Although this relationship was significant at the bivariate level, age of maturity failed to have a statistically significant influence on scores on the companionship scale after controlling for race, frequency of purchasing sex, and rape myth acceptance ($b = .087$, $p = .087$). Hypothesis 4 was thus disproved. There were significant relationships between the dependent variable and rape myth acceptance ($b = .314$, $p = .000$) and frequency of purchasing sex ($b = .166$, $p = .030$), however, showing that these factors may be accounting for all of the previously observed relationship between age and motivations of companionship.

Effects of Age, Peers, Marital Status, and Employment on Men's Motivations to Purchase Sex

The second research question asked if men's motivations to purchase sex were influenced by the key components of age graded informal social control. Two sets of analyses were associated with this research question. The first set of analyses examined whether or not age, association with delinquent peers, employment, and marital status influenced men's motivations to purchase sex, whereas the second set of analyses modeled such relationships.

Do the components of Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) age-graded informal social control theory help to explain men's motivations to purchase sex? The existence of relationships between age, association with delinquent peers, employment, marital status, and men's motivations to purchase sex were examined at both the bivariate and multivariate levels. Results of independent samples t-tests are shown in Table 6. These findings show that there were significant relationships between being motivated by power and control and being married ($t(1106.423) = 3.964, p < .001$) and being employed full-time ($t(1138) = 3.078, p < .01$), but not associating with delinquent peers ($t(947) = -.876, p > .05$) or being an executive ($t(124.110) = 1.371, p > .05$). Part of hypothesis 5, which stated that being married would be negatively related to scores on the power and control scale, thus received preliminary support.

Hypothesis 6 stated that being motivated by viewing sex as a commodity would be positively related to delinquent peer association, being employed full-time, executive status, and being married, as well as negatively related to age of maturity.

Table 6

Bivariate Relationships between Men's Motivations to Purchase Sex and Delinquent Peer Association, Marital Status, and Employment Characteristics

	Diversification of			
	<u>Power & Control</u>	<u>Sex as a Commodity</u>	<u>Sexual Interests</u>	<u>Companionship</u>
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Peers				
Yes	1.657 (.512)	2.735 (.790)	2.647 (.643)	2.051 (.792)
No	1.627 (.508)	2.690 (.762)	2.512 (.643)	1.917 (.771)
	$t = -.876$	$t = -.823$	$t = -3.096^{**}$	$t = -2.537^*$
	df = 947	df = 892	df = 956	df = 648.295
Married				
Yes	1.557 (.479)	2.647 (.774)	2.471 (.720)	1.826 (.741)
No	1.675 (.522)	2.621 (.803)	2.431 (.652)	1.991 (.799)
	$t = 3.964^{***}$	$t = -.534$	$t = -.972$	$t = 3.676^{***}$
	df = 1106.423	df = 1090	df = 1029.892	df = 1212
Employed Full-Time				
Yes	1.602 (.496)	2.645 (.793)	2.468 (.681)	1.883 (.766)
No	1.724 (.551)	2.580 (.786)	2.352 (.695)	2.059 (.807)
	$t = 3.078^{**}$	$t = -1.016$	$t = -2.211^*$	$t = 2.983^{**}$
	df = 1138	df = 1084	df = 1163	df = 1187
Executive				
Yes	1.551 (.381)	2.805 (.817)	2.738 (.658)	1.728 (.603)
No	1.611 (.500)	2.615 (.796)	2.427 (.681)	1.933 (.793)
	$t = 1.371$	$t = -2.092^*$	$t = -4.127^{***}$	$t = 2.988^{**}$
	df = 124.110	df = 837	df = 925	df = 127.749

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

Previous analysis confirms the final part of this hypothesis with regard to the bivariate relationship between motivations of sex as a commodity and age (see Table 4).

Furthermore, there was a significant relationship between executive status and scores on the motivational scale for sex as a commodity, whereby men who were executives had a higher mean score on this scale ($M = 2.805$, $SD = .817$) than men who were not executives ($M = 2.615$, $SD = .796$). The rest of this hypothesis, however, was disproved at the bivariate level. There were no significant relationships between motivations of sex as a commodity and delinquent peer association ($t(892) = -.0823$, $p > .05$), being married ($t(1090) = -0.534$), or being employed full-time ($t(1084) = -1.016$, $p > .05$).

Bivariate tests concerning the diversification of sexual interests scale and indicators of informal social control also preliminarily supported part of hypothesis 7. Results of independent samples t-tests showed that there were significant relationships in the hypothesized direction between scores on this diversification of sexual interests scale and association with delinquent peers ($t(956) = -3.096$, $p < .01$) and being employed full-time ($t(1163) = -2.211$, $p < .05$). Specifically, results showed that men who associated with delinquent peers or who were employed full-time had higher scores on this motivational scale than those who did not. Men who were executives ($M = 2.738$, $SD = .658$) also scored significantly higher on this scale than men who were not executives ($M = 2.427$, $SD = .681$; $t(925) = -4.127$, $p < .001$). There was no relationship, however, between motivations geared towards the diversification of sexual interests and marital status ($t(1029.892) = -.972$, $p > .05$) or age ($t(1124) = -1.065$, $p > .05$; as shown in Table 4).

Finally, hypothesis 8 postulated that scores on the companionship scale should be positively related to age of maturity and negatively related to delinquent peer association, marriage, full-time employment, and executive status. The majority of this hypothesis was supported by bivariate tests. Previous analysis shows that there is preliminary support for the relationship between age and companionship at the bivariate level (see Table 4). In addition, scores on the companionship scale were also significantly and negatively related to being married ($t(1212) = 3.676, p < .001$), employed full-time ($t(1187) = 2.983, p < .01$), and executive status ($t(127.749) = 2.988, p < .01$). Association with delinquent peers was also significantly related to scores on the companionship scale ($t(648.295) = -2.537, p < .05$), however this relationship was hypothesized to be in the opposite direction. While it was hypothesized that association with delinquent peers would be related to decreased scores on the companionship scale, men who associated with delinquent peers ($M = 2.051, SD = .792$) actually scored higher on this scale than men who did not associate with delinquent peers ($M = 1.917, SD = .771$).

The influence of age, delinquent peers, employment characteristics, and marital status were also investigated at the multivariate level via a series of four OLS regression models that also controlled for race, the frequency of purchasing sex, and rape myth acceptance (see Table 7). Model 1 is related to hypothesis 5. and shows how scores on the power and control scale were influenced by different components of informal social control. After controlling for race, rape myth acceptance, and frequency of purchasing sex, only age of maturity ($b = -.118, p = .001$) and being employed full-time ($b = -.197, p = .000$) were significantly related to the dependent variable in the theorized

Table 7

Results of OLS Regressions between Men's Motivations to Purchase Sex and Indicators of Informal Social Control

