Beliefs About Parents’ Right to Know: Domain Differences and Associations With Change in Concealment

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Parent and adolescent (M = 15.7 years) beliefs regarding parents’ right to know (RTK) about adolescents’ activities were examined in 174 middle-class U.S. families. Mean differences and associations with latent changes in teens’ concealment were assessed. RTK was greatest about risky prudential activities, least for personal activities for parents and romantic activities for teens, and higher for mothers’ ratings of girls’ than boys’ romantic behavior. Adolescents’ stronger RTK beliefs predicted lower concealment 6 months later and less increase in concealment over time, although less so for romantic issues. In contrast, mothers’ stronger RTK beliefs predicted more concealment over time. For personal issues, greater teen RTK beliefs slowed increases in concealment only when parents’ RTK beliefs were low.

Adolescent concealment of information from parents has many negative correlates. It is associated with reduced parental knowledge of teens’ activities (Hawk et al., 2013), poorer parenting and parent–teen relationships (Keijsers, Branje, Finkenauer, & Meeus, 2010; Keijsers & Laird, 2014), and more internalizing and externalizing symptoms (Frijns, Keijsers, Branje, & Meeus, 2010; Laird & Marreiro, 2010). Concealment also normatively increases during middle adolescence (Keijsers et al., 2010), as adolescents seek greater autonomy and spend more time unsupervised by adults (Bulcroft, Carmody, & Bulcroft, 1998; Masche, 2010; Smetana, 2011). However, aspects of the parent–adolescent relationship, including beliefs about parents’ legitimate authority to regulate teen behavior, are theorized to impact the frequency and effects of concealment. Concealment is less common when adolescents’ relationships with parents are closer and more trusting and when parents are more responsive and less psychologically controlling (Smetana, Metzger, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2006; Tasopoulos-Chan, Smetana, & Yau, 2009; Tilton-Weaver, 2014). Teens who have better relationships with parents also tend to endorse greater legitimacy of parental authority (Fuligni, 1998; Kuhn & Laird, 2011), which in turn is associated with less concealment (Smetana, 2011; Tilton-Weaver, 2014), promotes the effectiveness of parental monitoring behaviors (Keijsers & Laird, 2014), and moderates the effect of concealment on adjustment (Laird & Marrero, 2010). Regardless of relationship quality, however, parents and adolescents disagree on the extent to which parents have authority over teen behaviors; parents typically think they have greater legitimate authority than do teens (Smetana, 2011).

Domain Differences in Parental Authority and Concealment

Parental authority beliefs and reasons for concealment also vary depending on the type of behavior considered (Smetana et al., 2006; Smetana, Villalobos, Tasopoulos-Chan, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2009). Adolescents most frequently conceal free-time activities, risky behaviors, and peer and romantic activities (Darling, Cumsille, Caldwell, & Dowdy, 2006). From the perspective of social domain theory (Smetana, Jambon, & Ball, 2014; Turiel, 1983), these activities are considered personal (pertaining to privacy, control over one’s body, and personal preference and choices), prudential (acts that are unhealthy or unsafe for oneself, such as cigarette smoking and alcohol use), and multifaceted (involving overlapping concerns, such as staying out late or spending time with friends parents do not like) issues, respectively. Romantic issues are also multifaceted but are often examined separately from other multifaceted behaviors (Daddis & Randolph, 2010; Darling, Cumsille, & Martinez, 2008; Smetana et al., 2009), because they involve the additional element of sexuality.
Adolescents conceal personal issues because they view them as private matters, not harmful, and not legitimately controlled by parents (Smetana et al., 2006, 2009). In contrast, although adolescents typically believe that parents can legitimately regulate prudential issues, teens who conceal such behavior mainly justify their concealment based on fear of parental disapproval or punishment (Smetana et al., 2009). Adolescents and parents tend to disagree most about parents’ authority to regulate multifaceted issues. Teens view these behaviors as primarily personal, whereas parents typically view them as prudential or involving societal conventions and hence legitimately under their control (Smetana et al., 2006). Teens therefore conceal multifaceted issues both out of a desire for greater autonomy and due to a fear of negative parental response (Smetana et al., 2009). Romantic issues are particularly intriguing as they include both publicly observable and verifiable aspects, such as the location of dates, which adolescents disclose more about to parents, and very private but potentially risky components, such as sexual intimacy, which adolescents often avoid discussing (Afifi, Joseph, & Aldeis, 2008; Daddis & Randolph, 2010).

