

To Thine Own Self Be True?
An Exploration of Authenticity

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of
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What does it mean to be authentic? Is authenticity an attribute of the individual, or do certain environmental factors facilitate or inhibit the enactment of the authentic self? This research proposes that authentic behavior is the subjective perception that one is behaving in a way that is in accordance with his or her core being. As such, sense of authenticity is considered an important component of the self. I present a theoretical model of the relationship between authenticity and the need for social approval. I analyze the reports of 194 survey respondents and interview data from 21 interviews. These quantitative and qualitative analyses suggest that individuals engage in authentic and inauthentic behavior for a variety of reasons. Specifically, three different behavioral motivations have been identified: (1) behavior motivated by pursuit of the greater social good or for purposes of social cohesion, (2) behavior motivated by pursuit of instrumental gains, and (3) behavior motivated by an internal standard of integrity. Demographic variables and psychological variables were also found to be important determinants of authentic behavior. Blacks reported lower need for social approval than whites, and subsequently higher reports of authentic behavior. Self-esteem emerged in the analyses as a powerful predictor of authentic behavior. In tandem, these results suggest that it may not be one's level of social power that determines his or her ability to behave in ways deemed authentic, but rather one's sense of freedom and confidence in oneself.

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1. Introduction

“To be nobody-but-yourself -- in a world which is doing its best, night and day, to make you everybody else -- means to fight the hardest battle which any human being can fight; and never stop fighting.”

–e.e. cummings

The notion of the ‘true self’ has been of interest to philosophers and social scientists for centuries. Is there a true self? Is the true self a notion of modernity, and is there a place for the true self in the post-modern world? If there is indeed a true self, do individuals enact this true self, that is, do they exhibit authenticity, or do they inhibit this true self in the pursuit of goal attainment or the need for social approval (NSA)? If we believe that the self is socially constructed, is the true self socially constructed as well? Or is the true self something that is born into us, like our blood type or hair color? Should we define the true self instead as what individuals believe their true selves to be? Can we be our true selves if we need or desire the social approval of others?

The aim of this research is to explore the concept of authenticity, the enactment of the true self. This dissertation will address two research topics. The first topic is group differences in authenticity. Specifically, I will look at the effects of social structure on how individuals define authenticity. Are there race, age, and gender differences in how individuals (a) define and (b) value authenticity? Do we believe that we become more authentic as we age? George (1998) suggests two non-mutually exclusive hypotheses (in that one may be true for some individuals and the second for others); both may be experienced by older adults depending on “social

conditions and personal circumstances” (p. 147). The first hypothesis is that old age may be associated with a decreased sense of authenticity, such that older adults are limited by illness, disability, and/or the loss of environments in which they can enact the true self. The second hypothesis is that old age may be associated with an increased sense of authenticity through the freedom that comes with changing social roles. In the current investigation, I gather empirical support to assess these hypotheses. This line of research is distinctly sociological in that I posit that structural factors are powerful influences on authentic behavior. That is, I propose that position in the social structure, i.e., race, age, gender, socioeconomic status (SES), and marital status influence whether or not individuals can behave authentically. The essence of this argument is the concept of power. I seek to demonstrate that high status variables such as being male, of high SES, and increasing age lead to greater enactment of authentic behavior. Counter to this general hypothesis, I make the case that being Black is associated with greater authentic behavior. Support for this hypothesis is found in socialization literature, which stresses the idea of ‘being real’ in Black culture. Although I argue that structural factors are powerful influences on authentic behavior, I simultaneously believe in the agency and power of the individual within these influences.

The second broad area of research is an outgrowth of the work of Goffman (1959) and George (1998). I ask if the need for social approval inhibits the enactment of authentic behavior. I explore how NSA differs along structural lines. If individuals feel that authenticity and social approval are associated, I am curious if

this applies under all conditions or only in certain social contexts and/or conditions. I seek to assess the tension between the desire to be authentic and the desire to be socially approved, and to delineate when individuals favor each approach. I argue that structural factors such as age, gender, SES, and marital status have direct effects on authentic behavior, but that part of their effects are mediated by NSA. I suggest that race will have a moderating effect such that Blacks will report lower need for social approval and subsequently higher authentic behavior. In addition, I expect that gender and age will interact in predicting both NSA and authentic behavior. This research seeks to fill the lack of empirical testing regarding the tension between the need for social approval and authenticity.

This dissertation addresses questions about how sense of authenticity varies across situations and across relationships, and the tension between authenticity and NSA. This research fits in with the broader aims of sociological research by examining how processes of social stratification and structural factors can influence an intimate individual difference; the degree to which we can be our true selves. In addition, this research highlights the role of socialization in guiding groups to embrace skills of impression management. Whether or not there indeed is a true self is irrelevant to this research. Rather, this research provides empirical testing of perception of the true self and behavior, and both behavioral displays and feelings of authenticity.

In the first section of the dissertation I introduce the construct of authenticity, discuss the theoretical framework of the research, review relevant empirical

literature, present my conceptual model, and outline my hypotheses. The first chapter is an introduction and in the second chapter I review related theoretical constructs from the fields of philosophy, psychology, and sociology. I provide an overview of the state-of-the science regarding the construct of authenticity: what insights do the disciplines of philosophy, psychology, and sociology offer? In the third chapter, I review the relevant empirical literature from the fields of psychology and sociology. In Chapter Four, I present my conceptual model and hypotheses, citing relevant literature and a foundation for my hypotheses regarding the effects of social status variables on both NSA and authentic behavior. My conceptual model proposes that structural factors are associated with authentic behavior both directly, and indirectly. The relationship between structural factors and authentic behavior is proposed to be mediated by NSA. Given that I propose that authentic behavior is more or less easier to enact due to structural factors, both directly and indirectly via NSA, I provide a foundation of the relevant stratification literature. In reviewing that literature on structural factors, I pay specific attention to research documenting the role of power in determining outcomes, as influenced by one's gender, race, age, socioeconomic, and marital status.

In the second section of the dissertation, I present my results, and the implications of those results for study of the self. In Chapter Five, I outline the quantitative and qualitative methods of this research. In Chapter Six, I analyze the quantitative data to test my hypotheses about group differences in authenticity. In Chapter Seven I report on my qualitative analyses, based on in-depth interviews used

to evaluate how individuals define and value the concept of authenticity, and how they perceive it to co-exist with NSA. In Chapter Eight, I integrate the quantitative and qualitative results in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the construct of authenticity. In that final chapter, I discuss the causes and consequences of authenticity and outline areas for future research.

1.1 Background and Significance

1.2 Authenticity

The notion of authenticity, a term capturing the idea of being one's true self, has received consideration within many disciplinary traditions. Philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists have each offered perspectives on what it means to be authentic. Although there is some overlap, each of these fields defines authenticity differently. I draw from these three literatures in developing the conceptualization of authenticity used in this dissertation. It is necessary to consider the historical embeddedness and role of context in determining how we define authenticity (Erickson, 1995). Erickson states, "One manifestation of this historical embeddedness is that any attempt to trace the concept's meaning across time constantly encounters problems of definition" (Erickson, 1995:123). Therefore, in this literature review, I take a chronological approach to the various uses of the term authenticity.

The term authentic is derived from the Greek *authenteo* meaning "to have full power over; also, to commit a murder," and *authentēs*, "not only a master and a doer, but also a perpetrator, a murderer, even a self-murderer, a suicide" (Trilling,

1971:122). This root does not capture the current use of the term, which denotes the enactment of the self, rather than the death of it. The term authenticity has been used to refer to both intrapsychic and interpersonal experiences, as well as a larger cultural phenomenon. For example, in a (2002) book about American couplehood, Lewin wrote a chapter entitled “ ‘You’ll Never Walk Alone’: Lesbian and Gay Weddings and the Authenticity of the Same-Sex Couple.” Similarly, the concept of authenticity emerges in the 1995 book, edited by Dews and Law, *This Fine Place So Far From Home: Voices of Academics from the Working Class*, which includes chapters by various authors chronicling, in diverse forms, the authenticity of their pursuits. The book *Something More: Excavating Your Authentic Self* by Sarah Ban Breathnach (1998) brought the topic to the public with a self-help approach. More recently, prominent psychologist Martin E.P. Seligman published *Authentic Happiness: Using the New Positive Psychology to Realize Your Potential for Lasting Fulfillment* (2002).¹ Most recently, Stephen Covey (2004) published a follow-up to his popular book *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People*. In this new book he dictates the 8th habit of highly effective people: be your authentic self.

Applications of the term authenticity have been far reaching. In his 1994 book *Claims to Fame: Celebrity in Contemporary America*, Gamson devotes a chapter to issues of authenticity in celebrity life. In the chapter entitled “Can’t Beat the Real Thing: Production Awareness and the Problem of Authenticity,” Gamson discusses how celebrities (and their publicists) convey the impression that the public

¹ Although Seligman uses the term as an adjective as opposed to a verb, his text is notable because it demonstrates the self-enhancing focus endorsed by positive psychology.

persona is the authentic self. As Gamson states “Celebrities are both performers and salespeople, professional impression managers” (1994:162).

Authenticity also has been explored in disciplines other than philosophy, psychology, and sociology (specifically, the art world, see Shiner, 1994). For example, Rudinow (1994) discusses the validity of the proposition that “white people can sing the blues” (p. 127). He outlines multiple arguments for this proposition, including authenticity, stating, “Authenticity is a value—a species of the genus credibility. It’s the kind of credibility that comes from having the appropriate relationship to an original source” (p. 129). In many ways, his definition of authenticity parallels the authenticity of the self addressed in this research- the original source being the true self. Other researchers have considered the authenticity of our environments. MacCannell (1973) uses Goffman’s framework of *front space* and *back space* in his research. In Goffman’s framework, *front space* and *back space* are used as a means to present a manufactured social reality to the observer. Just as some celebrities attempt to present their public personas as their true selves (Gamson, 1994), the *behind the scenes* or *back space* is no longer behind the scenes, but another part of the show. The link between MacCannell’s work and my own is evidenced in the following statement: “I have claimed that the structure of this social space is intimately linked to touristic attitudes, and I want to pursue this: the touristic way of getting in with the natives is to enter into a quest for authentic experiences, perceptions, and insights” (p. 602). This quest for authenticity is

something that both drives human experience, and is shaped by social structural forces.

Social psychologist Ivana Marková (1997) considers the relationship between language and authenticity in relation to the sincere presentation of self. She suggests that one can intentionally be sincere or insincere in communication. However, as Erickson (1995) argues, it is a mistake to confuse authenticity and sincerity. Authenticity, Erickson notes, is self-referential, whereas sincerity is behavior in response to an other (1994, 1995). This confusion, Erickson suggests, may account for the dearth of empirical work on the topic. Trilling states “The word ‘authenticity’ comes so readily to the tongue these days and in so many connections that it may very well resist such efforts of definition as I shall later make, but I think that for the present I can rely on its suggesting a more strenuous moral experience than ‘sincerity’ does, a more exigent conception of the self and of what being true to it consists in, a wider reference to the universe and man’s place in it, and a less acceptant and genial view of the social circumstances of life” (1971:12). Although Trilling highlights the difference between sincerity and authenticity as one of “more strenuous moral experience” (1971:12), Erickson sees the difference as one of reference; self vs. others.

Although Erickson argues for a self-referential understanding of authenticity, many of her statements suggest a conceptualization of authenticity that takes both self and other into account. That type of definition is more in line with the conception of authenticity explored in the current research. For example, Erickson states, “When

thinking of how authentic or inauthentic we feel, we are not only concerned with upholding our rights and duties to others, or to our-role based identities of spouse, parent, and teacher, but we are also (and perhaps even more seriously) concerned with maintaining our commitment and expectations for self *as an entity in its own right*” (1994:33). It is almost impossible to determine whether an individual’s motivational source is self or others, especially considering that the self is so heavily influenced by society. Erickson draws heavily on the work of Hochschild on emotion management. However, Hochschild’s ideas of emotion work and emotional labor are not themselves self-referential. This dissertation rests on the assumption that authenticity is relational and not only self-referential. The situations assessed in the empirical portion of this dissertation are designed to highlight the tension between socially approved behavior and authentic behavior.

The recent rise in attention to authenticity is not surprising considering the cultural context. Erickson (1995) highlights the shifts in society that encourage attention to authenticity. For example, the commodification of lives, whereby certain identities and persons are bestowed with value, is one process Erickson identifies as affecting views of the self. She highlights two social groups that exemplify such commodification: public celebrities and the homeless. Similar to Gamson (1994), Erickson (1995) suggests that celebrities have been made disposable. On the other extreme are the homeless, who also have become objects of public consumption. It is this “ethic of disposability” that Erickson contends has turned our society inward to new vigor in examining fundamental issues of identity (1995:131). As a result of the

demands and expectations of modern society, there is a contradictory yearning among people to both construct one self in order to achieve success yet also to be authentic.

2. Theoretical Foundations

“Be sure that it is not you that is mortal, but only your body. For that man whom your outward form reveals is not yourself; the spirit is the true self, not that physical figure which can be pointed out by your finger.”

–Marcus Tullius Cicero

The disciplines of philosophy, psychology, and sociology all provide important theoretical foundations that fuel understandings of authenticity.