	<u>M1: Power & Control</u>			<u>M2: Sex as a Commodity</u>			<u>M3: Diversification of Sexual Interests</u>			<u>M4: Companionship</u>		
	b (SE)	β	p	b (SE)	β	p	b (SE)	β	p	b (SE)	β	p
Constant	1.424 (.084)		.000	2.409 (.147)		.000	2.241 (.120)		.000	1.718 (.143)		.000
Age of maturity	-.118 (.035)	-.123	.001	.267 (.062)	.172	.000	-.054 (.050)	-.042	.283	-.039 (.060)	-.025	.518
Peers	-.021 (.036)	-.021	.552	.009 (.063)	.006	.883	.076 (.051)	.056	.132	.240 (.060)	.148	.000
Employed full- time	-.197 (.056)	-.126	.000	.031 (.099)	.012	.752	-.003 (.079)	-.001	.974	-.266 (.094)	-.105	.005

continued

	<u>M1: Power & Control</u>			<u>M2: Sex as a Commodity</u>			<u>M3: Diversification of Sexual Interests</u>			<u>M4: Companionship</u>		
	b (SE)	β	p	b (SE)	β	p	b (SE)	β	p	b (SE)	β	p
Executive	.009 (.054)	.006	.874	.096 (.094)	.040	.306	.204 (.076)	.101	.008	-.107 (.090)	-.045	.234
Married	-.054 (.035)	-.056	.121	-.014 (.061)	-.009	.815	.118 (.049)	.091	.017	-.133 (.058)	-.086	.023
White	-.044 (.038)	-.044	.242	.240 (.066)	.147	.000	.205 (.054)	.151	.000	-.004 (.064)	-.003	.948
Frequent sex buyer	.052 (.052)	.035	.320	.376 (.090)	.161	.000	.437 (.074)	.220	.000	.094 (.087)	.040	.280

continued

	<u>M1: Power & Control</u>			<u>M2: Sex as a Commodity</u>			<u>M3: Diversification of Sexual Interests</u>			<u>M4: Companionship</u>		
	b (SE)	β	p	b (SE)	β	p	b (SE)	β	p	b (SE)	β	p
Rape myth acceptance	.291 (.031)	.350	.000	-.032 (.053)	-.024	.554	.052 (.043)	.047	.234	.287 (.052)	.214	.000
R ²		.178			.094			.093			.096	

direction. Association with delinquent peers ($b = -.021, p = .552$), executive status ($b = .009, p = .874$), and being married ($b = -.054, p = .035$) were all not significantly associated with motivations of power and control in this model. This is particularly interesting given that being married was highly related to scores on this scale at the bivariate level. It thus appears that age, full-time employment and rape myth acceptance ($b = .291, p = .000$) are overshadowing this relationship at the multivariate level.

Model 2 directly addressed hypothesis 6, which stated that being motivated by sex as a commodity would be positively related to delinquent peer association, being employed full-time, executive status, and being married, while also being negatively related to age of maturity. Results fully disproved this hypothesis, as there was not a significant relationship between delinquent peer association ($b = .009, p = .883$), full-time employment ($b = .031, p = .752$), executive status ($b = .096, p = .306$), or being married ($b = .014, p = .815$) and scores on the sex as a commodity scale. Age of maturity did have a significant impact on scores on the sex as a commodity scale in this model ($b = .267, p = .000$), however as in the bivariate stage of analysis, this impact was in the opposite direction of the hypothesis. Taking into account indicators of informal social control and controls for race, frequency of purchasing sex, and rape myth acceptance, men who were over the age of 40 were more likely to be motivated to purchase sex by the commodification of sex than men who were under the age of 40.

Model 3 shows the relationship between informal social control, age, and motivations related to the diversifications of sexual interests. In line with hypothesis 7, scores on the diversification of sexual interests scale were positively related to marital ($b = .118, p = .017$) and executive ($b = .204, p = .008$) statuses. Specifically, men who were

married and executives were more likely to purchase sex in order to seek out a different type of sex than men who were unmarried or non-executives. Contrary to hypothesis 7, this model did not find a significant relationship between age of maturity ($b = -.054$, $p = .283$), association with delinquent peers ($b = .076$, $p = .132$), or full-time employment ($b = -.003$, $p = .974$) and scores on the diversification of sexual interests scale.

Finally, model 4 relates to hypothesis 8, which postulated that companionship would be positively related to age of maturity and negatively related to delinquent peer association, being married, full-time employment, and executive status. After controlling for frequency of purchasing sex, race, and rape myth acceptance, the relationship between age and companionship failed to reach significance ($b = -.039$, $p = .518$). Delinquent peer association significantly influenced companionship motivations in this model ($b = .240$, $p = .000$), however it is hypothesized that this relationship would be negative, whereas results showed that it was positive. Being employed full-time ($b = -.266$, $p = .005$), an executive ($b = -.107$, $p = .234$), and married ($b = -.133$, $p = .023$) were all also negatively related to scores on the companionship scale, however all of these relationships were in the correctly hypothesized direction.

SEM model for age, informal social control, and men's motivations to purchase sex. Structural equation modeling (SEM) in Mplus version 7 was used in order to model how men's motivations to purchase sex were influenced by age and indicators of informal social control. Given the use of categorical data, the mean and variance-adjusted weighted least squares (WLSMV) estimator and theta parameterization were used for this model (Brown, 2006; Muthén & Asparouhov, 2002). Results of this structural equation model are shown in Table 8 and in Figure 3. In addition, a simplified

graphical model that only shows significant relationships and standardized estimates is available in Figure 4. For the purposes of analysis, each motivational scale was assigned a variable number ranging from 1 to 4, whereby power and control was represented in the model by X_1 , sex as a commodity was X_2 , diversification of sexual interests was X_3 , and companionship was X_4 . In addition, all other observed and latent variables are shown in the figure according to their variable name, which are also referenced in Table 8.

The large sample size utilized in this study, in conjunction with the implications that this has on the appropriateness of using chi-square as an assessment of model fit for structural equation models (see Hooper & Mullen, 2008), led to the use of the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) in order to determine overall model fit. Results showed that the model had an RMSEA of .069, indicating acceptable model fit (Hooper & Mullen, 2008; MacCallum, Browne, & Sugawara, 1996).

Confirmatory factor analysis, as exhibited by the measurement model of the SEM, showed that each of factor loadings for the constructed latent variables were statistically significant. Results of the structural model (see Figure 3) show that age only had a statistically significant direct effect on being married (est = .027, $p = .000$). A one-year increase in age led to a .027 average increase in the likelihood of being married. Both the relationships between association with delinquent peers and age (est = -.007, $p = .092$) and full-time employment and age (est = .000, $p = .927$) failed to reach significance. Hypothesis 9 was thus only partially correct.

Table 8

Results of SEM for Men's Motivation to Purchase Sex

Parameter Estimate	Unstandardized Estimate (SE)	Standardized Estimate	<i>p</i>
Power and control (X ₁) BY			
Like control during sex (r53)	1.000 (.000)	.506	N/A
Like rough sex (r57)	.961 (.109)	.491	.000
Sex fun if woman fights (r70)	2.366 (.303)	.811	.000
Some women like being smacked (r71)	1.272 (.140)	.598	.000
Want sex more when angry (r72)	1.912 (.253)	.746	.000
Sex as a commodity (X ₂) BY			
Prostitution doesn't harm anybody (r63)	1.000 (.000)	.549	N/A
Prostitution not wrong (r73)	2.058 (.164)	.804	.000
Should legalize prostitution (r75)	2.755 (.278)	.875	.000
Should decriminalize prostitution (r78)	1.568 (.125)	.718	.000
Diversification of sexual interests (X ₃) BY			
Want different kind of sex (r46)	1.000 (.000)	.561	N/A
Excited by approaching prostitute (r49)	1.100 (.103)	.598	.000

continued

Parameter Estimate	Unstandardized Estimate (SE)	Standardized Estimate	<i>p</i>
Like to have a variety of partners (r52)	1.744 (.173)	.764	.000
Like woman who really likes sex (r54)	.939 (.107)	.537	.000
Like woman who gets nasty (r55)	1.073 (.106)	.588	.000
Companionship (X ₄) BY			
Difficulty meeting women (r44)	1.000 (.000)	.798	N/A
Most women find me unattractive (r45)	.645 (.080)	..649	.000
Shy & awkward with women (r47)	.813 (.108)	.733	.000
Rape myth acceptance (rapemyth) BY			
Going home implies willingness to have sex (r64)	1.000 (.000)	.670	N/A
Provocative dress asks for trouble (r65)	.985 (.087)	.664	.000
Rape victims have bad reputation (r66)	1.224 (.105)	.741	.000
Forced sex after necking woman's fault (r67)	1.680 (.161)	.835	.000
Hitchhiking woman deserves rape (r68)	1.347 (.139)	.772	.000
continued			

