

Parental invasive behavior and perceived legitimacy in social domains

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SOCIAL DOMAINS

Parental privacy invasive behavior and its perceived legitimacy
in different social domains

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Abstract

Adolescents spend less time with their parents than they did in childhood, which causes parents to know less about their children's day-to-day lives. This study focused on invasive methods parents use to gain knowledge. Adolescents' and parents' perceptions of legitimacy of privacy invasive behaviors were examined. As a framework, the four domains of the Social Domain Theory were used: the moral, conventional, prudential and personal domains (Smetana & Daddis, 2002). 228 Adolescents (mean age = 16.04) and 42 parents completed web surveys about perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion for issues belonging to the domains. Differences were found between domains, but not within dyads. Overall, privacy invasion in the moral domain was considered most legitimate and privacy invasion in the personal domain the least legitimate. These differences disappeared when the amount of disclosure was taken into account. Additionally, adolescents found subversive privacy invasion less legitimate than direct privacy invasion.

Keywords: privacy invasion, legitimacy, social domain theory, parent-adolescent relationship

Parental invasive behavior and its perceived legitimacy in different social domains

During adolescence, children spend less time with their family and more time with friends (Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck & Duckett, 1996). This separation enables the adolescent to become autonomous (Smetana & Daddis, 2002). Whereas parents know about their child's daily activities during childhood, this pattern declines during adolescence (Kerr, Stattin, & Trost, 1999). Adolescents are aware of the need to manage what their parents know about their activities (Marshall, Tilton-Weaver, & Bosdet, 2005). They choose carefully what they tell their parents, a process called information management (Tilton-Weaver & Marshall, 2008). Adolescents want to enhance their feeling of self-control, and thus not all information is shared with parents (Petronio, 2002; Tilton-Weaver & Marshall, 2008; Mazur & Hubbard, 2004). In other words, adolescents set new boundaries for sharing private information with parents. Disclosure is the process of revealing personally relevant information, thoughts, and feelings to others (Greene, Derlega & Mathews, 2006). When adolescents feel that their parents have a right to know about something, they choose to disclose information. It is also a developmental goal for adolescents to acquire personal control over certain information (Laird, Pettit, Dodge, & Bates, 2003).

For this reason, parents can employ their own methods to gather information about their children's whereabouts (Kerr, Stattin, & Burk, 2010). Asking questions, creating house rules, entering an adolescent's room without knocking, eavesdropping and going through an adolescent's belongings are all examples of these methods (Kerr et al., 2010; Petronio, 1994). Parental knowledge of children's day-to-day behavior is related to several positive adolescent outcomes (i.e. lower levels of drug use and delinquency, higher self-esteem and better academic performance; Darling, Cumsille, Caldwell, & Dowdy, 2006). However, the protective goal of privacy can coincide with being perceived as intrusive (Petronio, 1994; Williams, 2003). Adolescents and parents have to find a balance between maintaining family relationships and increased privacy needs (Caughlin & Petronio, 2004).

Many studies on privacy invasion have focused on ways that parents gather information from adolescents, and under what circumstances adolescents disclose certain information. However, it is not yet clear in what cases adolescents perceive privacy invasion by parents as a legitimate action and whether parents recognize the same boundaries (Cumsille et al., 2006; Padilla-Walker, 2008). Research that clarifies possible causes of parent-adolescent

disputes can provide new insights for parental-adolescent mediation. Therefore, this research will focus on the question of whether there are differences between adolescents and their parents with regard to the perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion when information is differentially linked to parental concerns of safety, morality, social convention, and autonomy. This study investigates whether there is a difference between parent and adolescent perceptions of legitimacy of privacy invasion, whether this possible difference is related to disclosure and trust, and which methods adolescents find the most legitimate.

Social Domain Theory

Parents and adolescents can bicker over differences between what adolescents and parents perceive as legitimate domains of parental authority (Cumsille, Darling, Flaherty, & Martinez, 2006). The Social Domain Theory proposes that a child's social world can be divided into four domains. These domains are the moral, conventional, prudential and personal domains (Smetana & Daddis, 2002).

The moral domain includes causing harm to others and avoiding doing so (e.g. lying). Moral issues are independent of social norms and are generalizable across contexts, societies, and cultures (Nucci, 2001). The conventional domain includes ordinarily accepted rules that shape social interactions and provide guidelines for proper demeanor (e.g. table manners). Social conventions are rule-dependent, and only apply to the social system within which the rule was formed (Nucci, 2001). Regulation of moral issues and social conventions may enable adolescents to acquire social skills that contribute to social integration (Arim, Marshall, & Shapka, 2010). The prudential domain contains widely varying issues (e.g. academic achievement as well as risk-taking behavior). It includes causing harm to the self and avoiding it (e.g. smoking). The personal domain includes issues that distinctively involve the adolescent's personal choices (e.g. clothing; Nucci, Hasebe, & Linz-Dyer, 2005; Padilla-Walker, 2008; Smetana & Daddis 2002; Smetana, Metzger, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2006). Personal issues do not have consequences for others and are important for personal autonomy (Hasebe et al., 2004). Also, it is found that the personal domain is constructed through active negotiation with parents (Smetana et al., 2005).

However, there are also many issues that cannot be easily placed into one of these four domains. These issues are referred to as multifaceted issues (e.g. cleaning up ones room can be seen as a conventional rule by parents, but also as an adolescent's personal choice; Smetana, 2000; Smetana et al., 2006). Multifaceted issues do not have clear-cut boundaries and are difficult to

disentangle. This makes it difficult to incorporate them in research and form hypotheses about them (Baumrind, 2005). Therefore, the current study will not include multifaceted issues, and instead focus only on issues that clearly represent the four main social domains.

Adolescent-parent differences in perceived legitimacy

The social domain theory is often used in studies on privacy invasion. Several studies on this subject have focused on ways that parents gather information from adolescents and under what circumstances adolescents disclose certain information. However, it is not yet clear in what cases adolescents perceive privacy invasion by parents as a legitimate action and whether parents recognize the same boundaries (Cumsille et al., 2006; Padilla-Walker, 2008; Smetana, 2000). Research that clarifies the root of parent-adolescent disputes can provide new insights for parental-adolescent mediation. Therefore, the first focus of this study will be whether there are differences between adolescents and their parents with regard to the perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion that concerns different social domains.

The moral and conventional domains are often studied together (Padilla-Walker & Carlo, 2006). Parents and adolescents typically agree that these domains constitute a part of parental authority (Hasebe et al., 2004; Smetana, 2000; Smetana et al., 2005; Smetana & Daddis, 2002; Smetana et al., 2006; Smetana, Villalobos, Tasopoulos-Chan, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2009, Wray-Lake, Crouter, & McHale, 2010). Both cross-sectional and longitudinal research shows that adolescents do not mind disclosing information that refers to the moral or conventional domains (Padilla-Walker, 2008; Smetana et al., 2006). Consequently, little difference is to be expected between parents and adolescents in the perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion with regard to the moral and conventional domains.