2.1 Philosophical Foundations

Historically, philosophy was the first discipline to explore authenticity. According to Marinoff¹, a philosopher (2000), philosophy and psychology have historically been wedded disciplines, exemplified by the joint chairmanship in both disciplines of William James in the United States, and Cyril Joad in the United Kingdom. Marinoff traces the separation of the two fields to the behavioral psychology movement, an important insight. William James was a scholar of physiology, psychology, and philosophy. James was trained as a physician (M.D.), and established the first American Psychology laboratory in the late 19th century. Marinoff leads a group called the *American Philosophical Practitioners Association*, which applies principles of philosophy to the explanation of individual and social ills, and the idea of *philosophical practice* is discussed in great detail in Marinoff’s 2002 text of that title. Philosophy has much to offer on the topic of authenticity. The work I will review has a myriad of practical implications for this dissertation.

¹ I first learned about Marinoff’s work in a popular culture article in *Elle* magazine, September 2004: pp. 382-386. The article is entitled “Soul Search” and is authored by Lauren Slater. Slater writes of the challenges in finding a match between therapist and client. The full citation is listed in the references section of this document.

In philosophy, authenticity has received considerable attention both historically and in current practice. William James, considered by many the father of psychology, was profoundly interested in the self. Discussion of James' work can be considered under the heading of philosophy or psychology. I have selected to present it here because philosophy has the more extensive historical interest in the topic. With his background in medicine, physiology, philosophy, and psychology, James wrote fluently about the self. In a chapter entitled "The Consciousness of Self" which appears in his series *The Principles of Psychology* ([1890] 1981) James described the many components of the self. The *me* consists of the physical, social, and spiritual aspects of the self. The social component of the *me* is directly relevant to authenticity. The social component of the *me* concerns the human need for recognition, as well as the notion that we present ourselves differently to different audiences. Although James did not use the term authenticity, his writings clearly provide early insights on the topic. Authenticity is also considered by philosophers as it relates to existential ideas about the self, for example Adorno's 1973 text *The Jargon of Authenticity*.

In *The Ethics of Authenticity* (1991), Taylor compellingly ties the concept of authenticity to modernity. Taylor discusses three "malaises of modernity" (p. 1); individualism, instrumental reason, and the political consequences of these. The book largely focuses on individualism in Western society. Building on the groundwork of authenticity laid by Trilling (1971), Taylor makes the case that individualism must be reconsidered in light of its moral underpinnings, which often

go unnoticed. According to Taylor, authenticity, and the ensuing culture of authenticity are the moral underpinnings behind individualistic culture. Taylor does a fine job of tracing the notion of authenticity from Rousseau to Herder and onward. As Taylor notes, the search for authenticity does not happen in a vacuum. Rather, we unearth our authentic selves through dialogue with others. Note that this perspective is not exclusively self-referential. He states, “Authenticity is not the enemy of demands that emanate from beyond the self; it supposes such demands” (p. 41). The essential social character of authenticity is highlighted throughout the text, “If authenticity is being true to ourselves, is recovering our own ‘sentiment de l’existence,’ then perhaps we can only achieve it integrally if we recognize that this sentiment connects us to a wider whole” (p. 91).

Taylor views authenticity as the moral groundwork of individualism, and not as an evil. He states, “But at its best authenticity allows a richer mode of existence.” This idea is in line with George’s (1998) view that authenticity can serve as a motivating force of the self. A review of Trilling’s (1971) *Sincerity and Authenticity* suggests many of the underpinnings of Taylor’s argument, but has a different texture, which may be attributed to Trilling’s status as a literary critic. Trilling (1971) documents the increasing usage of the term stating “That the word has become part of the moral slang of our day points to the peculiar nature of our fallen condition, our anxiety over the credibility of existence and of individual existences” (p. 87). Trilling (1971) and Erickson (1995) both note the increased relevance of the term authenticity. Despite the fact that their publications span a period of more than

twenty years, they make similar attributions for the increased relevance of the construct.

More recently, Anton (2001) offers a philosophical account of the tenants of selfhood that create a climate in which the question of authenticity can surface. The primary focus of the text is on the conditions of selfhood, and it is only in the last chapter that Anton addresses questions of authenticity. Early in his text, however, he makes a strong case for the importance of the topic stating, “Therefore, authenticity, as a quest for self-fulfillment, requires or demands an adequate comprehension of the selfhood that is to be fulfilled. And yet, such a comprehension is sorely lacking. We seem to be without an adequate grasp on the nature and constitution of the human self, and moreover, it is only through such a comprehension that the quest for authenticity may be fruitfully enabled” (p. 8). Anton’s concern with the basic character of selfhood has direct implications for authenticity.

According to Anton (2001), four dimensions of selfhood (or components of the self) are related to the search for authenticity: (1) the embodied self, (2) the social conditions of the self, (3) the symbolic self, and (4) the temporality of the self. Consider some of the specific insights from Anton that are relevant to authenticity, noted below. Anton (2001:75) cites Goffman, stating, “Goffman maintains that the “combined rule of self-respect and the rule of considerateness is that a person tends to conduct himself during an encounter so as to maintain both his own face and the face of the other participants” (1967, p.11).” This suggests that both the NSA and the need to make others feel approved guide our behaviors and presentation of self.

Context is also a key determinant of whether or not behavior is perceived by others as authentic or not. “The pompous air that some persons maintain or the courteous deferentiality of others are not expressions of an inner self. They are ritual dimensions within the texture of communicative praxis. It is in concrete face-to-face interaction that the micropolitics of social identity are played out. This also means that the same comment can seem to be rude or polite, witty or unkind, depending on where (occasion) who (character) said it to whom (others)” (Anton, 2001:75-76). In his discussion of the symbolic and linguistic nature of the self, Anton notes that communication is vitally connected to the enactment of the authentic self. “As we come to terms with lived-through world-experience we accomplish selfhood; in our speaking, we concernfully speak about something and so disclose and inscribe a concerning self” (p. 91). That quotation effectively conveys the role of language in creating the self. Anton also provides insights into authenticity in his review of the temporality of the self—how time and place are involved in our selfhood. He states, “Authentically dwelling in “the moment” means choosing in light of the whole of our existence, and, in which, we commemoratively retain the past while resolutely anticipating the future” (Anton, 2001:142). Kawakami, White, and Langer (2000) have also suggested that being authentic can be associated with mindfulness, a term denoting being in the moment.

When Anton (2001) directly addresses the links between selfhood and the search for authenticity, he references Taylor, stating, “To flesh out what is at issue here I recommend vigilance over Taylor’s key distinction between the self-referential

orientation of authenticity and the actual content of the pursuit, which need not be self-referential” (p. 147), and then cites the definition of authenticity provided by Taylor, and quoted above. Anton makes six points that are salient to this research. First, the goal of authenticity is not exclusively to feel good. This is important because it aligns with my thesis that the NSA mediates the relationship between the individual and enactment of authentic behavior. By including the NSA in this study, I am suggesting that something about the individual must be restrained in social interaction. When an individual chooses to be authentic in the face of social disapproval the outcome may be unpleasant. Second, authenticity cannot be constructed: “In a word, authentic self-hood is not obtained by surrounding oneself with others, events, and objects that symbolically establish and/or socially construct identity...Authenticity cannot be reduced to a system of articulated signs” (p. 151). Third, authenticity cannot be reduced to only a social role—it is more than that (p. 154). Fourth, whether others agree on your authentic existence is irrelevant: “Authentic existence is not to be judged by others according to social criteria of skillful competence” (p. 154). Fifth, authenticity is chronic; although it is displayed in the moment, authentic existence is marked by recurrent displays of authentic behavior. This would suggest that authentic existence is not domain specific. “Said otherwise, we cannot be authentic every once and a while...Authenticity, therefore, does not exist as a single act; it exists only as a habit” (p. 156). Sixth, authenticity influences how we relate to others: “In summary, authenticity refers to the quality of the concern which characterizes our being-in-the-world-with-others” (p. 159). Based

on these many tenets, Anton suggests that the term *authentic self* fails to capture these sentiments, and suggests instead *selfhood within authentic existence* (p. 152).

2.1.1 Philosophical Implications for a Theory of Authenticity

A historical consideration of authenticity begins with the writings of William James. James provides an early discussion of authenticity through his identification of the social component of the *me*. Both Trilling and Taylor discuss factors that may inhibit enactment of the authentic self. According to Trilling, Rousseau suggested that it is society, and our dependence on the opinions of others that inhibit us from being authentic. In many ways this view is quite similar to the view in this research: Individuals who need social approval more, who depend more on the opinions of others, are hypothesized to be less likely to behave authentically. However, a careful reading of the Taylor text suggests that authenticity is not an unattainable goal of modernity, but rather the moral underpinning of the individualism of modernity. Authenticity, Anton suggests, is habitual, cannot be constructed, is more than a social role, influences how one relates to others, is not concerned exclusively with feeling good, and is not determined by others. These philosophical foundations of authenticity were instrumental in the development of my interview schedule, and in my conceptualization of authenticity, which is both currently relevant and historically grounded. Marinoff has suggested that the split between philosophy and psychology has had negative consequences. The current research seeks to use authenticity as an important illustration of the linkages among philosophy, psychology, and sociology in processes of the self.

2.2 Psychological Foundations

The self has been a critical concept in the field of psychology for the last twenty-five to thirty years. Although the self has always been of interest to psychologists, we have recently witnessed a renaissance of the self in which new theories have been developed. Prior to the development of these new theories, however, humanistic psychology has had the greatest implications for understandings of authenticity.

2.2.1 Humanistic Psychology

Humanistic psychology has historically paid specific and extensive attention to authenticity. A number of postulates guide humanistic psychology including the notion that a human being is more than the sum of his or her parts, that individuals live in social contexts, and that individuals have awareness, choice, and exhibit intentionality (Bugental, 1965). Those final postulates connect to the concept of human agency and the idea that an individual may choose to behave in an authentic fashion. Authenticity is one of the central components of the existential-analytic thesis (Bugental, 1965). In this framework, inauthenticity is perceived as being at the core of a need for psychotherapy, courage is recognized as a requirement for authenticity, and there is a need for humans to acknowledge our aloneness in the world (Bugental, 1965). The suggestion that courage is a prerequisite for authenticity implies that there is something at stake in behaving authentically. I suggest that courage is a necessary prerequisite because behaving authentically may put an individual's social approval at stake, and it may take courage to overcome or inhibit

fear of social disapproval. Humanistic psychology offers the following definition of authenticity: “A person is authentic in that degree to which his being in the world is unqualifiedly in accord with the givenness of his own nature and of the world” (Bugental, 1965:31-32). This is a somewhat abstract definition, which appears only able to be self-assessed. This definition raises the question of what constitutes the true self; is it an inborn quality or something that is socially constructed? The phrase “with the givenness of his own nature” implies that the self is an inborn quality of the individual, and not something that is socially constructed.

2.2.2 Theories of the Self

Most of the new theories of the self are middle-range theories which are targeted and testable (e.g., regulatory focus theory, self-discrepancy theory). These theories suggest that the self is malleable and can change over the life course, and that the self is a source of motivation. In addition to these middle-range theories, discussed below, a notable theoretical framework of self-presentation was put forth by Buss and Briggs (1984). According to this framework, which builds upon sociologist Erving Goffman’s dramaturgical metaphor, there are dimensions of pretense, formality, and shyness in self-presentational displays. The term dramaturgical is used to describe Goffman’s framework because Goffman’s ideas map social interaction onto the metaphor of the stage. At the bottom of the three dimensions, Buss and Briggs (1984) identify a way of being called *expressiveness*, which is marked by no mask, minimal inhibition, candidness and low level of public awareness. This theoretical framework is an expansion of the sociological emphasis

on onstage behavior through its attention to offstage behavior and personality traits and provides a foundation for the idea of an authentic being: “Though the part may call for different behaviors from scene to scene as the character is confronted with different people and social contexts, there is a core of consistency that carries over from scene to scene” (Buss and Briggs, 1984:1322). Other more middle-range theories are discussed below.

2.2.2.1 Theories of Self-Consciousness and Self-Monitoring

Psychologists do not always agree about the extent to which individuals are aware of their psychological processes. Freud ([1923] 1994) is well-known for outlining three components of the self that interact to determine an individual’s thinking, feeling, and behavior; the ego, id, and superego. Although a historic example, Freud’s tripartite model serves as the underpinning of modern models of human agency and of self-awareness in which thoughts and feelings can be overridden in a conscious attempt to shape behavior. More recently, scholars have explored individual differences in active self-awareness. Individuals vary in self-consciousness and subsequently in the extent to which they self-monitor their presentation of self. Like the sociological impression management literature that will be discussed later, the literature on self-consciousness and self-monitoring is relevant to this study because it suggests that there are individual differences in the extent to which individuals are aware of and monitor their self-presentations. I would expect that higher reports of self-consciousness and self-monitoring would be associated with higher NSA scores and subsequently lower levels of authentic behavior. The

self-consciousness and self-monitoring literature suggest findings compatible with the arguments made in this dissertation.

