

The sexuality of prisoners in a Finnish prison – a survey and comparison with a population-based data

Madeleine Andersson  
Master's Thesis in Psychology  
Supervisor: Annika Gunst  
Faculty of Arts, Psychology and Theology  
Åbo Akademi, 2021

**ÅBO AKADEMI UNIVERSITY – FACULTY OF ARTS, PSYCHOLOGY AND  
THEOLOGY**

<b>Subject:</b> Psychology	
<b>Author:</b> Madeleine Andersson	
<b>Title:</b> The sexuality of prisoners in a Finnish prison – a survey and comparison with a population-based data	
<b>Supervisor:</b> Annika Gunst	
<b>Abstract:</b> <p>The sexuality of prisoners is one of the least understood phenomena of the criminal justice system and research is needed in order to improve the sexual health of prisoners and minimize the risk of sexual coercion in prisons. The current study is part of a larger project on prison sexuality. The current study examined the sexual desires and behaviors of prisoners in a Finnish prison. Additionally, we also compared the findings to a population-based data in order to examine possible differences between the two populations. The prison sample consisted of 181 prisoners, 151 were men and 30 women, serving time at Turku Prison 2019. The population-based sample consisted of 724 age and sex matched participants. Data was collected through a questionnaire. Information about the participants' sexual desire was obtained using a short version of the Sexual Desire Inventory (SDI; Spector, Carey &amp; Steinberg, 1996). The desired and actual frequency of sexual behavior was assessed using a modified version of the Derogatis Sexual Functioning Inventory (Derogatis &amp; Melisaratos, 1979) constructed by Santtila et al. (DASA; 2007). Additionally, questions exploring sexual experiences during imprisonment were constructed in collaboration with the prison psychologist. Mean comparisons, correlation analyzes, and multiple linear regression analyzes were conducted. The results showed that the prisoners reported significantly lower levels of sexual desire than the general population. The results also showed that prisoners experience less sexual activity than the general population and have higher discrepancy scores between actual and desired frequencies on many sex-related behaviors. The results showed that unsupervised family meetings were strongly associated with many of the sex-related behaviors, indicating that family meetings are important for the prisoners in order to fulfil certain sexual behaviors. Sexual desire was a significant predictor for masturbation in prison, but there was, however, no significant difference in the actual frequency of masturbation between the two populations. The current study showed that coercive sexual behaviors, although occurring in prison, seem to be less prevalent than previous, foreign research have indicated. The current study provides novel and valuable information about the sexuality of Finnish prisoners and inspire future research on the matter.</p>	
<b>Keywords:</b> Prison sexuality, sexual coercion, sexual desire	
<b>Date:</b> 29.04.2021	<b>Page count:</b> 32
<b>Level:</b> Master's Thesis	

**ÅBO AKADEMI – FAKULTETEN FÖR HUMANIORA, PSYKOLOGI OCH  
TEOLOGI**

<b>Ämne:</b> Psykologi	
<b>Författare:</b> Madeleine Andersson	
<b>Titel:</b> Fångars sexualitet i ett finskt fängelse - en kartläggning och jämförelse med populationsdata	
<b>Handledare:</b> Annika Gunst	
<b>Abstrakt:</b> <p>Fångars sexualitet är ett av de fenomen inom rättsväsendet som det finns minst kunskap om och forskning behövs för att förbättra den sexuella hälsan bland fångar och minimera risken för sexuellt våld i fängelser. Denna studie var en del av ett större projekt om fångars sexualitet. Denna studie granskade sexuella beteenden och sexuell lust bland fångar i ett finskt fängelse. Därutöver jämförs resultaten med ett populationsbaserat data för att undersöka eventuella skillnader mellan populationerna. Fängelsesamplet bestod av 181 fångar, 151 män och 30 kvinnor, som avtjänade ett straff vid Åbo fängelse 2019. Det populationsbaserade samplet bestod av 724 ålders- och könsmatchade deltagare. Data samlades in genom frågeformulär. Information om fångarnas sexuella lust erhöles med hjälp av en nerskalad version av Sexual Desire Inventory (SDI; Spector, Carey &amp; Steinberg, 1996). Den verkliga och önskade frekvensen av sexuella beteenden mättes med hjälp av en modifierad version av Derogatis Sexual Functioning Inventory (Derogatis &amp; Melisaratos, 1979), som är konstruerad av Santtila m.fl (DASA,2007). Därtill konstruerades tillsammans med fängelsepsykologen frågor om sexuella erfarenheter i fängelset. Medelvärdesanalyser, korrelationsanalyser samt multipla linjära regressionsanalyser utfördes för att undersöka data. Resultaten visade en signifikant skillnad i sexuell lust mellan fängelsepopulationen och den allmänna populationen. Fångarna rapporterade lägre nivåer av sexuell lust än den allmänna populationen. Resultaten visade även att fångarna är mindre sexuellt aktiva och uppvisar större diskrepans mellan önskade och verkliga frekvenser på många av de sexrelaterade beteendena. Resultaten tydde på att de oövervakade familjeträffarna var starkt associerade med många av de sexrelaterade beteendena, vilket indikerar att det är viktiga för fångarna för att förverkliga vissa sexuella beteenden. Sexuell lust var en signifikant prediktor för masturbation i fängelset, men det fanns ingen signifikant skillnad i de verkliga frekvenserna för masturbation mellan de två populationerna. Studien visade att sexuellt våld förekommer i fängelset men är mindre prevalent än vad tidigare forskning från andra länder tyder på. Den aktuella studien bidrar med ny och värdefull information om sexualiteten bland finska fångar och inspirerar till vidare forskning i ämnet.</p>	
<b>Nyckelord:</b> Sexualitet bland fångar, sexuellt våld, sexuell lust	
<b>Datum:</b> 29.04.2021	<b>Sidantal:</b> 32
<b>Nivå:</b> Pro gradu avhandling	

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

In Turku, April 2021

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Annika Gunst, who helped me throughout the whole process. Thank you for your continuous support, valuable input and advice, and for making it easy to ask for help. I would also like to thank Irmeli Ryömä for your help with the questionnaire and valuable input throughout the process. Thank you for showing me around Turku Prison and for your help during the data collection. Thank you, Mari Laine, for your work on the questionnaire and the data collection. I would also like to express my gratitude to the members of my seminar group for taking the time to read and give feedback on my text. Finally, I would like to thank my family and my friends for all the support you gave me. Thank you.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction .....	1
Sexuality in Prison .....	1
A Neglected Area of Research.....	2
Sexual Desire and Consensual Behaviors Among Prisoners .....	3
Coercive Sexual Behaviors Among Prisoners.....	4
The Current Study .....	5
Method .....	6
The Prison Sample .....	6
The Population-Based Sample .....	7
Measures.....	8
Statistical Analysis .....	9
Results .....	10
Descriptive Results.....	10
Mean Comparisons Between the General and Prison Populations .....	13
Correlations .....	14
Regressions.....	16
Discussion .....	17
Main Findings and Interpretation.....	17
Limitations .....	20
Conclusions .....	21
Swedish summary .....	22
References .....	28

## **Introduction**

Sexuality can be described as a lifelong feature and a central part of humanity (World Health Organization, 2021) and a person's sexual needs and motivation to participate in sexual activity do not vanish when incarcerated (Wilkinson, 2003). Studies about sexual behaviors in prisons indicate that both consensual and coercive sex as well as masturbation occur among prisoners (Hensley, Tewksbury & Wright, 2001; Wilkinson, 2003; Hensley & Tewksbury, 2002; Hensley, Tewksbury & Koscheski, 2001). However, prisoner sexuality is still one of the least understood phenomena in the criminal justice system (Gibson & Hensley, 2013), and research is needed to understand how sexuality is experienced and expressed in prison. Knowledge about prison sexuality is needed in order to improve the sexual health of prisoners and to minimize the risk of sexual coercion and rape in prison.

### **Sexuality in Prison**

Imprisonment has a major impact on a person's life. According to the Finnish Act of Imprisonment (2005), the content of imprisonment is the deprivation of liberty or the restriction thereof. The implementation of imprisonment should not impose any restriction on the rights or conditions of the prisoner other than those provided for by the law or which may result from the sentence itself (The Finnish Act of Imprisonment [2005/767], 2005). In other words, the prison condition should resemble the living conditions in society as well as possible and prisoners should be able to lead as normal a life as possible while serving a sentence. Sexual rights are grounded in universal human rights and are not limited by the Imprisonment Act (World Association for Sexual Health, 2014), which means that prisoners have the same sexual rights as people outside of prison and the right to safe ways of living out sexuality in prison. However, as with many other areas of life, sexuality is indeed affected by incarceration and many experience difficulties in having a satisfying sex life while incarcerated (Carcedo, Perlman, López, Orgaz & Fernández-Rouco, 2014). There are many aspects that complicate the maintaining of a satisfying sex life. Privacy is not always guaranteed as some prisoners share their cell with another prisoner and the availability of preferred partners is also limited. Sexual rights also include being free from coercion, sexual assault, harassment, rape and other actions that violate a person's right to decide over their own body and sexuality. However, as mentioned above, studies indicate that sexual coercion does occur inside prisons (eg., Hensley & Tewksbury, 2002)

### **A Neglected Area of Research**

Prisoner sexuality has been a neglected area of research for long and the scientific literature is sparse. The majority of the literature available on prisoner sexuality has focused on sexual coercion and sexual violence (eg., Alarid, 2000; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2006; Hensley, Castle & Tewksbury, 2003; Wolff, Blitz, Shi, Bachman & Siegel, 2006; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2000; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2002). Tewksbury and West (2000) argued that sexual coercion has received more attention compared to consensual prison sex, since coercion is more readily viewed as a constitutional and social problem. Among the already sparse literature available about prisoner sexuality there are few studies that have studied the positive aspects of sex and the prisoners' sexual desires and needs. Many of the studies have approached prisoner sexuality from, for instance, a sociological point of view, looking at sex as a social construction or from the aspect of sexual identity and gender roles.