Along with the two previously mentioned domains, several studies have indicated that parents and adolescents both regard the prudential domain to be a part of parental authority (Cumsille et al., 2006; Hasebe et al., 2004; Smetana et al., 2009). Adolescents feel obligated to disclose information on the prudential domain (Cumsille et al., 2006; Perkins & Turiel, 2007; Smetana et al., 2005). Parental authority in the prudential domain may help protect adolescents from some forms of harm and adolescents and parents affirm parents' legitimate authority to regulate prudential issues (Smetana, Crean, & Campione-Barr, 2005). However, adolescents tend to disclose less information when they actually partake in risky behavior (Smetana et al., 2005; Smetana et al., 2006). A

suggested explanation for this finding is that adolescents are afraid of parental penalties and disapproval (Smetana et al., 2006). In conclusion, even though adolescents disclose less if they engage in risky behavior, they and their parents mostly agree that the prudential domain covers parental authority.

Parents and adolescents agree that adolescents have control over the personal domain (Hasebe et al., 2004; Padilla-Walker, 2008; Smetana et al., 2006, Sorkhabi, 2010). Nevertheless, adolescents often claim more control of the personal domain than parents are willing to give (Sorkhabi, 2010) and this trend increases with age (Smetana, 2000). They believe that they are less obligated to disclose to parents than in the other domains (Smetana et al., 2006). For this reason, the personal domain is the most fought over between parents and adolescents (Smetana & Asquith, 1994). Hence, it is likely for parents and adolescents to differ in the perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion on the personal domain. In the present study, we address whether parents and adolescents differ in the perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion in the different social domains described by Smetana (2000; Smetana & Daddis, 2002).

Briefly worded, both parents and adolescents agree that the moral and conventional domains are under parental jurisdiction, according to the aforementioned literature. The prudential domain is considered by parents to always be under their jurisdiction, and adolescents mostly agree with this when they do not partake in risky behavior. Both parents and adolescents consider the personal domain to be under the adolescent's jurisdiction. This leads to the hypothesis that adolescents perceive less legitimacy of privacy invasion than parents do on the personal domain, as compared to the moral, conventional and prudential domains (Hypothesis 1). Secondly, it is expected that adolescents find parental privacy invasion most legitimate in the moral and conventional domain, followed by the prudential domain, and find invasion least legitimate in the personal domain (Hypothesis 2).

Perceived legitimacy when controlled for disclosure and trust

When adolescents have a good relationship with their parents, they have a stronger sense that parents have a right to know about their lives. Nevertheless, the more they disclose, the more they may perceive privacy invasion as illegitimate (Laird et al., 2003). The same pattern can be seen regarding parent-adolescent trust. Trust can be defined as 'ones level of confidence that a partner will respond to their needs, can be relied upon, and is concerned with their well-being' (Larzele & Huston, 1980). When adolescents feel their parents trust them, they may perceive parental privacy invasion as illegitimate because it may be

seen as a sign of mistrust (Kerr & Stattin, 2000). The second aim of this study is to answer the question whether these constructs – disclosure and trust - change the basic relationship between privacy invasion and perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion.

The view that parental efforts lead to parental knowledge has recently shifted to the view that adolescent disclosure leads to the most parental knowledge (Kerr et al., 2010; Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Luyckx, & Goossens, 2006, Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Therefore, it is interesting to see what adolescents think about disclosing issues belonging to the different domains. However, when an adolescent shows high levels of disclosure, this shows one sets clear boundaries. In a relationship, if a person has a high level of disclosure there is no need to be intrusive (Vinkers, Finkenauer, & Hawk, 2011). This might also be true for parent-adolescent relationships. Therefore, we hypothesize that the more adolescents disclose, the less they perceive privacy invasion as legitimate, meaning that the expected differences in legitimacy between the social domains will disappear when controlling for disclosure (Hypothesis 3).

Given the fact that some adolescents do not disclose because they expect a negative response from their parents, it is interesting to look into parent-adolescent relationship quality and its relation to perceived privacy invasion. Higher relationship quality predicts adolescents' beliefs that parents have the right to know about their whereabouts (Laird et al., 2003). However, it does not mean that they accept their parents' monitoring methods (Hawk, Hale, Raaijmakers & Meeus, 2008). Adolescents may think that their parents perceive them as incompetent because they use certain monitoring methods in the context of a good relationship (Hawk et al., 2008). An aspect of the parent-adolescent relationship often discussed in this field of research is trust. If adolescents feel their parents trust them, they will disclose more often (Kerr et al., 1999; Laird et al., 2003). When their parents are still invasive, adolescents can perceive this as conflicting with their idea about parental trust and responsible self-disclosure (Kerr et al., 1999; Hawk et al., 2008). Consequently, we hypothesize that the more adolescents feel their parents trust them, the less they perceive privacy invasion as legitimate, meaning that the expected differences in legitimacy between the social domains will disappear when controlling for trust (Hypothesis 4).

Difference in perceived legitimacy: Direct versus subversive invasion

There are different types of privacy invasion distinguishable, namely subversive and direct information. Subversive invasion refers to tactics parents

secretively use to get information of the adolescent. Examples are eavesdropping on conversations, opening mail or listening to phone calls. Direct invasion refers to tactics of information gathering in the presence of the adolescent. Examples are interrogating, making unsolicited remarks, and violating private space (Petronio, 1994). Therefore, the last aim of this study is to answer the question of whether direct and subversive privacy invasion are perceived as differentially legitimate by the adolescent, both within and between domains.

To an adolescent, it is not clear when subversive invasion will take place. Because of the secretive nature of subversive invasion, the adolescent's ability to control his privacy has disappeared. When parents use direct invasion, adolescents can make moves to protect their privacy, like hiding belongings or refusing to answer questions (Petronio, 1994). Because of the difference in adolescents' ability to protect their privacy, the hypothesis is that, within all domains, adolescents perceive subversive invasive behavior as less legitimate than direct invasive behavior (Hypothesis 5). As mentioned before, it is expected that adolescents perceive the most legitimacy of privacy invasion for the moral and conventional domain, followed by the prudential domain and the personal domain with the least perceived legitimacy. This order in domains is expected to be the same for both subversive and direct privacy invasion.

The present study

Altogether, the current research investigates whether the perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion depends upon the social domain of the desired information. In order to answer this main question, we will explore three aspects of these associations. Firstly, the study will focus on differences between parents and adolescents in perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion in different social domains. Secondly, the focus will be whether there is a difference in perceived legitimacy of direct and subversive privacy invasion. The final aim is to investigate whether the perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion depends on the social domain the desired information belongs to, when controlled for the amount of conflict, trust and/or adolescent disclosure.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 229 adolescents, 102 boys (44.50%) and 127 girls (55.50%). Adolescents were obtained from three schools. One school was located in an urban area, one school resided in a predominantly urban area and

one school was established in a predominantly rural area. At the time of data collection, adolescent participants ranged in age from 14 to 18 years ($M = 16.04$, $SD = .86$). The modal age was 16 years (48.90%). A minority of the participants (3.50%) did not provide their age. All adolescents were in their fourth year of high school, equivalent to the second year of high school in the United States. Adolescents (34.10%) were mainly enrolled in the HAVO level (18.80% VMBO theoretical learning path, 15.30% VWO, 10.90% VMBO middle management-oriented learning path, 10.50% Gymnasium, 10.00% VMBO basic profession-oriented learning path and 0.40% VMBO mixed learning path). Most adolescents were of Dutch origin (81.70%). Others were Turkish (6.10%), Moroccan (2.20%), Surinam (1.30%), Netherlands Antillean (0.90%) and other origin (7.90%). A majority of the adolescents lived with both parents (78.20%). Some of the adolescents lived with only their mother (16.60%) or only their father (3.10%). The remaining adolescents lived in different family structure. Boys and girls did not differ in age, education level, ethnicity, and family structure.