Defining self-monitoring as the “self-control of expressive behavior,” Snyder (1974) suggests reasons that may motivate an individual to self-monitor. These include the desire for accurate communication, to conceal emotion, or to appear to have an emotion. To evaluate this construct, Snyder developed a Self-Monitoring scale. Interestingly, the scale has been found to have a slight negative correlation with measures of NSA (Snyder, 1974). Commenting on this, Schlenker (1980) remarks, “Although high self-monitors often want to gain the approval of audiences, they are skilled at social interaction and adept at creating the “right” impression” (p. 80). Considering the factors Snyder suggests prompt people to self-monitor, self-monitoring appears to be an inhibiting factor for authentic behavior. The focus of self-monitoring appears to be emotive display. In this research, authentic behavior is not limited to emotional displays that individuals feel represent how they are truly feeling, but a more comprehensive conceptualization of self-presentation.

Self-conscious behavior includes both private self-consciousness and public self-consciousness. In this framework, publicly self-conscious individuals want to please an external audience, and privately self-conscious individuals are motivated by a desire to please themselves (Doherty and Schlenker, 1991). Perhaps individuals who are privately self-conscious are motivated by a desire to enact the authentic self, and are concerned with neither appearing autonomous nor conforming as a way to achieve social approval. Levels of self-consciousness are considered by Doherty and

Schlenker (1991) as motivations for presentation of self. This research also lends support to the hypothesis that higher NSA will be associated with lower levels of authentic behavior. The authors conclusion that “pure publics seem to be the most likely to engage in patterns of self-presentation that have been shown to maximize approval and minimize disapproval in social interactions” (1991:16) supports this point.

2.2.1.2 Theories of Consistency within the Self

Several self theories focus on consistency within the self. These include Higgins’ self- discrepancy theory, which focuses on the self-guides of an ought, ideal, and actual self; Markus and Nurius’ idea of possible selves, (who we might become, both positive and negative); and Swann’s self-verification theory, which details how we seek others who affirm our self-views. These three theories attend to the way in which individuals work to develop and maintain a consistent self-identity and coherent sense of self. These theories are relevant to authenticity because they address processes of self-regulation that influence an individual’s self-presentation.

2.2.1.3 Self-Discrepancy Theory

Researchers in psychology have paid significant attention to the needs of the self. More accurately, researchers in psychology have attended to the consequences of failure to meet the needs of the self. One theory that specifically addresses what happens when individuals fail to meet their needs is self-discrepancy theory. Self-discrepancy theory (SDT) is a psychological theory of self-regulation² initially

²See Scheier and Carver (1988) for a model of behavioral self-regulation and Carver and Scheier (2000) for discussion of other theories of self-regulation.

posited by Higgins (1987). SDT posits three important conceptions of self; the actual self, the ideal self, and the ought self. The ideal self is “your representation of the attributes that someone (yourself or another) would like you, ideally, to possess (i.e., a representation of someone’s hopes, aspirations, or wishes for you” (Higgins 1987:320-321). The ought self is “your representation of the attributes that someone (yourself or another) believes you should or ought to possess (i.e., a representation of someone’s sense of your duty, obligations, or responsibilities” (Higgins, 1987: 321). The actual self is the individual’s current self- who they are and the roles they occupy.

Self-discrepancy theory highlights *standpoints* of self- i.e., the source of the evaluation; own (oneself) or other (i.e., the self, a parent or sibling). This results in six potential types of discrepancy: “actual/own, actual/other, ideal/own, ideal/other, ought/own, and ought/other” (Higgins 1987:321). The source of reference (other or self) makes this framework exceptionally relevant to sociologists because it recognizes the influence of others on self-definitions, although also acknowledging self-referential self-judgments. For example, sociologist Rebecca Erickson (1995) mentions situations in which marginalized individuals must experience the tension between socially approved behavior and authentic behavior. She states, “These are the experiences where the meanings related to the social identity attributed by others conflict with the meanings related to one’s personal identity attributed by the self” (1995:138). This quotation demonstrates the type of discrepancy examined by self-discrepancy theory. In this case, Erickson describes a discrepancy between the views

of self and others. To be authentic may be part of an individual's ideal self. Therefore, this theory illustrates the potential for authentic behavior to serve as a means of self-enhancement harnessed by individuals to diminish the discrepancy between their actual and their ideal selves. In addition, it posits that individuals self-regulate to diminish the discrepancy between their actual self and their other self-guides. Authentic behavior may be a form of self-regulation used to pursue this end.

2.2.1.4 Possible Selves

The possible selves literature traces back to William James who first introduced the idea of possible selves under the term *potential selves*. The possible selves framework does not have a strong theoretical base, despite the fact that it has received extensive attention, especially as the basis of interventions. Seminal papers on the topic include a 1986 publication by Markus and Nurius and a 1987 publication by Markus and Nurius in the text *Self and Identity: Psychosocial Perspectives*. Markus and Nurius identify possible selves as motivating forces for the individual. Possible selves are future possible manifestations of the self. Individuals can have three sets of possible selves: who they believe they might become, who they would like to become, and who they are afraid of becoming, and these selves constitute hoped for selves and feared selves. Empirical work, reported by Markus and Nurius (1987), suggests that individuals do have both positive and negative possible selves, and that conceptions of possible selves are related to positions in the social structure. Akin to the link with self-discrepancy theory, the possible selves framework is relevant to authenticity in that the authentic or true self may constitute any of an

individual's possible selves: who they believe they might become, who they would like to become, or who they are afraid of becoming. However, Markus and Nurius (1986) suggest that the possible selves framework supports the malleability of the self in lieu of the idea of a true self. However, I suggest that although the self is malleable there is an authentic core. Because possible selves are guides in self-regulation, authentic behavior may have a reciprocal relationship with self-regulation, both influencing and being influenced by that process and allowing for the malleability of the self.

2.2.1.5 Self-Consistency, Self-Enhancement, and Self-Verification Theories

Self-consistency theory suggests that individuals want to be treated in a way that is predictable, whereas self-verification theory suggests that individuals want to be treated in a manner that confirms their self-views. Self-enhancement theory suggests that individuals want to be treated in a way that makes them feel good about themselves. Self-enhancement theories are specifically related to this research, which posits that enactment of the true self can be self-enhancing.

Other researchers have demonstrated that the extent to which individuals present themselves to others in ways that are consistent with their performance on a given measure is contingent on public/private self-consciousness (Doherty and Schlenker, 1991). Strategic self-presentation strategies were employed by individuals high in public self-consciousness and low in private self-consciousness (Doherty and Schlenker, 1991). This suggests that authentic presentation may be the underlying motivation of those who are privately self-conscious. In the present work,

I examine the relationship between authenticity and NSA. Individuals who are low on public self-consciousness also have a low NSA. This work hypothesizes that individuals who value authenticity will have a lower NSA.

2.2.1.6 Social Desirability and Need for Social Approval

Research on the NSA began in the 1950's. Historically, social desirability was viewed as a proxy for NSA. Although related, social desirability and NSA are not the same. Social desirability evaluates the extent to which individuals endorse items that are socially valued. Research on social desirability emerged out of an interest in the lie scales of the MMPI and dates back to Edwards' research and publications in the early fifties, and text *The Social Desirability Variable in Personality Assessment and Research* (1957a, see also Edwards 1957b).

A problem with early conceptualizations and measures of social desirability was that they were confounded with psychopathology (Crowne and Marlowe, 1960). Crowne and Marlowe (1960) expanded the concept of social desirability beyond the clinical domain through the introduction of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, MCSDS³. This scale measures the extent to which individuals seek to behave in ways that are culturally acceptable, asking respondents to evaluate whether a statement is true or false. The premise of the extrapolation from social desirability to NSA was that individuals who endorse high numbers of socially desirable items must

³ As I reviewed this research, I noticed that there was an inconsistent nomenclature used for the scale in terms of which author was listed first. This may be due to the fact that the scale is deemed the Marlowe-Crowne, yet was published in an article in which Crowne was the first author. In addition, some authors cite the scale to the publication of Crowne and Marlowe's 1964 text.

be motivated by a NSA. This orientation is evident in much of the early literature on social approval.

Psychological theories of the self suggest that the self is a source of motivation. The need for social approval may be a specific form of motivation. However, scholars do not know much about how the need for social approval varies across individuals. Unfortunately, there are not strong hypotheses within the field of Psychology about what the importance of NSA may be.

2.2.1.7 Theories of Authenticity

The most specific definition and conceptualization of authenticity comes from psychologists Goldman and Kernis. They define authenticity as “the unobstructed operation of one’s true or core self in one’s daily enterprise” (Goldman & Kernis, 2002:18). Their work (2002, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2006) pays some attention to self-regulatory processes, but not specifically to self-discrepancy theory, with the exception of mention in their 2006 which cites the negative symptoms associated with self-discrepancies as a cost of authenticity. Goldman and Kernis identify four components of authenticity: awareness, unbiased processing, action, and relational orientation. However, only the first and third components are relevant, and are the sole objects of discussion here. The first component of their conceptualization of authenticity is awareness. This component suggests that one must have a sense of their true self as a prerequisite to determining if they are being true to that self. This dissertation incorporates this idea of awareness, and includes awareness as a control variable rather than as a component of authenticity itself. The third component of

their definition is in greatest accord with my conceptualization of authenticity: “A third component involves behavior or action. Authenticity reflects acting in accord with one’s values, preferences, and needs as opposed to acting merely to please others or to attain rewards or avoid punishments, even if it means acting “falsely” (Goldman & Kernis, 2002:19).

One of the aims of the current research is to assess the relationship between authenticity and NSA. Interestingly, Kernis and Goldman remark that

“Admittedly, instances exist in which the unadulterated expression of one’s true self may result in severe social sanctions (see Rhodewalt, this volume). Here, we would expect authenticity to reflect sensitivity to the fit (or lack of) between one’s true self and the dictates of the environment and an awareness of the potential implications of one’s behavioral choices. Authenticity does not reflect a *compulsion* to be one’s true self, but rather the free and natural expression of core feelings, motives, and inclinations (cf. Deci & Ryan, 2000). When this expression stands at odds with immediate environmental contingencies, we expect that authenticity will be reflected in short-term intrapsychic conflict.” (2005a:217)

This quotation suggests that the authors recognize the dual desires for authenticity and social approval. However, their research does not empirically examine the tension between the need for social approval and the desire for authenticity. Their statement also suggests that sometimes individuals would rather endure intrapsychic conflict than behave authentically. In the current study, I have developed a measure of authenticity that is primarily behavioral as opposed to attitudinal.

2.2.3 Psychological Implications for a Theory of Authenticity

Theories of self-presentation must consider both onstage and offstage behavior (Buss and Briggs, 1984). Humanistic psychology provides a

conceptualization of authenticity that informs the framework of authenticity used in this study. Building upon psychological researchers such as Snyder and Goldman and Kernis, awareness of the true self is included as a control variable in this research. In addition, Snyder's self-monitoring scale was used in the development of the measure of NSA used in this study. Building upon the psychological research suggesting a positive relationship between authentic behavior and related constructs and self-esteem, self-esteem is included as a control variable in this research.

Theories of self-consistency, including self-discrepancy theory and the possible selves framework, suggest that self-consistency can be self-enhancing. That is, striving to attain our hoped for selves and to meet our ideal selves can be a form of self-enhancement. Many psychological studies provide support for the construct of authenticity. Goldman and Kernis performed the most explicit assessment of authenticity. Their research suggests that authenticity is correlated with a number of outcomes. Other researchers examined constructs related to authenticity, such as self-presentation and impression management. That research suggests the conditions under which individuals are more or less likely to behave authentically.

2.3 Sociological Foundations

House (1977) posits that three distinct schools of social psychology characterized the field in the 20th century: psychological social psychology, which is largely in the domain of psychology, symbolic interactionism, which is now more broadly called interpretive sociology, and social structure and personality. More recently, George (2001) points out that the differentiation between these three sub-

fields became less distinct in the last quarter century. All three research traditions have studied the self. This dissertation relies primarily on the symbolic interactionism and social structure and personality schools. Sociologists have written directly about authenticity and indirectly via studies about influences on the self and enactment of the self.

What is the self? According to Gecas and Burke (1995), “The concept of self essentially refers to the process of reflexivity that emanates from the interplay between the ‘I’ and the ‘Me’ (p. 42). The distinction between the *I* and the *Me* which denotes reflexivity, a tenet of symbolic interactionism, can be traced back to sociologist George Herbert Mead (see Mead, 1934), a scholar working at about the same time as William James. The *I* is the subjective impulse-oriented part of the self, whereas the *me* is the other-oriented objective component. This means that individuals can think of themselves as both subjects and objects. Mead’s work was distinctly sociological because of its emphasis on symbolic interactionist principles of interaction. Our identities are both assigned by self and others and can be considered the most public component of the self (Gecas and Burke, 1995).

According to Gecas and Burke, the study of the self can be approached in four ways: (1) the self in situation, (2) the self within social structure, (3) the self within cultural and historical context and (4) and intra-personal focus of the self. In many ways, the current dissertation addresses all four of these approaches to the self. This dissertation aligns with the self in situation approach given the focus on negotiating social interactions and the heavy emphasis on the work of Goffman. The self within

social structure approach is evident in the attention to how positions of social structure influence how individuals negotiate the world. This dissertation is representative of the biographical-historical approach given that individual's assessments and accounts of authentic behavior are examined. Finally, this dissertation resonates with the intra-individual approach through its focus on motivational processes that determine whether or not an individual elects to behave authentically when under social pressure not to do so.

