THESIS

INVESTIGATING LINKS BETWEEN FAMILY

FACTORS AND ADOLESCENT AUTHENTICITY

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

INVESTIGATING LINKS BETWEEN FAMILY FACTORS

AND ADOLESCENT AUTHENTICITY

This study used Kernis and Goldman's (2006) conceptualization of authenticity to examine family level factors associated with adolescent authenticity. Previous research has indicated that adolescence is an important developmental period to examine authenticity. Studies have suggested that family level, and marital factors may predict adolescent authenticity. It was hypothesized that adolescent authenticity would be associated with parent authenticity, parent-adolescent relationship quality, and marital equality. It was anticipated that adolescent authenticity would be predicted by interactions between relationship quality and parent authenticity, as well as interactions between gender ideology and marital equality. Adolescents (n = 153) completed questionnaires about authenticity and relationship quality; mothers (n = 98) and fathers (n = 98) completed questionnaires about authenticity, gender ideology and perception of marital inequality. Bivariate and multivariate analyses were performed to examine hypotheses. Adolescent authenticity was significantly associated with father's authenticity and parent-adolescent relationship quality. However, the multivariate analysis indicated that mother-adolescent relationship quality was the only significant predictor of adolescent authenticity. Future research should use a longitudinal study design with a larger sample size. Studies should examine child's perceptions of parent authenticity, parent-adolescent conflict and indirect effects of parent gender ideology on adolescent authenticity.

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Investigating Links between Family Factors and Adolescent Authenticity

Numerous lifetimes have been spent in pursuit of the answer to the question "What is the meaning of life?" Although there is currently no clear cut answer, Maslow's hierarchy of needs has provided a simple explanation of what motivates humans, giving some insight into what drives us to keep going. Maslow believed that all people desire to grow and are capable of achieving the highest need, self-actualization (Maslow, 1968). Maslow studied individuals who had succeeded in achieving self-actualization, and described characteristics he felt were necessary to achieve in order to reach self-actualization, including; clear perception of reality, openness to experience, increased integration and unity of the person, a real self, a firm identity, and autonomy. Many of the characteristics that Maslow (1968) described relate to living authentically.

Kernis and Goldman define authenticity as the "unobstructed operation of one's core or true self in daily enterprise" (2006, pg 294). Authenticity has been conceptualized in several different ways. In the simplest terms, Winnicott (1960) conceptualizes authenticity in terms or true or false-self, in which each person has an authentic, true self and an inauthentic false-self. When one acts as their true-self more frequently they are more authentic. Authenticity has also been conceptualized in terms of consistency of personality across various roles, as well as consistency among physiological, cognitive and behavioral aspects of one's self (Barrett-Lenard, 1998; Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne & Illardi, 1997). Alternatively, some theorists believe models that only discuss individual aspects of authenticity do not fully envelope authenticity. Instead, authenticity can only occur within a relationship with another person (Lopez and Rice, 2006). Although these conceptualizations are all slightly different, research through each of these

conceptualizations has indicated that authenticity is associated with positive well-being, and

inauthenticity is associated with more negative outcomes for individuals and relationships

(Harter, Marold, Whitesell, & Cobbs, 1996; Goldman & Kernis, 2002; Kernis & Goldman, 2006;

Lopez & Rice 2006; Sheldon et al., 1997; Wood, Linley, Maltby, Baliousis, & Joseph, 2008).

Each of these conceptualizations has contributed to the study of authenticity; however,

there are several gaps in the literature that this study aims to fill. Although theory suggests that

there are family-level factors that play crucial roles in the development of authenticity

(Winnicott, 1960), there is little empirical evidence for these theoretical propositions. The only

study to date to examine whether there is similarity in parent and child authenticity did not use

parents' reports of their own authenticity, but instead used child's perception of parent

authenticity (Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012). Additionally, other studies have indicated that

higher-quality parent-child relationships, characterized by better support and warmth, predict

more similarity in values between parents and children (Dudley & Dudley, 1986; Schönpflug,

2001). There is also evidence that children are more authentic when they perceive their parents

as providing higher-quality support (e.g., support that is unconditional and not contingent on

meeting high parental standards) and as being more approving, as well as more likely to provide

support in the future (Harter et al., 1996). However, to test theoretical propositions about the role

of the family in the development of authenticity, it is necessary to examine parent- and child-

reported authenticity, as well as characteristics of multiple family relationships (e.g., parent's

marital relationship) in relation to youth authenticity. Finally, adolescence has been suggested as

a particularly important time in the development of authenticity (Harter & Monsour, 1992;

Rosenburg, 1986). Therefore, the goal of the current study is to examine the association between

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parent and adolescent authenticity, as well as the role of other family relationships (i.e., parent-adolescent relationship quality, marital inequality, and gender ideology) in this association.