The majority of the available studies have been conducted in the USA, and only a handful studies are conducted in Europe. There are notable differences between countries in, for example, the structures of the prisons, the prison populations and the length of sentences. Symkovych (2016) concluded that there are great differences in prison sexual activity and its legal status as well as prison sex cultures between jurisdictions, institutions and parts of institutions housing specific populations. Studies conducted in other countries have limited generalizability in Finland and therefore, research about sexuality in Finnish prisons is needed. There is very limited knowledge about sexual behaviors and desires in Finnish prisons, and to our knowledge there are no quantitative studies conducted in Finland about sexuality among prisoners. The differences in, for instance, structures, legislation and prison populations are likely to influence the sexual behaviors in prison. Sexual contact is not prohibited in Finnish prisons, whereas it is prohibited in the USA (Sexual Abuse Act, 1986). This is a difference that has to be taken into account when generalizing foreign research to Finnish prisons and it is also likely to have an effect on sexual coercion as well as on consensual sex, or the reporting of these. Countries have different regulations regarding unsupervised family meetings, and the allowance of these visits has been shown to have positive effects on prisoners (De Claire & Dixon, 2016), and decrease instances of reported rape and other sexual offences in prison (D'Alessio, Flexon & Stolzenberg, 2012).

Since the available literature is sparse, a great number of the studies are also outdated. This is problematic because it is not before the 1990s that research on sexual assault started to include female prisoners (Hensley, Struckman-Johnson & Eigenberg, 2000), which causes

results from studies before the 1990s to have limited applicability on female prisoners. Since we today have more knowledge about sexual wellbeing and sexual right in general, new approaches to prison sexuality research are also needed in order to understand prison sexuality, and knowledge of sexual violence is insufficient.

### **Sexual Desire and Consensual Behaviors Among Prisoners**

The research on prison sexuality began with studies on consensual homosexual relationships in prison and the focus laid on women and the formation of so called pseudofamilies (see e.g., Hensley, Struckman-Johnson & Eigenberg, 2000). Since then, there have been few studies focusing on consensual sex in prison. The existing literature is sparse, but it indicates that consensual sex does occur inside prison. The reported prevalence does, however, vary. In a large-scale study by Warren and Jackson (2013) in Ohio and Texas prisons, nearly 6% of the prisoners reported participating in consensual sex while incarcerated and Tewksbury and Connor (2014) reported that 25% to 40% of male prisoners in an Ohio prison had participated in consensual sex while incarcerated. In a large-scale study conducted in Australia, Richters et al. (2010) reported that 7% of the prisoners had had sexual contact with another inmate, and 79% of these said they did it for pleasure. Research indicates that consensual sexual behaviors exist in prison but most of the available literature on prison sex still explores coercive sexual behaviors.

Research shows that many prisoners experience a change in sexual desire when incarcerated. In a study conducted by Merotte (2012) in a French prison, the majority of both male and female inmates experienced a decrease in sexual desire and an increase in feelings of emptiness and frustration. Similar results were found by Ammar et al. (2015) with the majority of the participating incarcerated women reporting a change in sexual desire and a lack of fantasies. Barth (2012) also reported similar results in a study conducted in a German prison. According to the study by Merotte (2012) the decrease in sexual desire was associated with the length of the sentence. Merotte (2012) argues that with short sentences, sexuality becomes of secondary importance because of the depression and anxiety often experienced in the beginning, but with longer sentences a deterioration in the prisoners' sexual lives can be noticed. Masturbation is quite common in prison settings. Merotte (2012) reported an increase in masturbation frequency among prisoners compared to the frequency prior to incarceration. Hensley, Tewksbury & Wright (2001) also reported high frequencies of masturbation, with 73% of male prisoners masturbating two or three times a week or more often.



## **Coercive Sexual Behaviors Among Prisoners**

Research on sexual coercion and sexual violence in prison show that coercive sexual behaviors and rape are prevalent in the prison setting. The prevalence varies greatly across different studies, some studies indicate that it is very common while other studies report very few instances. According to The Prison Rape Elimination Act (2003), a conservative estimate is that nearly 13 % of inmates in the United States have been sexually assaulted in prison. Gaes and Goldberg (2004) made an attempt to summarize studies on sexual coercion conducted in US prisons, and when only taking into account the studies focusing on assault or completed assault, they reported estimates ranging from 0% to 16%. Gaes and Goldberg (2004) also stated that if studies using definitions of sexual pressure would be added, estimates would be higher. In a study by Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (2002) the prevalence of sexual coercion was as high as 27% in a female facility in a US prison. Broad consensus exists on that sexual violence occurs in prisons, but we cannot be certain about the frequency. Studies on sexual coercion in prison have used different methods when gathering data—some use prisoner reports, and some use staff reports. There are many factors that affect the reporting of sexual coercion in prison. The so-called inmate code, which consists of rules and values found in the prison subculture, is likely to influence the prisoners' decision to report sexual violence. Snitching (i.e., when an inmate reports another inmate) is one aspect of the inmate code, and violating this code and becoming a snitch or a "rat" is known to have serious, and sometimes lethal, consequences for the inmate (Useem, 1985). In a study by Garland and Wilson (2012), 65% of the inmates considered reporting prison rape to be the same as snitching. The fear of being viewed as a snitch is likely to affect the decision on whether to report a sexual assault or not and it is likely that many cases remain unreported.

Many studies have focused on the characteristics of the victim and the perpetrator, and it appears that age is a critical factor, so that younger inmates are at greater risk for sexual victimization (Austin et al., 2006; Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson, 2006; Tewksbury, 1989), while perpetrators tend to be older than their victims (Tewksbury & Connor, 2014). The perpetrator is not always another prisoner: research indicates that sexual coercion inside prison is sometimes also carried out by prison staff (Kubiak et al., 2017; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2000). In a study by Wolff and Shi (2008), approximately 7% of male inmates and 8% of female inmates reported some type of staff-on-inmate sexual victimization. The results also indicate that for male prisoners, staff-on-inmate sexual victimization is more common than inmate-on-inmate sexual victimization (Wolff & Shi, 2008). Prisoners can choose to engage in sexual activity for protection, so called survival

sex or protective pairing (Trammell, 2011). For some inmates, sex is a survival strategy, and the inmates engage in sexual activities with inmates who provide protection against other inmates, violence and sexual assault. This can seem consensual, but the inmates engaging in survival sex are doing so because they think they do not have any other option to stay safe (Trammell, 2011). This is also why new inmates are easier targets, they are not accustomed to life inside prison and are therefore more vulnerable to intimidation by more experienced inmates (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002). Inmates also engage in sexual activity to pay for drugs or other goods (Richters et al. 2010). This highlights the complexity of sexual coercion and rape inside prison. Sometimes sexual activity that may seem consensual at first glance has components of hidden coercion.

### **The Current Study**

The aim of the current study was to gain knowledge about the sexuality of Finnish prisoners. The current study was a part of a larger project on prisoner sexuality, wellbeing, and mental health. The focus of this thesis was sexual desires, consensual and coercive sexual behaviors as well as comparisons with the general population.

The aims were the following:

1. Investigate the frequency of different sexual behaviors among prisoners and compare these to the general population. In accordance with previous studies (e.g., Warren and Jackson, 2013; Tewksbury & Connor, 2014; Gaes & Goldberg, 2004; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2002; Merotte, 2012; Carcedo, Perlman, López, Orgaz & Fernández-Rouco, 2014), we expected that both consensual and coercive sex is prevalent in the prison setting, although prisoners experience less sex than the general population. We expected that the reports on sexual coercion will be slightly lower than the estimates reported in studies from USA, due to differences in legislation regarding sexual contact in prison. Further, we expected that the masturbation frequency is higher in the prison setting than in the general population.
2. Investigate sexual desire and desired frequencies of sexual behaviors. Based on previous literature (e.g., Merotte, 2012, Ammar et al, 2015; Barth, 2012), we expected that the prison population will experience lower levels of sexual desire than the general population.
3. Investigate what predicts sexual behaviors in the prison setting. Based on previous literature (e.g., Merotte, 2012; D'Alessio, Flexon & Stolzenberg, 2012; Wolff and Shi (2008; Gear & Ngubeni, 2002), we expected that the length of the sentence served, sexual crime conviction, sexual desire, unsupervised family meetings and gender

could predict sexual behaviors. Our initial aim was also to assess whether sexual coercive behaviors could be explained by factors related to sexual needs inside prison vs. personality characteristics, like psychopathic traits, aggression, attachment, sexual attitudes and childhood sexual abuse. However, these analyses would have been heavily underpowered, as there were few reports of sexual coercion in our data.

### **Method**

In the current study two independent samples were used, a prison sample and a population-based sample. The population-based sample was used as a reference sample.

#### **The Prison Sample**

The Board for Research Ethics at Åbo Akademi University and the Central Administration of the Criminal Sanctions Agency have reviewed and approved of the research plan. The voluntary nature of the study was explained to the participants, both verbally and in written form, and they were informed that they are free to terminate their participation at any time without giving a reason. Participation was anonymous and no personal details were collected together with the questionnaires. The prisoners were informed that a decision to not participate, or to discontinue the study, would not in any way affect their rights inside or outside prison. All participants provided written, informed consent prior to participation.

The sample consisted of prisoners serving time at Turku Prison at the time of the data collection which took place in June 2019. The data were collected by the prison psychologist and two psychology students. During the four weeks of data collection, 218 prisoners were given the opportunity to participate. Participation was not possible for prisoners who were not in their cells at the time of the data collection, in other words, prisoners kept in solitary confinement, prisoners in hospital care, prisoners on escorted leave, or prisoners who were in court. The final sample consisted of 181 prisoners, 151 men and 30 women, resulting in a total response rate of 82.6%. The response rate for male prisoners was 82.4% and for female prisoners 83.3%. The mean age for the male prisoners was 35 years, with the oldest being 67 years and the youngest 17 years. The mean age for the female prisoners was 37 years, with the oldest being 56 years and the youngest 16 years. Most of the prisoners who chose not to participate did so because of insufficient English, Finnish, or Swedish skills. The demographics of the study sample are presented in Table 1. To attract participants, a reward of €7 was given to all participants. The questionnaires were distributed to the participants in paper format, and the participants completed the questionnaires in their cells to guarantee anonymity. The questionnaires were distributed to all prisoners and collected from each cell,

one at a time, to ensure that no other prisoner would be able to know who decided to participate and who did not.