However, unlike more traditional prudential issues, which adolescents and parents agree are legitimately regulated by parents, parents may feel uncomfortable exerting authority over these private but risky romantic behaviors. In addition, teens may more strongly reject parents’ authority over romantic issues and both parents and teens may feel uncomfortable discussing the topic at all (Afifi et al., 2008; Bakken & Brown, 2010; Daddis & Randolph, 2010).

Beliefs About Parents’ Right to Know

A construct related to legitimate parental authority but potentially more proximal to adolescent concealment is parents’ right to know (RTK) about adolescents’ activities. Like authority beliefs, RTK beliefs are related to notions of adolescent autonomy, agency, trust, and effective parenting (Brown, Bakken, Nguyen, & Von Bank, 2007; Kuhn & Laird, 2011; Laird, Pettit, Dodge, & Bates, 2003). However, RTK beliefs may draw more heavily on trust and prior parental reactions to disclosure, as they do not indicate what parents will do with the knowledge they gain (knowledge can lead to guidance or aid as much as to control, whereas authority inherently involves rule and limit setting). Laird et al. (2003) examined the influence of adjustment, parenting, and adolescents’ beliefs about what parents should know on parental knowledge during the high school years and found that adolescents’ beliefs about what parents should know (but not any of the other variables) predicted both higher initial levels and slower declines in parental knowledge over time.

Focusing on adolescents’ peer and friendship activities in qualitative interviews, Brown et al. (2007) distinguished parents’ RTK about the “who–where–when” of peer activities, features of peer relationships, and peers’ prosocial and antisocial behavior. They found that Hmong and African American teens believed parents had less of a RTK than did parents, and, anecdotally, that these beliefs were instrumental in guiding adolescents’ decisions about disclosing and concealing information. Likewise, in a cross-sectional study, Chan and Brown (2012) found that adolescents’ RTK beliefs about peer issues mediated the effects of closeness with mothers, leisure time spent with peers, and antisocial behavior on disclosure about peer issues. Despite the conceptual relevance of RTK beliefs for adolescent concealment, however, these beliefs are understudied. Adolescent and parent RTK beliefs have not been compared across social domains, and associations with concealment have not been established, especially longitudinally. Furthermore, the import of parents’ RTK beliefs for adolescent concealment is not known. As parent-teen disagreements about parental authority are a common source of contention and a reason for adolescent subversion (Darling et al., 2006; Smetana, 2011), parental RTK beliefs may impact teen concealment both directly and by modifying the effects of teens’ beliefs about parental RTK.

The Present Study

The present study addressed these questions. We examined differences in the extent to which middle adolescents and parents believed parents had a RTK about adolescents’ prudential, multifaceted, romantic, and personal activities. Although many romantic issues are multifaceted, we distinguished between them and other multifaceted issues based on factor analyses of similar issues (Darling et al., 2008), the lack of attention to these issues in current research on adolescent information management (Daddis & Randolph, 2010), and because privacy about romantic issues was likely to be particularly important in our middle adolescent sample (Connolly & McIsaac, 2009; Daddis & Randolph, 2010). Past research on parental authority (Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Smetana et al., 2006)
and RTK beliefs (Brown et al., 2007) led us to hypothesize that parents would view themselves as having a greater RTK about all issues than would teens and that both parents and teens would view parents as having the greatest RTK about risky prudential activities. Further, we expected that both parents and teens would view parents as having less RTK about personal than multifaceted and prudential activities, but past research (Brown et al., 2007; Daddis & Randolph, 2010; Darling et al., 2008) leaves open whether RTK about romantic activities would differ from personal or multifaceted issues.