Parameter Estimate	Unstandardized Estimate (SE)	Standardized Estimate	<i>p</i>
Power and control (X ₁) ON rape myth acceptance (rapemyth)	.439 (.046)	.675	.000
Rape myth acceptance (rapemyth) ON association with delinquent peers (peers)	-.066 (.044)	-.073	.132
Sex as a commodity (X ₂) ON			
Pornography consumption (porn)	.179 (.024)	.245	.000
Executive status (exec)	.083 (.038)	.141	.029
Diversification of sexual interests (X ₃) ON married (married)	-.050 (.027)	-.076	.068
Companionship (X ₄) ON			
Full-time employment (ft)	-.240 (.068)	-.181	.000
Married (married)	-.235 (.060)	-.185	.000
Association with delinquent peers (peers) ON			
Age (age)	-.007 (.004)	-.078	.092
Married (married)	.033 (.055)	.034	.550
Full-time employment (ft) ON age (age)	.000 (.003)	-.003	.927
continued			

Parameter Estimate	Unstandardized Estimate (SE)	Standardized Estimate	<i>p</i>
Married (married) ON age (age)	.027 (.003)	.283	.000
Pornography consumption (porn) ON			
Association with delinquent peers (peers)	.106 (.039)	.119	.007
Married (married)	-.171 (.035)	-.198	.000
Executive status (exec) ON full-time employment (ft)	.495 (.170)	.443	.004
Sex as a commodity (X ₂) WITH power and control (X ₁)	.025 (.015)	.090	.091
Diversification of sexual interests (X ₃) WITH			
Power and control (X ₁)	.165 (.023)	.565	.000
Sex as a commodity (X ₂)	.241 (.027)	.565	.000
Companionship (X ₄) WITH			
Power and control (X ₁)	.312 (.051)	.565	.000
Sex as a commodity (X ₂)	.022 (.033)	.027	.503
Diversification of sexual interests (X ₃)	.107 (.039)	.124	.006
continued			

Parameter Estimate	Unstandardized Estimate (SE)	Standardized Estimate	<i>p</i>
Residual variances			
Pornography consumption (porn)	.764 (.034)	.947	.000
Rape myth acceptance (rapemyth)	.810 (.101)	.544	.000
Power and control (X ₁)	.187 (.034)	.920	.000
Sex as a commodity (X ₂)	.398 (.051)	.994	.000
Diversification of sexual interests (X ₃)	.457 (.064)	.933	.000
Companionship (X ₄)	1.637 (.311)	.995	.000
Association with delinquent peers (peers) to sex as a commodity (X ₂) via pornography consumption (porn)	.019 (.008)	.029	.013
Full-time employment (ft) to sex as a commodity (X ₂) via executive status (exec)	.041 (.020)	.062	.039
Married (married) to sex as a commodity (X ₂) via pornography consumption (porn)	-.031 (.008)	-.049	.000
Association with delinquent peers (peers) to power (X ₁) via rape myth acceptance (rapemyth)	-.029 (.019)	-.049	.128

Note: $X_2(336) = 2310.222$, $p = .000$; RMSEA = .069; CFI = .821, TLI = .799

With regard to hypothesis 10, the SEM model found that delinquent peers had a direct effect on pornography consumption (est = .106, $p = .007$), which also had a direct effect on being motivated by sex as a commodity (est = .106, $p = .007$). The specific indirect effect between peers and being motivated by sex as a commodity through pornography consumption was furthermore significant (est = .019, $p = .013$), thus validating this hypothesis.

The model showed that there was not a significant direct relationship between association with delinquent peers and rape myth acceptance (est = -.066, $p = .132$), however there was a significant direct effect between rape myth acceptance and being motivated by power and control (est = .439, $p = .000$). Given the first finding, however, it was not surprising that results did not show a significant indirect effect between delinquent peer association and this motivation via rape myth acceptance (est = -.029, $p = .128$). Hypothesis 11 was thus disproved.

In support of hypothesis 12, full-time employment had a significant direct effect on being motivated by companionship (est = -.240, $p = .000$). Furthermore, full-time employment was also indirectly related to sex as a commodity through executive status (est = .041, $p = .039$).

Contrary to hypothesis 13, association with delinquent peers was not significantly related to being married (est = .033, $p = .733$). Marital status was negatively related to pornography consumption (est = -.171, $p = .000$), which was then positively related to being motivated by sex as a commodity (est = .179, $p = .000$). The model showed that the indirect relationship between being married and being motivated by sex as a commodity via this pathway was also significant (est = -.031, $p = .000$). Interestingly,

these results showed that although pornography consumption was positively related to motivations to purchase sex because of the commodification of sex, men who were married were less likely to be motivated in this way, even if they consumed pornography. Hypothesis 14 was thus proven, however it appears that being married overshadows the importance of pornography consumption with regard to this outcome variable.