Table 1.

*Demographic Characteristics of the Prison Sample*

Variable	Description of variable	N	%
Gender	Male	151	83.4
	Female	30	16.6
	Other	0	0.0
Nationality	Finnish	162	89.5
	Other	17	9.4
	Finnish and other	2	1.1
Type of prisoner	Prison inmate	130	71.8
	Remand prisoner	37	20.4
	Default prisoner	7	3.9
Crime*	Drug offence	29	16.0
	Crimes of violence	27	14.9
	Homicide	22	12.2
	Property offence	22	12.2
	Sexual crime	9	5.0
	Economic crime	3	1.7
	Sabotage	2	1.1
	Traffic offence	1	0.6
	Other	5	2.8
	Multiple	60	33.1
Marital status	Not in a relationship	98	54.1
	Married	41	22.7
	Living together with a partner	24	13.3
	In a relationship	17	9.4
Sexual orientation	Heterosexual	170	93.9
	Bisexual	5	2.8
	Homosexual	2	1.1
	Other	1	0.6

*Notes.* \* the prisoners were asked to choose their primary crime; however, the question was easily misunderstood, and the variable Multiple contains the answers of those who chose several options.

### **The Population-Based Sample**

The Ethics Review Board of Åbo Akademi University reviewed and approved of the research plan describing the data collection. Participants were informed that participation was voluntary and that they were free to terminate their participation at any time without giving a reason. All participants provided written, informed consent prior to participation.

The population-based sample consisted of participants from a large-scale Finnish population-based data collection. For an elaboration on this data collection, see Johansson et al. (2012). A subset of individuals ( $n = 7.716$ ) had participated in similar data collections conducted by the same research group before and had indicated willingness to participate in future studies when participating in previous data collections (in 2006 or 2012/2013). Addresses for a cohort of Finnish twins and siblings of twins who had not previously participated were also obtained. Invitation letters were sent to twins and siblings of twins identified from the Central Population Registry in Finland. Individuals were invited only if their mother tongue listed in the Central Population Registry was Finnish, if they resided in Finland at the time of gathering their contact addresses, and if they were over 18 years old. In total, addresses of 33,390 individuals were obtained. Of these, 179 had addresses abroad, leaving us with 33,211 addresses. Data collection concluded in January 2019. In total, 9,564 individuals responded, resulting in a total response rate of 29%, with 9,319 (97%) of respondents consenting to their data being used for scientific purposes. The sample is a population-based twin sample due to the genetic focus of the original study, however, this is not relevant for the current study, and in order to avoid dependency in our sample, only one person per family was included in the final sample. To match the population-based sample with the prison sample, individuals of the same age and gender as the prisoners were randomly selected from the data. A large sample, four times the prison sample, was chosen to increase the probability of a statistically significant sample. The final sample consisted of 724 age and sex matched participants.

### **Measures**

The prison data were collected using a questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of both pre-existing, validated scales and scales that were constructed for this data collection. To consider various cognitive impairments and in order to attract more participants, the questionnaire was kept as short as possible, and therefore short versions of some of the scales were used. The questionnaire was available in Finnish, Swedish and English.

**Sexual Desire.** Information about the participants' sexual desire was obtained using the Sexual Desire Inventory (SDI; Spector, Carey & Steinberg, 1996). The SDI is a 14-item questionnaire designed to measure interest in or wish for sexual activity. In the original publication by Spector, Carey and Steinberg (1996), the SDI showed excellent internal consistency (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .86$  for solitary sex and  $.96$  for dyadic sex). In the current study we use a short version of the SDI, which included item 4, 5, 9, 11, 13 and 14. The items in the short version measure sexual desire directed against attractive people, desire to engage in

sexual activity with another person as well as with oneself and the amount of time one could comfortably go without sexual activity. The answers for items 4,5,9,11, and 13 are given on a 9-point Likert scale where high scores indicate more or stronger sexual desire. Item 14 is answered on an 8-point Likert scale

**Desired and Actual Frequency of Sexual Behavior.** The desired and actual frequency of sexual behavior was assessed using a modified version of the Drive subscale of the Derogatis Sexual Functioning Inventory (DSFI; Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1979). In the original publication by Derogatis and Melisaratos (1979), the Drive subscale showed good test-retest reliability ( $r = .77$ ). The modified version, referred to as the Desired and Actual Sexual Activity Scale (DASA), was constructed by Santtila et al. (2007). In the DASA, the following changes were made to the items in the DFSI: (1) the item “intercourse” was divided into “vaginal intercourse” and “anal intercourse”: (2) the item “oral sex” was added to the inventory. Individuals were asked how frequently they engaged in each type of behavior and how frequently they desired each type of behavior using a 9-point Likert scale, ranging from 0 (not at all) to 9 (4 times a day or more).

Additionally, questions exploring sexual experiences during imprisonment were constructed in collaboration with the prison psychologist. A change in sexual desire during imprisonment was measured on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (much lower) to 7 (much higher). Sexual contact with a person of the same sex during imprisonment and the use of self-made sex toys during imprisonment was asked about on a nominal scale, with the response options yes and no. Experience of unsupervised family meetings and sexual contact during unsupervised family meetings were asked for on a nominal scale, with the response options yes and no. Questions regarding coercive sexual experiences during imprisonment and pecuniary advantages related to living out sexuality in prison were asked for with response options “no”, “kissing or touching”, “oral sex or hand job” and “vaginal or anal intercourse”. The questions explore experiences of both forcing another prisoner into sexual activity and being forced into sexual activity by another prisoner or prison personnel, as well as giving or receiving something in return for sexual acts (e.g., tobacco, coffee, drugs etc.).

### **Statistical Analysis**

The statistical analyses were performed using R. In order to compare the two populations, mean comparisons were performed. Correlation analyzes were performed to examine how the study variables were associated with each other and the corrplot package in R was used for the correlation figure. Multiple linear regression analyzes were used to investigate models

predicting sexual behaviors in prison. For the multiple regressions the `lm()` function in R was used. We also analyzed descriptive statistics.

## Results

### Descriptive Results

Table 2 contains descriptive information of the variables used to measure sexual contact with a prisoner of the same sex during imprisonment, the use of sex toys, unsupervised family meetings, and coercive sexual experiences during imprisonment. Of the participating prisoners, 7.8% reported having used a self-made sex toy in prison and 2.8% reported having been in sexual contact with a person of the same sex during imprisonment. Of the prisoners, 1.7% reported having made another prisoner commit sexual acts by offering something in return and 3.9% of the prisoners reported having been offered something in return for sexual acts. Of the prisoners, 35.0% had been permitted unsupervised family meetings, and of these, 38.9% reported having had sexual contact during the meeting with the person they met.

Table 3 contains descriptive information of the variables used to measure sexual desire as well as desired and actual frequencies of sexual behaviors.

Table 2.

#### *Items Used to Measure Prison-Specific Sex-Related Behaviors*

Description of variable	n	%
During imprisonment, have you been in sexual contact (sexually touched, kissed, caressed, or had sex) with a person of the same sex? (Yes)	5	2.8
During imprisonment, have you used any self-made sex toy in masturbation or during other sex activities? (Yes)	14	7.8
Have you been given uncontrolled family meetings during imprisonment? (Yes)	63	34.8
If so, has there been any sexual contact with the person you have met? (Yes)	35	38.9*
Have you made another prisoner to commit sexual acts with you by giving in return something like tobacco, coffee, drugs etc.?	3	1.7
Kissing or touching	0	0.0
Oral or hand sex	1	0.6
Vaginal or anal sex	2	1.1
Has another prisoner offered you tobacco, coffee, drugs, etc. in return for agreed / required sexual acts?	7	3.9
Kissing or touching	1	0.6
Oral or hand sex	4	2.2
Vaginal or anal sex	2	1.1
Has another prisoner forced you into sexual acts?	3	1.7
Kissing or touching	0	0.0
Oral or hand sex	1	0.6
Vaginal or anal sex	2	1.1

Description of variable	n	%
Have you forced another prisoner into sexual acts?		1.7
Kissing or touching	1	.6
Oral or hand sex	0	
Vaginal or anal sex	2	1.1
Has anyone in the prison personnel forced you into sexual acts?		1.7
Kissing or touching	0	
Oral or hand sex	1	.6
Vaginal or anal sex	2	1.1

*Note:* \* Calculated based on those prisoners who had been given uncontrolled family meeting



Table 3.