For 42 adolescents, one of their parents participated in this study as well (33 mothers and 9 fathers). Most parents completed middle-level applied education (MBO, 35.70%) or higher professional education (HBO, 23.80%). Others finished University (11.90%), domestic science school (9.50%), preparatory middle-level applied education (MAVO, 4.80%), higher general continued education (HAVO, 4.80%), Gymnasium (2.40%), vocational training (2.40%), technical education (2.40%) and elementary school (2.40%). The majority of the participating parents were of Dutch origin (97.60%). One parent (2.40%) was of a different origin. Adolescents of which parents participated and adolescents of which parents did not participate, did not differ significantly in gender, age, education level, ethnicity or family structure.

Measures

Domain-specific judgments of privacy invasion behaviors. The extent to which adolescents and their parents perceive privacy invasion as legitimate was measured for both adolescents and parents. Seven 12-item scales were used. All scales consisted of the same social domain items (inspired by Smetana & Daddis, 2002), but they regarded different types of privacy invasion (inspired by Petronio, 1994). These scales can be viewed in Appendix A. Three scales referred to direct privacy invasion (e.g. asking questions, walking into adolescents' room, and demanding information about adolescents' free time). Four scales regarded subversive privacy invasion (e.g. reading text messages and e-mails, eavesdropping on phone calls, search through room, bag or computer, and asking

for information from adolescents' friends). For each scale, we asked whether these behaviors were acceptable for different goals. These goals applied to the moral domain (appendix item 9, 10 and 12), the conventional domain (appendix item 4, 8 and 11), the prudential domain (appendix item 1, 2 and 7), and the personal domain (appendix item 3, 5 and 6). An example of an item was 'It is acceptable that parents read adolescents' text messages or e-mails to check if their children lie to them'. All items were scored on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Totally disagree) to 5 (Totally agree). The higher the score, the more privacy invasion was perceived as being legitimate.

The seven scales were used in two ways to calculate means to include in the analyses. First, all items dealing with a particular domain were used to calculate a mean score for perceived legitimacy of privacy for that domain in general. This was done for all four domains, leading to four mean scores for adolescents and four mean scores for parents. Scale reliability was assessed according to the Cotan criteria (Cotan, 2002). For research on a group level, like the current study, an alpha of .60 was sufficient and an alpha of .70 or higher was good. Additionally, for each scale a factor analysis (Principal Component Analysis) was carried out to investigate whether the scale portrayed one dimension. For parents ($n = 42$), correlations between these items were between .26 and .99 ($\alpha = .98$) (moral), .04 and .94 ($\alpha = .97$) (conventional), .03 and .95 ($\alpha = .96$) (prudential), and .07 and .95 ($\alpha = .97$) (personal). These scores were quite sufficient and showed good reliability. Most items loaded well (factor loading $\geq .40$) on a one-factor solution per domain (loadings $\geq .57$ for moral, $\geq .40$ for conventional, $\geq .41$ for prudential, and $\geq .46$ for personal) and the proportion of explained variance with one factor was good, respectively 70.69%, 61.93%, 55.90% and 61.79%. However, a few items showed problematic loadings on the one-factor solutions. This was one item for the conventional domain (factor loading .33), one for the prudential domain (.28) and two for the personal domain (.29 and .36). All these items dealt with 'asking questions about a behavior'. Because the amount of explained variance was good and the scales showed enough reliability, no items were deleted. For adolescents ($N = 228$), correlations between these items were between .01 and .86 ($\alpha = .95$) (moral), .04 and .85 ($\alpha = .95$) (conventional), .01 and .90 ($\alpha = .94$) (prudential) and .11 and .92 ($\alpha = .95$) (personal). Again, the scales showed good reliability. Most items loaded well on a one-factor solution per domain (loadings $\geq .44$ for moral, $\geq .66$ for conventional, $\geq .44$ for prudential, and $\geq .40$ for personal) and the proportion of explained variance with one factor was sufficient to good, respectively 50.11%, 49.11%, 45.88% and 52.69%. Again, a few items showed problematic loadings

on the one-factor solutions. This were three items for the conventional domain (.36, .37 and .38), and two for the prudential domain (.29 and .30). Again, all these items dealt with 'asking questions about a behavior'. Because the amount of explained variance was sufficient to good for these scales as well and the scales showed enough reliability, again no items were deleted.

Second, for every domain, we calculated separate means for direct invasion and subversive invasion. This was done for the adolescent sample only, because parent-adolescent differences would only be examined for the domains in general. Correlations between these items were between .33 and .84 ($\alpha = .91$) (moral direct), .38 and .86 ($\alpha = .94$) (moral subversive), .24 and .81 ($\alpha = .89$) (conventional direct), .44 and .85 ($\alpha = .95$) (conventional subversive), .09 and .73 ($\alpha = .87$) (prudential direct), .32 and .90 ($\alpha = .94$) (prudential subversive), .27 and .89 ($\alpha = .91$) (personal direct), and .42 and .93 ($\alpha = .95$) (personal subversive). Yet again, scale reliability was good. All items loaded well on a one-factor solution per domain for direct privacy invasion (loadings $\geq .68$ for moral, $\geq .59$ for conventional, $\geq .59$ for prudential, and $\geq .64$ for personal) and the proportion of explained variance with one factor was sufficient to good, respectively 57.75%, 53.12%, 48.85% and 57.25%. Additionally, all items loaded well on a one-factor solution per domain for subversive privacy invasion (loadings $\geq .70$ for moral, $\geq .68$ for conventional, $\geq .62$ for prudential, and $\geq .68$ for personal) and the proportion of explained variance with one factor was good, respectively 61.63%, 63.47%, 60.41% and 67.16%.

Trust. An 18-item scale was used only for adolescents to measure the extent to which adolescents felt trusted by their parents (Appendix B, items 1-18). This scale was inspired by Kerr et al. (1999), but was altered in such a way that the items represented the social domains. Although this scale was used as a whole, items reflecting all domains were included. An example of an item was 'My parents are confident that I make good decisions about alcohol and smoking'. All items were scored on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Totally disagree) to 5 (Totally agree). A higher score indicated a greater feeling of being trusted. Correlations between these items were between .15 and .59 ($\alpha = .92$). The original scale showed good reliability as well ($\alpha = .82$; Kerr et al., 1999). All items loaded well on a one-factor solution (loadings $\geq .47$) and the proportion of explained variance with one factor was sufficient (40.52%).

Disclosure. The extent to which adolescents voluntarily tell parents about their behavior was measured by a 6-item scale by Stattin and Kerr (2000, appendix items 1-6), translated into Dutch. An example of an item was 'Do you tell your parents on your own initiative about your friends (with which friends you

have contact with and how they think about things)?'. All items were scored on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Never) to 5 (Often). The higher the score, the more adolescents believed they shared information with their parents. Correlations between these items were between .10 and .63 ($\alpha = .75$). The original scale showed this as well ($\alpha = .81$; Stattin & Kerr, 2000, $\alpha = .78$; Kerr et al., 1999). All items loaded well on a one-factor solution (loadings $\geq .47$) and the proportion of explained variance with one factor was sufficient (45.01%).