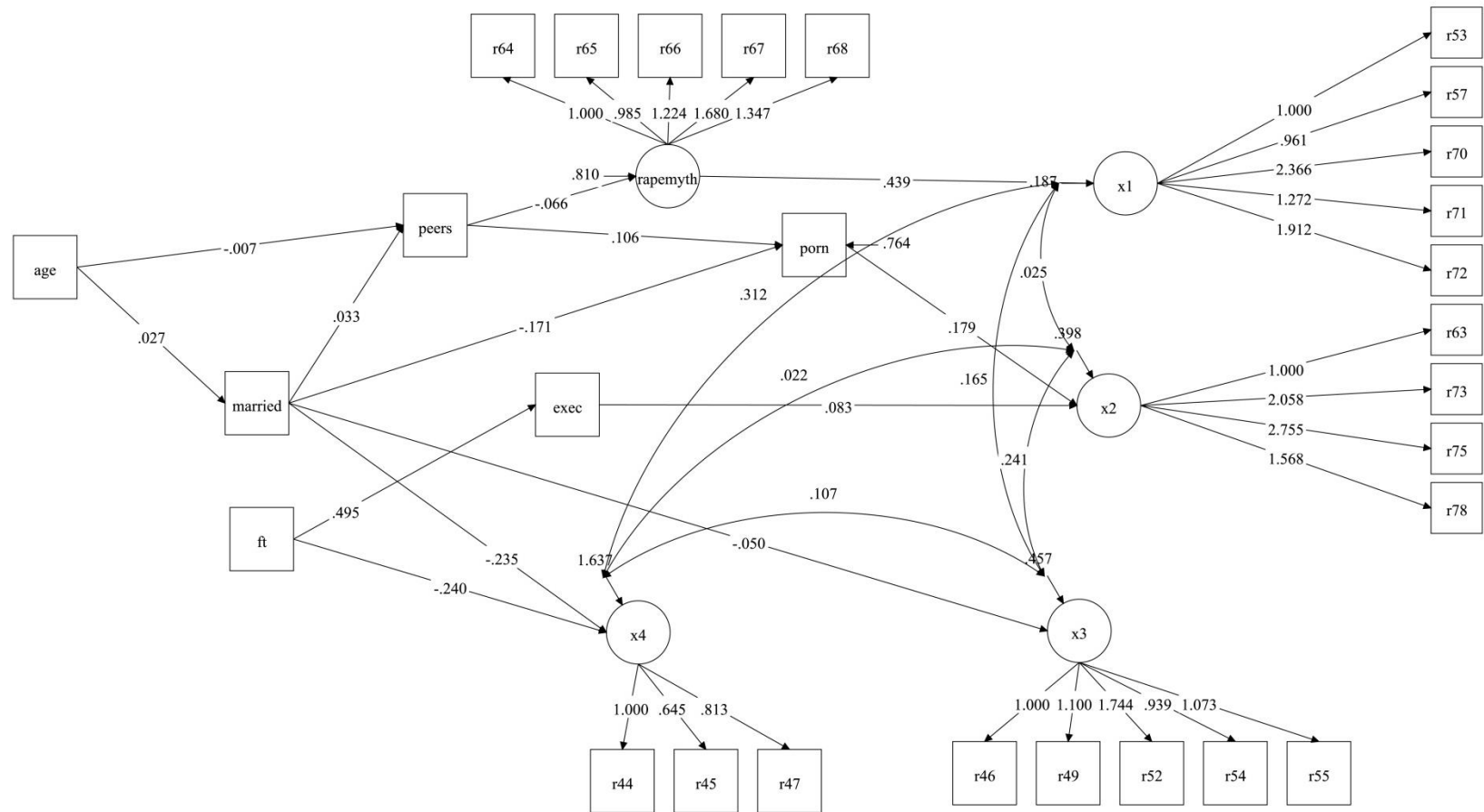


Figure 3. SEM Model for Men's Motivations to Purchase Sex Showing Unstandardized Estimates and Factor Loadings.

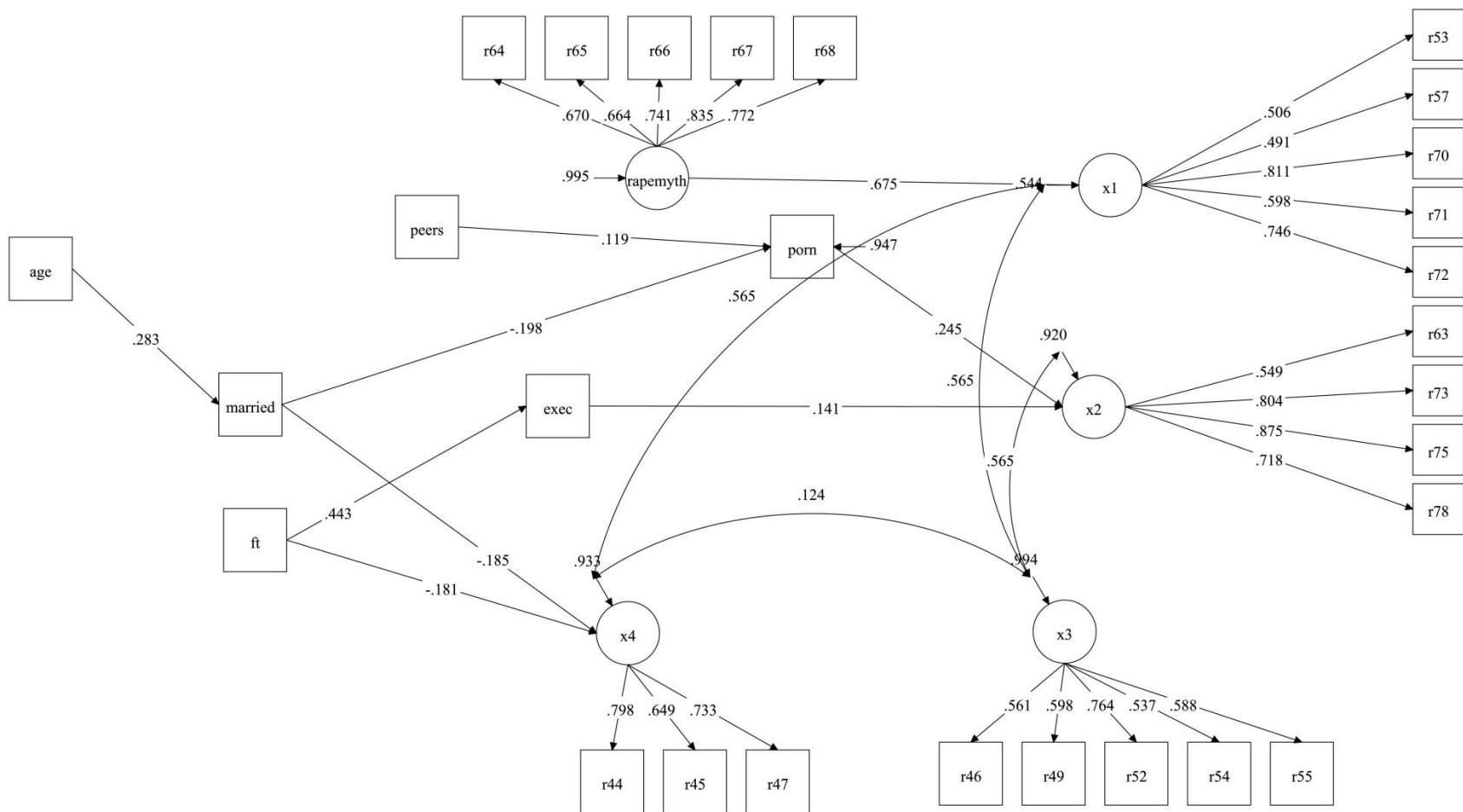


Figure 4. SEM Model for Men's Motivations to Purchase Sex Showing Significant Standardized Estimates and Factor Loadings.

Finally, results showed that being married had a significant direct effect on being motivated by companionship ($est = -.235, p = .000$), but not the diversification of sexual interests ($est = -.050, p = .026$). There was therefore support for hypotheses 15, but not hypothesis 16.

Influence of Marriage Quality on Married Men's Motivations to Purchase Sex

The third research question took advantage of one of the strengths of Monto's (2000) dataset; the availability of multiple measures related to spousal compatibility and happiness. The third research question asked how the quality of men's marriages influenced their motivations to purchase sex. This question was answered using structural equation modeling (SEM) in Mplus version 7 with only the married portion of the dataset. Monte Carlo estimation was used in this analysis because of the use of categorical variables as mediating structures in the SEM, as well as the need to control for missing data on those variables (for a review, see Preacher & Selig, 2012).

