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Howard B. Kaplan
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The Cycle of Deviant Behavior
Investigating Intergenerational Parallelism
To the first generation,
    Diane

    the next generation,
    Samuel, Jenny, Rachel, Jeremy

    and the one after that,
    Calvin Austin Kaplan
    
    *Howard B. Kaplan*

To my wife, April, my family, and friends
    for their love, support, and patience
    
    *Glen C. Tolle, Jr.*
Preface

This volume is about understanding the relationship between deviance and selected correlates of deviance in one generation and deviance and its selected correlates in the next generation. By examining the significance of these constructs in the parental generation as part of the explanation for the same constructs in the child’s generation, we contribute to an understanding of the phenomena. This contribution, however, is quite limited in the sense that we are examining in essence bivariate relationships—the association between first-generation and second-generation phenomena—while ignoring all of the other influences on the second-generation phenomena that do not stem from or account for the intergenerational relationship.

Nevertheless, the study of intergenerational parallelism of deviance and its correlates justifiably has excited attention and resulted in a voluminous literature greater than might have been expected for any particular bivariate relationships because of the mystique surrounding ideas—cycle of violence, reproduction of culture, to name but a few—that are evoked by consideration of the association between such phenomena in one generation and the same phenomena in a successive generation.

Because of the implications of studies of intergenerational parallelism for understanding continuities in deviant behavior and its antecedents and, indeed, for understanding culture stability and change, we systematically describe and elaborate upon simple observations of cross-generation parallelisms in deviant behavior and its putative antecedents. The elaborations take the forms of (1) specifying the conditions under which intergenerational parallelism is increased (i.e., circumstances that express or facilitate commonalities of experience) or
decreased (i.e., circumstances that express or increase dissimilar life experiences), (2) specifying variables that mediate the association between first- and second-generation deviance, and (3) identifying variables that exercise intragenerational influences in each generation and manifest intergenerational continuity across generations.

These systematic elaboration strategies along with baseline descriptions of the association between deviance in one generation and deviance in the succeeding generation compose a logic of procedure (i.e., methodology) for investigating intergenerational parallelism in deviant behavior and related phenomena. It will be recognized that, at a higher level of abstraction, this methodology reflects the procedures to be followed in investigating any bivariate relationship, not only intergenerational parallelism, to wit—establishing a temporal relationship between two variables, specifying the conditions under which the relationship is strengthened or weakened, decomposing the temporal linear relationship by modeling mediating variables, and attenuating the temporal linear relationship by identifying common antecedents of the two variables.

The logic of procedure outlined above is applied to the study of intergenerational parallelism of deviant behavior and its correlates using data from a multigeneration panel study. In Part I, the salient concepts, theoretical framework, and methodology are described. In chapter 1, we discuss the concepts of deviance and intergenerational parallelism at length and outline in broad strokes the theoretical framework that guides the elaboration strategy for studying intergenerational parallelism of deviance. In chapter 2, the nature of the multigeneration panel study is described. Analytical techniques, and any other specific methodological details that are applicable to all of the ensuing chapters reporting findings, are presented. Procedural details that are unique to only one or some of the chapters reporting findings will be presented in the chapters in question. In chapter 2, we also consider methodological limitations in the extant literature on intergenerational parallelism.

In Part II, we consider intergenerational parallelism of deviant behavior as a conditional relationship. In chapter 3, the literature on intergenerational parallelism of deviant behavior and selected correlates of deviant behavior is described and discussed. We present findings on intergenerational parallelism for our major indexes and put these in the context of the general literature on intergenerational continuity. In chapter 4, we note that the literature reports highly variable degrees of intergenerational parallelism of deviance and suggests that the strength of the association...
between first- and second-generation deviance is conditional on a number of circumstances. In this chapter, we report theoretically informed analyses that specify conditions said to impede or facilitate intergenerational parallelism. The findings are discussed in the context of the guiding theoretical framework and the literature bearing on the moderators of the relationship between first- and second-generation deviance.

In Part III, analyses are presented that statistically decompose the linear associations observed between first- and second-generation deviance. In chapter 5, analyses are presented and discussed in the context of relevant literatures in which the observed association between first- and second-generation deviance (or salient correlates of deviance) is, in part, accounted for in terms of intervening processes. In these analyses, first-generation deviance (or its correlates) is interpreted as having a causal impact on some intervening variable that, in turn, is interpreted as having a causal influence on second-generation deviance (or its correlates). In chapter 6, analyses are reported in which observed relationships between first- and second-generation deviance (or its salient correlates) are explained partly in terms of intergenerational continuities between first- and second-generation variables that have a causal impact on deviance (or its salient correlates) in their respective generations. The continuities might be causal in nature such that a cause of deviance in the first generation has consequences that increase the likelihood of a comparable cause of deviance in the second generation. Alternatively, sociocultural or physical context associated with the genesis of first-generation deviance might continue to be shared by both generations.