*Items Used to Measure Sexual Desire and Actual and Desired Frequencies of Sexual Behaviors*

Item name	Description of variable	Prison total	Control total	Male prisoners	Male controls	Male prisoners vs male controls		Female prisoners	Female controls	Female prisoners vs female controls	
		<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>W-value</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>W-value</i>	<i>p</i>
SDI total		25.64 (10.61)	29.71 (8.38)	27.13 (9.92)	30.62 (7.85)	37608*	< .001	18.22 (11.00)	24.93 (9.38)	1128*	< .001
DASA kissing and caressing	Actual frequency	2.14 (2.07)	5.14 (2.68)	1.88 (1.60)	5.10 (2.65)	15454*	< .001	3.27 (3.24)	5.35 (2.81)	1274.5*	< .001
	Desired frequency	4.86 (2.84)	6.74 (1.79)	4.91 (2.77)	6.69 (1.79)	29456*	< .001	4.56 (3.20)	7.03 (1.79)	1020.5*	< .001
	Discrepancy			3.08 (2.88)	1.59 (2.13)	51668*	< .001	1.16 (3.47)	1.68 (2.19)	1354.5	.049
DASA sexual fantasies	Actual frequency	2.95 (2.23)	3.25 (2.13)	3.14 (2.30)	3.32 (2.16)	45466	.140	2.00 (1.56)	2.90 (1.93)	1353	.006
	Desired frequency	3.67 (2.36)	3.84 (1.94)	3.88 (2.39)	3.95 (1.92)	42202	.326	2.64 (1.91)	3.26 (1.98)	1401.5	.089
	Discrepancy			0.64 (2.15)	0.63 (1.53)	38670	.221	0.62 (1.58)	0.36 (0.96)	1802	.601
DASA masturbation	Actual frequency	4.11 (2.18)	4.36 (1.71)	4.43 (2.07)	4.60 (1.65)	50309	.482	2.48 (1.99)	3.15 (1.49)	1416	.007
	Desired frequency	3.81 (2.18)	4.02 (1.73)	4.01 (2.14)	4.17 (1.71)	38132	.523	2.88 (2.13)	3.25 (1.60)	1406	.165
	Discrepancy			-0.46 (1.56)	-0.43 (1.11)	38640	.951	0.21 (1.47)	0.10 (0.74)	1670	.839
DASA oral sex	Actual frequency	1.58 (1.41)	2.40 (1.35)	1.55 (1.37)	2.39 (1.34)	25099*	< .001	1.69 (1.58)	2.42 (1.45)	1198*	< .001
	Desired frequency	4.08 (2.37)	3.88 (1.65)	4.32 (2.33)	4.04 (1.60)	52810	.077	2.80 (2.24)	3.08 (1.64)	1492	.196
	Discrepancy			2.64 (2.34)	1.65 (1.58)	51464*	< .001	1.08 (2.08)	0.66 (1.12)	1836.5	.762
DASA vaginal intercourse	Actual frequency	1.72 (1.41)	3.28 (1.62)	1.65 (1.29)	3.26 (1.60)	19259*	< .001	2.00 (1.85)	3.37 (1.72)	1041.5*	< .001
	Desired frequency	4.90 (2.30)	4.74 (1.41)	5.13 (2.21)	4.80 (1.37)	54463	.009	3.68 (2.39)	4.44 (1.54)	1355	.053
	Discrepancy			3.62 (2.32)	1.53 (1.58)	61146*	< .001	1.56 (2.45)	1.08 (1.46)	1818	.842
DASA anal sex	Actual frequency	1.23 (0.83)	1.28 (0.64)	1.23 (0.86)	1.29 (0.65)	42441	.003	1.24 (0.69)	1.27 (0.59)	1939	.474
	Desired frequency	2.34 (2.06)	1.98 (1.26)	2.48 (2.13)	2.10 (1.31)	47462	.648	1.62 (1.53)	1.37 (0.72)	1837.5	.963
	Discrepancy			1.12 (1.86)	0.81 (1.15)	41079	.529	0.35 (1.44)	0.10 (0.45)	1869.5	.858
Desire change	Has your level of sexual desire changed during imprisonment?	3.33 (1.61)		3.39 (1.62)				3.07 (1.57)			

*Notes.* Prison total= the full prison sample,  $N= 181$ . Control total= the full control sample,  $N= 724$ . SDI total= The total scores on Sexual Desire Inventory, higher scores indicate stronger sexual desire, total range of scores is 6-53. DASA= Desire and Actual Sexual Activity Scale, scored on a 9-point Likert scale, where high scores indicate higher actual or desired frequency. Discrepancy= discrepancy scores between actual and desired frequencies. Desire change = The self-assessed change in sexual desire during imprisonment, measured on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (much lower) to 7 (much higher). \* = significantly different at a p-level of <.001315

### **Mean Comparisons Between the General and Prison Populations**

As the variables, except SDI for male prisoners, were not normally distributed, non-parametric two-samples Wilcoxon rank tests were performed. Due to the great number of tests performed, the Bonferroni corrected p-level was set at .001315 ( $p$ -value 0.5 /38 tests). The t-test results are shown in Table 2.

#### ***The Comparison of Males from the General Population and the Prison Population.***

The results showed a significant difference in sexual desire between men in the prison population and the general population. Men in the general population had a higher level of sexual desire ( $M= 30.62$ ) than men in the prison population ( $M= 27.13$ ). A significant difference was found between the two male populations in both the actual frequency of kissing and caressing as well as in the desired frequency of kissing and caressing. Men in the general population both experienced and desired more kissing and caressing ( $M= 5.10$ ,  $M= 6.69$ ) than men in the prison population ( $M= 1.88$ ,  $M= 4.91$ ). Men in the general population experienced significantly more oral sex ( $M= 2.39$ ) than men in the prison population ( $M= 1.55$ ) but no significant difference was found in the desired frequency of oral sex. This leads to a significant difference in discrepancy scores of actual frequency and the desired frequency of oral sex between the two populations, so that men in prison had higher discrepancy scores ( $M= 2.64$ ) compared to the men in the general population ( $M= 1.65$ ). This means that there was no significant difference between the two populations in how much they desired oral sex, but men in the general population experienced oral sex closer to the desired amount than men in the prison population.

A significant difference was found in the actual frequency of vaginal intercourse. Men in the general population experienced more vaginal intercourse ( $M= 3.26$ ) than men in the prison population ( $M= 1.65$ ). After the Bonferroni correction, there was, however, no significant difference in the desired frequency of vaginal intercourse between the two populations. A significant difference was found in the discrepancy scores of desired and actual frequency of vaginal intercourse between the two populations. Men in the prison population had a higher discrepancy score ( $M= 3.62$ ) than men in the general population ( $M= 1.53$ ), which means that men in prison experienced a bigger gap between their actual and desired frequency of vaginal intercourse than men in the general population. No significant differences were found in actual or desired levels of sexual fantasies or anal sex between the two populations.

### ***The Comparison of Females from the General Population and the Prison Population.***

The results showed a significant difference in sexual desire between women in the prison population and the general population. Women in the general population had a higher level of sexual desire ( $M= 24.93$ ) than women in the prison population ( $M= 18.22$ ). A significant difference was found between the two female populations in both the actual frequency of kissing and caressing as well as in the desired frequency of kissing and caressing. Women in the general population both experienced and desired more kissing and caressing ( $M= 5.35$ ,  $M= 7.03$ ) than women in the prison population ( $M= 3.27$ ,  $M= 4.56$ ). Women in the general population also experienced significantly more oral sex ( $M= 2.42$ ) and vaginal intercourse ( $M= 3.37$ ) than women in the prison population ( $M= 1.69$ ,  $M= 2.00$ ). No significant differences were found in desired frequency of oral sex and vaginal intercourse between the two populations. Women in the general population experienced more sexual fantasies than women in the prison population and they also masturbated more than women in the prison population, however, after the Bonferroni correction, the differences were not significant. No significant differences were found in desired frequency for sexual fantasies or masturbation. Furthermore, no significant differences were found between the two populations regarding desired or actual frequency of anal sex.

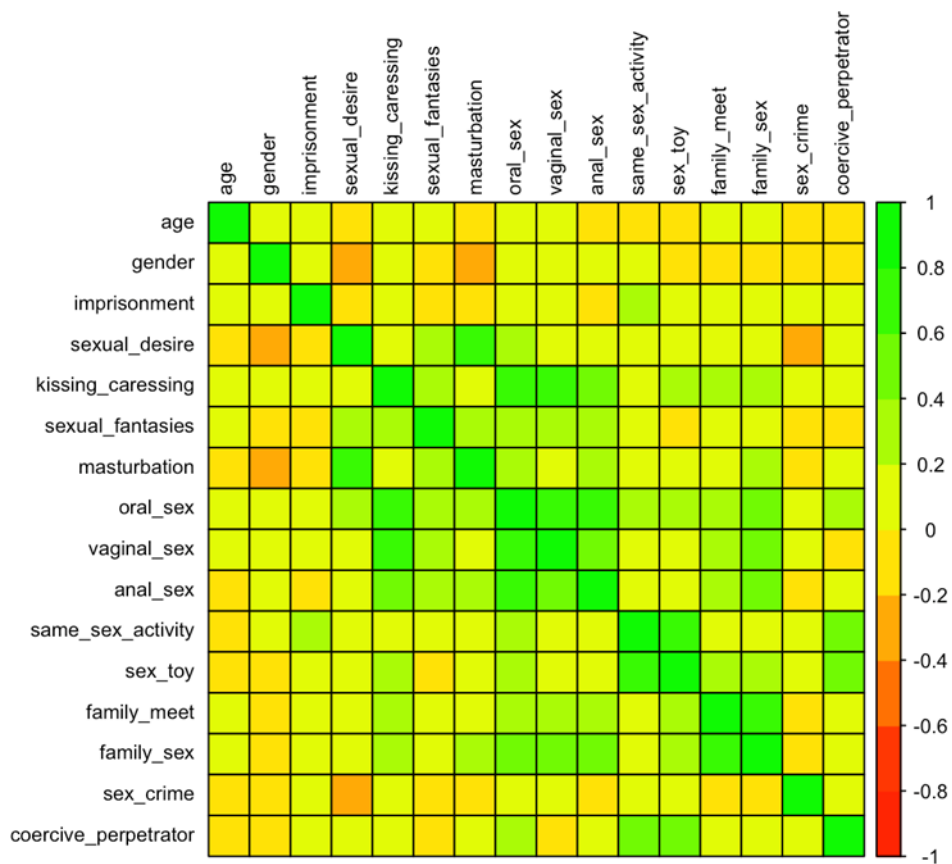
### **Correlations**

We calculated, plotted, and investigated the zero-order correlations between the study variables age, gender, the length of the sentence served, sexual crime conviction, sexual desire, sexual activity, family meetings, sexual contact during family meetings and coercive sexual behavior, in order to get an overview of how they were associated with each other. The variables gender, sexual crime conviction as well as family meetings and sexual contact during these are coded as dichotomous variables (yes/no). We used Spearman correlations for the ordinal variables and point-biserial correlations for the dichotomous variables. The results are displayed in Figure 1.