We also examined associations between parent and teen RTK beliefs and adolescents’ concealment over time. Novel to this study, we tested whether RTK beliefs had domain-specific associations with changes in concealment. As concealment normatively increases with age (Keijsers et al., 2010), we used latent change score analyses to examine these associations, controlling for the influence of initial concealment on change over time in concealment. Past research on parental authority legitimacy led us to expect that adolescents who more strongly endorsed parents’ RTK would conceal less initially and increase less in concealment over time (Smetana, 2011; Smetana et al., 2009). However, as romantic issues often contain particularly private (and potentially embarrassing or uncomfortable) elements, especially as youth approach later adolescence (Connolly & McIsaac, 2009), we expected that concealment of these behaviors would increase over time regardless of teens’ RTK beliefs. The consistent finding that parents believe they have greater authority over all issues than do teens (Smetana, 2011) and that teens view parental control over personal and friendship issues as intrusive and controlling (Kakihara & Tilton-Weaver, 2009; Smetana & Daddis, 2002) led us to hypothesize that parents’ stronger beliefs in their RTK would be associated with more adolescent concealment over time, especially for activities teen view as personal. We also hypothesized an interaction between teen and parent RTK beliefs, such that concealment would increase fastest when parents held high RTK beliefs but teens did not, as this may result in teens feeling particularly mistrusted, over-controlled, and intruded upon (Brown et al., 2007; Hawk, Hale, Raaijmakers, & Meeus, 2008; Hawk et al., 2013). We examined parent and adolescent gender differences in mean levels of RTK beliefs and in associations with concealment in our path models. Based on gender differences in beliefs about legitimate parental authority (Darling, Cumsille, & Peña-Alampay, 2005; Kuhn & Laird, 2011), we expected boys to have lower RTK beliefs than girls. However, we made no predictions about parent and teen gender moderation of links between RTK beliefs and concealment.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 174 U.S. families with adolescents in the 10th and 11th grades (M = 15.69 years of age, SD = 0.63, 91 females) drawn from two suburban high schools in the northeastern United States. Participating families were studied three times over 1 year (i.e., two 6-month intervals) to capture dynamic family processes in a short-term longitudinal study. Similar to the ethnic composition of their communities, adolescents were European American (81%), Asian or Pacific Islander (9%), African American (8%), biracial (3%), and Native American (1%); 6% identified as Latino. Families typically contained two or three children (70%) and consisted of two married birth parents (68%); 24% were single-parent families, mostly divorced (18%), and the rest were stepparent families. Nearly all youth (95%) lived with mothers; 80% reported living with their fathers or stepfathers all or part of the time. Families in participants’ communities ranged from lower to upper middle class, and median family income for the sample was between $70,000 and $89,000 a year (20% of the sample), with a range from <$30,000 a year (6%) to over $130,000 a year (10%).

The Wave 1 sample also included 167 mothers or stepmothers (Mage = 46.37 years, SD = 5.77) and 112 fathers or stepfathers (Mage = 49.00, SD = 5.02). Although fewer fathers than mothers participated, 91% of the adolescents (n = 158) reported on relationships with father figures. Most mothers and fathers had at least some college education (85%, 82%, respectively) and worked full time (57%, 86%).

At Wave 3, 170 adolescents, 164 mothers, and 102 fathers participated. Attrition was 2% for adolescents and mothers and 8% for fathers. Asian families were more likely to drop out than were other families; but otherwise, there were no demographic differences between attrited and retained families.

Procedures

Families were recruited through letters sent home to parents of teens in the target grades and presentations to students during the school day. At least one parent was required to participate, although
we strongly encouraged both parents’ participation. Interested parents responded on a secure online site or to the project office and were enrolled once all consent and permission forms were returned by mail. Families received honoraria for their participation at the three waves ($35, $50, and $60). Due to limitations in the funding available for honoraria, we had to cap participation. Over 400 families initially expressed interest in study participation (about 30% of families) before we made the online interest form unavailable. Of these families, 59% subsequently responded and returned all consent forms. Participating students’ demographic background matched the profiles of the two schools, although average GPA, as described by school officials, was lower than participants’ reports.

The surveys were administered online using SurveyMonkey, although families also could complete paper versions. Not all participating families had Internet at home, but nearly all (97%) had Internet access and chose to respond online. Families were sent separate e-mail links for each participating family member and weekly reminders until the surveys were completed or families discontinued participation.

Measures

The stimuli consisted of 18 items divided into four categories used in past research (Smetana et al., 2009) and verified as distinct using factor analysis (Darling et al., 2005): four prudential items (e.g., smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol), five personal items (e.g., how teen spends free time, spends their allowance), five multifaceted items (e.g., coming in late or past curfew, the Web sites teen visits), and four romantic items (e.g., whether teen is dating, how intimate they are with boy/girlfriend). Although all four categories are subsets of the psychological domain (Smetana et al., 2014), they have often been referred to as domains in their own right, and for consistency with prior research, we refer to them hereafter as domains. At Wave 1, participants rated how much parents have a right to know about each of the items on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (definitely not) to 5 (definitely yes). Mean scores by domain were obtained. Reliabilities for the four categories ranged from .79 to .88 for teens, .76 to .85 for mothers, and .79 to .85 for fathers.