Conceptualizing Authenticity

Several models exist to explain how authenticity operates. One of the simplest conceptions of authenticity concerns changes in personality traits across various roles (Sheldon et al., 1997). Researchers examined variability in self-perception of the Big-Five personality traits (i.e., Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, Agreeableness, Extraversion, and Openness to Experience) across various roles. Based on this conceptualization, individuals who report more consistency in personality across roles are more authentic. Alternatively, individuals who report having less consistent personality traits in different roles are less authentic. This conceptualization of authenticity argues that authenticity occurs solely intrapersonally, and is based upon one's individual experience of authenticity (Sheldon et al., 1997). Alternatively, other theorists have argued that authenticity is not necessarily a stable structure that represents the true self, but it is a flexible structure that can only elucidate itself within a relationship (Lopez & Rice, 2006). Relationship, or relational, authenticity is based on the assumption that people are aware of when they are acting in an authentic way with others. Individuals who are more authentic act in ways that are congruent with their authentic selves when they are with close others (Lopez & Rice, 2006).

A more complex conceptualization, and one of the first conceptualizations of authenticity, was put forward by Winnicott (1960), who used object relations theory to define authenticity. This theory asserts that each individual has a true or authentic self, which is comprised of traits that are core parts of one's identity. Individuals also have a false-self, or self that they act as in order to please external forces. Each person has a spectrum, with true-self on one end, and false-

self on the other end (Winnicott, 1960). In another conceptualization, authenticity consists of a three-part model based on person-centered theory. In this model authenticity is comprised of consistency between physiological states/emotions and cognitions, conscious awareness of these states, emotions and cognitions, and behavior/emotional expression. Individuals who have inconsistencies between these levels are considered inauthentic (Barnett-Lenard, 1998).

Each of these models has contributed to theory about authenticity in some way; however they do not provide a full picture of authenticity. The first model is missing a major component, specifically the relational aspects of authenticity (Sheldon et al., 1997). It is undeniable that the environment in which one lives impacts how authentically an individual behaves. The conceptualization of relational authenticity attempts to fill this gap by discussing relational factors, but without considering the internal aspects that occur with authenticity this conceptualization is also incomplete (Lopez and Rice, 2006). It is crucial to consider both the internal processes that occur in relation to authenticity, as well as the external forces that may influence one to act inauthentically. Although the true-self/false-self conceptualization (Winnicott, 1960) and the person-centered model of authenticity (Barnett-Lenard, 1996) include interpersonal and intrapersonal factors, both conceptualizations fail to account for important guiding factors, such as values, needs, or roles in various situations.

More recently, a model was presented that captures the complexity of authenticity, including the internal and external aspects (Kernis & Goldman, 2006); they proposed a multicomponent model of dispositional authenticity, which includes both self and relational theory. This model has four components, including; awareness, unbiased processing, behavior, and relational orientation. *Awareness* involves a consciousness of one's true self, including awareness of traits that are good or bad, one's thoughts, value, needs and wants. *Unbiased*

Processing involves an ongoing, objective evaluation of one's true self, including negative and positive traits. Additionally, this component includes acceptance of the true self without distortion of these traits. *Behavior* consists of acting in a way that is consistent with one's values, needs, and preferences, as opposed to behaving in a way to please others. *Relational Orientation* involves being authentic in close relationships by allowing close others to easily see one's true self. Relational orientation also involves valuing honesty, openness, and sincerity in intimate relationships with close others. This conceptualization involves a holistic view of authenticity, in which authenticity is a way of living (Kermis & Goldman, 2006). Confirmatory factor analysis and goodness of fit indices have indicated that overall authenticity works through each of these interrelated, but separate components (Goldman & Kernis, 2004).

This model allows for the measure of both self and relational authenticity by fully examining the process of authenticity in daily life within an individual and within relationships. Because of the comprehensive nature of this approach to conceptualizing and measuring authenticity, the current study will examine family-level factors that predict authenticity using this model.

The Development of Authenticity

Considering the positive associations between authenticity and mental health (e.g., Kernis & Goldman, 2006, Wood et al., 2008), it is important to understand how authenticity develops. Following the multicomponent model, dispositional authenticity involves the value of being an authentic person, as well as behaving in an authentic way (Kernis & Goldman, 2006). Broadly, social learning theory suggests that children may learn authenticity by observing the ways that their parents and other important socializers behave. According to this theory observers (children) learn complicated behaviors by modelling the way that the actors (parents) behave

(Bandura, 1977). By watching and modeling their parents' behavior, children do not have to undergo the complicated process of trial and error, and instead reap the benefits of behaving in a way that their parents are rewarded. Children may simply observe their parents acting authentically or inauthentically and model this behavior.

Family systems theory also provides a theoretical rationale for the family context as being critical in the development of authenticity. According to family systems theory, each subsystem, or dyad, within the family has a specific dynamic; for example the mother-child subsystem may operate in a different way from the father-child subsystem (Minuchin, 1985; Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986). These various dynamics have expected roles and boundaries, which provide a template of how the child should interact with others. Children learn how to behave from the rules of the system, as well as the roles and dynamics they observe in other subsystems, such as the mother-father system. According to family systems theory, the child internalizes these dynamics and acts them out in relationships outside of the family (Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986). Through this process, a child may learn that it is expected in their family to behave authentically; after internalizing this role, the child will then behave authentically in relationships outside of the family system.