Procedure

Adolescents were recruited at their schools during several classes. Adolescents were given an informative letter to give to their parents. Subsequently, parents provided informed consent for their children to participate in the survey. Four to five days later, the schools were visited. At two of the schools, adolescents gathered in the computer room. The students were given an instruction form. This form reminded the students of the purpose of the survey and directed the students to the web survey. Additionally, the form provided a code that the adolescents needed to enter in the survey. Further, the instruction form emphasized the importance of parental participation. Adolescents from these schools completed the web survey at that moment. It took about half an hour to finish the survey. When finished, students were asked to take the instruction form home for one of their parents. The parent that participated used the same code as the adolescent, in order to determine dyads.

At one of the schools, no computer rooms were available. Therefore, students were given the instruction form during regular classes and were asked to complete the survey at home. Again, adolescents were asked to give the form to one parent afterwards and the importance of parental participation was emphasized. About 5% of the adolescent respondents completed the survey at home. All parents completed the survey without supervision from a researcher. One adolescent refused to participate, because the adolescent's parents wouldn't participate either. Neither students nor parents had to provide personal information. To encourage the adolescents to ask their parents to participate, they had the chance to win a prize. In order to be able to select and contact the winners, participants could give their e-mail address or phone number at the end of the survey. Answers given by the participants and e-mail addresses were saved separately to secure confidentiality.

Strategy of analysis

First, we expected that the parents and adolescents from the dyadic sample ($n = 42$) differed in perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion within the personal domain. It was hypothesized that parents perceived privacy invasion in this area as more legitimate than adolescents did. In order to test these hypotheses, a 4 (Domain) \times 2 (Dyad: parent vs. child) repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out for adolescents' and parents' perceptions of legitimacy of privacy invasion.

Second, it was expected that participants from the adolescent sample ($N = 228$) perceived privacy invasion within the moral domain as being the most legitimate, followed by the conventional and prudential domain. For this sample, it was expected that privacy invasion within the personal domain was perceived as being the least legitimate. Third and fourth, we hypothesized that when a main effect of domain was found, this effect would disappear when trust and disclosure were added as covariates. Therefore, first a one-factor repeated-measures ANOVA was performed to examine the main effect. Next, a one-factor repeated-measures analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) with both covariates added was carried out to inspect whether the main effect persisted.

Fifth, again using the adolescent sample, we expected that subversive privacy invasion was perceived as being less legitimate than direct privacy invasion. Sixth, it was hypothesized that within both types of privacy invasion, privacy invasion again was most legitimate when it regarded the moral domain, followed by the conventional and prudential domains and was least legitimate when it regarded the personal domain. In order to test these hypotheses, a 2 (Type) \times 4 (Domain) two-way repeated-measures ANOVA was performed. For every analysis, an alpha of 5% was used.

Results

Descriptives and correlations

Means, standard deviations and correlations for adolescents' and parents' perceived legitimacy of parental privacy invasion within the different social domains are presented in Table 1. This table contains the parent-adolescent dyads ($n = 42$). Correlations ranged from $r = .19$ to $r = .98$. In general, correlations between adolescent variables were high. For variables regarding parental responses, correlations were very high. Correlations between adolescent and parental variables were quite small. However, for the conventional and the prudential domains, these correlations were significant. This indicated that parents and adolescents may have had different perceptions of legitimacy of

privacy invasion for some issues, but not for others.

Means, standard deviations and correlations for adolescents' perceived legitimacy of parental privacy invasion for the different social domains and trust and disclosure are shown in Table 2. This table includes all adolescent respondents ($N = 228$). These correlations ranged from $r = .01$ to $r = .93$. Mainly, correlations amongst domains were high to very high. Although correlations between the domains, trust and disclosure were low, correlations between the domains and disclosure were significant. According to these findings, disclosure was more likely to be a significant covariate than trust. If the amount of disclosure would change, it was predicted that the amount of perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion would change as well, in a positive direction.

Means, standard deviations and correlations for adolescents' perceived legitimacy of parental subversive and direct privacy invasion for the different social domains are given in Table 3. The range of these correlations was from $r = .48$ to $r = .93$. Mostly, correlations were moderate to high. Not only were correlations within types of privacy invasion significant, correlations between types of privacy invasion were also significant. All correlations were in a positive direction.

In the following analyses there were no missing values for any variable. Out of the original sample of 229 participants, one adolescent was excluded from all analyses. The decision to remove this respondent was reached after examining box plots for all variables used in the analyses. The respondent differed significantly from the total sample on the variable trust. After removing this outlier the mean for trust increased from 4.10 ($SD = .61$) to 4.11 ($SD = .57$).

Parent-adolescent differences in social domains

The first hypothesis articulated that adolescents would perceive less legitimacy of privacy invasion than parents did on the personal domain, as compared to the moral, conventional and prudential domains. Mauchly's test showed that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $\chi^2(5) = 33.64$, $p < .001$ (domain), $\chi^2(5) = 11.81$, $p = .04$ (interaction). Accordingly, the degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .65$ (domain), $\epsilon = .82$ (interaction)).

A large significant main effect for domain was found, $F(3, 123) = 21.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .34$. This result displays that the four domains triggered significantly different evaluations amongst the sample. As can be seen in Table 4, pairwise comparisons (LSD) showed that, apart from a comparison between the prudential and conventional domains, $p = .56$, all domains differed significantly from one

another. The mean score for legitimacy of privacy invasion on the moral domain was the highest, $p < .001$ for all domain comparisons, followed by the conventional and prudential domains. The mean score for legitimacy of privacy invasion on the personal domain was the lowest, $p < .001$ for the moral and conventional domain comparisons, $p = .02$ for the prudential domain comparison.

Parents exhibited higher mean scores of legitimacy of privacy invasion than adolescents did. However, this difference was not significant, $F(1, 41) = 1.31$, $p = .26$, $\eta^2 = .03$. This result indicated that, on average across the different domains, parents and adolescents did not significantly differ in perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion of the different social domains. The Domain \times Dyad interaction effect was not significant, $F(3, 123) = 2.55$, $p = .07$, $\eta^2 = .06$. Therefore, the first hypothesis was not supported. Although this was not a significant result, it did show a fairly strong trend that suggested parents found privacy invasion more legitimate than their adolescent children did for some of the domains, but not for others. This can also be seen in Figure 1. Consequently, we investigated post hoc comparisons per domain. For all domains, no significant differences between adolescents and parents were found ($p = .61$ for moral, $p = .51$ for conventional, $p = .11$ for prudential and $p = .09$ for the personal domain). However, adolescents made more distinction about the different domains than their parents did. For adolescents, perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion in the moral domain differed from all other domains, $p < .001$ for all domains. Adolescents thought invasion in the moral domain was more legitimate than invasion in the other domains. Additionally, perceived legitimacy of invasion in the conventional domain differed from the personal domain, $p = .001$, where invasion was perceived as more legitimate in the conventional domain. There were no differences between the conventional and the prudential domain, $p = .14$, and the prudential and the personal domain, $p = .06$. For parents, only legitimacy of privacy invasion in the moral domain differed from all other domains. Parents perceived privacy invasion in this domain as being more legitimate than in the other domains, $p = .004$ for the conventional domain, $p = .01$ for the prudential domain and $p = .003$ for the personal domain. No differences in perceived legitimacy were found between the other domains. This may have led to the trend that was found.