To assess concealment at Waves 2 and 3, adolescents indicated which of five information management strategies they primarily used for each item with each parent (tell all, tell only if asked, avoid the topic, omit important details, or lie). Strategies were coded as 1 (if chosen), 0 (if not), or left blank if they never engaged in the behavior. Based on Laird and Marrero (2010), we summed the proportion of responses endorsing avoidance, omitting information, or lying into a composite concealment variable for items in each domain.

RESULTS
Beliefs About Parents’ Right to Know

Repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were run to examine differences in parents’ and teens’ Wave 1 RTK beliefs by domain. Because there were fewer fathers than mothers participating in the study, we first employed a 2 (Parent) × 4 (Domain) × 2 (Adolescent Sex) ANOVA with family as the unit of analysis to compare mothers’ and fathers’ beliefs for the families where fathers participated. As there were no differences in mothers’ and fathers’ beliefs, their reports were combined, and a 2 (Adolescent Sex) × 4 (Domain) × 2 (Generation: Parent vs. Teen) repeated measures ANOVA was run. Significant main effects for generation, F(1,172) = 128.81, p < .001, ηp² = .43, and domain, F(3,516) = 395.53, p < .001, ηp² = .70, were qualified by a significant domain × generation interaction, F(3,516) = 20.46, p < .001, ηp² = .11. Bonferroni post hoc t-tests (ps < .05) indicated that, as hypothesized, parents believed that they had the greatest RTK about prudential activities, and less RTK in descending order about multifaceted, romantic, and personal activities (see Table 1 for means). Adolescents also rated parents as having more RTK about prudential than other activities, but RTK was significantly greater for multifaceted and personal than romantic activities. Finally, a significant three-way interaction of generation, domain, and adolescent sex, F(3,516) = 2.81, p < .05, ηp² = .02, showed that parents believed that they had greater RTK about girls’ than boys’ romantic activities, F(1,172) = 4.12, Bonferroni-corrected p < .05, Ms = 3.84, 3.61, SDs = 0.66, 0.83.

Because parent ratings either entailed combined ratings for mothers and fathers (when two parents in a family participated) or one rating when only one parent (usually mothers) participated, we also ran analyses separately for mother–teen and father–teen dyads; all findings were replicated for both dyads, except that the three-way interaction was found only for mothers.
Psych, PsyCon = p generation are significantly different, Bonferroni-corrected

Factors and latent change were examined using latent change score

Associations between RTK beliefs and teen concealment were examined using latent change score analysis (McArdle & Nesselroade, 2013) in Mplus 7.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2012) with full information maximum likelihood (FIML) estimation of missing data. Intercept and variance of Wave 3 teen concealment was constrained to 0 to allow estimation of latent change (McArdle & Nesselroade, 2013). Fit indexes and parameter estimates were computed using an MLR estimator, which is robust to nonnormality (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2012). Wave 2 teen concealment and a latent variable representing change in teen concealment between Waves 2 and 3 were regressed on the manifest, centered variables of Wave 1 teen RTK, parent RTK, and their interaction. Additionally, the latent change variable was regressed on Wave 2 teen concealment to control for the influence of starting values on change. This model was fully identified. However, the interaction of parent and teen RTK on Wave 2 concealment was found to be nonsignificant in the overall model and in models that significantly differed between groups (see Table 2 for multigroup difference tests for fully identified models). Therefore, this path was removed from all analyses to increase parsimony (see Figure 1 for the final model including path coefficients).

The resulting latent change model fit the data well. Teens who concealed more at Wave 2 increased their concealment less over the next 6 months, but controlling for this effect and as hypothesized, concealment increased significantly over time. Also as predicted, teens who believed that parents had more RTK about their activities at Wave 1 demonstrated less Wave 2 concealment and, controlling for these levels, less increase in concealment between Waves 2 and 3. Higher parental RTK beliefs predicted marginally greater increases in concealment over time and significantly interacted with teen RTK beliefs in predicting change in concealment. Teens who believed parents had more RTK about their activities increased less in concealment over time only when parent’s RTK beliefs were low (see Figure 2).