In Part IV, the results of the previous chapters are summarized and their implications for future research are considered. Chapter 7 reviews the results with regard to their contributions to the understanding of deviant behaviors, in particular, and more generally to the dynamics underlying intergenerational parallelism, evaluates the procedures followed in investigation of intergenerational parallelism as a worthy elaboration strategy for the study of any bivariate relationship, and outlines a research agenda for the future that promises to increase our understanding of the meaning of earlier-generation deviance for the occurrence of deviance in successive generations.

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Where we recognize the origins of our ideas we acknowledge these sources by appropriate textual citations. However, many of our ideas, particularly as these are synthesized in our comprehensive theory of deviant behavior, are the end products of lifetimes of scholarly activity. The precise sources or originality of these ideas can no longer be determined. Thus, often we must leave it to others to make judgments about the historical roots, originality, or independent creation of the theoretical statements in this volume.
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Part I

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF INTERGENERATIONAL PARALLELISM OF DEVIANCE

Part I introduces the intersection between two salient interests of social scientists—the etiology of deviance and intergenerational replication of psychosocial phenomena—by describing the conceptual/theoretical framework and methodology employed in this investigation of intergenerational parallelism of deviance.

Chapter 1 deals with the conceptual issues and theoretical framework that guide the empirical investigation, the results of which are reported in Parts II–III. Deviant behavior is defined in terms of failure to conform to the prescriptions and proscriptions that compose specified socionormative systems that are taken to be the reference standards for evaluation.

Intergenerational parallelism refers to the de facto correlation between an attribute or behavior pattern by a member of one generation and the same attribute or behavior pattern of their children assessed at the same developmental stage in each generation. The term intergenerational parallelism is used because, unlike other terms such as intergenerational influence, it does not connote assumptions about the nature of the explanation for the intergenerational correlation. Influence implies a causal connection such that the attribute in one generation has consequences that, in turn, cause the presence of the attribute in the children when the intergenerational correlation in fact might
be accounted for in terms of contextual continuities that have like outcomes in each generation.

The integrative theory that guides the analyses to be reported in subsequent chapters is outlined. The theory in effect brings together a number of extant frameworks for the study of deviance. The presentation makes explicit relationships between these specific theoretical approaches and the integrative theory, and the relevance of these theories (and, by implication, the integrative theory) for explaining intergenerational parallelism in deviance.

The guiding theoretical framework variously identifies processes that moderate the existence or strength of the intergenerational parallelism in deviance, variables that mediate the influence of first-generation deviance on second-generation deviance and intergenerational continuities that have like influences on deviance in each generation. The identification of these phenomena in the aggregate serves to explain a particular bivariate relationship of interest: the association between deviance in one generation and deviance in the next generation. At the same time, the procedure of systematically estimating theoretically informed moderators, mediators, and causally significant intergenerational continuities serves as a template for addressing explanations of any bivariate relationship.

In chapter 2, the limitations of the literature on intergenerational parallelism, in general, and on intergenerational parallelism of deviance, in particular, are considered. A multigenerational panel study is described as an antidote to certain of the more salient limitations, namely the frequent failure to use representatives of the multiple generations as separate data sources (rather than having representatives of one generation provide data for both generations) and the failure to have the data reported by the earlier and later generation subjects at comparable stages in the life course (rather than, for example, having the first generation provide self-reports as parents and the second generation provide self-reports as children). The dataset to be used in estimating the theoretically informed models describing or explaining intergenerational parallelisms in deviance is described as consisting of self-reports of patterns of deviance and their correlates provided by a sample of eighth graders and by their children at roughly the same developmental stage. The variables variously reflect (1) patterns of deviant behavior (or their correlates), (2) putative moderators of the association between deviant patterns in the two generations, (3) variables that mediate the observed intergenerational parallelism in deviant behavior, and/or (4) putative common intergenerationally continuous antecedents of
deviance in each generation. The models will be estimated employing structural equation modeling methodologies focusing on three latent constructs reflecting deviant behavior, disposition to deviance, and negative self-feelings, respectively.
Toward an Understanding of Intergenerational Parallelism of Deviance

In broad terms, the purpose of this study is to contribute to an understanding of why people engage in deviant behavior. More particularly, the objective is to describe and explain the part played by deviance in an earlier generation in accounting for deviant behavior in a later generation. What is the relationship between deviance in an earlier generation and deviance in a later generation? Where a significant association is observed between deviance in one generation and deviance in the next generation, how is this relationship to be explained? Are there specifiable conditions that facilitate or impede the existence of such a significant correlation or that increase (decrease) the strength of the association between first- and second-generation deviance? Does first-generation deviance have identifiable consequences that, in turn, increase (decrease) the probability that second-generation deviance will occur? Is the observed correlation between deviance in successive generations accounted for, in part, by intergenerational continuity of identical intragenerational antecedents of deviance?

This project should not be taken to be more or less than it is. In its simplest sense, the aim of the project is to account for deviant behavior in a population of second-generation youths during late childhood/early adolescence. Further, the focus is on the import of one explanatory factor, namely similar behavior by the parents of that child at approximately the same developmental stage. The objective of the study, then, is to examine