Social domains for adolescents

Subsequently, we tested whether there was an effect of domain for the perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion for the total adolescent sample ($N = 228$). It was expected that legitimacy of privacy invasion would differ per domain.

The expected ranking per domain started with the moral domain as most legitimate, followed by conventional and prudential, with the personal domain as least legitimate. Mauchly's test showed that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2(5) = 153.15, p < .001$, therefore the degrees of freedom were again corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates ($\epsilon = .69$).

A large significant effect for domain was found, $F(3, 681) = 55.67, p < .001, \eta^2 = .20$. This revealed that adolescents' perceptions of legitimacy of privacy invasion differed significantly per social domain. All four domains differed significantly from each other. Results of the post-hoc comparison (LSD) are shown in Table 5. Parental privacy invasion for issues in the moral domain was perceived by adolescents as being the most legitimate, thus more legitimate than privacy invasion for conventional issues, prudential issues, and personal issues, $p < .001$ for all domains. Privacy invasion for issues regarding the conventional domain was perceived as more legitimate than privacy invasion for prudential, $p = .001$, and personal issues, $p < .001$. Finally, privacy invasion for issues regarding the prudential domain was found more legitimate than privacy invasion for personal issues, $p = .001$. This meant that the actual ranking of domains started with the moral domain as most legitimate, followed by conventional and prudential domain, with the personal domain as least legitimate. These results provided support for the second hypothesis.

Trust and disclosure

The third and fourth hypothesis predicted that the main effect of domain would disappear when trust and disclosure were added as covariates simultaneously. Mauchly's test showed that the assumption of sphericity had again been violated, $\chi^2(5) = 150.61, p < .001$, therefore the Greenhouse-Geisser correction was again used ($\epsilon = .69$). In this new test, the aforementioned main effect for domain in the adolescent sample was no longer significant, $F(3, 675) = 0.73, p = .49, \eta^2 = .003$. This showed that adolescents' perceptions of legitimacy of privacy invasion did not differ significantly per social domain. A small main effect of disclosure was found, $F(1, 225) = 6.16, p = .01, \eta^2 = .03$. No main effect of trust was found, $F(1, 225) = 0.05, p = .83, \eta^2 < .001$. These findings indicated that disclosure shared a significant portion of the variance explained by the domain distinctions. The issues did not lead to differences in perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion, but the amount of disclosure for those issues, where more disclosure meant more legitimacy of privacy invasion. This was of opposite direction than expected, since a negative direction of disclosure was hypothesized. A non-significant interaction effect for domain and trust indicated

that perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion did not differ significantly per social domain when taking the level of trust into account, $F(3, 675) = 1.89, p = .15, \eta^2 = .01$. Further, a non-significant interaction effect for domain and disclosure was found, $F(3, 675) = 0.07, p = .94, \eta^2 < .01$. This result showed that perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion did not differ significantly per social domain when taking the level of disclosure into account. Mixed support for the hypothesis was found. There was an initial effect of domain, and as expected the effect did not last when taking the covariates into account. Support was found for the assumption that adolescent differences in other variables were related to differences in perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion. However, this was only found for disclosure and not for trust. Additionally, a negative direction for disclosure was expected, whereas actually a positive direction was found.

Subversive and direct privacy invasion

The fifth hypothesis predicted that adolescents perceived subversive privacy invasion as less legitimate than direct privacy invasion, for all domains. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2(5) = 72.09, p < .001$ and degrees of freedom were again corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates ($\epsilon = .68$ (domain), $\epsilon = .81$ (interaction)). A large main effect was found for type of privacy invasion, $F(1, 227) = 178.36, p < .001, \eta^2 = .44$. Subversive privacy invasion ($M = 2.15, SD = .92$) was perceived as less significantly legitimate than direct privacy invasion ($M = 2.80, SD = .80$). This meant that the fifth hypothesis was supported.

Again, a main effect for domain was found, $F(3, 681) = 53.15, p < .001, \eta^2 = .19$. This was a large effect. Adolescents believed it was most legitimate for their parents to invade on their privacy in the moral domain, followed by the conventional and prudential, and the personal domain as least legitimate. We expected with the sixth hypothesis that this ranking applied to both types of invasive behavior. The results supported this expectation. The same ranking was found for both types of invasive behavior. . . , These results can also be seen in Table 6 for subversive behavior and Table 7 for direct behavior.

Test results also showed a small significant interaction effect between type and domain, $F(3, 681) = 5.57, p = .002, \eta^2 = .02$. The interaction is portrayed in Figure 2. These results showed that the effect of domain was different per type of behavior. However, the results regarding the sixth hypothesis showed that the ranking of domains applied to both types of invasive behavior. Consequently, we investigated the interaction further using post hoc comparisons per domain. For both types of privacy invasion, significant differences in perceived legitimacy were

found between all domains. For subversive privacy invasion this meant there were significant differences between the moral and conventional domain, $p < .001$, the moral and prudential domain, $p < .001$, the moral and personal domain, $p < .001$, the conventional and prudential domain, $p = .01$, the conventional and personal domain, $p < .001$ and finally the prudential and the personal domain, $p = .002$. Here, privacy invasion in the moral domain was perceived as being the most legitimate, followed by the conventional domain and the prudential domain. Privacy invasion in the personal domain was perceived as being the least legitimate. For direct privacy invasion, the same significant differences were found. The moral and the conventional domain different significantly, $p < .001$, as did the moral and prudential domain, $p < .001$, the moral and personal domain, $p < .001$, the conventional and prudential domain, $p = .003$, the conventional and personal domain, $p < .001$, and finally the prudential and the personal domain, $p = .01$. Again, privacy invasion in the moral domain was perceived as being the most legitimate, followed by the conventional domain and the prudential domain. Privacy invasion in the personal domain was perceived as being the least legitimate. Additionally, for all domains, significant differences between subversive and direct privacy invasion were found ($p < .001$ for all domains). Within all domains, subversive privacy invasion was perceived as less legitimate than direct privacy invasion. To summarize, adolescents found subversive privacy invasion less legitimate than direct privacy invasion. For both types of invasion, adolescents thought privacy invasion was most legitimate in the moral domain, followed by the conventional, prudential and personal domain. Both findings supported our hypotheses. However, an interaction effect between domain and type was also found which indicated there might have been differences between domains for the different types. It was unclear which domains lead to this finding.

Discussion

The aim of this research was to answer the question of whether there is a relationship between perceived legitimacy of parental privacy invasion and the moral, conventional, prudential and personal domains of the Social Domain Theory, (Smetana & Daddis, 2002). To be able to answer this question, first we specifically looked at possible differences between parents and adolescents in this perception. Second, we studied whether parental trust as perceived by adolescents, and disclosure by adolescents, accounted for the way adolescents thought about parental privacy invasion. At last, we studied whether the type of invasion tactics would make a difference in the perceived legitimacy of privacy

invasion. In general, we found that the perceived legitimacy of invasion by parents is domain specific.