Next, to examine their moderating effects, group differences in path coefficients and latent change across domain and parent and teen gender were examined using multigroup analyses. Domain and parent gender were nested within families, using the clustering feature of Mplus, which accounts for nonindependence in data when combined with “type = complex” and the MLR estimator (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2012). Model fit was significantly worse when paths and latent intercepts were constrained to be equal across domain and parent gender, but not teen gender (see Table 2). To isolate specific sources of variation in models with significant overall multigroup comparisons, pairwise differences between groups for each coefficient were examined using the Model Constraint command in Mplus. Three paths differed significantly among domains. Greater teen-rated parental RTK was associated with slower increases in concealment for all issues except romantic ones, and romantic and multifaceted issues differed significantly. Likewise, adolescents’ Wave 1 beliefs in parental RTK were less strongly associated with reduced Wave 2 concealment about romantic than multifaceted issues. Finally, the interaction of parents’ and teens’ RTK beliefs on change in concealment was only significant for personal issues. Thus, as in the overall model, teens increased more slowly in their concealment of personal issues when they believed parents had a RTK about them, but only if parents

### Table 1

Means, SDs, and Correlations Among Study Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>W1 T RTK</th>
<th>W1 P RTK</th>
<th>W2 Conceal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W1 T RTK</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W1 P RTK</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W2 conceal</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>-.37***</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W3 conceal</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>-.34***</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.46***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W1 T RTK</td>
<td>3.12*</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W1 P RTK</td>
<td>3.62**</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W2 conceal</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>-.31***</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W3 conceal</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>-.26**</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.37***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Multifaceted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W1 T RTK</td>
<td>3.10*</td>
<td>.93</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W1 P RTK</td>
<td>4.07*</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.13</td>
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<td>W2 conceal</td>
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<td>.31</td>
<td>-.31***</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W3 conceal</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>-.36***</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.48***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Romantic</td>
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<tr>
<td>W1 T RTK</td>
<td>2.75b</td>
<td>.97</td>
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<tr>
<td>W1 P RTK</td>
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<td>.75</td>
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<td>-.17*</td>
<td>.04</td>
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<tr>
<td>W3 conceal</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>-.16*</td>
<td>.08</td>
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<td>Prudential</td>
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<td>W1 T RTK</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>.39</td>
<td>-.22*</td>
<td>.06</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>W3 conceal</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
<td>.17†</td>
<td>.50***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Means with different superscripts within a domain or generation are significantly different, Bonferroni-corrected p < .05. W = wave, T = teen, P = parent, RTK = right to know, Psycho = psychological control, Disclose = disclosure. p < .10; ⁠*p < .05; **p < .01.
themselves held low RTK beliefs (see Figure 3). Only one path differed significantly between parents. Mothers’ greater RTK beliefs predicted significantly more teen concealment at Wave 2, but fathers’ RTK beliefs did not (see Table 2 for group-differentiated path coefficients and significance values).

**DISCUSSION**

Beliefs about parents’ right to know about adolescents’ activities have mainly been examined using teen reports and only for a limited range of behaviors. The present study expanded on prior research by examining U.S. middle adolescents’ and
parents’ beliefs regarding parental RTK about different types of adolescents’ activities. The results demonstrated that parents and teens differed in their beliefs about how much parents have a right to know about teens’ activities, that beliefs also varied according to the domain of the activity, and that there are domain-specific (as well as domain-general) associations over time between RTK beliefs and concealment from parents.

**Domain and Generation Differences in Beliefs About Parents’ Right to Know**

Parents believed that they had more of a RTK about adolescents’ activities than did teens, and these parent–teen differences were substantial, averaging one point on a 5-point scale. Parents reported the greatest RTK (at nearly ceiling levels) about risky prudential behavior and significantly less about multifaceted issues. Although means were above the scale midpoint, parents believed they had the least RTK about teens’ personal activities, whereas adolescents thought parents had the least RTK about romantic activities. The latter result is consistent with findings that adolescents avoid discussing sex more than any other topic with parents (Afifi et al., 2008), with qualitative studies that have detailed the great lengths that adolescents go to conceal their romantic activities from parents (Bakken & Brown, 2010), and with research showing that adolescents view the more private and unverifiable aspects of their romantic activities as personal matters (Daddis & Randolph, 2010). Indeed, our findings suggest that by middle adolescence, youth views some romantic issues as more private than prototypical personal issues and that these issues may be particularly subject to parental intrusion, as parents do not conceptualize them the same way. Furthermore, parents (and specifically mothers) reported more RTK about daughters’ than sons’ romantic behavior. This is consistent with research showing that parents give their sons more freedom, fewer rules, and a later curfew than their daughters (Bulcroft et al., 1998) because they fear the negative consequences of too much freedom in girls’ romantic (and potentially, sexual) relationships.