Results of this SEM are shown in Table 9 and in Figure 5. Confirmatory factor analysis showed that all of the factor loadings for diversification of sexual interests (X_3) and companionship (X_4) were statistically significant. There was no support, however, for any of the hypotheses related to this research question. Beyond the construction of the latent variables for being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests and companionship, the only significant relationships found within the model were between age and marital unhappiness and marital instability. Specifically, men who were younger

Table 9

Results of SEM for Married Men's Motivations to Purchase Sex

Parameter Estimate	Unstandardized Estimate (SE)	Standardized Estimate	<i>p</i>
Diversification of sexual interests (X ₃) BY			
Want different kind of sex (r46)	1.000	.508	N/A
Excited by approaching prostitute (r49)	1.503	.663	.000
Like to have a variety of partners (r52)	1.761	.720	.000
Like woman who really likes sex (r54)	.845	.446	.000
Like woman who gets nasty (r55)	.920	.477	.000
Companionship (X ₄) BY			
Difficulty meeting women (r44)	1.000	.780	N/A
Most women find me unattractive (r45)	.686	.650	.000
Shy & awkward with women (r47)	.835	.721	.000
Diversification of sexual interests (X ₃) ON			
Dissimilar sexual interests (interest)	.165	.123	.240
Dissimilar sexual desire (desire)	.235	.145	.133
continued			

Parameter Estimate	Unstandardized Estimate (SE)	Standardized Estimate	<i>p</i>
Companionship (X ₄) ON			
Marital unhappiness (happ)	-.137	-.038	.659
Marital instability (instabil)	.135	.030	.534
Marital unhappiness (happ) ON age (age)	.029	.486	.026
Marital instability (instabil) ON age (age)	-.005	-.117	.001
Dissimilar sexual interests (interest) ON age (age)	.001	.015	.796
Dissimilar sexual desire (desire) ON age (age)	.005	.074	.215
Companionship (X ₄) WITH diversification of sexual interests (X ₃)	.280	.118	.084
Residual variances			
Dissimilar sexual desire (desire)	.435	.994	.000
Dissimilar sexual interests (interest)	.639	1.000	.000
Marital instability (instabil)	.246	.986	.000
Marital unhappiness (happ)	.306	.763	.001
Diversification of sexual interests (X ₃)	1.103	.964	.000

continued

Parameter Estimate	Unstandardized Estimate (SE)	Standardized Estimate	<i>p</i>
Companionship (X ₄)	5.102	.998	.000
Age (age) to diversification of sexual interests (X ₃)			
Total indirect	.001	---	.409
Specific indirect	.001	---	.409
Through dissimilarity of sexual desire (desire)	.001	---	.373
Through dissimilarity of sexual interests (interest)	.000	---	.808
Age (age) to companionship (X ₄)			
Total indirect	-.005	---	.629
Specific indirect	-.005	---	.629
Through marital instability (instabil)	-.001	---	.545
Through marital unhappiness (happ)	-.004	---	.685

were more likely to report marital instability (est = -.005, $p = .001$), whereas men who were older were more likely to report being unhappy in their marriage (est = .029, $p =$

.026). These two constructs, however, were not found to be related to companionship; nor was there an indirect relationship between age and this motivation. The model furthermore did not find any direct or indirect relationships between age, dissimilarity of sexual desires, dissimilarity of sexual interests, and being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests.

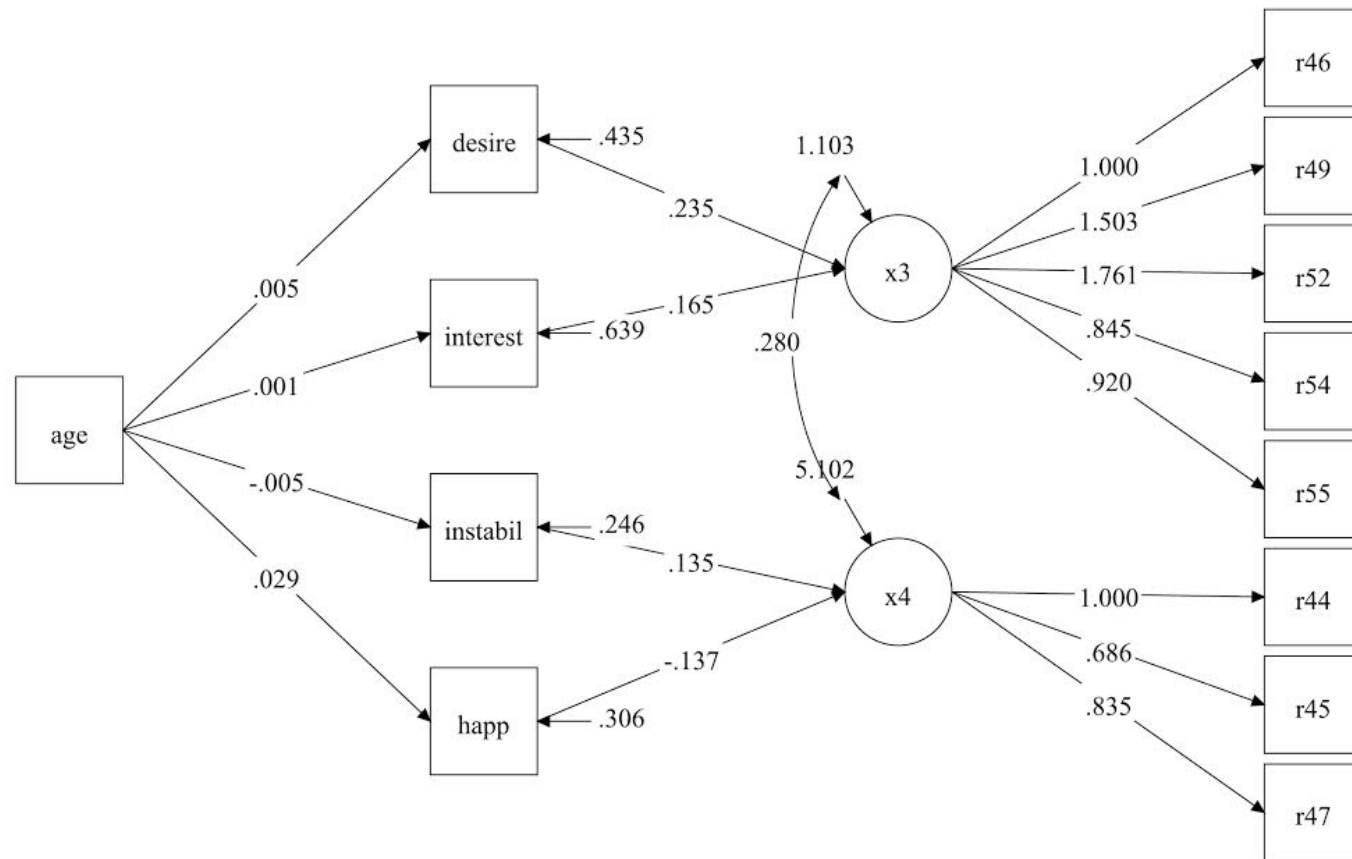


Figure 5. SEM Model for Married Men's Motivations to Purchase Sex Showing Unstandardized Estimates.

CHAPTER VI

Discussion

This dissertation examined how variables related to Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) theory of age-graded informal social control influenced men's motivations to purchase sex. Such research is beneficial to the field of criminal justice in that it adds to the limited understanding of the mechanisms related to men's involvement in the commercial sex trade, as well as how this is influenced by age and other social factors. In addition, it advances the field's overall comprehension regarding prostitution demand; which, if limited, could result in the reduction of victimization among prostituted women.

In line with the empirical literature, men's motivation to purchase sex was segmented into four categories: power and control over women, the commodification of sex, the diversification of sexual interests, or companionship. The degree with which men had attitudes that related to these motivations was then hypothesized to be related to their age, association with delinquent peers, marital status, marital quality, and employment.