We found a strong positive correlation between sexual desire and masturbation, suggesting that higher rates of sexual desire are associated with more masturbation. We found strong positive correlations between many of the sex-related behaviors, suggesting that prisoners who are sexually active are likely to be so in many different ways. A strong positive correlation was found between family meetings and sexual activity during family meetings, suggesting that sexual activity is frequently included as part of the family meetings. Positive correlations were found between sexual activity during family meetings and many of the sex

related behaviors, which suggests that prisoners who are sexually active during family meetings are likely to be so in different ways.

A strong positive correlation was found between sexual activity with a person of the same sex during imprisonment and the use of sex toys. Furthermore, positive correlations of moderate strengths were found between forcing another prisoner into sexual activity and sexual activity with a person of the same sex during imprisonment as well as between forcing another prisoner into sexual activity and the use of sex toys, suggesting that sexual coercion take place between prisoners of the same sex and that sex toys are used in coercive sexual activities. All correlations were significant at a p-level of  $<.001$ .



*Figure 1.* Plot of the zero-order correlations between all included items designed to measure age, gender, the length of the sentence served, sex crime conviction, sexual desire, sexual activity, family meetings and coercive sexual behavior. High positive correlations are shown in green, high negative correlations are shown in red. Correlations close to zero are shown in yellow. Imprisonment = the length of the sentence served, same sex activity = sexual contact with a prisoner of the same sex during imprisonment, sex toy = the use of self-made sex toys, family meet = unsupervised family meetings in prison (yes/no), family sex = sexual contact during family meetings (yes/no), sex crime = sexual crime conviction (yes/no), coercive perpetrator = prisoner forcing another prisoner into sexual activity.

## Regressions

Multiple linear regression analyses were used to investigate whether gender, sex crime conviction, sexual desire, the length of the sentence served, and unsupervised family meetings could significantly predict sexual behaviors in prison. The results are shown in Table 4. We also intended to investigate how the above-mentioned variables could predict coercive sexual behaviors in prison, but due to the small number of reported cases of coercive sexual behaviors in the prison sample, the analyses were underpowered and therefore not reported here. All of the above-mentioned variables were used as independent variables in the models predicting kissing and caressing, sexual fantasies, masturbation, oral sex, vaginal intercourse and anal sex. The regression analyzes included the full prison sample.

The results for the model predicting kissing and caressing indicated that the model was a significant predictor,  $F(5,138) = 3.708, p = .004$ , and explained 8.7% of the variance. Gender was the only variable that significantly contributed to the model. The model predicting sexual fantasies explained 17.7% of the variance and was a significant predictor for sexual fantasies,  $F(5,142) = 7.315, p < .001$ . Of the variables used, sexual desire significantly contributed to the model. The model predicting masturbation explained 35.9% of the variance and was a significant predictor for masturbation,  $F(5,147) = 18, p < .001$ . The variables gender and sexual desire significantly contributed to the model. The results for the model predicting oral sex indicated that the model was a significant predictor,  $F(5,135) = 3.506, p = .005$ , and explained 8.2% of the variance. The variables significantly contributing to the model were sexual desire, gender, and a sex crime conviction. The results for the model predicting vaginal intercourse indicated that the model explained 6.4% of the variance and was a significant predictor,  $F(5,131) = 2.855, p = .018$ . Of the variables, gender and family meetings in prison significantly contributed to the model. The results for the model predicting anal sex indicated that the items included in the model were not significant predictors for anal sex,  $F(4,140) = 0.947, p = .453$ .

Table 4.

*Regression Estimates of Independent Variables Used to Predict Sexual Behaviors in Prison*

Variables	Kissing and caressing <i>B</i>	Sexual fantasies <i>B</i>	Masturbation <i>B</i>	Oral sex <i>B</i>	Vaginal intercourse <i>B</i>	Anal sex <i>B</i>
Gender	1.916 ***	-.270	-.964 *	.693*	.753 *	.179
Sex crime conviction	.738	.100	-.309	1.06*	.574	.165
Sexual desire	.036	.083 ***	.108 ***	.042***	.020	.009
Length of sentence served	.009	-.017	.002	.003	.007	-.005
Uncontrolled family meetings	.263	.415	.235	.466	.613 **	.226

*Notes.* N=181. Kissing and caressing = model predicting kissing and caressing in prison. Sexual fantasies= model predicting sexual fantasies in prison. Masturbation= model predicting masturbation in prison. Oral sex= model predicting oral sex in prison. Vaginal intercourse = model predicting vaginal intercourse. Anal sex= model predicting anal sex. All models were based on the variable DASA actual behaviors.

\* p-value <.05, \*\* p-value <.01, \*\*\* p-value <.001

### Discussion

The current study is a part of the first quantitative project on prisoner sexuality in Finland, and the current study investigated the sexual desires and behaviors of Finnish prisoners. We also examined possible differences between the prison population and the general population regarding sexual desire as well as actual and desired sexual behaviors. Based on previous literature, we hypothesized that both consensual and coercive sexual activities as well as masturbation would be prevalent inside the prison. We also hypothesized that the prison population would have lower sexual desire compared to the general population. The prison data was obtained at a Finnish prison and the reference data was obtained from a population-based data collection. The final sample consisted of 181 prisoners and 724 participants from the population-based data.

### Main Findings and Interpretation

In line with our hypothesis, the mean comparisons between the prison population and the general population showed a significant difference in sexual desire between the two populations. Both the men and the women in the prison population reported lower sexual desire levels than men and women in the general population. The prisoners were also asked to evaluate if there had been a change in their sexual desire during their imprisonment, and the results showed that the average response was that their sexual desire was somewhat lower.

These findings are in line with previous research (Merotte, 2012; Ammar et al., 2015; Barth, 2012) showing that many prisoners experience a decrease in sexual desire when incarcerated.

The results from the mean comparisons between the prison population and the general population also showed that prisoners had less sex than people in the general population. The results indicate that men and women in the prison population experience significantly less oral and vaginal sex than men and women in the general population. The results showed, however, that there was no significant difference in how much oral and vaginal sex the two populations desire, which suggests that both prisoners and controls had less sex than they wished. However, the discrepancy between desired and actual behaviors was larger in the prison sample, suggesting that while controls are also dissatisfied with the amount of sex they experience, this dissatisfaction is even bigger for prisoners. This finding is in line with results from Carcedo, Perlman, López, Orgaz & Fernández-Rouco (2014), who found that many prisoners experience difficulties in having a satisfying sex life while incarcerated. While incarcerated, prisoners have limited access to sexual partners and privacy which is likely to complicate maintaining a satisfying sex life. The unsupervised family meetings are, for many prisoners, the only place for intimacy and the results from the correlation analysis showed that family meetings correlated strongly with many of the sex-related behaviors, and 39% of the prisoners who reported having had unsupervised family meetings, reported having had sexual contact with the visitor. However, the majority of the prisoners in our data were single and had no partner to meet and not all prisoners with a partner are allowed unsupervised meetings. In our sample, 35% of the prisoners reported having had unsupervised family meetings and the frequency of the meetings vary. According to the Finnish Foundation for Supporting Ex-offenders, family meetings can usually only be held every 4-6 weeks (Kriminaalihuollon tukisäätiö, 2021). In Finnish prisons, men and women are housed in different cell blocks, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to have sexual contact with a prisoner of the other sex. Of the prisoners 2.8% reported having been in sexual contact with a person of the same sex during their imprisonment.

As the reports of sexual coercion in our data were fewer than expected analyses including these variables were underpowered and could not be carried out. Based on previous research on prison sexuality we estimated higher reports of sexual coercion. In our data, the reports of sexual coercion were under 2% for both victims and perpetrators and the reports of having been offered something in return for sexual acts were under 4%. Existing research from other countries have shown higher prevalences. According to The Prison Rape Elimination Act (2003), nearly 13 % of inmates in the United States have been sexually

assaulted in prison. In a study by Gaes and Goldberg (2004), the estimates of rape alone were over 16% in some prisons and Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (2002) reported a prevalence of 27% in a female facility. The results of the current study indicate that sexual coercion was less prevalent in the Finnish prison where the data was collected. There are many possible explanations for this difference. The available research is somewhat outdated, and it is possible that the studies no longer accurately illustrate the current situation. The research method is also likely to affect the reports of sexual coercion. Some studies have gathered information using other methods than questionnaires, such as interviews or staff reports. Studies based on staff reports lie on the assumption that the prison staff has accurate knowledge on the sexual behaviors prevalent in the prison and that the reports of sexual coercion mirror the actual prevalence. Sexuality in prison has been and is still widely viewed as a taboo and the possibility of anonymous participation, through for example questionnaires instead of interviews, could have a positive effect on the validity of the answers. There are many factors that might have affected the prisoners' choice to report sexual coercion, like the fear of being exposed as a 'snitch'. The prison structure might also affect the prevalence of sexual coercion. The prison where data was collected is a maximum-security prison and prisoners are divided into cell blocks based on, for instance, sex, type of crime and gang affiliation. The prisoners are only allowed contact with prisoners in the same cell block and minors and prisoners with higher risk of victimization are kept apart from other prisoners in order to ensure their safety. Furthermore, sex and masturbation are not forbidden in Finnish prisons, and the results of the current study show that masturbation is likely to act as an outlet for sexual lust, possibly decreasing the desire for sexual contact with others. The prisoners can apply for unsupervised family meetings and research have showed that family meetings have a positive effect on prisoners and decrease instances of rape and violence in prisons (De Claire & Dixon, 2016; D'Alessio, Flexon & Stolzenberg, 2012).