**Associations Between Right to Know Beliefs and Concealment**

When adolescents believed that parents had more of a RTK about their behavior, they concealed less 6 months later and increased less in their concealment over time. These associations are consistent with past research showing that greater beliefs in parental authority legitimacy and parental RTK promote disclosure and discourage concealment (Brown et al., 2007; Smetana, 2011). Novel to this study, however, was the examination of associations between parents’ RTK beliefs and teen concealment. As hypothesized, but opposite of the effects of teen-rated parental RTK, mothers’ greater RTK beliefs predicted more initial teen concealment, and parents’ greater RTK beliefs were marginally linked with faster increases in concealment over time. As parents’ strong beliefs in their own RTK about adolescents’ activities may lead teens to feel intruded upon or reduce feelings of trust in the relationship (Hawk et al., 2008), these findings highlight the role that perceived privacy invasion plays in increasing teen secrecy, especially with mothers, and in reducing parental knowledge (Hawk et al., 2013). Furthermore, over and above these main effects, parents’ RTK beliefs moderated associations between teen’s beliefs and parental RTK and changes in their concealment. We had hypothesized that teen concealment of information would be greater when teens believed parents had little RTK and parents thought they had a lot, but this combination of RTK beliefs did not differ significantly from when both parents and teens believed that parents had little RTK. However, when parents strongly believed in their RTK, greater teen RTK beliefs no longer slowed the increase of adolescents’ concealment over time. As this interaction was particularly robust for personal issues, where parents have the least legitimate authority and parental control is seen as particularly intrusive, it implies that parental RTK beliefs may alter associations between teens’ beliefs and
their concealment specifically by undermining the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship. It is important to note that these results would have been obscured using a difference score approach; it was discernible only by examining parent-adolescent discrepancies using an interaction term, as others (Laird & De Los Reyes, 2013) have recommended.

An important contribution of our study was that we tested and found domain differences in links with RTK beliefs. As hypothesized, associations between teens’ RTK beliefs and concealment were weak or nonsignificant for romantic issues, potentially due to the sensitive or embarrassing nature of these issues (Afifi et al., 2008). These findings may also reflect teens’ rejection of parents’ RTK about their romantic lives as they begin to date more and their romantic relationships become more serious during later adolescence (Connolly & McIsaac, 2009), and perhaps, the importance of other factors, such as relationship quality, in influencing their concealment of romantic behaviors (Afifi et al., 2008). Although the association between teen RTK beliefs and concealment was significant in all other domains, the strength of the association for romantic issues was only different from multifaceted issues. Multifaceted issues are on the border of teens' autonomy expansion and parental control, especially during middle adolescence (Smetana, 2011), and thus, teen concealment of them may be particularly influenced by their RTK beliefs. In contrast, concealment of personal and prudential issues may be more impacted by relationship quality (for personal issues) or fear of the negative consequences of disclosure (for prudential issues; Smetana et al., 2009), reducing associations with teen RTK beliefs so that they did not differ significantly from those of romantic issues. Importantly, however, the significant domain difference in associations between concealment and teen RTK beliefs obtained here, as well as the mean-level differences observed in RTK beliefs across domains, emphasizes the value of distinguishing romantic issues, which have an added element of sexuality, from other multifaceted issues.

The lack of domain differences obtained in associations between parents’ RTK and teen concealment implies that teens may feel over-controlled when parents exert higher-than-average levels of authority, even over issues about which they agree parents have a right to know. This is consistent with findings that teens interpret high levels of behavioral and psychological control similarly regardless of domain (Kakihara & Tilton-Weaver, 2009). The interaction of teen and parent RTK beliefs on change in teen concealment also showed domain differences. Here, parents’ RTK beliefs only moderated the effects of teen’s beliefs about parental RTK on concealment of personal issues. This is consistent with findings that teens view disclosure about personal issues as discretionary and driven by relational properties (Smetana et al., 2009) and that they perceive parental control over personal issues as especially intrusive or psychologically controlling (Smetana & Daddis, 2002). Thus, consistent with Hawk et al. (2013), parents who strongly endorse their RTK about personal issues may undermine their own parenting aims by creating a restrictive environment that produces reactance in teens and leads them to conceal more information than they otherwise might.