There are many paths through which parents can foster authenticity or inauthenticity in their children. One theorist has suggested that experiences of false-self behavior in childhood can result in more false-self behavior later in life (Winnicott, 1960). For example, early childhood experiences in which a caregiver does not validate a child's internal feelings or cognitions cause the child to be 'alienated' from their authentic true-self. What a child perceives as reality is rejected in by the parent. In order to compensate for the incongruence between internal and external experiences, the child develops a false-self to please their caregiver (Winnicott, 1960).

As a result, caregivers are believed to play a crucial role in the development of authenticity (Winnicott, 1960). According to all of these theories, the development of authenticity occurs within the context of the family. There are several family-level factors that may contribute to an individual growing up to value and behave in an authentic or an inauthentic way which will be the focus of the current study.

The importance of adolescence. Adolescence is likely a particularly salient time for the development of authenticity. According to individuation theory, as adolescents become more adult-like, they begin to develop their own identity (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986). As adolescents develop greater self-awareness, they begin the search for their authentic selves. This search can be very complicated, as it is also during this time that adolescents first experience the expectation to behave differently depending on the role that they are in (Harter & Monsour, 1992; Rosenburg, 1986). The expectations of how an adolescent should act with their friends at lunch are quite different from the expectations of behavior when they are in class with a teacher (Rosenberg, 1986). Adolescents cannot behave the same ways in different contexts; they must have increasing 'multiple selves' as they grow. These multiple selves can be experienced as conflicting for adolescents as they attempt to find who their true, authentic self is. This conflict peaks in middle adolescence through late adolescence, as abstract thinking improves, allowing adolescents to include multiple conflicting identities as part of their true selves (Harter & Monsour, 1992). Adolescence is clearly a formative period in which authenticity develops. For this reason it is crucial to examine family-level predictors of authenticity during this important period.

Parental authenticity. Research consistently supports similarity between parents and children in their values (Dudley & Dudley, 1986, Schönpflug, 2001). Additionally, values are

strongly associated with the way that one behaves (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). This transmission

of parental ideas from parents to children can be explained by social learning theory (e.g.,

Bandura, 1977). Most behaviors are learned through modeling, which allows people to learn

complex behaviors quickly. Modeling works when the learner observes a behavior that results in

some sort of reinforcement. The learner then watches intently and acts out the behavior in

anticipation of receiving the same reinforcement. By doing this the learner does not have to

solely use the environmental reinforcement or punishment to learn complicated behaviors

(Bandura, 1977). This theory can explain how children learn very complex behaviors from

parents, such as aggression, political values, parenting style or perfectionism (Bandura, 1973;

Simons, Whitbeck, Conger & Wu, 1991; Soenens, Elliot, Goossens, Vansteenkiste, Luyten, &

Duriez, 2005).

Family systems theory also emphasizes the potential importance of parental authenticity

for the development of child authenticity. According to this theory, adolescents learn patterns of

interaction within the family (Minuchin, 1985). Each family has rules that give the system

predictability, and offer a way to cope when stressors arise. When the system is disrupted,

feedback loops are used by other parts of the system to return the system to homeostasis. As

adolescents grow and spend more time outside of the family system, they take these rules with

them. In new relationships they follow the same rules, feedback loops, and patterns of interaction

that they learned in their family system (Minuchin, 1985). Following these theories, it would be

expected that in families in which parents behave authentically and set rules that enforce greater

authenticity, children will model authenticity, and follow the family rule to be authentic. This

theory has been partially empirically supported in the context of authenticity, but using offspring

perceptions of parental authenticity rather than parent-reports; in a sample of college students,

perceptions of mother's authenticity predicted child authenticity (Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012). To improve upon these limitations of past research, in the current study, associations between parent-reported and adolescent authenticity will be examined.

Parent-child relationship quality. In addition to examining parent authenticity as a predictor of adolescent authenticity, the current study will examine whether quality of the parent-child relationships is related to authenticity in adolescence. Family systems theory suggests that an important aspect of the system is cohesion, or emotional closeness of family members (Olson, 2000). Family systems with healthy levels of cohesion, in which family members are not too emotionally close or distant, are better at communicating, handling stressors, and making decisions together (Olson, 2000).

Family systems theory purports that each member contributes to the system, and thus to the cohesion of the system. Parenting styles and family cohesion have been linked theoretically and empirically (Mupinga, Garrison & Pierce, 2002; Olson, 2000). The circumplex model suggests that families with healthy cohesion provide a context in which ideal parenting, which is warm and supportive, can occur (Olson, 2000). This model has been supported by empirical research (Mupinga, Garrison & Pierce, 2002; Olson, 2000). The circumplex model uses Baumrind's parenting styles, which suggest that there are four types of parenting styles which differ depending on responsiveness/warmth and demandingness/control (Baumrind, 1968; Baumrind 1971; Olson, 2000). It has been indicated that parents who are high in support and warmth, but are also firm and accepting of their children's needs, have children with more positive outcomes in terms of academics, depression, anxiety, self-esteem, and psychosocial development (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling,

Mounts & Dornbusch, 1994; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch & Darling, 1992). Children raised by such parents may also have more positive outcomes in terms of authenticity.