A historical approach to authenticity within sociology begins with role theory, which paved the way for the symbolic interactionist tradition form employed by Goffman. The Goffmanian impression management framework is the framework most relevant to this research.

2.3.1 Role Theory and Other Theories of the Self

The basic premise of role theory is that we establish our identities via our roles. Role theory comes from the structural-functionalist tradition in sociology and has been explored within the social structure and personality perspective and symbolic interactionism. In role theory, as studied by social structure and personality theorists, individuals are defined by the roles to which they have been assigned. Roles have many expectations, and individuals are expected to fill the requirements and expectations of their roles. When they fail to do so, individuals are at risk for social sanctions. Role theory leaves little room for how the actor shapes the role, experiences the role, or adapts to the role. An individual is considered to be the sum of their role parts. The self is conceived as the summation of the various role

identities that the individual occupies. George (1998) asserts that role theory is the “...primary theoretical orientation guiding sociological investigations of the self...” (p. 140). The role theory perspective may be somewhat limiting, because it pays little attention to the processes by which individuals select their roles, as well as prioritize the salience of the various roles they occupy.

Symbolic interactionists reacted against the structural approach of role theory with processual, meaning-based theories. Stryker developed his identity theory as a melding of structural functional approaches and symbolic interactionist approaches (see Stryker, 1987a). Thus, it is a somewhat tempered interactionist reaction to traditional role theory. According to Stryker, identity is the part of the role that is incorporated into the self. This theory supposes a view of the self as an object. Stryker deals almost exclusively with role identities and views the self as a hierarchically organized set of identities. Identities are ordered on a personal hierarchy of salience or importance. In the event of role conflict, individuals will favor those identities on the top of their hierarchy. Peter Burke also proposed an identity theory that is more trans-situational than Stryker’s theory and focuses on personal identities across situations and the affect they generate (see Burke, 1980; Stets and Burke, 2000).

Other researchers have different ideas about how we form a sense of identity. The idea of personal identity has been proposed by Hitlin (2003) as a neglected component within dominant sociological theories of the self. Personal identity entails individual’s values and is more encompassing than just our role identities.

Hitlin argues that personal identity influences the selection of a role identity.

Despite the modifications to traditional role theory offered by Stryker, Burke, Hitlin, and others, I feel that role theory alone does not provide an adequate framework to examine authenticity. Instead, I link the study of authenticity to a more interactionist approach.

2.3.2 Symbolic Interactionism

Much of the research on the self is anchored in the symbolic interactionism (SI) tradition. SI is a uniquely sociological contribution to social psychology, and pays attention to the processes by which individuals create their social worlds. SI has had a significant impact on both identity theory and empirical studies of the self (Fine, 1993). Although SI experienced a decline in the sixties and seventies, it reappeared in the 1980's (Stryker, 1987b). SI is a microsociological theory that dates back to Cooley and Mead, and focuses on individuals and/or small groups.

Sociologist Herbert Blumer was another pioneer of SI, and the author of the 1969 book *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. SI focuses on interactions, and holds that social structures and social reality are socially constructed products of human interaction. The SI perspective focuses on the shared views and meanings that individuals apply to the social world. SI is distinctly process oriented and counters the lack of mechanisms in role theory. It proposes that it is through interaction, and the development of shared meanings (symbolism) that individuals navigate the social world. In addition, SI theories focus more on issues of process than traditional role theory and identity theories,

Erving Goffman's dramaturgical metaphor is an exemplar of the SI tradition. This metaphor is presented in Goffman's 1959 book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Goffman's work involved de-construction of the components of social interaction, and qualitative attention to each. Working at the microsociological level, Goffman focused on the process of social interaction; the way in which the actor constructed a face and performed his or her role to an audience. The social actor works to create a front that is both believable and elicits the approval of others. The question of authenticity arises, but not all actors may have an awareness of it. According to Goffman (1959), the performer may or may not believe that the way they act is 'real,' and cynics do not believe their own acts.

Goffman provides a definition not of the true self, but of the truer self, stating: "In a sense, and in so far as this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves—the role we are striving to live up to—this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be." (1959:19). Goffman's conception of the truer self parallels the construct of the ideal self in Higgins' self-discrepancy theory. Goffman was not, however, blind to our deeper true self. He named the behaviors we engage in privately as *secret consumption*. In terms of our private behavior, Goffman states, "When a performer guides his private activity in accordance with incorporated moral standards, he may associate these standards with a reference group of some kind, thus creating a non-present audience for his activity" (1959:81). Thus, audience can be either real or perceived.

The relationship between performers and their audiences is governed by the performer's NSA, although Goffman did not use this term. Thus NSA is responsible for the strategic ways in which the performer elects to present themselves. "In addition, a performer often engenders in his audience the belief that he is related to *them* in a more ideal way than is always the case." (Goffman, 1959:48). In his dramaturgical approach to self-presentation, Goffman highlights the tenuous and fragile nature of social interaction. He states, "In other words, we must be prepared to see that the impression of reality fostered by performance is a delicate, fragile thing that can be shattered by very minor mishaps" (1959:56). Goffman's metaphor concerns not only how individuals present themselves to others, but also how we react to others when we are the audience. "When we think of those who present a false front or "only" a front, of those who disassemble, deceive, and defraud, we think of a discrepancy between fostered appearances and reality...When we discover that someone with whom we have dealings is an impostor and out-and-out fraud, we are discovering that he did not have the right to play the part he played, that he was not an accredited incumbent of the relevant status." (1959:59).

Goffman's framework received substantial attention and accolades within sociology. However, although Goffman (1959) suggests the notion of *audience segregation* (p. 49) - the idea that we consciously keep our interactants in separate domains, I contest this view. I argue that in postmodern society, performers are increasingly less able to segregate their audiences. This is compatible with the views of Pescosolido and Rubin (2000), who suggest that modernity is marked by

intersecting social circles, with shared meaning referents. As previously stated, both the social structure and personality framework, and the framework of symbolic interactionism are central to the current research. Although I acknowledge the sociological truth that society shapes individuals, I also argue that it is through interaction that individuals interpret and make sense of both the social world and form a coherent sense of self. In this dissertation, I employ the methodological approaches that are typical of SI and social structure and personality research: qualitative methods and survey research methods, respectively (George, 2001).

2.3.3 Impression Management/Self-Presentation

Erving Goffman is the primary sociologist to address authenticity. Goffman's work on impression management and self-presentation provides a roadmap for understanding human behavior and the tension between the true self and the presented self, and between self-presentation and the NSA. Research on impression management and self-presentation came out of the SI tradition. The following vignette illustrates the idea of impression management and strategic self-presentation. One day at Duke University Medical Center, while riding the tram connecting one medical building to another, I heard some women talking. Both women seemed to be in good spirits, and one referred to the other as "sprightly." The woman who made that comment then said something to the effect of "we're all actresses." (10/15/04). This statement epitomizes the phenomenon of impression management. First, it is strategic. These women chose to navigate their day of patient care with a happy appearance- one that would be pleasing to patients and co-workers. These women

embraced the idea of *face work* (Hochschild, 1983); the idea that their jobs required them to present an emotional appearance that they may or may not be experiencing. Many jobs require such face work. For example, the restaurant chain “Hooters” states in its Employee guide “When you are in the Hooters Girl Uniform you are literally playing a role; having been cast for the role, you must comply with the Image and Grooming Standards that the role requires” (Handbook page 4, The Smoking Gun website). If individuals do not experience the emotions they display, they may experience tension. Even if they experience the emotions they display, the expectation alone may cause tension. This tension was reported by Sutton (1991) in a study of bill collectors, whose job norms of emotional display often were at odds with their personal emotional responses. This tension may continue to increase, especially for women as the demands of society change (see Adkins, 2001; Blum & Stracuzzi, 2004). Changing demands of performers set forth by social and cultural changes demand excellent impression management skills and the ability to repress the authentic self, as needed.

This sense of tension is a pivotal component in the study of authenticity. As Erickson (1995) alludes to the kinds of tensions, “Since one becomes aware of authenticity primarily when a self-referential problem arises (Mead [1913] 1964b), conceptualizations of authenticity should include specific reference to a person’s self values” (p. 131). Tension is probably greatest when the emotion display required is at odds with the individual’s desired display via their self-values. In addition to highlighting tension, the previous quotation also exemplifies the idea of awareness.

Awareness of the true self is included as a control variable in this study. I include awareness as a control because I expect that awareness will influence authentic behavior levels. In many ways, the self-values Erickson mentions are equivalent to what is deemed awareness in this dissertation.

Is impression management the antithesis of being authentic? Impression management is the strategic presentation of self that individuals use to invoke a desired response from others. Psychologists Mark Leary and Robin Kowalski propose a two-component model of impression management which differentiates between impression motivations (the extent to which individuals desire to affect the impressions others hold of them), and impression construction (behavioral efforts to do so). This distinction is relevant to this dissertation which also differentiates between attitudes and behaviors in processes of impression management. According to Leary (1996), individuals have three self-presentation choices when in a self-presentational dilemma: authentic self-presentation, deceptive self-presentation, and exclusionary/evasive self-presentation. Authentic self-presentation is defined as presentation of self that is consistent with private beliefs, deceptive presentation is defined as consciously projecting an image of self that is inconsistent with what one truly feels/believes, and evasive self-presentation is selectively withholding or managing presentation in a way that avoids having to be authentic or deceptive (Leary, 1996).

Impression management is a necessary component of social life. Impression management may be an indispensable skill to achieve social mobility and negotiate

interactions in the social world. Some people may consider impression management a necessary 'evil,' which implies a 'true self' that needs to be submerged via social interaction. According to psychologist Barry Schlenker (1980), misconceptions and negative connotations of the term have hampered research on the topic. Early in the life course, children and young adults are taught to be concerned with the protocol and procedures of impression management; to be concerned with how others will perceive and evaluate them. We learn from a young age how to present ourselves in a favorable way. The consequences of not subscribing to the need to impression manage can be significant. Beyond merely subscribing to the rules of self-presentation, individuals are expected to internalize those standards. The consequences are largely lack of social approval, and in some cases, disapproval which may lead to sanctions.

The topic of impression management, an area of interest to both sociologists and psychologists, has its deepest roots with sociologist Erving Goffman. Goffman's work examined both inauthenticity which is self-referential, and impression management, which is other-oriented (Erickson, 1995). In his 1959 text *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman suggests that individuals naturally move between sincere and cynical performances. A sincere performance is one in which individuals feel a sense of belief in their own performance, whereas a cynical performance is one in which the individuals and have a level of self-knowledge that they are putting on a front. That distinction suggests the complexities of behavior in

which individuals are faced with both their own self-perceptions and interactions with others.

Research on impression management, which in sociology predates research on authenticity, suggests that there is a self to be monitored and filtered in human interaction. Many factors may motivate one to impression manage, including the NSA. Roth, Snyder and Pace (1986) point out that the term impression management refers to our strategic self-presentation to others, whereas self-deception is the equivalent process that one does for oneself. In addition to impression management aimed at approval from others, individuals may impression manage in self-referential way. That is, they may be invested in creating an image of themselves that represents how they would like to view themselves. Roth et al. would deem this self-deception. Gecas and Burke (1995) trace this idea through philosophy: “Sartre (1958) considered self-deception to be characteristic of life in modern society and the major obstacle to being an “authentic” self. Linking this to Erickson’s sincerity/authenticity distinction, we could say that impression management is associated with sincerity, whereas self-deception is associated with (in)authenticity. Researchers in sociology have paid significant attention to the emotional labor that individuals must perform when their experienced emotion differs from that allowed by their social context.

Goffman’s pioneering work; *The Presentation of Self In Everyday Life* confronts the tension between the NSA and presenting oneself authentically. Peggy Thoits has referred to this tension as “norm-state discrepancy” (1985: 227), and Arlie Russell Hochschild as “*emotive dissonance*” (1983:90) (Erickson and Ritter, 2001).

By either Thoits' or Hochschild's names, times when individuals experience a discrepancy between how they feel and want to act and how they know they must act are exemplars of the tension between the NSA and authentic behavior. However, the relationship between social approval and authenticity has never been tested (George, 1998). George (1998) traces the emergence of the concept of authenticity in the literature, and brings attention to the untested assumption that displaying one's authentic self puts one at risk of social disapproval. George highlights a number of questions about the nature and social perceptions of authenticity, and states, "An important and too-long ignored question for investigators of the self is to test the implied assumption that claims on authenticity typically put other components of the self at risk" (p. 137).

Although this question traces back to the work of Goffman, some sociologists question the completeness or comprehensiveness of Goffman's basic conceptions of social reality and of the self. A notable and somewhat compelling example comes from the Appendix to Arlie Russell Hochschild's (1983) book *The Managed Heart*. Hochschild suggests (1983:215) that "Social structure, to Erving Goffman, is only our idea of what many situations of a certain sort add up to... To solve this problem, we should take what Goffman has developed and link it to institutions on the one hand and to personality on the other." She states, "Goffman shows us the self coming alive only in social situations where display to other people is an issue. We are invited to ignore all moments in which the individual introspects or dwells on outer reality without a sense of watchers" (1983:216). This is an important point if

we take authenticity to be the presentation of one's true self in both public and private life. This is in tandem with the points highlighted by George (1998), regarding Goffman's anticipation that social approval and authenticity cannot always coexist in one's public life. However, if we take authenticity to be the presentation of one's true self in both spheres of their life (public and private); Goffman addresses only part of the issue. He speaks only briefly of private behavior in terms of *secret consumption* and in terms of a perceived audience of others. He does not address authenticity in a sense of being exclusively self-referential.