Limitations and Future Directions
Although this study expanded on our understanding of parents’ and teens’ RTK beliefs and their role in concealment, it had some limitations. Our sample included some ethnic diversity, but it was primarily European American and middle income. Judgments of parents’ legitimate authority as well as frequency and reasons for concealment have been shown to differ across cultures and ethnic groups (Bakken & Brown, 2010; Darling, Cumsille, Peña-Alampay, & Coatsworth, 2009; Tasopoulos-Chan et al., 2009). Thus, future research should examine whether the associations found here generalize to more culturally and ethnically diverse samples.

We also focused on middle adolescence, as this is when disclosure and parental knowledge declines, concealment increases, and concerns with autonomy peak (Masche, 2010). However, participants were only followed for 1 year, and concealment was assessed at two time points that were only 6 months apart, limiting the amount of potential change that could be assessed. We believe that our latent change analysis was a strength of this study, especially as it allowed us to control for initial concealment while predicting change in concealment over time. However, associations between RTK beliefs and concealment should be examined across a broader age range for a longer period of time to better understand the trajectory of these beliefs. Likewise, trajectories of parents’ and adolescents’ RTK beliefs over time, and individual differences in these patterns, could be fruitfully examined in future research.
When measuring concealment, adolescents indicated their primary strategy for each issue (with their use of concealment strategies later combined), rather than rating their use of each concealment strategy on a continuous scale. This was performed because asking adolescents to independently rate each strategy for each type of issue would have been unnecessarily onerous, especially given the number of other measures employed in this study. However, this method did not allow teens to indicate whether they used multiple strategies for the same topic and reduced the variance in the concealment measure. Although measures similar to this have been used successfully in previous research (Darling et al., 2006; Smetana et al., 2009), future research should examine whether continuous measures of concealment strategies yield similar results.

Although parent gender differences were rare, another strength of our study was that we included reports of both mothers and fathers and assessed concealment toward each parent independently. Adolescents’ ratings of parental RTK were not parent specific, however, because participant fatigue was a concern, and past research on adolescents’ beliefs about parental authority and obligations to disclose to parents did not differ across mothers and fathers (Smetana et al., 2006). Nevertheless, future research should examine whether teens’ beliefs regarding mothers’ versus fathers’ RTK differ.

Despite these limitations, this study is the first that we know of to compare adolescents’ and parents’ beliefs about parents’ right to know about adolescents’ activities in different domains. Results demonstrated that parents and adolescents hold discrepant RTK beliefs, which have opposite associations with teen concealment, interact with each other, and vary by domain. Although such parent–adolescent differences are normative (Smetana, 2011), and indeed, greater discrepancies did not appear to increase teen concealment, higher levels of parental RTK were acceptable only to a point. That is, when parents held RTK beliefs that were not only higher than their teens’, but significantly higher than average among other parents, adolescents appeared to respond with concealment, ignoring their own beliefs that parents have a right to such knowledge. Thus, it is important that parents consider common community or cultural expectations for parental knowledge when thinking about and potentially acting upon their right to know about adolescent behavior. Additionally, those interested in sex education and prevention should be aware that teens’ RTK beliefs about their romantic behaviors are likely to be particularly discrepant from parents’ beliefs and have less of an impact on their concealment of such activities. Therefore, more so than for other issues, additional methods of encouraging disclosure and reducing concealment (such as promoting trust and support in the parent–child relationship) are necessary if parents hope to remain informed and guide their teens’ romantic and sexual decisions. Finally, although right to know beliefs are similar to beliefs about legitimate parental authority (Tilton-Weaver, 2014), they are conceptually more proximal and, as we demonstrated here, highly relevant to studying concealment. It would be interesting in future research to examine overlaps and distinctions between parents’ and teens’ parental authority and RTK beliefs, particularly in terms of their associations with disclosure and concealment during adolescence.

REFERENCES


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