In addition, there is some evidence that the quality of parent-child relationships is associated with transmission of authenticity from parent to child. In college-aged children, perceptions of authoritative parenting were positively associated with authenticity; interestingly, perceptions of authoritarian parenting (characterized by discipline but not warmth) were not related to authenticity (Kernis & Goldman, 2006). Other studies that have examined parenting styles and child authenticity have indicated that perceived level and quality of parental support predict greater child authenticity (Harter, Marold, Whitesell & Cobbs, 1996). Similarly, parental support that is unconditional, or not dependent on the adolescent acting in a certain way to please the parent, has been associated with greater authentic behavior (Harter et al. 1997). Alternatively, harsh parenting has been associated with lower child authenticity in relationships (Harter et al., 1996). Following Winnicot's (1960) theory of the development of authenticity, one explanation for the association between support and child authenticity is that parenting that is low in support creates an incongruence in children. For example, when a child who is outgoing is told that good boys and girls must always sit still and be calm, an incongruence between what is core to the child's identity and how they should behave is created. They can no longer behave in a way that is congruent with their authentic selves. By building self-esteem through authoritative parenting, parents encourage children to be who they truly are.

Although there are several lines of evidence to support links between parenting and youth authenticity, most studies have focused on college-aged participants. In addition, these studies have considered parenting in isolation, rather than in the context of other family relationships. This study aims examine the association between parent-child relationship quality, as well as

other family characteristics, and adolescent authenticity in order to fill these gaps in the literature.

Authenticity and the marital relationship. Following Kernis and Goldman's (2006) model, authenticity is important within oneself, as well as within relationships with others. The Relational Orientation component of authenticity includes valuing authenticity within one's relationship with close others, and making an effort to ensure that one's close others can see one's true self. Empirical research has indicated that higher authenticity is associated with better outcomes in romantic relationships, such as greater relationship satisfaction, greater partner trust, greater self-disclosure, as well as more constructive and less destructive behaviors during conflict (Brunell et al., 2010, Kernis & Goldman, 2006, Lopez & Rice, 2006). This study will examine two dimensions of marital relationships that research suggests impact parent authenticity, which then in turn may shape the development of adolescent authenticity.

Parental marital inequality and adolescent authenticity. A large body of research has focused on power and inequality within the marital relationship. According to feminist theory, society awards more power to men than to women (Miller, 1986). Feminist theory suggests that this power differential happens in heterosexual relationships, in which men have more power over women (Miller, 1986). This power differential leads to inequality in the relationship, in which the man has greater ability to do as he pleases, whereas the woman has less ability and her role is dictated by her partner. In the literature, power in a marital relationship has often been measured by examining the division of household labor in dual earner couples (Miller, 1986). An equal relationship involves a balance of power, in which each partner is equally responsible for common tasks. Additionally, in equal relationships each partner is satisfied with the fairness of the division, and has equal participation in how decisions are made to divide labor (Steil, 1997).

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Although there has been a shift over time, in which men now participate in doing common tasks more than they previously did, in a review of studies of division of labor and perceived marital inequality it was indicated that in dual-earner households, women still do a disproportionate amount of housework. Women were found to do two to three times more housework than men (Mikula, 1998). However, studies have indicated that only 20-30% of women perceive there is an imbalance in the division of labor (Coltrane, 2000; Mikula, 1998).

One explanation for this unequal division of labor is the gender ideology hypothesis, which posits that the gender role ideology of the couple dictates how household labor is divided (Lavee & Katz, 2004). Individuals who hold a traditional gender role ideology feel that women should perform more of the housework; it is their duty as a woman to do so. Alternatively, individuals who hold an egalitarian gender ideology feel that in a relationship each person should contribute equally to completing housework. Empirical evidence generally supports this proposition. For instance, for women who have an egalitarian ideology, when the division of labor was unbalanced, they perceived the division of labor as unfair. However, for women who have a traditional ideology, this association was not found (Lavee & Katz, 2004; Sanchez, 1994). This association also has not been found for men (Lavee & Katz, 2004; Sanchez, 1994). Therefore, it appears that for women, gender role ideology moderates the association between division of labor and perception of fairness or equality. In addition, research has consistently indicated that women who perceive their relationship as unequal or unfair have lower satisfaction, marital quality, and happiness with the relationship (Greenstein, 1996; Kulik, 2002, Steil, 1997, Yogev & Brett, 1985).

In addition, marital inequality is associated with lower relational authenticity. Individuals who are subordinate and have less power in their relationships have significantly lower levels of

relational authenticity compared to individuals who were dominant or equal in their relationship (Neff & Harter, 2002; Neff & Suizzo, 2006). In relationships in which there is a power differential, the individual with less power may not feel they have power to make choices, and they may communicate or behave in inauthentic ways for fear of ramifications from the dominant partner (Kernis & Goldman, 2006).

Although inequality is clearly important for parental authenticity, to my knowledge, no studies have examined whether marital inequality is related to youth authenticity. Following family systems theory and social learning theory, it could be argued that in families with greater inequality, and less authenticity, children will witness this dynamic and model it in other relationships. Parents with egalitarian gender roles may essentially encourage their children to act as their authentic selves, and not change who they are to fit in with societal gender roles. Parents who act in this way instill the value and model the behavior of living authentically.

The research presented thus far is lacking in several ways. First of all, no study has examined marital inequality, gender ideology, and authenticity. Due to the close associations between marital inequality and gender role ideology, it is important to measure both variables. Therefore, the current study aims to examine how gender role ideology and marital inequality predict adolescent authenticity.