The first focus pertained to whether parents and adolescents differed in the perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion on the four different social domains. Literature indicated that parents and adolescents generally agree that issues related to the moral, conventional, and prudential domains fall under parental authority (Cumsille, Darling, Flaherty, & Martinez, 2006; Hasebe, Nucci, & Nucci, 2004; Smetana, 2000), whereas the personal domain is under the adolescent's own jurisdiction (Padilla-Walker, 2008; Sorkhabi, 2010). The hypothesis was that adolescents perceived less legitimacy of privacy invasion than parents did on the personal domain. Additionally, it was expected that parents and adolescents would not differ in perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion on the moral, conventional, and prudential domains and would both regard these issues as being under the parents' jurisdiction.

The results showed that the legitimacy of privacy invasion differed over the four domains, according to respondents. The legitimacy of privacy invasion on the personal domain was perceived lowest by both parents and adolescents. A strong trend toward a significant interaction between domain and respondent (i.e. parents or adolescents) suggested that parents and adolescents did somewhat differ from one another in their perceptions of legitimacy of privacy invasion for particular issues. Parents found privacy invasion more legitimate than their adolescent children did. The difference between parents and adolescents was the largest for the personal domain. This trend was in alignment with the expectation. However, because the interaction was not significant, interpretations of this pattern should be made with caution. It is possible that the trend is attributable to within-person difference patterns in the domains.

Secondly, it was studied in which social domain adolescents find it most and least legitimate for parental privacy invasion. Deriving out of particular theories found in literature we expected that the moral and conventional domains were considered most legitimate (Hasebe et al., 2004; Smetana, 2000; Smetana et al., 2005; Smetana & Daddis, 2002; Smetana et al., 2006; Smetana, Villalobos, Tasopoulos-Chan, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2009, Wray-Lake, Crouter, & McHale, 2010). The prudential domain was expected to be third in order. Adolescents regard this domain to be a part of parental authority (Cumsille et al., 2006; Perkins & Turiel, 2007; Smetana et al., 2005), unless they actually partake in risky behavior (Smetana et al., 2005; Smetana et al., 2006). We found it plausible to assume there would be some adolescents partaking in risky behavior, which would, according to the theory, decrease the mean of legitimacy

for this particular domain. The personal domain was expected to be last in order. Adolescents believe that they have control over the personal domain (Hasebe et al., 2004; Padilla-Walker, 2008; Smetana et al., 2006, Sorkhabi, 2010). This ranking of domains was supported by the results of the current study.

The third and fourth hypotheses centered on the effect on the legitimacy of privacy invasion of trust and disclosure as perceived by adolescents. The hypotheses were that differences in the perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion on the four social domains would disappear when controlling for the adolescents' reports of parental trust and adolescent disclosure in the parent-adolescent relationship. This was expected because literature showed that, in a relationship, a partner would not feel the need to be intrusive when one showed high levels of disclosure (Vinkers, Finkenauer, & Hawk, 2011). This may also have applied to the parent-adolescent relationship. Higher relationship quality and trust have also predicted adolescents' beliefs that parents had the right to know about their whereabouts in prior research (Laird et al., 2003). Results of the current study also indicated that the domain differences in perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion disappeared when controlling for disclosure and trust. However, only disclosure turned out to be a significant covariate. This was an indication that the differences that were found in perceived invasion legitimacy between domains, were actually to some extent differences in the amount of disclosure. The amount of disclosure affected perceived legitimacy, where more disclosure meant more acceptance of parents' invasive behaviors. So, it were not the issues that went along with differences in perceived privacy invasion, but the amount of disclosure for those issues. However, the direction of the relationship that was found did not correspond to earlier findings. In this study, greater disclosure indicated more acceptance of privacy invasion. It is possible that adolescents who voluntarily shared a lot of information with their parents also felt they had nothing to hide and were not afraid of their parents finding anything. Future research could include questions on why privacy invasive behavior was perceived as legitimate or illegitimate. This is important because parental knowledge of adolescents' day-to-day behavior is related to several positive adolescent outcomes (i.e. lower levels of drug use and delinquency, higher self-esteem and better academic performance; Darling, Cumsille, Caldwell, & Dowdy, 2006). Therefore, it is desirable to find a way for parents to gain knowledge, without being invasive.

The final focus of the research dealt with legitimacy of privacy invasion for the different social domains when distinguishing between subversive (e.g. eavesdropping) and direct (e.g. asking questions) invasion tactics. Subversive tactics, in particular, take away the adolescents' ability to control their own

privacy (Petronio, 1994). This led to the hypothesis that, within all domains, adolescents would perceive subversive invasive behavior as less legitimate than direct invasive behavior. The results supported the hypothesis. For both types of privacy invasion, the ranking of most to least legitimate was the same as was found when there was no distinction made between types of invasive behavior (i.e. from most to least legitimate: moral, conventional, prudential, and personal domain). Adolescents did not differ in their opinion of parental invasive behavior per domain for different types of behavior. It seems that when privacy invasion is divided in two types, the overall thought remains the same about privacy invasion on different domains. Only there is a preference for the direct type, independent of the content of the domain.

Strengths and limitations

This study had its strengths and limitations. Foremost, a strength of this study was that both adolescents and parents were assessed. This made a comparison of adolescents and their parents opinions possible. However, adult participation was fully dependent upon youths recruiting their parents for the study. This could have caused a bias where only a certain group of adolescents did what was asked of them (e.g. adolescents with a positive relationship with their parents, adolescents that had nothing to hide, adolescents that follow orders given at school) or only a certain group of parents responded (e.g. parents with more free time, parents that do what their child asks them to do). Further, parents were asked to complete the survey at home. Therefore, it was not possible to be certain that it was indeed the parent that completed the survey. To solve this problem, parents should be contacted directly instead of through their children in future research. Also the setting in which parents filled out the questionnaires was not supervised. These limitations could be fixed by getting both parents and their adolescent children to fill out the questionnaire in the same supervised setting.

A second limitation to this study was that it concerned correlational data. Thus, the results do not show causality (e.g. It is possible that high disclosure in adolescents causes them to perceive privacy invasion as being more legitimate. However it is also possible that perceiving privacy invasion as being more legitimate causes high disclosure in adolescents). Future research could provide a longitudinal study on perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion between parents and adolescents. Finally, this study was conducted with a sample of Dutch school-going adolescents. It is difficult to generalize these results over different countries and cultures. An example is the prudential domain, of which the perceived

legitimacy of parental privacy invasion is expected to differ when the adolescent partakes in risky behavior. In the Dutch sample there was a bigger chance of adolescents showing risky behavior because, for them, age limits for smoking and drinking alcohol are lower than for American adolescents. Therefore, future research could add an actual measure of risky behavior to investigate this alternative explanation.

Implications and future research

This research has helped to clarify a possible source of parent-adolescent disputes. The insights provided by this study can be implicated in parental-adolescent mediation. Mediation could focus on how parents and adolescents perceive the four social domains and how their opinion on authority over the domains differs. However, there is also some future research needed to explain the consequences of parental invasive behavior in different social domains. Because of the strong trend shown in relation to the first hypothesis regarding differences in parent and youth perceptions per domain, it would be beneficial to further investigate the sources of these differences. Future research could be performed on a larger sample (e.g. With a bigger sample it is possible that the trend found in adolescent-parent differences will be significant).