The results from the regression analysis showed that sexual desire was a significant predictor for masturbation in the prison setting. This indeed indicates that masturbation acts as an outlet for sexual desire in the prison setting. Considering the above-mentioned results showing that prisoners experience less sexual contact with other people than desired, masturbation could be thought to serve as an alternative to other sexual activities. The results from the current study showed, however, no significant difference in masturbation frequency between the two populations. Studies have previously shown both increased and very high frequencies of masturbation in prison settings (Merotte, 2012; Hensley, Tewksbury & Wright, 2001). Due to the study structure, it is, however, not possible to determine whether there has



been a change in the masturbation frequency after the incarceration or not. Future research should aim at identifying possible changes in masturbation frequency as well. An additional interesting finding in our data was that men in both the prison and general population reported higher actual frequencies than desired frequencies of masturbation, indicating that they masturbate more than they desire. This could possibly indicate that masturbation is used as a substitute for more desired partnered sex both in the prison and general population, since the reported actual frequency was lower than the desired frequency for other sexual behaviors.

### **Limitations**

The results from the current study should be interpreted in the context of certain limitations. The prison data collection was limited to one prison in Finland, which affects the generalizability of the study results. The small sample size in the prison data might have impacted the results in different ways, however, the response rate among the prisoners was high (82.6%) which is encouraging since the prison population is a challenging population to study for many reasons. It is also overall difficult to attract participants to a survey study, and many studies use samples with lower response rates. Another limitation was that the questionnaire used to gather the prison data was not available in all of the prisoners' native language. Considering the fact that a notable percent of prisoners have reading difficulties or a low education, answering the questionnaire in a foreign language is likely to affect the understanding of the questions and the answers (Opetushallitus, 2007). The research team was therefore present in all the cell blocks when the prisoners completed the questionnaires, and the prisoners were able to ask questions regarding the questionnaire. The questionnaire had to be kept short in order to suit the prison population, which caused limitations regarding type and length of scales included in the questionnaire. All of the included scales were not validated, and short versions of the scales were used.

To minimize the risk of the prisoners influencing each other's answers on the questionnaire, the prisoners were instructed to return straight to their cells when handed the empty questionnaire. This did, however, not succeed in all the cell blocks and in some instances some of the prisoners managed to discuss the questionnaire with each other before being escorted back to their cells. This could possibly have affected some of the prisoners' answers. Moreover, the study design did not allow comparison of the same sample before and during imprisonment. Due to this causality cannot be determined. It is possible that at least some of the differences between the prison population and the general population seen in the current study are due to the fact that the prison population differed from the general population already before the imprisonment.

## Conclusions

To our knowledge, the project of which the current study was a part of, is the first to quantitatively investigate sexual desires and behaviors of prisoners in Finland. The current study, thus, provides novel and valuable information about the sexuality of Finnish prisoners as well as implications for further research regarding the sexuality of prisoners. We found that sexual desires and behaviors do not disappear when a person is incarcerated but stays a vital part of life. Prisoners express sexual desire, exhibit sexual behaviors and long for the same type of sexual contact as people in the general population. The results from the current study showed that family meetings are important for the prisoners' sexual activity. Some sexual behaviors, like oral and vaginal intercourse, seem to be difficult to carry out in prison, and prisoners showed higher discrepancy scores between desired and actual frequency of these behaviors compared to the general population. Other sexual behaviors, like masturbation, seem to be as frequent in the prison populations as in the general population, indicating that they are more accessible to the prison population. The current study showed that coercive sexual behaviors, although occurring in prison, seem to be less prevalent than previous foreign studies have indicated.

The current study was conducted in a prison environment that is better generalized in other Finnish prisons compared to studies conducted in other countries, such as the US, where the prison structures and regulations differ to a greater extent. Increased and updated knowledge about sexuality in Finnish prisons is important in order to understand the sexuality and sexual behaviors of prisoners. The knowledge should be used to improve the sexual health of prisoners and considered when developing steps to minimize sexual coercion in prison.

Future research should aim at studying prison sexuality in a larger number of prisons to ensure that the results found in the current study are not dependent of the specific prison environment the study was conducted in. There are many aspects of prison sexuality that we were not able to include in our research due to the fact that the questionnaire had to be kept as short as possible. Future research should aim at including more variables covering different aspects of sexuality, like sexual satisfaction or the prisoners' own views of what works well and what is insufficient regarding sexuality and sexual activity in prison. Longitudinal study designs would also enable studying the effects of imprisonment on sexuality over time and study designs that enable causality analyzes would make it possible to determine the effects of imprisonment on sexuality.

## Swedish summary – Sammanfattning på svenska

Fångars sexualitet i ett finskt fängelse – en kartläggning och jämförelse med populationsdata

### Inledning

Sexualitet kan beskrivas som ett grundbehov och en livslång aspekt av att vara mänsklig (World Health Organization, 2021), och en persons sexuella behov och lust försvinner inte i och med ett fängslande (Wilkinson, 2003). Forskningen tyder på att det förekommer både sex med och utan samtycke samt masturbation bland fångar (Hensley, Tewksbury & Wright, 2001; Wilkinson, 2003; Hensley & Tewksbury, 2002; Hensley, Tewksbury & Koscheski, 2001). Trots detta är fångars sexualitet ett av de fenomen inom rättsväsendet som det finns minst kunskap om (Gibson & Hensley, 2013) och behovet av forskning är stort. Kunskap om fångars sexualitet är nödvändig för att kunna förbättra fångars sexuella hälsa och för att kunna minimera sexuellt våld i fängelser.

Enligt den finska fängelselagen innebär fängelse frihetsberövande eller begränsning av friheten, och fängslandet får inte medföra andra begränsningar i fångarnas rättigheter och förhållanden (kapitel 1, paragraf 3, finska fängelselagen 767/2005). Detta betyder följaktligen att levnadsförhållandena i fängelset bör motsvara levnadsförhållandena i samhället så gott det går och att man bör sträva efter att fångarna kan leva så normala liv som möjligt under den tid de avtjänar sitt straff. Sexuella rättigheter är en del av de universella mänskliga rättigheterna och begränsas inte av den finska fängelselagen. Fångar har samma sexuella rättigheter och samma rätt till att på trygga sätt få uttrycka sin sexualitet som människor som inte är fängslade (World Association for Sexual Health, 2014). I verkligheten påverkas sexualiteten, liksom många andra aspekter av livet, märkbart av ett fängslande och många upplever svårigheter att upprätthålla ett tillfredsställande sexliv i fängelser (Carcedo, Perlman, López, Orgaz & Fernández-Rouco, 2014). Till de sexuella rättigheterna hör även att få vara fri från sexuellt tvång, sexuella övergrepp och trakasserier, våldtäkt och annat som bryter mot varje människas rätt att bestämma över sin egen kropp och sexualitet.

Det finns begränsat med vetenskaplig litteratur om sexualitet bland fångar och av den tillgängliga litteraturen fokuserar en stor del på sexuellt våld. Tewksbury och West (2000) hävdar att detta är fallet eftersom sexuellt våld är ett konstitutionellt problem, i jämförelse med sexuell aktivitet med samtycke. Majoriteten av studierna kring sexualitet i fängelser är gjorda i USA och endast en liten del i Europa. Det finns märkbara skillnader mellan fängelser i USA och fängelser i Europa, och detta påverkar både generaliserbarheten och tillämpligheten av studierna. Det finns till exempel skillnader mellan länder kring huruvida

oövervakade familjebesök tillåts och om sexuell kontakt är förbjudet eller inte (Sexual Abuse Act, 1986; The Finnish Act of Imprisonment [2005/767], 2005). Sexuell kontakt är förbjudet i fängelser i USA men inte i Finland, och detta kan tänkas påverka både sexuell aktivitet med och utan samtycke, samt tröskeln för att rapportera detta. Så vitt vi vet finns det i dagsläget inga större kvantitativa finska studier kring sexualitet i fängelser och med tanke på generaliserbarhets- och tillämplighetsproblemen finns det ett behov av finska studier.

Det finns nästintill ingen forskning kring fångars sexuella tillfredsställelse, behov och önsknings. Kvaliteten på fångars sexliv har inte ansetts vara av betydelse och den existerande forskningen har fokuserat på frågor som varit mera akuta med tanke på fångarnas säkerhet i fängelser. Den begränsade forskning som finns tyder på att många fångar upplever en minskad sexuell lust efter fängslandet (Merotte, 2012; Ammar et al., 2015; Barth, 2012). Forskningen tyder också på att masturbation är vanligt förekommande i fängelser. I en studie av Merotte (2012) tydde resultaten på att fångar masturberade mera i fängelset jämfört med under tiden före fängslandet, och Hensley, Tewksbury och Wright (2001) rapporterade att majoriteten av de manliga fångarna masturberade minst två till tre gånger i veckan. Det finns begränsat med studier som undersökt sex med samtycke i fängelser. De studier som gjorts tyder på att det förekommer, men den rapporterade prevalensen varierar stort och ligger i olika studier mellan 6 % och 40 % (Warren & Jackson, 2013; Tewksbury, 1989; Richters et al, 2010).

Forskningen kring sexuella övergrepp och sexuellt våld i fängelser tyder på att både sexuella övergrepp och våldtäkter sker i fängelser, men också här varierar prevalensen mellan studier. Gaes och Goldberg (2004) gjorde ett försök att summera studier kring sexuella övergrepp och rapporterar att estimaten för våldtäkt ligger mellan 0 % och 16 %, men om man även räknar med de studier som också mätt andra former av sexuella övergrepp är estimaten högre. I en studie av Struckman-Johnson och Struckman-Johnson (2002) var prevalensen för sexuella övergrepp 27 % vid en avdelning för kvinnor i ett amerikanskt fängelse. Tidigare forskning tyder även på att sexuella övergrepp också begås av fängelsepersonal (Kubiak et al., 2017; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2000; Wolff & Shi, 2008). De informella koder och regler som existerar i fängelser styr fångars beteenden och påverkar även besluten att rapportera våld och övergrepp. Till de vanligaste koderna hör att inte berätta för vakter eller polisen vad som sker i fängelset, och studier tyder på att en betydande del av fångarna upplever att det bryter mot koden att rapportera övergrepp (Garland & Wilson, 2012) och att det kan ha allvarliga, ibland dödliga, konsekvenser (Useem, 1985).