The Current Study

Broadly, the goal of this study is to explore the development of authenticity in adolescence by examining family-level predictors of authenticity. The current study will test the following hypotheses, rooted in the literature just reviewed. The first hypothesis is that parent authenticity predicts greater adolescent authenticity. The second hypothesis is that higher-quality parent-adolescent relationships predict greater adolescent authenticity. In addition, I thirdly

hypothesize that the association between parent and adolescent authenticity is moderated by parent-child relationship quality, such that the association between parent and child authenticity is greater for dyads in which parents are perceived as being warm and supportive. The fourth hypothesis is that parental marital inequality is associated with lower adolescent authenticity. Finally, the fifth hypothesis is that gender ideology will moderate the association between marital inequality and adolescent authenticity. It is hypothesized that, regardless of gender ideology, parents with traditional gender ideology have adolescents with lower authenticity. Alternatively, it is hypothesized that for parents with an egalitarian gender ideology, marital inequality plays a more important role. It is anticipated that when marital inequality is present, adolescents will have lower authenticity, but when marital equality is present, adolescents have greater authenticity.

Methods

Participants

Participants included 98 families with 153 adolescents from 10-17 years old ($M = 12.92$, $SD = 2.16$; 48% male). Step families were included as long as they had been cohabiting or married for at least two years. Parents had been married or cohabitating for the entirety of the adolescent's lives for 78% of the families (length of relationship $M = 15.64$, $SD = 5.86$). The participants of this study varied in terms of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and neighborhood condition (see Tables 1 and 2 for information on ethnicity and parental education). Yearly income for families ranged from $3,375 to $450,000 ($M = 67750$, $SD = 63879$).

Procedure

Families participated in a larger study on family relationships and stress in adolescence; only discussed here will be procedures and measures relevant to the current study. Families were

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recruited through ads in community newspapers, magazines, and church bulletins. After parents and adolescents gave informed consent, they were separated in different rooms to complete their measures. All questionnaires were completed using Audio Computer Assisted Self Interview (ACASI) software, which read questions and answers for participants, or could be turned off for participants who preferred to read on their own. This software allows participants with different reading levels to complete questionnaires in a confidential manner (Bloom, 1998; Gribble, Rogers, Miller, & Turner, 1998; Rogers, Miller, & Turner, 1998; Turner, Ku, Rogers, Lindberg, Pleck, & Sonenstein, 1998).

Measures

Adolescent and parent authenticity. A variation of the Authenticity Inventory 3 (AI-3; Kernis & Goldman, 2006) was used to examine dispositional authenticity in adolescents, mothers, and fathers. Each family member reported their own authenticity. The original 45 question measure was modified to include 12 total questions that were used in a pilot study. The questions are representative of the original subscales in the AI-3 (i.e. awareness, unbiased processing, behavior and relational subscales of authenticity; Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012). Items included statements such as "If asked, people I am close to can accurately describe what kind of person I am" and were rated on a 5-point scale, with 1 representing strongly disagree and 5 meaning strongly agree. Average scores were taken such that higher values indicated greater authenticity. One item "I'd rather feel good about myself than objectively assess my personal limitations and shortcomings" was found to not fit well with other items in an examination of Cronbach's alpha, and this item was therefore excluded from the mean score calculation. A previous study has indicated adequate reliability for this variation of the AI-3 (Cronbach's alpha = .64; Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012).

Parent-child relationship quality. In order to measure parent-adolescent relationship quality, adolescents completed the parent warmth, support and hostility scale of the Parent-Adolescent Relationship Quality scale (PAR; Conger et al., 2002). The PAR includes 13 questions about the affective quality of warmth, support, and hostility, completed separately for both mothers and fathers. Questions include statements such as "Do you feel like your mother/father is a good listener?" Questions are rated on a 5 point scale from never to always. Excellent reliability was indicated (Cronbach's alpha for mothers and fathers was each .89). Questions were averaged for each parents so that high values represent more positive relationships.

Marital inequality. Finally, marital inequality was measured from a scale that comprises 16 questions that have been used in previous measures of marital inequality (e.g. Blair, 1998; Himsel & Goldberg, 2003; Hochschild, 1989; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994). Participants rated who was primarily responsible for common household tasks, their satisfaction with and perceptions of fairness of this division, and how decisions were made to divide labor in this way. After appropriate reverse scoring, mean scores were calculated so that higher scores represented more inequality.

Gender ideology. Gender ideology was measured using a scale developed from existing questionnaires about gender-role attitudes (see Goldberg & Lucas-Thompson, in press). Participants answered questions about roles in the home ("A wife's most important task is caring for children"), employment, ("Husbands should earn higher pay than wives"), decision-making ("If the husband in a family wants children, and the wife decides that she does not want any children, it is all right for the wife to refuse to have children"), political and religious involvement ("I would vote for a woman nominated by my party for President, if she was

qualified for the job"), division of labor ("The partner who earns the most money should have the most say in family decisions") and parenting ("Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons"). Questions were rated on a 5-point scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. A low mean score represented more egalitarian gender ideologies, while a high mean score indicated higher traditional gender ideologies. In the current study, there is evidence for excellent internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .90 for both mothers and fathers)

Analysis Plan

After examining the normality of each of the variables (and making appropriate adjustments if significant non-normality was evident), as well as conducting correlational analyses to examine bivariate associations between the variables, primary hypotheses were tested using multiple regression analyses. First, each of the family-level characteristics were entered as predictors, controlling for relevant demographic characteristics (adolescent sex, ethnicity, and family income). Second, interactions were tested by creating multiplicative interaction terms (after centering original variables); these terms were entered as predictors, controlling for lower-order terms. Interactions were tested separately and interpreted following procedures outlined in Aiken and West (1991).