In this dissertation, I assess individuals' motivations for impression management. That is, at different times we may feel the need to manage the impression we create on others for different reasons. Thus, I may find that individuals both partake in impression management for the approval of others and through self-deception (i.e., self-referential impression management for their own self approval). This concern with the spirit of impression management surfaces in the work of Trilling (1971) and Erickson and Wharton (1997). I designed my interview schedule to assess such nuances of motivation. In addition, this dissertation considers impression management and authenticity across social groups and situations. It has been suggested that our exploration of emotional labor has focused exclusively on those we imagine to engage in emotional labor (Smith-Lovin, 1998) and that this is limiting (Erickson and Ritter, 2001). Smith-Lovin's point (1998) is well taken. This is a limitation of Hochschild's research, and Erickson's

conceptualization and empirical assessment of authenticity. The evaluation of authenticity in this dissertation is not limited to only emotive display of the true self.

2.3.4 The Motivational Basis of the Self

2.3.4.1 Self-Esteem, Self-Efficacy and Authenticity

Authenticity can be considered a motivating force of the self (Gecas, 1986, George, 1998). According to Gecas (1986), the three self-motives of self-esteem, self-efficacy, and authenticity are closely related. Gecas (1991) discusses the antecedents and consequences of these three self-motives. He discusses three domains: interpersonal, structural, and cultural, and notes that the cultural domain is most salient to authenticity. He states, “Authenticity, which deals with matters of reality and meaning for the individual, is primarily addressed at the symbolic level in terms of such cultural content as ideologies, systems of beliefs, and values” (Gecas, 1991:180). He continues, “Commitment to identities and the ideologies within which they are embedded leads to a sense of authenticity” (Gecas, 1991:181). This definition of authenticity defines authenticity as being committed to ones’ identities. A similar definition was offered by Erickson (1994). This focus on commitment to identities is quite similar to Stryker’s identity theory. However, Gecas’ attention to the embeddedness of such identities distinguishes his approach from the more structural approach of Stryker. Stated more boldly, Gecas presents the idea that there is no true self beyond one’s links to culture and its ideologies. This definition seems specific to domain, as individuals may be committed to their work identities, but not their relational (i.e., friendship or marital) identities, and subsequently may only feel

authentic in the former identities. This definition also suggests that authenticity is less a case of finding identities that fit who we really are, and more about feeling committed to the identities that we have.

More recently, George (1998) continues the discussion of the three self-motives. Citing Goffman (1959) McGuire (1984) and Swann (1990) George states that “*sense of authenticity*” refers to the sense that one’s life, both public and private, reflects one’s real self” (1998:134). This definition is less rigid than that provided by Gecas, and appears to leave open the possibility that we may be behaviorally committed to identities despite not feeling authentic in them. Furthermore, this framework is concerned with a ‘sense of authenticity,’ which denotes a continuum of feeling, rather than a discrete dichotomy between authentic and inauthentic. This continuum approach to authenticity can also be observed in the writing of Erickson (1995), who rejects dichotomizing the construct. The conceptualization and operationalization of authenticity in this dissertation is based on this assumption.

George (1998) traces the linkage of authenticity and social approval to the pioneering work of Goffman (1959). The George (1998) article is the publication that first interested me in the concept of authenticity, and I will briefly review it, highlighting the discussion of authenticity. George (1998) discusses three aspects of the self; self-efficacy, self-esteem, and sense of authenticity, which she notes can each be considered both generally and specifically, individually and globally, and in specific domains. Self-efficacy is the essence of having control over one’s life, self-esteem is evaluative, and sense of authenticity is the idea that one’s true self is

reflected in both public and private life (George, 1998:134). George (1998) indicates that to date the competing hypotheses about whether self-esteem causes self-efficacy, self-efficacy causes self-esteem, or the relationship is reciprocal have not been tested. George (1998) suggests that desire to attain and maintain a sense of authenticity is a motivating force of humans.

2.3.4.2 Self-Protection vs. Self-Enhancement

There has been little sociological discussion about the relevance of the fit between the needs of the self and social expectations to authenticity. Erving Goffman had the most to say about this issue. Research on authenticity grows out of a critique of the self literature based on motivational bias. Historically, sociologists focused on the desire to protect the self. The idea of self-enhancement has been briefly explored by others, such as Gecas, and Swann, but had failed to be conceptualized in an explicit manner. George (1998) explicitly presented the idea of enhancing the self through authenticity. In addition to acknowledging authenticity as a motivating force of the self, George (1998) pays considerable attention to the idea of self-enhancement. Historically, social psychological researchers have focused on ways to protect the self, rather than enhance it. However, the attention to self-enhancement can be traced historically. As noted above, three widely accepted components of the self are self-efficacy, self-esteem, and sense of authenticity (George, 1998). Among these, sense of authenticity has received the least attention. This may be due to the idea held by some research scholars that authenticity puts other forms of positive self-view at risk (George, 1998). George's focus on self-

enhancement parallels the recent growth of *positive psychology*. George asks how authenticity relates to people's choices to favor either self-enhancement or self-protection, and whether the desire for authenticity is a universal desire. She also asks whether we try to satisfy all components of self, or must we rank them, and if so, how and why? Similarly, Erickson (1995) suggests that in addition to identities and role partners as sources of behavioral motivation, "the **self**, acting on its own behalf and from its own concrete and biographically based perspective, can also serve as a primary motivational force" (emphasis in original, p. 134).

Although George (1998) highlights the role of authenticity as a means of self-enhancement, Marková (1997) suggests that both valences of sincerity can be used for strategic self-enhancement: "Both sincerity or insincerity may, whether in positive or in a negative sense, enhance the self. For example, as Machiavelli has already shown, one has to understand others in order to manipulate them. However it is when one conforms because of fear, and when this becomes a matter of habit, that authenticity is at stake" (p. 274). Marková suggests that forms of sincerity can be used for both self-protection and self-enhancement, but when we can only use it for self-protection, and must present ourselves in a certain way that our integrity is threatened.

The work of Kiecolt (1994) on the decision to change oneself is relevant to this dissertation as it provides a link to authenticity as a means of self-enhancement. Kiecolt offers a conceptual model of the decision to change oneself. In her theoretical model, a reduced sense of authenticity is listed as one of the critical

factors that triggers the decision to change oneself. In the model, stressors and life events are hypothesized to lead to diminished self-views which link to a reduced sense of authenticity. In addition to leading to the decision to change oneself, a reduced sense of authenticity is hypothesized to lead directly to psychological distress. Kiecolt noted that studies linking these constructs are lacking. Kiecolt's framework suggests that reduced sense of authenticity can be the impetus to change oneself. Changing oneself can be considered an act of self-enhancement. Therefore, Kiecolt's model provides support for the idea that authenticity is a motivational force and can be used for self-enhancement.

2.3.5 Sociological Implications for a Theory of Authenticity

Goffman (1959) suggested that it is difficult to both be authentic and achieve social approval in social interactions (George, 1998). Sociologists such as Gecas and George view authenticity as a means of self-enhancement. Kiecolt made a similar argument, suggesting that a reduced sense of authenticity may trigger individuals' decisions to make change their lives. In this dissertation, I assess how individuals conceptualize and behaviorally enact their true selves. I evaluate individuals' perceptions of the costs and consequences of authentic behavior, and whether the need for a coherent sense of self can override the costs of authenticity. In this dissertation, I provide theoretical insights into the determinants of authentic behavior.

2.4 The 'True' Self

Threefold models of the self have historically guided scholars. These include Freud's framework (ego, superego, and id) and the three selves of self-discrepancy

theory (ideal, actual, ought). Other examples include Paranjpe's (1987) description of the three components of the self in Indian culture; the self as knower, enjoyer/sufferer and agent, and the model proposed by Plato; cognition, volition, and affect. Markus and Nurius (1986) introduced the concepts of *possible selves*; who we might become, who we want to become, and who we do not want to become. Within these various models of the self, the question of a true self receives little attention. The self is a product of social interaction. Nonetheless, the self also is a personal claim to individuality. Parents or other caretakers are responsible for teaching children the norms and values of their immediate families and the broader society. The self has been the focus of extensive research in sociology generally, and in social psychology and psychology.

Scholars conceptualize and address the issue of the true self in multiple ways. One scholar who has paid specific attention to the idea of a true self is Ralph Turner. In his 1976 publication, *The Real Self: From Institution to Impulse*, Turner suggests that there has been a historical and cultural shift in how individuals conceptualize their true selves. Turner describes two poles that represent the driving forces behind these conceptualizations: an institutional pole, and an impulse pole. The institutional pole represents components of the self that exist in institutional frameworks and entail institutionalized goals. The institutional pole focuses on external forces acting on the self. The impulse pole is more internal and includes individuals' deeper psychological needs- it is more about feeling, desire, and perhaps, spiritual need. Historically, Turner contends, individuals established their sense of their true self

through the institutional pole. But Turner senses a recent shift to the pole of impulse. Turner highlights a number of key distinctions between the poles. I use the terms institutionals and impulsives to identify individuals who reside at each pole. Whereas for institutionals the true self is related to standards, it is related to spontaneity for impulsives. Whereas institutionals see the self as something that is constructed, impulsives see the true self as something to be discovered. For institutionals, the individual must be in control to reveal his or her true self, whereas for impulsives the true self emerges when inhibitions are released. Hypocrisy has a different meaning for each of the poles. Institutionals rely more heavily on roles and consider a good performance one that adheres to role guidelines. Impulsives admire the exposure of one's humanity. Impulsives are grounded in the present, whereas institutionals are future-oriented, focusing on commitments and planning. In terms of the NSA, Turner suggests that both types of individuals would acknowledge the need to submerge the NSA in pursuit of the true self, but would perceive that process differently. Impulsives are more individualistic than institutionals. It is important to note that Turner asserts that the true self is a subjective as opposed to objective component of the individual. Turner's writings are less concerned with the existence of a true self (which he sees as tangential), and instead, focus on the source of individuals' perceptions of their true selves, and how those perceptions affect how they negotiate their lives. I concur with this idea, and am concerned with the integrity of the individual to the local narrative as subjectively defined and the contextual dependence of authenticity.

Some researchers have focused on the development of a sense of self (for example, Diana Baumrind (1966) and many later publications). Parents play a key role in helping the child to formulate a sense of self: “For Baumrind, socializing [the] child to conform to the necessary demands of others while maintaining a sense of personal integrity was the key element of the parental role” (Darling and Steinberg, 1993: 489). Development of a sense of self is influenced by parental influence and processes of socialization. Socialization, as Adams and Marshall (1996) point out, has both individual and social functions; to differentiate the individual from others, and to provide cohesion and belonging, respectively. In this view, discovering one’s authentic self or true self can serve both to distinguish the individual from others and to create a sense of belonging, specifically with those whom the individual senses he/she can behave authentically.

The search for authenticity probably begins during adolescence. Anton (2001) ties the search for authenticity to the realization that we need to find our own voice. Anton (2001:110) quotes Gusdorf (1965: 40) as saying “The child discovers the world through the established language, which those around prescribe for him. The adolescent discovers values in the revolt against the language he had until then blindly trusted and which seem to him, in the light of the crisis, destitute of all authenticity”. Brown and Gilligan (1992) suggest that it is in adolescence that young girls experience a decline in sense of authenticity; that they begin to lose their voices and ability to know truth. Harter and colleagues have done research on true-self and false-self behavior in adolescents and the development of selves in adolescence and

suggest that the notion of false self-behavior only becomes relevant at around the seventh grade level (see Harter, Marold, Whitesell, and Cobbs, 1996; Harter, Bresnick, Bouchey, and Whitesell, 1997).

The historical embeddedness of our self-concepts demands attention by researchers. Situation in both time and place influences our sense of self (Logan, 1987). Agents of socialization change throughout the life course, but are external to the self. Erickson (1994) voices a similar sentiment stating, “In my view, authenticity tends to be experienced when one is able to fulfill his or her expectations for, or commitments to, self. Whether these commitments involve living up to the requirements of one’s role, or maintaining consistency between feeling and behavior, it is *the individual’s own* perception of being in support or violation of these commitments that leads to the experience of authenticity or inauthenticity—not the social scientist’s perceptions” (pp. 33-34). Rather, than an objective true self, this dissertation is concerned with individuals beliefs or perceptions that they (a) have a true self (regardless of what they believe to be its source), and (b) whether they feel that they are living in a way that exhibits that true self.

2.5 Challenges to Traditional Theories (Modernity and Post-Modernism)

Whether or not we have an inborn true self or whether the true self is entirely socially constructed continues to be debated by researchers. Theorists of modernity have argued that there is indeed a true self, but that it is at the whim of social forces. This is the theme of many of the books written about the self from the nineteen

sixties through the early nineties. One need only look at their subtitles to observe this sentiment. The books include Riesman, Glazer, and Denney's [1961] 2001 *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*, Zurcher's *The Mutable Self: A Self-Concept for Social Change* (1977), Lasch's *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (1978), Lasch's *The Minimal Self: Psychic Survival in Troubled Times* (1984), Gergen's *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life* (1991), and Lifton's *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentations* (1993). As Gecas and Burke note, "The rise of individualism associated with modernization highlights authenticity as a central concern, while at the same time the social forces associated with modernity have made authenticity increasingly problematic" (1995:57). These scholars suggest that the true self is being lost and buried by the conditions of our culture. Yet, as the previous quotation suggests, because of these conditions, it is an important time to consider the construct of authenticity.