Denna studie var en del av det första projekt som kvantitativt undersökt fångars sexualitet, välmående och mentala hälsa i Finland. Syftet med denna studie var att samla information om fångars sexualitet. Studien kartlade sexuell lust samt sexuella behov och beteenden i fängelset. Jämförelser gjordes med ett populationsdata i syftet att kartlägga eventuella skillnader mellan populationerna.

### **Metod**

I denna studie användes två oberoende sampel, ett sampel bestående av fångar och ett sampel taget ur befolkningsbaserade populationsdata. Fängelsedata samlades in i juni 2019 och samplet bestod av fångar som avtjänade ett straff i Åbo fängelse under tiden för datainsamlingen. Det slutgiltiga samplet bestod av 181 fångar, varav 151 var män och 30 kvinnor. Deltagandet var frivilligt och anonymt och data samlades in genom frågeformulär. Frågeformuläret bestod av både existerande, validerade skalor och skalor som skapats enkom för den här studien. Information om fångarnas sexuella lust erhöles med hjälp av variabler från frågeformuläret Sexual Desire Inventory (SDI; Spector, Carey & Steinberg, 1996), som mäter intresse för eller önskan om sexuell aktivitet. Information om fångarnas önskade och faktiska frekvens av sexuellt beteende erhöles med hjälp av en modifierad version av frågeformuläret Derogatis Sexual Functioning Inventory (DSFI; Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1979). Den modifierade versionen, Desire and Actual Sexual Activity Scale (DASA; Santtila et al., 2007), mäter hur ofta en person ägnar sig åt olika sexuella beteenden och hur ofta de hade velat ägna sig åt dessa beteenden. Utöver dessa konstruerades tillsammans med fängelsepsykologen frågor om sexuell kontakt med andra fångar, användningen av sexleksaker, oövervakade familjeträffar och sexuella övergrepp.

Populationssamplet som användes i denna studie plockades ur en storskalig finsk befolkningsbaserad datainsamling och samplet bestod av 724 personer, som köns- och åldersmatchats med fängelsesamplet. Ett fyra gånger större sampel än fängelsesamplet valdes för att öka sannolikheten för ett statistiskt signifikant sampel.

Data analyserades med hjälp av medelvärdesanalyser för att kartlägga eventuella skillnader mellan de två samplen. Fängelsedata analyserades även med hjälp av en korrelationsmatris och multipel linjär regression. De statistiska analyserna utfördes med programmet R.

### **Resultat**

Deskriptiva resultat för de variabler som användes för att mäta sexuell lust samt önskade och faktiska frekvenser av sexuella beteenden rapporteras i tabell 2 och deskriptiva resultat för de variabler som konstruerades enkom för den här studien rapporteras i tabell 3.

Eftersom alla variabler inte var normalfördelade, användes icke-parametriska test och signifikansnivån justerades till 0,0001 på grund av det stora antal test som genomfördes. Resultaten ur medelvärdesanalyserna finns redovisade i tabell 2. Resultaten ur medelvärdesanalyserna tyder på att både männen och kvinnorna i fängelsesamplet hade en signifikant lägre sexuell lust än männen och kvinnorna i populationssamplet. Både männen och kvinnorna i fängelsesamplet upplevde också signifikant mindre kyssar och smekningar samt mindre oral- och vaginalsex än männen och kvinnorna i populationssamplet. Resultaten visade även att det inte fanns någon signifikant skillnad mellan männen i fängelsesamplet och populationssamplet gällande den önskade frekvensen av oral och vaginalsex. Resultaten visade dock signifikanta skillnader i diskrepansnivåerna mellan männen i de två populationerna, vilket tyder på att även om båda grupperna har mindre oral- och vaginalsex än de önskar sig, är skillnaden mellan den önskade och verkliga frekvensen större hos männen i fängelsesamplet.

Korrelationsanalyserna visade en stark positiv korrelation mellan sexuell lust och masturbation, vilket indikerar att högre sexuell lust är förknippat med masturbation. Det hittades även starka positiva korrelationer mellan många av de sexrelaterade beteendena, vilket tyder på att de fångar som är sexuellt aktiva är sexuellt aktiva på många olika sätt. Positiva korrelationer hittades även mellan familjeträffar och sexuell aktivitet, vilket tyder på att oövervakade familjeträffar är associerade med sexuell aktivitet. En stark positiv korrelation hittades mellan sexuell aktivitet med en person av samma kön i fängelset och användningen av sexleksaker och även mellan att tvinga en annan person till sexuella aktiviteter och användningen av sexleksaker. Resultaten ur korrelationsanalysen visas i figur 1.

Regressionsanalyser genomfördes för att undersöka om kön, sexualbrott, sexuell lust, längden på avtjänat straff och oövervakade familjeträffar kan predicera sexuella beteenden i fängelset. Resultaten finns redovisade i tabell 4. Resultaten tyder på att sexuell lust och kön signifikant kunde predicera masturbation i fängelset och att modellen förklarade 35,8 % av variansen. Sexuell lust var även en signifikant prediktor för sexuella fantasier och modellen kunde förklara 17,7 % av variansen.

### **Diskussion**

I denna studie utforskades sexualiteten hos finska fångar, deras sexuella lust, behov och beteenden. Resultaten från denna studie visar att det förekom en skillnad i både sexuell lust och sexuella beteenden mellan fängelsepopulationen och den allmänna populationen. Både manliga och kvinnliga fångar rapporterade en lägre nivå av sexuell lust än köns- och

åldersmatchade människor i den finska befolkningen. Fångarna ombads även att uppskatta om det skett en förändring i den sexuella lusten efter fängslandet, och det vanligaste svaret var att den sexuella lusten hade minskat något. Dessa resultat är i linje med tidigare forskning som visat att en stor del av fångarna upplever en minskad sexuell lust efter fängslandet (Merotte, 2012; Ammar et al., 2015; Barth, 2012). Resultaten från denna studie tyder även på att både manliga och kvinnliga fångar har mindre sex än den allmänna populationen, men att det inte fanns signifikanta skillnader mellan populationerna gällande hur mycket sex de hade velat ha. Båda populationerna rapporterade högre önskade frekvenser än verkliga frekvenser på många av de sexrelaterade beteendena, vilket tyder på att båda populationerna upplever mindre sexuell aktivitet än de önskar sig, men skillnaden mellan den verkliga och önskade frekvenser var större hos fängelsepopulationen. Dessa resultat tyder på att fångar har svårare än den allmänna populationen att upprätthålla ett tillfredsställande sexliv, vilket är i linje med resultaten från Carcedo, Perlman, Lopez, Orgaz och Fernandez-Roucos (2014) studie, som belyste att många fångar upplever svårigheter i att upprätthålla ett tillfredsställande sexliv i fängelset. Ur den aktuella studien framgick det att de oövervakade familjeträffarna var starkt associerade med sexuell aktivitet, vilket tyder på att dessa träffar möjliggör sexuellt umgänge för fångar som beviljats oövervakade träffar.

Resultaten från denna studie tyder på att sexuell lust predicerade masturbation i fängelset. Dessa resultat indikerar att masturbation fungerar som utlopp för sexuell lust i fängelset. Resultaten visade dock att det inte förekom någon signifikant skillnad i masturbationsfrekvensen mellan de två populationerna. Männerna i båda populationerna rapporterade dock att de masturberar mera än vad de hade velat. Det här kan tänkas tyda på att masturbation används som ett substitut för mera eftersträfvade sexuella aktiviteter med partners, eftersom männen i båda populationerna rapporterat högre önskade än verkliga frekvenser för alla andra sexuella beteenden.

Eftersom rapporterna om sexuella övergrepp var färre än förväntat, hade våra data inte tillräcklig statistisk styrka och analyser som inkluderade dessa variabler kunde inte genomföras. Utifrån tidigare forskning hade vi estimerat fler rapporter om sexuella övergrepp än vad som kom fram i våra data. Resultaten från denna studie visar att 1,7 % av fångarna tvingat en annan fånge till sexuella handlingar, 1,7 % av fångarna blivit tvingade till sexuella handlingar och 3,9 % blivit erbjudna något i utbyte mot sexuella handlingar. Tidigare forskning har rapporterat högre estimat för sexuella övergrepp och våldtäkt: Gaes och Goldberg (2004) estimerade prevalensen för sexuella övergrepp upp till 16% och Struckman-Johnson och Struckman-Johnson (2002) rapporterade estimat på 27%. Resultaten tyder på att

det förekommer färre sexuella övergrepp i detta fängelse än vad forskning indikerar. Det finns många olika faktorer som kan tänkas ha påverkat den här skillnaden. Den tillgängliga forskningen är till viss del föråldrad och de olika studierna har använt olika metoder för datainsamling. Eftersom sexualitet i fängelser ännu till stor del uppfattas som ett tabu, kan det förväntas att datainsamlingsmetoden kan påverka rapporterna om övergrepp. Tidigare forskning tyder även på att en betydande del av fångarna upplever att det bryter mot de informella fängelsekoderna att rapportera övergrepp (Garland & Wilson, 2012). De olika fängelsestrukturerna, till exempel fängelsets säkerhetsklass, lagstiftningen kring sexuell aktivitet i fängelset och möjligheten till oövervakade familjeträffar kan också tänkas påverka både prevalensen av och rapporteringen om sexuellt våld.