<p style="text-align:center;">**Results**</p>

Bivariate Analyses

Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations are presented in Table 3. Adolescent authenticity was positively correlated with father's authenticity as well as parent-adolescent relationship quality for both mothers and fathers. Greater adolescent authenticity was associated with greater father (but not mother) authenticity and higher quality relationships with parents.

For both mothers and fathers, there were positive correlations between that parent's authenticity and the relationship quality between the adolescent and the other parent (e.g., father authenticity was positively correlated with mother-adolescent relationship quality). In addition, for both fathers and mothers, authenticity was negatively correlated with a more traditional gender ideology. In terms of marital inequality, mother's authenticity was positively correlated with mother's perception of marital inequality; however this same association was not evident for fathers.

Furthermore, adolescents who reported higher quality relationships with mothers and fathers had parents who reported greater marital inequality. In addition, the quality of mother-adolescent and the quality of father-adolescent relationships were positively correlated; similarly, for gender ideology and perceptions of marital inequality, mothers' ratings and fathers' ratings were positively correlated.

Multivariate analyses

Multivariate analyses were performed to examine the unique links between each family factor and authenticity, controlling for demographic characteristics and other family factors. The results are reported in Table 4. The only significant predictor of adolescent authenticity was mother-adolescent relationship quality, such that mother-adolescent relationships characterized by more warmth and support predicted greater adolescent authenticity. Father gender ideology was related to adolescent authenticity at trend levels: adolescents reported more authenticity when fathers had a more egalitarian gender ideology. None of the other factors were significant predictors of adolescent authenticity. The multivariate analyses revealed that none of the hypothesized interactions reached significant levels, b's $< .12$, p's $> .22$.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine family level factors associated with adolescent authenticity. Specifically, this study aimed to explore the ways that parent authenticity, parent-adolescent relationship quality, and marital relationship factors (i.e., marital inequality, parents' gender ideology) were predictive of adolescent authenticity. The results indicated that there were several associations in line with hypotheses in the bivariate analyses, including that adolescent authenticity was significantly associated with father's authenticity and parent-adolescent relationship quality. However, the multivariate analysis indicated that only mother-adolescent relationship quality was significantly predictive of adolescent authenticity: mother-adolescent relationships characterized by warmth and support predicted higher adolescent authenticity. Marital relationship factors were not found to be significantly associated with adolescent authenticity in either the bivariate or multivariate analyses.

Parent authenticity and adolescent authenticity

The hypothesis that more authentic parents would have more authentic adolescents was only partially supported, and only in in the bivariate analysis. Father authenticity and adolescent authenticity were positively correlated. However, mother authenticity was not associated with adolescent authenticity. When controlling for other family factors, as well as important demographic characteristics, neither father nor mother authenticity predicted adolescent authenticity. These findings differ from results of a study that found adult child's perception of mother's authenticity predicted college-age participant's authenticity (Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012). In terms of the bivariate results, some studies have found that during adolescence mothers have more conflict with adolescents than fathers do (Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991; Smetana, 1989); as a result the mother-adolescent relationship becomes more

distant than the father-adolescent relationship. This distancing may explain why adolescent authenticity was not associated with mother authenticity, but was associated with father authenticity. In terms of the multivariate results, links between parent and adolescent authenticity may not have been evident because during this developmental period adolescents are distancing from the family in order to develop their own, individuated identity (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986). As adolescents learn to integrate their multiple selves, the influence of parents may become less important than other relationships. During these times of growing autonomy, adolescents question family norms, and the transmission of the value for authenticity from parent to adolescent may not be as effective as during other developmental periods (Grolnick, Deci & Ryan, 1997). For instance, one study found that adolescents understood their parents' perspectives on values, but explicitly rejected them in favor of the values of their peer group (Smetana, 1994).

Parent-adolescent relationship quality and adolescent authenticity

There was more consistent support for the hypothesis that higher quality parent-adolescent relationships would predict greater adolescent authenticity. In the correlation analysis, both mother-adolescent relationship quality and father-adolescent relationship quality were positively correlated with adolescent authenticity. These findings indicated that relationships characterized by warmth and support are associated with higher adolescent authenticity. This association is in line with the results of another study that found a positive correlation between parent-child relationship quality and child authenticity (Kernis & Goldman, 2006). The multivariate analyses revealed that mother-adolescent relationship quality was predictive of adolescent authenticity, but father-adolescent relationship quality was not. This finding could be a result of the differences between mother-adolescent and father-adolescent conflict; during

adolescence, mothers tend to have more conflict with adolescents than fathers do (Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991; Smetana, 1989). It may be that mother-adolescent relationship quality more consistently predicts adolescent authenticity because relationships with mothers are more prone to having negative characteristics. In addition, in the correlation analyses, mother's authenticity was positively associated with father-adolescent relationship quality and father's authenticity was positively associated with mother-adolescent relationship quality. According to the circumplex model, high relationship quality fosters an environment in which the family can be authentic (Olson, 2000). Perhaps these findings are a reflection that in family systems in which one parent has high authenticity, the other parent is able to have high relationship quality with the adolescent.