Weigert (1988, 1991) links authenticity to ambivalence, and suggests that the contemporary search for authenticity is fueled by the ambivalence born of modernity. Pescosolido and Rubin (2000) highlight the different conceptions of identity in modern and postmodern society. They suggest that in modernity there are intersecting social circles, and that everyone shares a meaning referent. Thus, our senses of people are based on the settings in which we see them. The postmodern situation is quite different: connections to groups are less overlapping and less embedded in the traditional network sense- so it is easier to sever ties and to lose that

identity. In the postmodern view, a person is considered a sum of their individual roles and possessing a unique person meaning which only they know. Self-meaning in postmodern times is a unique combination of role identities and self meaning,

Postmodernists assert that there never has been a true self (Erickson, 1995).

The idea of postmodernism has been discussed in academic circles since 1939 when historian Arnold Toynbee is thought to have coined the term. Toynbee proposed that the term denoted the time period following the modern period, which ended between 1850 and 1875. The idea of postmodernism basically suggests that the grand theories are misguided and limiting- that there is no single truth, but rather pluralism.

Postmodernists (along with relativists) argue that there is no objective truth. It is evident that this view aligns with the perspectives of social interactionists, who argue that reality is socially constructed. Historically, many sociologists developed theories that are relevant only within a framework of modernity. The framework of postmodernity does not nullify the tenets of the SI perspective. Therefore, Erickson's assertion above is prototypical of the postmodernist framework. There may never have been a true self. The true self may only be in its socially constructed form. Whether or not there is an inborn essence of the true self is actually not relevant in this dissertation. Rather, I am interested in individuals' perceptions that they have a true self.

According to Erickson (1995), context is the postmodern challenge to authenticity: "It is no longer a question of being "true to self" for all time, but rather of being true to self-in-context or true-to-self-in relationship. In other words, the

importance of the particular self-values that are implicated in any two situational contexts or relationships may differ. Yet, this diversity is nonetheless “structured” and influenced by one’s biographic self and one’s more transsituational system of self-values” (p. 139). Thus, Erickson is arguing that postmodernists may shun the idea of a global true self but acknowledge the idea of context or domain-specific true selves. Goffman’s framework of interaction and exchange also is compatible with the tenets of postmodernist thinking (Gecas and Burke, 1995).

This dissertation is not concerned with the distinction of whether or not there is a true self, or the distinction between modern and postmodern views on the subject, but rather, how individuals confront this matter. Will individuals report that they have no true self that is not domain-specific, or will they insist that they have some essence that persists across situations? As postmodernists would surely agree, I will be unable to sufficiently and universally answer this question. Rather, I will only be able to offer data based on people’s perceptions, which are their subjective realities.

Although I believe that the true self is predominantly constructed through social interaction and interpretation, there may be a component of the self that is inborn to the individual. Postmodernism objects to the idea of a true self outside of that which is socially constructed, interpreted, and negotiated within the cultural and historical context. Postmodernism is merely an acknowledgement that there may be no universal truths that are independent of historical time and place. Authenticity can exist within a postmodernist framework if we acknowledge the relativity of the construct and do not attempt to argue that it is a universal truth.

2.6 Philosophical, Psychological and Sociological Implications for a Theory of Authenticity

Consideration of the true self and authenticity has long been of interest to philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists. Although much of the early research did not use the term authenticity, examination of that scholarship reveals its relevance. In the last fifteen years, the concept of authenticity (by that name) has received significant research attention. Both psychologists and sociologists have examined authenticity empirically. Scholars posited a number of definitions of authenticity over the years. I am simultaneously interested in illuminating the mechanisms of authenticity that transcend boundaries of race, SES, and age, and exploring cultural definitions of authenticity (that is how individuals across these groups may differentially define the topic). As Erickson asserts, “definitions-by-discipline” of authenticity have “contributed to its “empirical neglect” (p. 123). My assessment of this looser, cultural sense of authenticity is elicited through my qualitative interviews. My interest in illuminating mechanisms and common aspects of authenticity is explored through use of an authenticity inventory I have designed and through the interviews. Therefore, in pursuing this research, I consider preexisting definitions of authenticity, as I develop my own conceptualization. It is my goal in this dissertation to illuminate the mechanisms and spirit of authenticity, as based on empirical work.

3. Review of Relevant Literature

“Some writers confuse authenticity, which they ought always to aim at, with originality, which they should never bother about.”

–W.H. Auden

This dissertation offers a theoretical model of authenticity and examines questions about the relationships between social structural position and authenticity and between authenticity and NSA. In addition to the theoretical implications derived from the fields of philosophy, psychology, and sociology, the fields of psychology and sociology offer empirical research studies which provide foundations for the current research.

3.1 Psychological Roots: Empirical Work

Research on self-monitoring provides insights into variations in the extent to which individuals monitor behavior, and the ways that people differentially respond to social cues. Empirical research suggests that low self-monitors are less sensitive to external influences than high self-monitors (c.f., Snyder and Monson, 1975; Kulik and Taylor, 1981). Similarly, studies that distinguish between private and public self-consciousness behavior reveal that it is not only important to consider the influence of the individual’s innate nature (i.e. high or low self-monitoring behavior), but also the influence of social context.

The nature of private vs. public self-consciousness has been examined by Schlenker and Weigold (1990). The authors tested two competing hypotheses about why individuals who are privately self-conscious resist social pressure, a documented research finding. The social obliviousness hypothesis suggests that these individuals

are not concerned with how they are perceived socially, whereas the autonomous identity hypothesis suggests that these individuals are highly concerned with appearing autonomous to others. Results of a series of three studies (Schlenker and Weigold, 1990) supported the autonomous identity hypothesis. Their results indicate that privately self-conscious and publicly self-conscious individuals identify differently. Whereas privately self-conscious individuals rely on their personal identity and value autonomy, publicly self-conscious individuals value conformity and emphasize social identity. This research suggests that both privately and publicly self-conscious groups are driven by a need to impression manage, but for different reasons.

Doherty and Schlenker's research also highlights the importance of social context (1991). In two studies, the authors examined the relationship between public self-consciousness and strategic self-presentation. Their measures included both a self-consciousness scale and, in the first experiment, a self-monitoring scale. Their results suggest that individuals who are purely high in public self-consciousness are most influenced by performance feedback they receive from others, whereas individuals who are low in public self-consciousness and high in private self-consciousness are the least influenced by performance feedback. Doherty and Schlenker link their findings to authenticity through the work of Carver and Scheier (1985), stating, "Carver and Scheier (1985) suggested that people who are privately self-conscious may be motivated to present the private self to others as accurately as possible. The motivation to present an authentic portrait of self, instead of one that

merely maximizes approval, may be strongest for privately self-conscious individuals who are also high in public self-consciousness” (p. 15). However, given that individuals who are high in public self-consciousness appear to have a higher NSA, it seems that highest levels of authentic behavior would be found among individuals with low public self-consciousness and high private self-consciousness.

Furthermore, both of these studies support for the idea that authentic behavior is both self referential and other referential, as they attend to not only the individual’s self-views, but also their concern with how they are perceived by others. Hattingh (2005) examined the public-private distinction empirically through case studies of homosexual individuals who keep their sexual orientation secret in the workplace but are open about their sexual orientation in private life and reports on the challenges to authenticity experienced by these individuals. This work also supports the value of considering both the self referential and other referential aspects of authenticity.

Empirical work on theories of self-consistency, self-enhancement, and self-verification also are relevant to this research. Much of this research, spearheaded by William Swann examines the influence of self-conception on performance. For example, self-consistent data seem to be the predominant determinant of cognitive reactions to feedback about the self, whereas self-enhancing data appear to fuel affective reactions to feedback about the self (Swann, Griffin, Predmore, and Gaines, 1987). Schlenker (1975) found that the context of self-presentation (i.e., public or anonymous) can determine whether self-consistency or self-enhancement is pursued. In addition to the influence of self-consistent or self-enhancing data on individuals,

individuals vary in the extent to which they can be persuaded, and different strategies work more or less effectively depending on the extent to which individuals are certain of their beliefs (Swann, Pelham, and Chidester, 1988).

Swann, Pelham, and Krull (1989) demonstrated that whether people seek self-enhancing or self-verifying feedback is more dependent on whether the topic at hand is their positive attributes or their negative attributes, rather than self-esteem. Thus, as it pertains to seeking feedback, self-esteem can be considered less powerful than the motivations of enhancement and verification. In a study especially relevant to the current research, Swann, La Ronde, and Hixon (1994) compare the need for self-enhancing feedback with self-verification needs. The subjects in their study consisted of married and dating couples, and self-verification in this context is referred to as authenticity. The authors found support for their hypotheses such that enhancement was most important for dating couples, whereas verification was most important for married couples. Interestingly, for married individuals, intimacy was greater in couples in which individuals with negative self-views received more negative feedback from their spouses. The authors suggest that marriage marks a movement from the need for self-enhancement to the need for self-verification. I find the authors' suggestion that marriage is associated with authenticity interesting, and highlight this one way that authenticity can become a means of self-enhancement.

Although research on self-verification comes primarily from psychology, there is one sociological article on the topic by Burke and Stets (1999). These authors suggest that self-verification leads to trust and commitment in relationships.

The anticipated emotional responses to self-verification are based on other literatures, notably the work of Higgins regarding actual vs. ideal selves. The authors posit that self-verification will lead to self-feelings, which are associated with trust, and that trust should be associated with commitment, emotional attachment, and group orientation. The authors highlight the dual conclusions that summarize their results. First, self-verification increases subjective commitment and emotional attachment indirectly through self-feelings and trust. Second, self-verification has a direct effect on behavioral measures of commitment and group orientation. Subjective commitment is how subjects say they would act and behavioral commitment is reports of how they do act. The authors take these findings to tentatively suggest that two types of processes may be occurring in relationships “one based on trust and emotional responses, the other on information and cognitive processes” (p. 361). This article was particularly insightful because of its emphasis on theory and mechanisms that may account for the process of self-verification. Like the other research on the topic, this study reveals the intricate nature of the construction of self, and the complexities behind behavioral choices.

Other psychological studies from the field of psychology either lend support or are directly compatible with this dissertation. For example, Roth et al. (1986) demonstrated two tactics that individuals can use for impression management: they can deny negative characteristics or attribute positive characteristics to the self. Attributing positive things to the self and of denying negative attributes are independent processes (Roth et al., 1986). Related to the work reviewed previously

on self-consciousness, Roth et al. (1986) report that private self-consciousness and self-esteem significantly correlate with self-presentation tactics, such that high self-esteem was correlated with unrealistic positive attributions to the self, and low private self-consciousness with decreased unrealistic denial of negative characteristics. Given the effect of self-esteem documented in this and other studies, self-esteem is included as control variable in this dissertation. In addition, this study is relevant to this dissertation in that it illustrates a psychological approach to impression management, a guiding perspective of this dissertation.

Research on self-esteem has long been a mainstay of psychological researchers. It is only in recent years, however, that this line of research has considered the associations between impression management behaviors and self-esteem. Hussain and Langer (2003) evaluated the effects of the *opportunity costs* of pretending on self-esteem. They contend that when we pretend and are acclaimed, it is actually counter-productive because we will be unable to internalize that praise. To test these hypotheses, the authors performed two studies in which subjects had the opportunity to feign knowledge and were praised. Self-esteem was measured pre and post test. The results indicate no differences in changes in self esteem between praised and unpraised pretenders, whereas controls showed a substantial increase in self-esteem. These findings suggest that when we are rewarded for inauthentic presentation of self, the award does not benefit self-esteem. Harter and colleagues (1996, 1997) have studied true-self and false-self behavior in adolescents and explored the conditions under which adolescents are more likely to engage in false-

self behavior. Harter et al.'s 1996 findings suggest that the motivation for inauthentic behavior affects how the individual responds to behaving falsely. That is, individuals behaving falsely motivated by devaluing the self had more negative outcomes than both those being false to please others and those enacting a false self as part of role experimentation. The latter group had the most positive outcomes (affect, self-worth, hopefulness/hopelessness, and knowledge of the true self).

A final contribution of psychological research on authenticity addresses its measurement. Goldman and Kernis developed the Authenticity Inventory. The Inventory has 44 items, which include a 15-item awareness subscale, 10 unbiased processing items, 13 behavior items, and 6 relational orientation items (see Goldman & Kernis, 2002). Their study also included a self-esteem inventory, self-esteem contingency scale (self-worth that is based on achieving certain goals), and measures of life satisfaction and affect. Preliminary analyses, based on a predominantly female sample of introductory psychology students, indicate that authenticity is positively related to self-esteem and life satisfaction, and negatively related to self-esteem contingency and negative affect (Goldman & Kernis, 2002). Kernis and Goldman (2005) also correlated authenticity scores with other measures, and observed a negative correlation between authenticity and depression. Goldman and Kernis developed the only Authenticity Inventory prior to the development of the instrument used in this dissertation.