Denna studie bidrar med ny och värdefull information om sexualiteten bland fångar i finska fängelser. Studien var en del av det första kvantitativa projektet om fångars sexualitet i Finland. Studien är genomförd i en fängelsemiljö som bättre går att generalisera till andra fängelser i Finland jämfört med studier från andra länder. I denna studie bör vissa brister tas i beaktande vid tolkningen av resultaten. Då studiens generaliserbarhet diskuteras bör det beaktas att fängelsedata samlades in vid endast ett fängelse i Finland. Frågeformuläret som användes fanns inte tillgängligt på alla språk, vilket kan ha påverkat fångarnas förmåga att förstå frågorna och svarsalternativen. Framtida studier bör sträva efter större sampel och mer omfattande kartläggningar. Det finns väldigt begränsat med forskning kring fångars sexualitet och ämnet har länge varit förbiset. Kunskap om fångars sexualitet är av vikt för till exempel fångarnas hälsa och välmående men också med tanke på institutionell säkerhet.



## References

- Ammar, H., Moula, O., Ellini, S., Dougaz, K., Mami, H., Bouasker, A., & Ghachem, R. (2015). Descriptive study of sexual behaviour amongst women inmates of a Tunisian prison. *Sexologies*, 24(2), e41-e43. doi: 10.1016/j.sexol.2014.07.005
- Austin, James, Tony Fabelo, Angela Gunter, and Ken McGinnis. (2006). *Sexual Violence in the Texas Prison System*. Washington, DC: JFA Institute.
- Barth, T. (2012). Relationships and sexuality of imprisoned men in the German penal system—a survey of inmates in a Berlin prison. *International Journal Of Law And Psychiatry*, 35(3), 153-158. doi: 10.1016/j.ijlp.2012.02.001
- Carcedo, R., Perlman, D., López, F., Orgaz, M., & Fernández-Rouco, N. (2014). The Relationship Between Sexual Satisfaction and Psychological Health of Prison Inmates. *The Prison Journal*, 95(1), 43-65. doi: 10.1177/0032885514563271
- D'Alessio, S., Flexon, J., & Stolzenberg, L. (2012). The Effect of Conjugal Visitation on Sexual Violence in Prison. *American Journal Of Criminal Justice*, 38(1), 13-26. doi: 10.1007/s12103-012-9155-5
- De Claire, K., & Dixon, L. (2016). The Effects of Prison Visits From Family Members on Prisoners' Well-Being, Prison Rule Breaking, and Recidivism. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 18(2), 185-199. doi: 10.1177/1524838015603209
- Derogatis, L., & Melisaratos, N. (1979). The DSFI: A multidimensional measure of sexual functioning. *Journal Of Sex & Marital Therapy*, 5(3), 244-281. doi: 10.1080/00926237908403732
- The Finnish Act of Imprisonment [2005/767] (2005).  
<https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/2005/20050767?search%5Btype%5D=pika&search%5Bpika%5D=vankeuslaki>

- Gaes, G.G. & Goldberg, A.L. (2004) *Prison Rape: A Critical Review of the Literature* (Washington DC: National Institute of Justice).
- Gear, S., & Ngubeni, K. (2002). *Daai ding: Sex, sexual violence and coercion in men's prisons*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.
- Gibson, L., & Hensley, C. (2013). The Social Construction of Sexuality in Prison. *The Prison Journal*, 93(3), 355-370. doi: 10.1177/0032885513490503
- Hensley, C., Struckman-Johnson, C., & Eigenberg, H. (2000). Introduction: The History of Prison Sex Research. *The Prison Journal*, 80(4), 360-367. doi: 10.1177/0032885500080004002
- Hensley, C., & Tewksbury, R. (2002). Inmate-to-Inmate Prison Sexuality: A Review of Empirical Studies. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 3(3), 226-243. doi: 10.1177/15248380020033005
- Hensley, C., Tewksbury, R., & Koscheski, M. (2001). Masturbation Uncovered: Autoeroticism in a Female Prison. *The Prison Journal*, 81(4), 491-501. doi: 10.1177/0032885501081004005
- Hensley, C., Tewksbury, R., & Wright, J. (2001). Exploring the Dynamics of Masturbation and Consensual Same-Sex Activity Within a Male Maximum Security Prison. *The Journal Of Men's Studies*, 10(1), 59-71. doi: 10.3149/jms.1001.59
- Hensley, C., Tewksbury, R., & Koscheski, M. (2002). The Characteristics and Motivations Behind Female Prison Sex. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 13(2-3), 125-139. doi: 10.1300/j012v13n02\_07
- Hersh, K., & Gray-Little, B. (1998). Psychopathic Traits and Attitudes Associated With Self-Reported Sexual Aggression in College Men. *Journal Of Interpersonal Violence*, 13(4), 456-471. doi: 10.1177/088626098013004003
- Johansson, A., Jern, P., Santtila, P., von der Pahlen, B., Eriksson, E., & Westberg, L. et al. (2012). The Genetics of Sexuality and Aggression (GSA) Twin Samples in Finland. *Twin Research And Human Genetics*, 16(1), 150-156. doi: 10.1017/thg.2012.108

Kriminaalihuollon tukisäätiö. (2021). Tapaamiskäytännöt ja yhteydenpito

vankilassa. <https://www.krits.fi/tietoa/vankeusaika/tapaamiskaytannot-ja-yhteydenpito-vankilassa/>

Kubiak, S., Brenner, H., Bybee, D., Campbell, R., Cummings, C., & Darcy, K. et al. (2017). Sexual misconduct in prison: What factors affect whether incarcerated women will report abuses committed by prison staff?. *Law And Human Behavior*, 41(4), 361-374. doi: 10.1037/lhb0000239

Merotte, L. (2012). Sexuality in prison: Three investigation methods analysis. *Sexologies*, 21(3), 122-125. doi: 10.1016/j.sexol.2012.01.009

Richters, J., Butler, T., Schneider, K., Yap, L., Kirkwood, K., & Grant, L. et al. (2010). Consensual Sex Between Men and Sexual Violence in Australian Prisons. *Archives Of Sexual Behavior*, 41(2), 517-524. doi: 10.1007/s10508-010-9667-3

Santtila, P., Wager, I., Witting, K., Harlaar, N., Jern, P., & Johansson, A. et al. (2007). Discrepancies between Sexual Desire and Sexual Activity: Gender Differences and Associations with Relationship Satisfaction. *Journal Of Sex & Marital Therapy*, 34(1), 31-44. doi: 10.1080/00926230701620548

Sexual Abuse Act, 18 U.S.C. §§ 2241, 2243, 2244 (1986).

<https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/part-I/chapter-109A>

Spector, I., Carey, M., & Steinberg, L. (1996). The sexual desire inventory: Development, factor structure, and evidence of reliability. *Journal Of Sex & Marital Therapy*, 22(3), 175-190. doi: 10.1080/00926239608414655

Spence, J., Losoff, M., & Robbins, A. (1991). Sexually Aggressive Tactics in Dating Relationships: Personality and Attitudinal Correlates. *Journal Of Social And Clinical Psychology*, 10(3), 289-304. doi:10.1521/jscp.1991.10.3.289

- Struckman-Johnson, C., & Struckman-Johnson, D. (2000). Sexual Coercion Rates in Seven Midwestern Prison Facilities for Men. *The Prison Journal*, *80*(4), 379-390. doi: 10.1177/0032885500080004004
- Struckman-Johnson, C., & Struckman-Johnson, D. (2002). Sexual coercion reported by women in three midwestern prisons. *Journal Of Sex Research*, *39*(3), 217-227. doi: 10.1080/00224490209552144
- Struckman-Johnson, C., & Struckman-Johnson, D. (2006). A Comparison of Sexual Coercion Experiences Reported by Men and Women in Prison. *Journal Of Interpersonal Violence*, *21*(12), 1591-1615. doi: 10.1177/0886260506294240
- Symkovych, A. (2016). Sex in Prisoner Power Relations: Attitudes and Practices in a Ukrainian Correctional Colony for Men. *The Howard Journal Of Crime And Justice*, *56*(1), 1-18. doi: 10.1111/hojo.12177
- Tewksbury, R. (1989). Fear of Sexual Assault in Prison Inmates. *The Prison Journal*, *69*(1), 62-71. doi: 10.1177/003288558906900109
- Tewksbury, R., & Connor, D. (2014). Who is Having Sex Inside Prison?. *Deviant Behavior*, *35*(12), 993-1005. doi:10.1080/01639625.2014.901078
- Tewksbury, R., Connor, D., & Denney, A. (2014). Disciplinary Infractions Behind Bars: An Exploration of Importation and Deprivation Theories. *Criminal Justice Review*, *39*(2), 201-218. doi: 10.1177/0734016814529965
- Tewksbury, R., & West, A. (2000). Research on Sex in Prison During the Late 1980s and Early 1990s. *The Prison Journal*, *80*(4), 368-378. doi: 10.1177/0032885500080004003
- Trammell, R. (2011). Symbolic Violence and Prison Wives. *The Prison Journal*, *91*(3), 305-324. doi: 10.1177/0032885511409891
- United States. (2003). Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003. Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O..

- Useem, B. (1985). Disorganization and the New Mexico Prison Riot of 1980. *American Sociological Review*, 50(5), 677. doi: 10.2307/2095381
- Warren, Janet I. and Shelly L. Jackson. (2013). Risk Markers for Sexual Victimization and Predation in Prison. New York: Routledge.
- Wilkinson, R. (2003). Sexuality and corrections: An administrator's perspective. *Sexuality And Culture*, 7(4), 11-15. doi: 10.1007/s12119-003-1015-5
- Wolff, N., Blitz, C., Shi, J., Bachman, R., & Siegel, J. (2006). Sexual Violence Inside Prisons: Rates of Victimization. *Journal Of Urban Health*, 83(5), 835-848. doi: 10.1007/s11524-006-9065-2
- World Association for Sexual Health. (2014). <https://worldsexualhealth.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Declaration-of-Sexual-Rights-2014-plain-text.pdf>
- World Health Organization. (2021). Sexual Health. <https://www.who.int/health-topics/sexual-health>