Summary of Findings Related to Men's Motivations to Purchase Sex

Being motivated by power and control. While this study did not intend to directly test Sampson and Laub's (1990, 1993) theory of age-graded informal social control, it did utilize several of the key concepts of this theory in order to examine if social forces influenced men's motivations to purchase sex. In line with the empirical literature, being motivated by power and control was found to be negatively related to age, being married, and being employed full-time, however there was no significant relationship between this motivation and delinquent peers or executive status. Men who

were younger, unmarried, and not employed full-time were therefore more likely to be motivated by this type of thrill-seeking.

These findings, regarding age, are intriguing within the context of the empirical literature for two reasons. First, they provide support for the idea that motivations of power and control may be age-graded in the expected direction. Second, they authenticate the idea that being motivated by power and control is an expression of thrill-seeking.

Results of structural equation modeling (SEM), however, failed to find either a direct relationship between delinquent peer association and this motivation or an indirect causal pathway between delinquent peers and being motivated by power and control through rape myth acceptance. Contrary to Agnich's (2007) study of violent ideology, pornography consumption was also not directly related to being motivated by power and control. This furthermore limited the relationship between marital status and this motivation in that although marital status had a negative influence on pornography consumption, it was not significantly related to being motivated by power and control.

Rape myth acceptance, however, was directly related to this motivation, as was being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests. Precluding methodological considerations, it therefore appears that being motivated by power and control has little to do with informal social control or age, but it is rather based solely on one's degree of rape myth acceptance and their attitudes towards thrill-seeking and sex.

Being motivated by sex as a commodity. Examination of the relationship between age and being motivated by the commodification of sex showed that men who were over the age of 40 were more likely to be motivated by viewing sex as a

commodity; even after controlling for relevant external influences. This relationship was in the opposite direction, however, than originally hypothesized. Instead of finding a negative relationship between this motivation and age, this dissertation determined that men who were over the age of 40 were more likely to be motivated by this type of thrill-seeking than those who were under the age of 40. This is furthermore contrary to the bulk of the empirical literature, which argues that thrill-seeking declines with age (Collins, 2004; Gardner & Steinberg, 2005; Roberti, 2004; Whiteside & Lynam, 2001; Zuckerman, 1994; Zuckerman et al., 1978), thus pointing to the possibility that this motivation may have been misclassified as representative of this type of behavior. Instead of being a type of thrill-seeking, viewing sex as a commodity may be more of an expression of personal mores and values.

Other aspects of informal social control did not have a direct influence on this motivation. Specifically, being employed full-time was not significantly related to being motivated by sex as a commodity, despite past research that provides support for the influence of workplace culture on the objectification of women and the use of prostitution as an incentive or reward (e.g. Durschlag & Goswami, 2008).

Nevertheless, the SEM model determined that there were some indirect causal pathways between association with delinquent peers, being married, employment, and this motivation. Pornography consumption, in particular, mediated the relationships between sex as a commodity and both the association with delinquent peers and being married; endorsing the results of past studies that have examined the relationship between these variables (e.g. Monto & Julka, 2009). While men who were married were less likely to consume pornography, those who did were more likely to purchase sex due to

the commodification of sex. This both confirms and provides further evidence that supports the wide body of research that links pornography to the sexual objectification of women (Attwood, 2004, 2009; McNair, 2002). In addition, it provides support for the idea that delinquent peers influence men's consumption of pornography and their perceptions of sexual activity (Bleakley et al., 2009; Epstein & Ward, 2008; Nolin & Petersen, 1992).

Being motivated by sex as a commodity was furthermore indirectly related to being employed full-time through executive status. While the linkage between the commodification of sex and being an executive is not well known, this finding does provide some support for Norburn's (1989) contention that there are some inherent differences between executives and other full-time employees and the theory that being an executive may increase one's access to the commercial sex trade (M. Farley, Macleod, et al., 2011; Holgersson, 2011).

Finally, results of the SEM also determined that sex as a commodity was related to being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests. This finding was not surprising, however, given the ideological overlap between these two motivations in the sense that men who are motivated by sex as a commodity may seek out prostituted women for a perceived higher grade of sexual services (M. Farley et al., 2015; Joseph & Black, 2012; McKeganey & Barnard, 1996; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012; Plumridge et al., 1997; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 1993). In addition, the lack of a significant relationship between this motivation and companionship further provides support for the belief that involvement in the commercial sex industry can occur without respect for emotionality or the need to develop a personal relationship in order to engage

in sexual behavior (Bernstein, 2007b; Durschlag & Goswami, 2008; M. Farley, Macleod, et al., 2011; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Raymond, 2004).

Being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests. The findings of this study offered no support for the belief that age and the components of informal social control influence men's motivation to seek out prostituted women because they are interested in receiving a different or more 'professional' type of sexual service. The lack of a relationship between this motivation and being married is inconsistent with Durschlag and Goswami's (2008) study, in which 46-48% of the sex buyers they interviewed noted that they were motivated to purchase sex because it allowed them to engage in sexual acts that could not participate in with their regular sexual partner. In addition, it also contradicts empirical understanding concerning the age-graded nature of sensation-seeking and impulsivity (Steinberg et al., 2008); both of which were postulated to be embodied by this motivation.

Although this dissertation did not find a relationship between being motivated by a diversification of sexual interests and age, the association with delinquent peers, marriage, or employment factors, it did determine that it was related to other motivations to purchase sex. Specifically, there were significant positive relationships between this motivation and each of the other motivations examined in this study. The fact that being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests was positively related to the other two thrill-seeking motivations, power and control and the commodification of sex, provides evidence for the inter-relationship between these concepts.

The strength of the relationship between this motivation and companionship was smaller than that between it and the other thrill-seeking motivations examined in this

study, however the existence of this finding merits some consideration. There are significant dissimilarities between being motivated by the diversification of sexual interests and companionship, both in a theoretical and practical context. In a practical sense, past research has shown that men who are motivated by the diversification of sexual interests will seek out prostituted women in order to engage in fringe sexual behaviors such as anal sex or bondage (Durschlag & Goswami, 2008; Plumridge et al., 1997). Men who are motivated by companionship, however, often seek out vaginal intercourse and a sense of intimacy with the prostituted woman within the confines of bounded authenticity (Bernstein, 2001, 2007b; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012; Sanders, 2008). Theoretically there are also dissimilarities between these two motivations with regard to the way that such men are believed to perceive prostituted women. Whereas men who are motivated by the diversification of sexual interests see prostitutes as ‘professionals’ who are merely doing their job, men who are motivated by companionship oftentimes view them as being their girlfriends, and will often attempt to court them outside of the limitations of the financial transaction (Sanders, 2008). These dissimilarities thus call into question past research regarding men’s motivations to purchase sex in which these motivations are viewed as separate and distinct from one another (e.g. Milrod & Monto, 2012; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 1993). Instead, reasons for men’s involvement in the sex trade may overlap or even complement one another.

Being motivated by companionship. Finally, results showed that men over 40 were more likely to be motivated by companionship at the bivariate level, however this relationship failed to reach significance after accounting for relevant control variables. In addition, regression models furthermore found an unexpected significant relationship

between companionship and rape myth acceptance. This is intriguing given that being motivated by companionship is often tied to the idea that the sex buyer and the prostituted woman establish a delicate sense of intimacy during the course of their interaction with one another (Bernstein, 2001, 2007b; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012; Sanders, 2008), something which directly contradicts rape myth ideology.

With regard to the components of informal social control, companionship was found to be negatively related to the association with delinquent peers, being married, and being employed full-time. These findings are similar to those from Pitts et al. (2004), who also determined that this motivation was more common among men who were unmarried and underemployed, and were furthermore confirmed by the first SEM model.