An additional goal of the current study was also to explore interactions between family factors in relation to adolescent authenticity. More specifically, it was hypothesized that greater parent-adolescent relationship quality predicts a stronger association between parent authenticity and adolescent authenticity; this hypothesis was not supported. One study of adolescent false-self behavior explicitly measured adolescent perception of support and adolescent authenticity. Adolescent false-self behavior did not have a significant association with adolescent's perception of current support from parents. Interestingly, adolescents' hope for future support from parents was associated with adolescent false-self behavior (Harter et al., 1996). The anticipation of future support is crucial for adolescents to behave in a way that is congruent with their true-self. There was a slight difference between the measure of support used in the current study and the measure used in the study by Harter et al. (1996). The current study asked about general support, in addition to warmth and hostility in order to measure parent-child relationship quality, whereas the measure of support in the Harter et al. (1996) study differentiated between current and future

support, and asked solely about support. It may be that there is something specifically about future support that predicts adolescent authenticity, while the measure of warmth, support and hostility is too broad.

Marital Relationship

      Marital inequality and adolescent authenticity. The hypothesized link between high marital inequality and low adolescent authenticity was not supported by the analyses. Marital inequality was not significantly associated with adolescent authenticity in the correlation analyses, and it was not a significant predictor of adolescent authenticity in the multivariate analysis. This hypothesis was based on the conceptual grounds that in families with marital equality there is greater authenticity (Kernis & Goldman, 2006). However, the correlation analyses suggested the association marital between inequality and authenticity that was opposite of what was expected. More specifically, mother's perception of marital inequality was positively associated with mother's authenticity. Greater authenticity involves having the ability to be aware of one's values and needs, whereas individuals with lower authenticity have less awareness, and may instead rely on others to direct their values and need (Kernis & Goldman, 2006). Studies have indicated that when it comes to inequality in the division of labor, only 20-30% of women perceive that the division of labor is not equal, despite doing two to three times more work than men (Coltrane, 2000; Mikula, 1998). Perhaps the association of mother's perception of inequality with greater authenticity is a reflection that women who are more authentic are better able to identify that their marital relationship is not equal. Their greater awareness of their true selves allows them to perceive the inequality. For men, there was no significant association between authenticity and perception of marital inequality. It may be that only families with high levels of authenticity have awareness about inequality, and this may only

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be true for mothers. Considering these finding, it is not surprising that marital inequality was not a significant predictor of the association between parent authenticity and adolescent authenticity.

Parent's gender ideology and adolescent authenticity. Finally, there was little support for the hypothesis that parents with traditional gender ideology have adolescents with lower levels of authenticity, nor did parental gender ideology interact with marital inequality to predict adolescent authenticity. At trend levels in the multivariate analyses, fathers with a more egalitarian gender ideology had adolescents who reported more authenticity.

These results were similar to findings in a study of college age participants, which found that male adult children's authenticity was predicted by the perception of parent's egalitarian gender ideology. This finding was not significant for daughters (Wenzel, Lucas-Thompson, 2012). Although the finding in the current study does not perfectly overlap with the findings in the college-age participant study, it does suggest that there may be an association between children's authenticity and parent's gender ideology. The differences in findings could be a result of using a measure of perception of parent's authenticity and parent-reported authenticity.

One possible reason that father's egalitarian gender ideology was a better predictor of adolescent authenticity than mothers' gender ideology is due to the benefits for men and women who are egalitarian. Traditional ideologies place men in a more powerful position. Egalitarian ideologies are defined by a shift in power, in which men are granted less power than with traditional gender ideologies. Egalitarian ideologies grant power to women, who would otherwise be in a submissive position. Fathers who are more egalitarian are sending the message that regardless of gender, one should be their true and authentic self. Although mothers send the same message, they are ultimately gaining power. It is easier for women to have egalitarian gender ideologies because it benefits them. The finding that father's, but not mother's gender

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ideology predicted adolescent authenticity could be a reflection that egalitarian fathers send a stronger message of equality and authenticity than egalitarian mothers do.

Consistent with other research, traditional gender ideology was negatively correlated with authenticity; parents who were more authentic also reported having more egalitarian gender ideology (Kernis & Goldman, 2006, Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012). It is possible that parent authenticity and gender ideology has an indirect effect on adolescent authenticity, such that more authentic parents have a more egalitarian gender ideology; children in these homes may develop a more egalitarian gender ideology themselves, which supports the development of authenticity. In line with this argument, previous research has indicated that parent gender ideology predicts adolescent gender ideology (Davis, 2007). No studies have examined the association between adolescent gender ideology and authenticity, but it is anticipated that similarly to adults and emerging adults, adolescents who have traditional gender ideology likely have lower authenticity.