The second hypothesis expected a certain ranking in domains, with invasion in the moral domain as most legitimate, followed by the conventional and prudential domain, and least legitimate in the personal domain. This expectation was based on earlier research (Smetana, Crean & Campione-Barr, 2005).

In order to further unravel the relationship between trust, disclosure and privacy invasion it is wise for future research to include checklists that register actual behavior in adolescents. For example, this could exhibit whether respondents who disclose less also have "more to hide".

Conclusion

In conclusion, legitimacy of privacy invasion was perceived differentially for the four domains. Invasion on the moral domain was most acceptable, followed by the conventional and prudential domains and finally the personal domain. It was found that parents and adolescents did not differ on their perception of the moral, conventional and prudential domain. However, parents and adolescents did differ on some instances on whether invasion on the personal domain was perceived to be legitimate. Parents found this to be the case more often than adolescents did. Also the trust adolescents felt in their relationship did

not alter the perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion. Disclosure, however, did. When adolescents disclosed more information to their parents, they perceived privacy invasion as being *more* legitimate. Finally, it was found that subversive privacy invasion was considered less legitimate than direct privacy invasion in all four domains.

The results from this study was in accordance with the distinction of the four social domains described by Smetana and Daddis (2002). Throughout this study, these domains differed significantly with each other. These results confirmed the Social Domain Theory (Smetana & Daddis, 2002). Results also showed that parents and adolescents generally agreed with each other on who is in control of a particular domain. It seems that the perspective of parents and adolescents about the jurisdiction over the different domains is more similar than was assumed.

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Table 1

Descriptives and correlations for legitimacy of privacy invasion in the social domains (prudential, conventional, personal and moral) as reported by adolescents and parents (n = 42)

	Descriptives				Correlations							
	M	SD	Min	Max	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Moral adolescent	2.70	0.66	1.57	4.19	-							
2. Conventional adolescent	2.49	0.63	1.57	4.14	.88***	-						
3. Prudential adolescent	2.41	0.56	1.57	3.95	.84***	.85***	-					
4. Personal adolescent	2.29	0.62	1.29	4.00	.74***	.85***	.79***	-				
5. Moral parent	2.78	1.11	1.00	5.00	.26	.32*	.33*	.19	-			
6. Conventional parent	2.58	0.90	1.00	5.00	.25	.34*	.33*	.26	.93***	-		
7. Prudential parent	2.62	0.84	1.00	5.00	.30	.36*	.37*	.24	.95***	.97***	-	
8. Personal parent	2.55	0.87	1.00	5.00	.24	.32*	.33*	.24	.91***	.98***	.96***	-

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

Parental invasive behavior and perceived legitimacy in social domains

Table 2
Descriptives and correlations for legitimacy of privacy invasion in the social domains (prudential, conventional, personal and moral), trust and disclosure, as reported by adolescents (N = 228)

	Descriptives				Correlations					
	M	SD	Min	Max	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Moral	2.62	0.90	1.00	5.00	-					
2. Conventional	2.43	0.81	1.00	5.00	.91***	-				
3. Prudential	2.37	0.79	1.00	5.00	.88***	.93***	-			
4. Personal	2.29	0.81	1.00	5.00	.79***	.92***	.89***	-		
5. Trust	4.11	0.58	1.00	5.00	.04	.01	.04	-.02	-	
6. Disclosure	3.12	0.60	1.00	5.00	.14*	.16*	.17*	.16*	.20**	-

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

Table 3

Descriptives and correlations for legitimacy of privacy invasion in the social domains (prudential, conventional, personal and moral) per type of behavior (direct and subversive invasion), as reported by adolescents (N = 228)

		Descriptives				Correlations							
		X	SD	Min	Max	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Moral	1. Subversive	2.37	1.05	1.00	5.00	-							
	2. Direct	2.95	0.89	1.00	5.00	.65***	-						
Conventional	3. Subversive	2.14	0.95	1.00	5.00	.92***	.55***	-					
	4. Direct	2.82	0.83	1.00	5.00	.62***	.88***	.62***	-				
Prudential	5. Subversive	2.08	0.92	1.00	5.00	.88***	.56***	.93***	.61***	-			
	6. Direct	2.75	0.81	1.00	5.00	.57***	.85***	.54***	.91***	.60***	-		
Personal	7. Subversive	2.00	0.91	1.00	5.00	.83***	.48***	.91***	.60***	.91***	.54***	-	
	8. Direct	2.67	0.85	1.00	5.00	.54***	.72***	.58***	.89***	.57***	.86***	.64***	-

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

Table 4

Pairwise comparisons and effect sizes of legitimacy of privacy invasion per domain as reported by adolescents and parents (n = 42)

	M	SD	Mean differences ($X_i - X_j$)			
			1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Moral domain	2.74	0.72	-			
2. Conventional domain	2.53	0.63	-0.21***	-		
3. Prudential domain	2.51	0.59	-0.23***	-0.02	-	
4. Personal domain	2.42	0.59	-0.32***	-0.11***	-0.09**	-

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

Table 5

Pairwise comparisons and effect sizes of legitimacy of privacy invasion per domain as reported by adolescents (N = 228)

	M	SD	Mean differences ($X_i - X_j$)			
			1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Moral domain	2.62	0.90	-			
2. Conventional domain	2.43	0.81	-0.18***	-		
3. Prudential domain	2.37	0.79	-0.24***	-0.07**	-	
4. Personal domain	2.29	0.81	-0.32***	-0.15***	-0.08**	-

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

Table 6

Pairwise comparisons and effect sizes of legitimacy of privacy invasion per domain for subversive parental privacy invasion (N = 228)

	M	SD	Mean differences ($X_i - X_j$)			
			1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Moral domain	2.37	1.05	-			
2. Conventional domain	2.14	0.95	-0.23***	-		
3. Prudential domain	2.08	0.92	-0.29***	-0.06**	-	
4. Personal domain	2.00	0.91	-0.37***	-0.14***	-0.08**	-

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

Table 7

Pairwise comparisons and effect sizes of legitimacy of privacy invasion per domain for direct parental privacy invasion (N = 228)

	M	SD	Mean differences ($X_i - X_j$)			
			1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Moral domain	2.95	0.89	-			
2. Conventional domain	2.82	0.83	-0.12***	-		
3. Prudential domain	2.75	0.81	-0.20***	-0.07**	-	
4. Personal domain	2.67	0.85	-0.28***	-0.15***	-0.08**	-