Influence of marriage quality. The second SEM model attempted to expand upon the understanding of how men were motivated to purchase sex via the diversification of sexual interests by exploiting one of the strengths of Monto's (2000) dataset; the availability of data concerning the quality and dynamics of respondents' marriages. While this model showed that there were relationships between age and marital instability and unhappiness, there were no direct or indirect relationships between age and being motivated by either the diversification of sexual interests or companionship.

Failure to find such relationships is intriguing that past research has found that men who had dissimilar sexual desires or whose sexual interests were incompatible with those of their spouse were more likely to be motivated by the diversification of sexual interests (Durschlag & Goswami, 2008; Plumridge et al., 1997). Furthermore, the failure to find a relationship between marital instability and unhappiness and being motivated by

companionship is intriguing given the likelihood that spousal rejection factors into such perceptions. This may be representative, however, of the fact that the term used to measure marital instability did not take into account the dynamics of such breakups.

Limitations and Future Research

Age of dataset. Although this study has indeed added to the current knowledge about the men who purchase sex, it is not without its limitations. First and foremost, the dataset used in this study (Monto, 2000) was over 15 years old and does not take into account the multitude of technological and sociological advancements that have occurred since the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Influence of the internet on pornography and the sex trade. The most striking of these advancements was the rise of the internet and its evolution into a pervasive means of communication. While the internet was first invented in 1962 (Leiner et al., 2009), it did not become a commonplace fixture within society until after the new millennium (Hughes, 1999). This is particularly relevant towards the study of the sex trade in that many scholars argue that pornography and the sale of sexual services actually led to the proliferation of the World Wide Web (Buzzell, 2005; Coopersmith, 2006; Hughes, 1999; Johnson, 1996). Prior to this, the advertisement and sale of sexual services was limited to brothels and street corners, whereas in more modern times it is available within seconds via countless websites and pop-up advertisements. Cunningham and Kendall (2011) furthermore found that the increase in the sale of sexual services online not only represents a shift from the street market to cyberspace, but rather additional growth in the overall sex trade.

The rise of the World Wide Web, therefore, has likely had a profound impact on men's likelihood and willingness to purchase sex (McNair, 2002; Paul, 2008). It has made sexual services significantly more convenient as well as increased men's likelihood of exposure to pornographic material. This has important implications with regard to men's likeliness of being motivated to purchase sex because of the commodification of sex or the diversification of sexual interests. With the internet, men who are motivated by sex as a commodity are substantially more likely to be exposed to media that objectifies and sexualizes women; thus increasing the probability that they will normalize the purchase of sex and begin to embody what Bernstein (2007b) refers to as a 'consumeristic playboy philosophy.' It has also provided men with specific sexual fetishes, who may be motivated to purchase sex by the diversification of sexual interests, an outlet to more readily find such niche sexual services; thus, increasing the prevalence of this motivation among future samples.

Representation of sex in popular media. Multiple scholars argue that society itself has become more sexualized since the beginning of the new millennium (Attwood, 2009; Levy, 2005; McNair, 2002). This shift in cultural mores has often been attributed to an increase in the objectification of women (i.e. television, motion pictures, music, advertising, etc.) (Zimmerman & Dahlberg, 2008) and the normalization of sexual intercourse and fringe sexual acts within the popular media (Attwood, 2009; Brownmiller, 1975; Freedman, 2002). Like the proliferation of internet pornography, this could have a meaningful impact on men's view of women as a sexual commodity. In addition, it might increase their knowledge of fringe sexual acts, thus possibly motivating them to purchase sex for the purposes of diversifying their sexual experiences.

Shift towards a victim-centric view of prostitution. Furthermore, the past few decades have also led to a shift in how society views prostitution and prostituted women (Chuang, 2010; Wharton, 2009). Researchers, practitioners, and law-makers have all begun to adopt victim-centric views and policies that emphasize the role of human trafficking within the sex trade. While the roots of this shift can be found in feminist discourse throughout the twentieth century (McGinnis, 1994), the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) in 2000 provided the catalyst for the rise in the adoption of pro-abolitionist laws and procedures; particularly within the United States (Chuang, 2010; Gozdzia & Collett, 2005). With this, federal and state law enforcement agencies began to equate prostitution with human trafficking, and thus women who were prostituted as victims of this crime. The emphasis of criminal justice agencies with regard to this crime therefore shifted towards preventing future victimization among prostituted women (Chuang, 2010; Gozdzia & Collett, 2005). In addition, the media began to promote this notion among the general public (Wharton, 2009).

The dissemination of such information and subsequent change in social understanding about the dynamics of prostitution has likely had an impact on men's willingness to purchase sex for the means of companionship. Men who might be compelled to purchase sexual services because they are unable to achieve them through more prosocial means could be discouraged from doing so because they now equate such actions with abuse and violence against women. Future studies therefore may find a reduction in this motivation among this population. In the same regard, men who are motivated by violent sexual ideology and a patriarchal imperative to seek power and control over women may become increasingly representative among sex buyers.

The absence of data that reflect these evolutions in society and how they have influenced the sex trade is therefore problematic in that it limits the relevance of the current study to the modern-day understanding of prostitution. Future research should emphasize the collection of new data that examines how technological advances, the proliferation of pornography and sexually explicit material in the popular media, and shifts in the perception of prostitution within society have influenced men's motivations to purchase sex. These studies should include updated measures of pornography consumption that reflect the availability of sexually explicit material through the internet, as well as measures that examine men's use of classified adult sites such as Backpage.com in their pursuit of illicit sexual services.

Variable construction. Although the use of Monto's (2000) dataset did allow for the in-depth analysis of how marriage and prosocial sexual relationships influences men's age-graded motivations to purchase sex, it also limited the ability to develop precise measures related to the influence of delinquent peers and employment. The inability of this study to link thrill-seeking motivations to delinquent peer association is particularly questionable given the heavily-evidenced relationship between delinquent peers and involvement in the commercial sex trade within the empirical literature (i.e. Durschlag & Goswami, 2008; M. Farley, Schuckman, et al., 2011; Winick, 1962). Future studies should thus employ a more stringent measure for delinquent peer association so that they can examine the age-graded effects of this phenomenon on men's motivations to purchase sex.

In addition, while this dissertation attempted to examine how employment might influence men's motivations to purchase sex at different stages in life, the measures

related to this construct could be improved. The utilization of executive status as a proxy for the likelihood of coming across prostitution during business travel and deal-making is indeed supported by research that shows that executives vary from other types of employees, including management, in meaningful ways (Norburn, 1989) and that they are more likely to broker international deals and engage in business-related travel (Aguilera, 2008; Faulconbridge, Beaverstock, Derudder, & Witlox, 2009; Hovhannisyan & Keller, 2015); both of which have been linked to situational sex tourism (Abdullah et al., 1998; Chang, 1999; Gibbens & Silberman, 1960; Holgersson, 2011; O'Connell Davidson, 1996). More discreet measures that specifically examine, whether, employment status and rank are related to the purchase of sex are thus warranted. In particular, future studies should examine the nuances of how the stress and time requirements of being an executive might influence men's motivations to purchase sex and how this further influenced by age. Research should also specifically target the notion of sex tourism within the corporate world and examine if this is related to employment within specific professional fields.