3.1.1 Psychological Roots: Research on the Need for Social Approval

Empirical assessment of the need for social approval has a brief history. In the following paragraphs, I review the history of the NSA construct. I take a loosely chronological approach to the topic, first reviewing the early years of research, and subsequently reviewing the development of newer measures of NSA. Next, I review the research on two thematic areas of NSA: NSA and the self, and NSA and self-presentation.

3.1.1.2 Empirical Assessment: The Early Years of Research

Following the publication of Crowne and Marlowe's 1960 scale, research on NSA, conceptualized as social desirability, expanded exponentially. Although the majority of research during the sixties relied on the MCSDS, a small body of research continued to pursue the Edwards model (i.e., Heilbrun and Goodstein, 1961), or other approaches to measurement of approval need (see Jones, Gergen, and David, 1962). Marlowe and Crowne (1961) reviewed research on social desirability from the fifties, arguing that it failed to assess issues of motivation. They state, "Social desirability, as presently defined, refers to a need for social approval and acceptance and the belief that this can be attained by means of culturally acceptable and appropriate behaviors" (p. 109). The substance of their study is relevant to the current investigation on authentic behavior: "A low need for social approval implies a degree of independence of cultural definitions of acceptable behavior" (Marlowe and Crowne, 1961, p. 110). In their research, they sought to construct a situation that subjects would perceive as requiring socially acceptable behavior. Subjects were

asked to engage in a repetitive, boring task after which they had to face the experimenter (an authority figure) to report how much they enjoyed the task. As they predicted, Marlowe and Crowne (1961) found that those high in NSA wrote more favorable feedback than those low in NSA. Marlowe and Crowne (1961) distinguish between NSA and conformity reporting that NSA is motivational, whereas conformity is behavioral.

Crowne and Strickland (1961) sought to demonstrate the role of motivation in NSA through a verbal conditioning task. They found that higher NSA individuals are more responsive to positive and negative feedback than those low in NSA, which the authors suggest supports the idea that their scale measures the motivational component of NSA. Using similar methodology, however, Spielberger, Berger, and Howard (1966), were unable to replicate the findings. Schill (1966) also found that high NSA subjects had peak performance when they received positive reinforcement, and had the least incidental memory for face under conditions of negative reinforcement. The title of Crowne and Strickland's 1961 study includes the term NSA rather than social desirability, marking the shift in terminology. In 1964, Crowne and Marlowe published *The Approval Motive: Studies in Evaluative Dependence*, which summarized the state of the science on NSA and appears to have inaugurated the use of the term *approval motivation*.

Early research on social approval also examined individuals' reactions to approval or disapproval. Jones et al. (1962) observed that people tend to like those who like them and dislike those who dislike them. They found that

subjects' ratings of the interviewer were more positive when the subject had been told to present herself accurately and received positive feedback than in a hypocrisy condition. Jones et al. (1962) found that subjects reported more accurate presentations of self when they received positive feedback, despite being assigned to a presentation orientation. This study did not include a measure of NSA, but it did include the Machiavellian scale. Individuals who scored low on this scale adjusted their presentations in response to feedback more than high-scorers.

These results regarding the effects of positive feedback following accurate self-presentation suggest that being authentic and being validated for being authentic can have positive outcomes. This is compatible with George's (1998) thesis that authenticity can be a form of self-enhancement for older adults. The vital factor, as identified by Jones et al., is how others receive authentic presentations of self. If an individual does not receive positive reinforcement for being authentic, however, will that behavior continue? Although outside the confines of an experimental domain, authentic behavior may itself have aspects that are self-validating and reinforcing, behaving authentically may entail social costs.

3.1.1.2 New Ways of Measuring NSA

In 1976, Larsen, Martin, Ettinger, and Nelson developed the Martin-Larsen Approval Motivation Scale in response to validity problems with the MCSDS. They found a negative correlation between their scale and self-esteem in a sample of 40 individuals, which replicated previous research based on the MCSDS. More recently, Martin (1984) published a revised version of the MLAM which improved

upon the unidirectional nature of the earlier version by including items designed to assess both approval seeking and disapproval avoidance. Having assessed the relationships between the MLAM and other personality dimensions, Martin concludes that “high NSA personas are concerned with both receiving approval and avoiding disapproval from others” (1984:517).

Another NSA measure, the Jacobson-Kellogg Self Description Inventory, was produced in the seventies. Jacobson, Kellogg, Cauce, and Slavin (1977) emphasized the multidimensional nature of their inventory, the Self-Description Inventory (SDI-I), which has four scales addressing attribution and denial of positive and negative traits. In 1983, Jacobson, Brown and Ariza published a revised version of this scale that extended the number of items in each subscale (SDI-II). Empirical work employing the SDI-II suggests the utility of the sub-scales. Adams and Kransoff (1989) gave the SDI-II to a sample of incarcerated males. The authors hypothesized that subjects eligible for a work release program would score higher on social desirability than those ineligible. The authors controlled on race (Blacks were hypothesized to score higher on SD than Whites). They also hypothesized that increasing age would be associated with greater social desirability and that higher education and IQ would be associated with lower SD scores. Interestingly, age was significantly correlated with increasing SD scores only for Whites. Blacks scored significantly higher than Whites on the measure; the authors speculate that this may be due to institutional factors that make approved behavior especially necessary for

incarcerated Blacks. This study is interesting because it suggests how context and situational demands may intersect with personal social desirability motivations.

Bass (1972) assessed the construct validity of NSA measures. Participants in his study completed two measures of social desirability; the MCSDS, and the Alternate-Choice Social Desirability scale (ACSDS) that Bass constructed. The ACSDS is a modified version of the MCSDS which has four response choices denoting how intensely the individual endorses the statement (i.e., always, usually, rarely, never). To demonstrate the reliability of NSA across situations, Bass had his research subjects participate in three experimental settings designed to invoke NSA. The patterns observed suggest that the extreme wording of the MCSDS may skew self-reports. One statement Bass (1972) makes is particularly relevant to this dissertation: “Consequently it remains a strong possibility that the significant correlation between M-C SD and conformity is due to some factor other than the presence of the need for approval” (p. 66). I would propose that it is the desire to engage in authentic behavior.

Research by Knapp, Knapp, and Weick (1966) employing stress and non-stress conditions suggests that NSA is influenced by contextual factors. The modality of NSA assessment also affects responses. Henson, Cannell, and Roth (1978) compared phone and face-to-face interviews using the MCSDS. They found that individuals indicated lower NSA face-to-face than over the phone. Face-to-face interviews are used in this dissertation.

In addition, it is not the case that only measures designed explicitly to measure the NSA or social desirability can be linked to authenticity. For example, Ryff and Keyes (1995) have empirically validated a six-factor measure of psychological well-being. One of the factors in their model is autonomy, defined as “able to resist social pressures to think and act in certain ways” (p. 727). Thus, an individual high in NSA would be expected to score low on the autonomy measure and such a measure can be considered an alternate form of the NSA. Measurement of NSA in this study will be discussed in the Methods section.

Other research studies are relevant to the current investigation of authenticity. I will briefly review research on two relevant themes: the association between NSA and the self, and the association between NSA and self-presentation.

3.1.1.3 NSA and the Self

Several studies on NSA focus on its relation to self-processes and affect. Although I will review the findings of only the most relevant studies, topics include the relationship between NSA and arousal and anger (Young, 1971), conditions of agreeableness (Jones and Tager, 1972), psychopathology (Funari, 1974), reward contingencies (Jellison and Gentry, 1978), resisting persuasion (Adams and Beatty, 1977) and the use of humor (Davis 1983).

Millham and Kellogg (1980) sought to parse out the components of NSA that are self-deceiving and those that are other-deceiving; the latter are forms of impression management. Deutsch and Lamberti (1986) report that social reinforcement provided in response to helping behavior influences individuals high in

NSA, but not those with low NSA. The negative relationship Glazer (1972) documented between NSA and self-esteem suggests that the NSA may not be solely driven by approval seeking, but also by the need to avoid disapproval. This is compatible with O'Grady's (1989) failure to support his hypothesized negative association between physical attractiveness and the NSA. The relationship between self-esteem and NSA was also examined by other researchers (see Kimble and Helmreich, 1972; Franks and Marolla 1976).

Research on the NSA and the self suggests that a negative relationship between the NSA and self-esteem. Therefore, we would expect that self-esteem would be positively related to authentic behavior. Research by Goldman and Kernis (2002) supports this hypothesis, but reports a negative association between authenticity and contingent self-esteem (self-worth that is based on achieving certain goals).

3.1.1.4 NSA and Self-Presentation

According to Oliver (1988), people engage in self-presentation for two reasons: to procure rewards and, for self-fulfillment and self-identification (the second reason is cited to Baumeister). Although they may be associated with similar outcomes, Oliver (1988) notes that these two purposes reflect different motivations; the first is in response to a desire to gain things from those who distribute them (in response to an other), and the second is in response to a desire for what Backman calls self-enhancement. NSA (via the MCSDS) also is related to how susceptible individuals are to social influence: NSA is related to even subtle cues of

interpersonal influence (Smith and Flenning, 1971). In the early years there was significant attention to the association between NSA and conformity, which can be considered as way to procure rewards. For example, researchers found that NSA was a determinant of conformity in situations of social pressure (Strickland and Crowne, 1962). Although some scholars found that NSA was not related to conformity (Antler, 1964), others observed higher levels of conforming behavior in high NSA subjects (Buckhout, 1965).

The finding that NSA and conformity are statistically related provides support for the hypothesis that individuals who are high on NSA will report lower levels of authentic behavior. However, given that individuals also engage in self-presentation for purposes of self-enhancement and not just to procure rewards, we would expect that NSA is associated not only with conforming behavior but with multiple aspects of self-monitoring.

Another line of research focuses on the association between NSA and non-normative behaviors. Both high and low NSA are associated with drug use, but different types of drugs (Scherer, Ettinger, and Mudrick, 1972). Suggesting that the NSA has both an attribution component and a denial component, Millham (1974) examined cheating following both success and failure. He found much greater frequency of cheating following failure than success. Millham concludes that disapproval motivation is a key motivating force of individuals who cheat. Similarly, Berger, Levin, Jacobson, and Millham (1977) investigated whether high NSA individuals were seeking to gain approval or avoid disapproval. Using the

MCSDS, and manipulating motivation conditions, they found that only those highest in NSA engage in cheating behavior, and that this behavior is present in the avoid disapproval condition.

The research on NSA and non-normative behaviors suggests that the relationship between NSA and authentic behavior may be contextually dependent. That is, individuals high on NSA may only engage in less frequent authentic behavior in situations where their social approval is threatened. This aligns with the focus of this dissertation on situations that entail a tension between socially approved behavior and authentic behavior.

3.2 Sociological Roots: Empirical Work

Authenticity has only a small empirical research base in sociology. Although researchers have conceptualized authenticity, it has received little empirical attention. I believe that this pattern is a result of the difficulty in conceptualizing and operationalizing authenticity (see also Erickson, 1995). A key contribution of this dissertation is that I offer a conceptualization of authenticity and a related measurement tool. In addition, I empirically address the tension between authenticity and need for social approval, which Goffman described. Although that relationship was empirically addressed through Goffman's qualitative research, it has never been quantitatively addressed. In 1994, Kiecolt reported finding only one empirical study on authenticity by Turner and Billings.

Turner and Billings (1991) are interested in the cognitive and affective components of self-conceptions. They surveyed college students at UCLA using

open-ended questions about individuals' senses of their true selves. Specifically, study participants reported situations in which they felt they were enacting their true selves and instances when they were behaving inauthentically. The investigators expected that the two types of situations individuals reported would be very different. They found that both authentic and inauthentic experiences predominantly involved dyadic exchanges and often involved friends. Interestingly, they found that the most common scenario in which individuals reported feelings of authenticity was in a confessional type conversation. Confessional style conversations invoked a sense of authenticity in 27.4% of subjects' accounts, and were named as inauthentic in only 4.9% of accounts. As might be expected, quite different results were observed for small talk, which was much more highly associated with feelings of inauthenticity than authenticity. The findings reported on subjects' perceived internal and external demands are compatible with my hypotheses about the relationship between NSA and authentic behavior. For example, Turner and Billings report that external pressures exist in 31.8% of inauthentic encounters, but in only 13.0% of authentic encounters. The data for internal pressures were similar and were more often associated with inauthenticity. Although individuals reported equal levels of compliance with external demands in true self and inauthentic conditions, individuals reported greater compliance with internal demands during the true self condition.