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

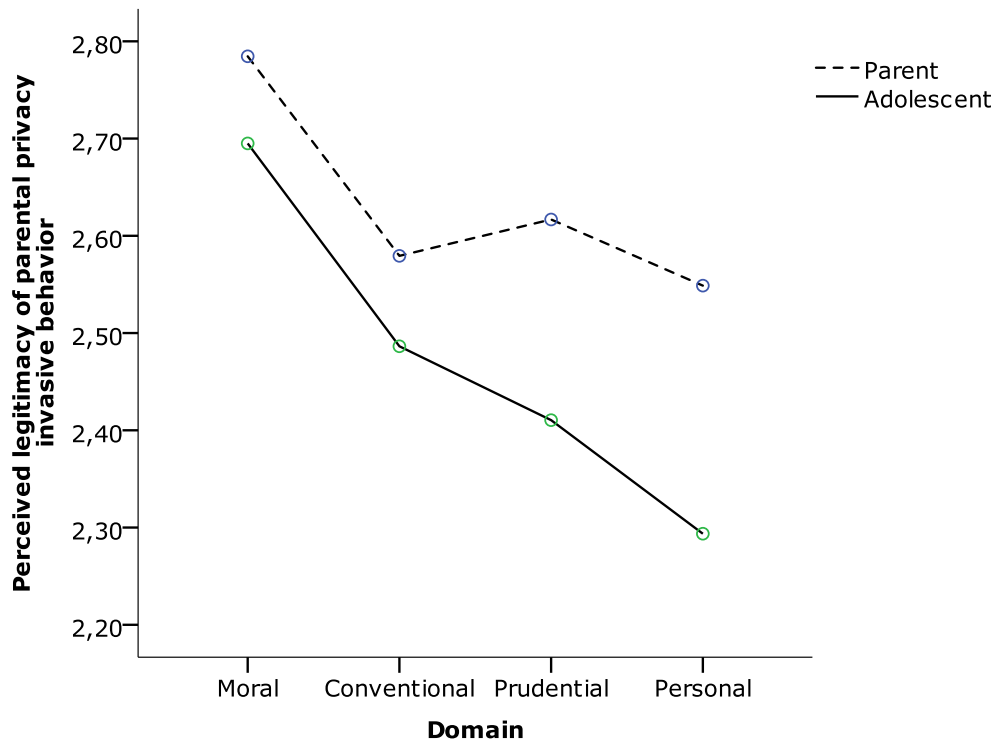


Figure 1. Perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion per social domain and dyad. No interaction effect was found.

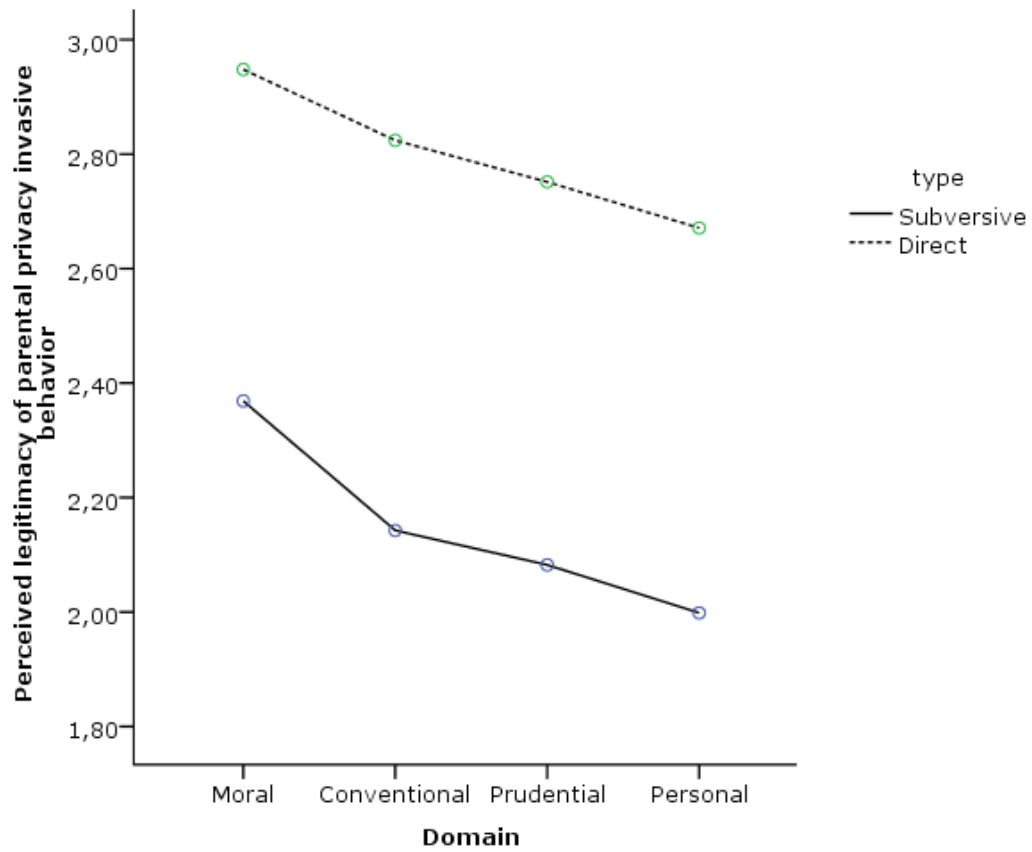


Figure 2. Perceived legitimacy of privacy invasion per social domain and type of behavior. An interaction effect was found.

Appendix A: Domain-specific judgments of privacy invasion behaviors

For each statement, please tell to what extent you agree. You can only tick one box for each statement.

It is acceptable for parents to search through their children's room, backpack, or computer... / It is acceptable for parents to read their children's text messages or emails... / It is acceptable for parents to listen in on their children's telephone calls... / It is acceptable for parents to ask their children questions... / It is acceptable for parents to enter their children's room without knocking... / It is acceptable for parents to ask friends of their children information about their children... / It is acceptable for parents to construct the rule that children are obligated to tell what they did in their spare time...

1. ...to check whether their children smoke or drink alcohol.
2. ...to check whether their children are sexually active.
3. ...to check which websites their children visit.
4. ...to check whether their children behave good around other people.
5. ...to check who their children hang out with.
6. ...to check what their children do in their spare time.
7. ...to check how their children are doing in school.
8. ...to check whether their children do their chores (e.g. cleaning their room, taking care of pets).
9. ...to check whether their children steal from them.
10. ...to check whether their children hurt other adolescents or take things from others.
11. ...to check whether their children use foul language.
12. ...to check whether their children lie to them.

Appendix B: Trust

For each statement, please note to what extent you believe your parents trust you. You can only tick one box for each statement.

My parents trust that...

1. ...I make good decisions about alcohol use and smoking
2. ...I make good decisions about my sexual behavior
3. ...I handle the internet responsibly and watch appropriate movies
4. ...I behave well in public
5. ...I make good decisions about the people I hang out with
6. ...I handle my spare time responsibly
7. ...I put effort in my school work
8. ...I do my chores
9. ...I do not steal from them
10. ...I do not hurt others
11. ...I do not use foul language
12. ...I do not lie to them
13. ...I make good decisions about my choice of friends
14. ...I spend money responsibly
15. ...I take responsibility for my own life
16. ...I do my best when I study
17. ...I do not waste my spare time
18. ...what I tell my parents about my friends and my after school activities is true

Appendix C: Disclosure

For each statement, please note how often you would tell your parents things about certain subjects. You can only tick one box per question.

1. Do you tell your parents about how you are doing in different courses at school?
2. Do you spontaneously tell your parents about your friends (which friends you hang out with and how they think and feel about various things)?
3. How often do you usually want to tell your parents about school (how each subject is going; your relationships with teachers)?
4. Do you keep a lot of secrets from your parents about what you do during your free time?
5. Do you hide a lot from your parents about what you do during nights and weekends?
6. Do you tell your parents about what you did and where you went during the evening?