Limitations

This study had several limitations. All measures in the study were self-report measures; future studies would benefit from using observational methods. Parent-adolescent relationship quality and marital factors in particular could be measured with observational methods. In addition, the conclusions that can be drawn about the development of authenticity in adolescents are limited by study design, specifically all measures are from one time point. A longitudinal design may be more effective in detecting changes that may impact the development of authenticity over adolescence. Additionally the sample was relatively small, reducing power to detect small effects. A larger sample size would increase the power.

Conclusion

This was the first study to examine various predictors of authenticity Kernis and Goldman's (2006) conceptualization of authenticity. It was also the first study to examine how multiple family level factors and adolescent authenticity are associated. Additionally, this study was the first to examine the associations among authenticity, gender role ideology and marital inequality using measures that specifically asked participants about these variables. This study found that the most important family factor in predicting adolescent authenticity is mother-adolescent relationship quality. This study also found that there are many more areas that researchers must explore in order to understand authenticity.

Future research

Future research should examine the development of authenticity throughout adolescence by using a longitudinal study design, in order to explore how authenticity changes over time. Future studies should also use a larger sample size that can better detect small associations when examining family factors and adolescent authenticity. There were several differences between the current study and a similar study that used a college-age sample (Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012). In order to inform some of the differences between these studies, future research should examine potential differences in adolescent perceptions of parent authenticity and parent-reported authenticity. Research should also explore indirect effects of parent gender ideology on adolescent authenticity. Finally, future research should explore parent-adolescent conflict as a possible mediator of the association between parent-adolescent relationship quality and adolescent authenticity.

Table 1

*Ethnicity of Adolescent, Mothers and Fathers by Percentage*_____

	Non-Hispanic Caucasian	Other/ Mixed Ethnicity	African American	Asian American	American Indian	Hispanic
Adolescents	49%	26%	17%	6%	1%	1%
Mothers	61%	7%	20%	8%	2%	2%
Fathers	56%	13%	23%	4%	1%	3%

Notes. *n* = 153 adolescents, 98 mothers, 98 fathers; 6% of sample was missing data on ethnicity.

Table 2

Mother and Father Education Level by Percentage

	Less than HS	HS or GED	Some college	Assoc.	BA	Grad. work	MA	JD	More than one MA	Dr.
Mothers	1%	9%	20%	17%	25%	9%	13%	3%	3%	1%
Fathers	3%	16%	15%	16%	28%	7%	7%	2%	2%	5%

Notes. n = 98 mothers, 98 fathers; HS = High school degree; GED = General Equivalency Diploma; Assoc. = Associates of vocational; Grad. = Graduate BA= Bachelor's degree; MA = Master's degree; JD = Juris doctor degree; Dr. = Doctorate.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for and Correlations between Main Variables of Interest

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Adolescent Authenticity	X										
2. Mother's Authenticity	.06	X									
3. Father's Authenticity	.19*	-.09	X								
4. Mother-Adolescent Relationship Quality	.50**	.12	.20*	X							
5. Father-Adolescent Relationship Quality	.23*	.20*	-.05	.43**	X						
6. Mother's Perceptions of Marital Inequality	.04	.23**	.04	.21*	.17	X					
7. Father's Perceptions of Marital Inequality	.05	.13	-.13	.13	.22*	.66**	X				
8. Mother's Traditional Gender Ideology	-.16	-.25**	-.11	-.18	-.10	.15	.09	X			
9. Father's Traditional Gender Ideology	-.19	-.06	-.31**	-.12	-.01	-.01	-.08	.37*	X		
10. Adolescent Sex$^{\Diamond}$	.08	-.10	.18*	.07	.06	.02	.11	-.26**	-.29**	X	
11. Family Income	.12	.18*	.14	.06	.01	.07	.10	-.37**	-.35**	.15	X
M	2.43	2.72	2.65	0.39	0.37	0.43	0.41	-0.05	1.13	1.52	4.76$^{\Delta}$
SD	0.42	0.42	0.38	0.10	0.13	0.19	0.19	0.21	0.44	0.50	0.37

*Notes. * p < .05 ** p < .01 $^{\Delta}$Corresponds to an income bracket of $65-79,000 per year. $^{\Diamond}$ Value of 1 is female, value of 0 is male.

Table 4

Generalized Estimating Equation Models Predicting Adolescent Authenticity based on Family Level Factors, Race, and Income

	Adolescent Authenticity	
	b(SE)	p
Parent Authenticity		
Mother Authenticity	-.02(.09)	.85
Father Authenticity	.03(.10)	.74
Parent-Adolescent Relationship Quality		
Mother Relationship Quality	2.11(.38)	.00
Father Relationship Quality	.05(.38)	.91
Marital Inequality		
Mother Reported Inequality	-.28(.26)	.28
Father Reported Inequality	.31(.26)	.22
Parent Traditional Gender Ideology		
Mother Gender Ideology	.06(.19)	.74
Father Gender Ideology	-.16(.09)	.08
White (1) vs. non-White (0)	-.07(.08)	.37
Family Income	.12(.10)	.25

Note. No interactions were statistically significant, b's < .12, p's > .22.

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