Additional limitations and possible methodological improvements. This dissertation is further limited by its cross-sectional nature and the geographical limits of the dataset used. Although cross-sectional data has indeed been used in order to examine age-graded criminal activity within the empirical literature, multiple scholars argue that longitudinal data allows for a superior analysis of criminal behavior over time (Blumstein, Cohen, & Farrington, 1988; Paternoster, 1989; Piquero et al., 2003). Given this, future research should focus on the collection of longitudinal data related to men's involvement in the sex trade in order to better establish the temporal ordering of age-

graded informal social control and how it relates to their motivations to purchase sex. This could furthermore be particularly informative given the historical changes in the availability and perception of commercial sex over the past few decades.

Although Monto's (2000) dataset is the most extensive collection of information concerning prostitution johns that is currently available to criminal justice researchers, it also only includes information concerning prostitution johns who were arrested and disposed via diversionary programs in four cities; all of which were in the western United States. Future research should attempt to expand upon this understanding through the collection of data in other cities throughout the United States and the world. This is particularly important given the variation of prostitution legislation and enforcement in different jurisdictions (for a review, see Capaul, 2013).

Furthermore, while the dataset did provide unique insight into how the quality of men's marriages might influence their likelihood to purchase sex, these measures were relatively underreported within the dataset. While Monte Carlo estimation was able to approximate the influence of marital quality on men's motivations, and appropriately account for such missing data, a more complete understanding of these measures is needed. It is suggested that future research specifically focus on how marriage quality, a key factor in informal social control, influences men's motivations to purchase sex.

Policy Recommendations

Despite these limitations, the findings of this dissertation provide a valuable contribution to the understanding of men's involvement in commercial sex; particularly with regard to the street sex trade. In addition to being an important advancement in the study of prostitution, they can be incorporated into the implementation of policy

measures that aim to limit men's involvement in the sex industry and the victimization of prostituted women.

One of the measures that is currently used within the American criminal justice system in order combat prostitution offending is diversionary training initiatives, oftentimes referred to as john schools, which aim to treat the underlying motivations for seeking out sex workers (Fischer et al., 2002; Kennedy, Klein, Gorzalka, & Yuille, 2004; Preston & Brown-Hart, 2005). Research on john schools has shown that they are at least somewhat effective in altering buyers' perceptions of sex workers and the risks inherent in the commercial sex industry, however they have not been found to be overwhelmingly successful at reducing future prostitution arrests among this population (Kennedy et al., 2004; Wortley, Fischer, & Webster, 2002). This inability to mitigate future offending is likely the result of difficulties associated with characterizing this population and determining the root causes regarding why men seek out commercial sex, as well as a failure to tailor such programming according to men's specific motivations.

This dissertation's findings concerning the influence of rape myth acceptance on being motivated to purchase sex by power and control could be useful in this endeavor in that they provide practitioners with a dimension through which they can isolate men who might identify with this motivation. This is particularly important given that past research has found that this subset of sex buyers, who generally subscribe to a violent sexual ideology, are disproportionately responsible for violence committed against prostituted women (Lowman & Atchison, 2006; Monto, 2004). It is therefore recommended that practitioners screen for such beliefs prior to offering diversionary programs or more lenient sentences for prostitution offenses. Men who are found to have

high agreement with rape myths should either be given more intensive programming concerning the relationship between human trafficking and prostitution, or should be exempt from participating in such programs given that they are more likely than other offenders to have committed violence within the course of their crime.

It is also recommended that these programs take into account how pornography consumption and rape myth acceptance influence men's motivations to purchase sex. In particular, men in these programs who consume a significant amount of pornography should be provided with additional training on how pornography is linked to the commodification of women and inaccurate perceptions about the dynamics of the sex trade. Practitioners should also be aware of the fact that men's use of pornography, and thus the degree with which they commodify sex, is influenced by their association with delinquent peers. Interventions should therefore provide offenders with strategies on how to limit peer pressure to consume pornography or other sexually explicit material in an effort to limit the extent of this motivation.

Law enforcement efforts can also benefit from this dissertation's finding that there is little relationship between age and men's motivations to seek out commercial sex. This is particularly true within the context of sting operations, which might overlook certain potential offenders because they do not fit the stereotype of a typical sex buyer. It is thus recommended that law enforcement officials are aware of the fact that men of all ages, even the elderly, could potentially be motivated to purchase sex. Furthermore, law enforcement should be informed that commercial sexual transactions that occur via the outdoor sex market may, at least somewhat, incorporate elements of 'emotion work' and

therefore not only encompass physical sexual acts, but also courtship and counseling services.

Finally, findings regarding the relationship between being an executive and being motivated by the commodification of sex can furthermore be used, to, supplement knowledge concerning how prostitution is intertwined within corporate culture. Companies and their governing boards should consider how business travel and international deal-making might provide executives with an opportunity to engage in situational sex tourism. Given the inherent relationship between violence against women and the sex trade, involvement in such activities should be formally addressed via the company's code of conduct. Human resources personnel should also provide resources for executives, as well as other personnel, who believe that they are being pressured into such transactions.

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PUBLICATIONS

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Koeppel, M., Smith, M., & Bouffard, L. A. (2013). *Dating safety and victimization in traditional and online relationships*. Research Brief to the Crime Victims' Institute, College of Criminal Justice, Sam Houston State University. Available at:

<http://www.crimevictimsinstitute.org/publications/?mode=view&item=36>

Tilton, J., Hanel, S., Miller, A., Eberhart, T., Smith, M., & Endsley, X. (2012). *Sexually transmitted infection annual report 2010-2011*. Research Brief for Sam Houston State University.

Sam Houston State University. (2011). *Dating violence: It may not seem serious until it happens to you* [Brochure]. Smith, M., Jackson, R., & Porter, C.

PRESENTATIONS AT PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS

Smith, M. (2017, Upcoming). *Influence of marriage quality on men's motivations to purchase sex*. Paper to be presented at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Annual Meeting in Kansas City, MO.

Smith, M. (2016, Upcoming). *Girlfriend experience v. thrill of the purchase: Age-graded companionship and thrill-seeking among street sex buyers*. Paper to be presented at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA.

Smith, M. (2015). *The availability of victimology courses in baccalaureate criminal justice programs*. Paper presented at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Annual Meeting, Orlando, FL.

Smith, M., Muftić, L. R., Grubb, J. A., & Deljkić, I. (2014). *Who knows more when it comes to trafficking?: A comparative analysis of practitioners and future practitioners*. Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA.

Smith, M., Wilkes, N., & Bouffard, L. (2014). *Rape myth adherence among campus law enforcement officers*. Paper presented at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA.

Smith, M. (2013). *Low self-control and victimization within the context of traditional and online dating*. Poster presented at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA.

Smith, M., & Armstrong, G. S. (2013). *Predictive factors of institutional misconduct: A study of the effect of gender on violent behavior*. Paper presented at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Annual Meeting, Dallas, TX.

ACADEMIC AWARDS

Outstanding Teaching Assistant (Nominee), Sam Houston State University, May 2015.

Excellence in Writing, Sam Houston State University, May 2015.

Outstanding Leadership, College of Criminal Justice, Sam Houston State University, May 2013.

Excellence in Writing, Sam Houston State University, May 2012.

Outstanding Leadership, College of Criminal Justice, Sam Houston State University, May 2012.

Most Outstanding Senator, Student Government Association, Sam Houston State University, May 2012.

Outstanding Leadership, College of Criminal Justice, Sam Houston State University, May 2011.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences

American Society of Criminology