Turner and Billings (1991) report that authentic encounters were associated with a desire to express oneself, impulse, a need for excellence or self mastery, and living in accord with one's values. These data are important because they provide

support for the idea that authentic behavior can be a means of self-enhancement. Finally, Turner and Billings (1991) provide support for links between authenticity and well-being, reporting that positive affect is associated with authenticity, whereas negative moods are linked to inauthenticity. Having reviewed various theories of the self, including identity theory, self-efficacy theory, self-confirmation, self-enhancement, and others, Turner and Billings (1991) remark “we conclude that none of the theories provides a full explanation for our findings, but that some theories are more promising than others” (p. 120). Turner and Billings (1991) collected their data using the *true self method* (Turner and Schutte, 1981). As noted above, in this method subjects are asked to answer open-ended questions about when their true selves were presented or misrepresented/submerged. Preliminary findings presented in the 1981 publication also support Turner’s institutional/impulsive distinction (1976). Turner and Schutte (1981) created a typology of different loci of true self (achievement, altruism, impulse release, and intimacy), and spurious self (failure, selfishness, plastic behavior, and insincerity) and examined gender, religion, marital status, self-concern, and self-acceptance differences across loci. Dichotomizing gender, religion, marital status, and the self variables, they report the percentages for each group in each domain. For example, they find that when sorting individuals into their typology of true-self experiences, the men surveyed are split fairly evenly across the four categories, with the largest percentage of male respondents classified as favoring of intimacy, whereas over half of the females in the study were included in that group. Likewise, when we consider the contexts of inauthenticity (the four loci

of the spurious self), 42.9% of the men studied are classified in the failure group, whereas the largest percentage of women feel inauthentic in the act of insincerity.

Prior to the Turner and Billings (1991) study, Turner and Gordon (1981) reported on data collected using the *true self method* in which over a third of the sample was found to identify their true self on the impulse dimension (self-discovery) and their false self in relation to the institutional dimension (norms and values as set by social institutions). A much smaller percentage of individuals were found to identify their true self as institutional and their false self as impulsive. The remainder of the sample was fairly evenly split in identifying both their true and false self in an institutional way or in an impulse way. The research by Turner and colleagues is especially relevant to this dissertation is in that it suggests many domains in which individuals can report expressing their true selves and expressing their false selves.

Rebecca Erickson may be considered the premiere sociological researcher of authenticity. In addition to her dissertation (Erickson, 1991), and conceptual articles published in 1994 and 1995, Erickson has published two empirical studies of authenticity. The first is a 1997 publication with Amy Wharton in which the authors seek to demonstrate the mediating role of inauthenticity between work and psychological distress. Building upon Hochschild's work, they hypothesize that emotional labor (emotional displays that are part of a job) will be associated with inauthenticity, that having control over one's work will be negatively associated with inauthenticity, and that there will be a positive relationship between inauthenticity and on-the-job depression. Erickson and Wharton measured inauthenticity with a

two-item scale of the frequency individuals felt they could not be themselves and had to fake how they felt at work. No gender differences in authenticity were observed in the predominantly female sample studied. They find that inauthenticity was negatively correlated with the amount of time spent working with people, control over one's work, and job involvement, but positively correlated with depressed mood. Interestingly, older workers and those with children residing at home reported fewer feelings of inauthenticity.

Erickson and Ritter (2001) examined the relationship between emotion management at work and inauthenticity. Inauthenticity at work was measured using a six-item scale, in which respondents reported how frequently they had experienced each situation during the past six months. Items include: (1) "To get through my work day, I feel like I have to become mechanical or robot-like" (2), "When I'm at work, I become unsure of what my 'real' feelings are" (3) "I worry that this job is hardening me emotionally," (4) "I don't feel I can be myself at work" (5) "I have to fake how I really feel when I'm at work" and (6) "I basically have to become a different person when I'm at work" (p. 152). A key finding in this study was that although managing agitation was associated with inauthenticity, management of negative emotions (i.e., sadness, guilt, etc) and management of positive emotions (i.e., happy, excited) were not associated with inauthenticity. Erickson and Ritter contend that this supports Erickson's (1995) contention that emotional processes are the foundation of inauthenticity. However, as previously noted, I believe that a more inclusive conceptualization of authenticity should be employed---one that goes

beyond emotive display to also include an individual's behavior as it reflects his/her true self. Emotional displays can be in or out of alignment with the true self, but non-emotional displays or behaviors can be as well. Erickson's research on inauthenticity focuses on emotion management as one determinant of feelings of authenticity. Although emotion management is a strategic site for authenticity research and Erickson's work a significant contribution, researchers need to examine other components of authentic self-presentation, such as how an individual conducts his or her self in situations in which emotion does not play such a large role.

Related to these ideas of emotional labor, a recent sociological study suggests support for the idea that individuals value the authenticity of others. Although focused on a specific area, pornography, Parvez's 2006 study demonstrates the perceived authenticity of the displayed emotion in pornographic films affects women's enjoyment of that display, such that greater enjoyment is experienced when the emotion is perceived to be authentic. Even though this study focused on a very specific area, I believe that its implications are far reaching and extend to encounters between individuals in daily social interactions.

More recent empirical sociological work on authenticity comes from Phillip Vannini. Vannini (2006) makes the distinction between feeling that one is displaying their true self and being the true self, and emphasizes feeling true to one's self as is done in this research. Conducting ethnographic research, Vannini explored the ways in which U.S. university professors feel authentic and inauthentic in their work. His research suggests that teaching can indeed be a source of authenticity for professors,

but that professors may feel inauthentic as a result of both job demands and one's challenges in enacting the true self- behaving in alignment with their values. Vannini notes that his research provides that authenticity and inauthenticity are not determined by structural forces or as deterministically as Hochschild's work suggests. Later reports on that data suggest the need to consider that the self is not static and that authenticity must be considered with fluidity over the life course (Vannini, 2007).

In contrast to Vannini's ethnographic approach, a recent quantitative study of authenticity was published by Sloan (2007). Although her proposed model that self-concept anchorage moderates the association between emotion management and inauthenticity was not supported as predicted, her study provides depth to understandings of the association between emotion management and inauthenticity, demonstrating that consistency between emotions and self-view contribute to authenticity, and discrepancy to inauthenticity. Although the article provides clear support for the links between emotion management and authenticity, impression management more broadly is not addressed.

Other sociological studies do not directly assess authenticity, but offer relevant findings. Using survey data, Gove, Hughes, and Geerken (1980) examined the correlates of playing dumb. *Playing dumb* refers to the occurrence, extent, and context of pretending to be less intelligent or knowledgeable than one is. Gove et al. report that playing dumb occurs more "among males, the young, those with high levels of education, those with a relatively low income, those with high-status

occupations, and Jews” (p. 100). Many of these characteristics are at odds with my hypotheses, which may be a function of the specific form of inauthenticity they assessed. If we equate playing dumb to being inauthentic, I predict greater levels of inauthenticity among females, the young, and those with low levels of education. The only finding compatible with my hypotheses is the age pattern. Interestingly, Gove et al. (1980) state, “The strongest relationship found in our data was that younger persons are more likely to play dumb than older persons” (p.101). Playing dumb was found to correlate with poor mental health, alienation, low self-esteem, and unhappiness. All of these are, as I will argue, potential consequences of inauthenticity.

A few qualitative studies also are relevant to this dissertation. It is useful to consider special populations in which the development of the self may not follow more traditional trajectories. Two such populations are transsexuals and individuals who have achieved significant social mobility.

Karp’s (1986) research on professionals from lower SES backgrounds illustrates the importance of constructing a meaningful narrative of the self. As Karp states, “I will show that those who break with their eth-class via social mobility must continuously cope with the task of creating and sustaining a “coherent self” that integrates older and newer social identities” (p. 20). Karp’s research supports the idea that individuals have a socially developed self that must change and adapt as a result of educational mobility. A quotation from one of Karp’s research subjects epitomizes this sentiment. The subject (a male psychologist, age 50) states “...The

struggle was that I would be betraying who I was to the people who had brought me there if I challenged their values.” In this quotation, the subjects alludes to the discrepancy between who the subject’s loved ones believe him to be, and the values associated with that identity versus the values and identity characteristics of who he became via educational mobility.

Mason-Schrock (1996) identified transsexuals as a group in the process of constructing their true selves. Mason-Schrock pays homage to the value of the true self as a useful construct for motivation. Mason-Schrock examined the methods transsexuals efforts to create cohesive narratives of their lives and their selves. Is the idea of the true self socially constructed? According to Mason-Schrock, the transgender community was crucial in assisting its members to create a self-narrative (and a perceived true self) through opportunities for modeling, guiding, affirming, and tactful blindness. This work suggests that although individuals may believe in an inborn true self, definitions of the true self constantly change in response to implicit and explicit feedback from those around us.

Thus, transsexuals and socially mobile individuals are similar in their quest to develop a coherent sense of self. This idea of the need for a coherent self can be traced back to Lecky (1945) who “argued that individuals seek to maintain a coherent view of themselves in order to function effectively in the world” (Gecas and Burke, 1995:49). In quite varying ways, the ideas held by these populations about their true selves have influenced their positions in society. Transsexuals may be open about their sexuality because they believe it is their true self, and socially mobile

individuals may create a glass ceiling for themselves based on their ideas of their true selves. Erickson (1995) suggests that Snow and Anderson's work on homelessness supports the notion that authenticity is especially salient among marginalized groups. I agree with this statement, and suggest that the relationships among role, identity, and self that Snow and Anderson (1987) identify for homeless individuals may be valid for all three of these groups. For example, for each of these groups, there are times and conditions under which their structurally based roles and their personal identities may be incongruent. Although the term *impostor phenomenon* was originally used to denote feeling phony in the intellectual domain (see the seminal article by Clance and Imes, 1978), individuals can feel phony in multiple domains of their lives. Clance and Imes observed the phenomenon in women more than men, which makes sense given the cultural context of the nineteen seventies. However, their publication was based on their clinical experiences and was not an empirical assessment of the topic. Nonetheless, the authors note that findings of attribution researchers concur with that observation. These three groups are exemplars of the need to construct a coherent sense of self. However, all human beings are in a quest to construct a coherent sense of self. This need can be considered both a means of self-enhancement and a form of self-protection.

4. Conceptual Model and Supporting Literature

“To be what we are, and to become what we are capable of becoming, is the only end in life.”

–Robert Louis Stevenson

4.1 Exploration of Authenticity and Association with Structural Factors

In this dissertation, I am interested in three related issues; (1) how individuals define the concept of authenticity; (2) what they feel the role of authenticity is in their everyday lives, and where they may be authentic; and (3) the associations between social structural position and authentic behavior. I believe that there will be significant differences in conceptualizations of authenticity and the feeling that one can be authentic based on race, age, gender, SES, and marital status. I am interested in assessing whether people feel that authenticity (being their true selves) is something that is more easily achieved in some environments than others. I am interested in hearing from people who feel they can be authentic and those who do not feel they can be authentic. For example, if a respondent reports being unable to be authentic in her job, I will ask why she feels that way. It may be that she needs ‘social approval’ to keep the job (for financial reasons, prestige reasons, etc), or perhaps because she feels that she is in the wrong occupation. Relevant sentiments were expressed by one of the research participants in Karp’s (1986) study of socially mobile individuals. This subject, a 50 year-old male physician states, “It was not the drive to be a doctor that was most important. It was the drive to make a leap into a

guaranteed social class” (p. 27). For this participant, status gains, and not a quest for an occupation in which the individual can feel authentic, seems to have been the strongest determinant of his desire to become a physician. The desire for authenticity can be overridden by other needs and/or desires.

Social context is also a key focus. That is, do contexts vary in the extent to which individuals feel that they can be authentic? Cultural anthropologist Katherine Ewing (1990) suggests the profound impact of context on representations of the self. Presenting oneself differently across situations suggests that there is not a single authentic self, but rather that individuals can have multiple senses of authenticity, depending on context. For this research, I am interested in the contexts in which individuals report they engage in more frequent authentic behavior, and whether they think of their authentic self as constant across place or dependent on the environment. These research questions will be answered primarily through qualitative interviews. Quantitative survey data will allow me to statistically assess the predicted relationships.

4.2 Authenticity and Social Approval

Another aim of this research is to examine relationships between the NSA and authentic behavior. The constructs of social approval and authenticity have long been hypothesized to be at odds; but has yet to be tested (George, 1998). This dissertation evaluates that issue.

4.3 The Need for Social Approval

I propose that the NSA mediates the relationship between social structural position and authentic behavior. I hypothesize that increasing levels of NSA will be associated with lower levels of authentic behavior. Being younger, female, of lower SES, and single (positions of lower power according to social stratification literature) are hypothesized to be associated with higher levels of NSA and, subsequently, lower levels of authentic behavior. However, being Black is expected to be associated with lower NSA and higher levels of authentic behavior. In addition, I expect that race will moderate the relationship between NSA and authentic behavior and that gender will moderate the relationship between age and NSA as noted in the formal hypotheses. The NSA seems a necessary determinant of the enactment of authentic behavior. That is, the more one reports needing social approval, the less free he/she will feel to behaviorally enact their authentic self. This sentiment was reflected in Mason-Schrock's (1996) work on the true selves of transgender individuals. He writes, "Negative social reactions to cross-dressing or other 'cross-gendered' activities, such as little boys acting feminine, were seen as building up barriers to the expression of the differently gendered 'true self' " (p. 182). The quotation implies that if the boys did not need social approval, they would have felt freer to behave in a 'feminine' way.

4.4 Models

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 provide schematic representations of the guiding models of this dissertation. The variables in the models will be discussed below and in the

methods section. The model depicted in Figure 4.1 proposes a direct relationship between NSA and authentic behavior. Figure 4.2 indicates that structural factors directly affect authentic behavior, but also are partially mediated by the NSA. I also hypothesize that social structural position will be associated with NSA level.

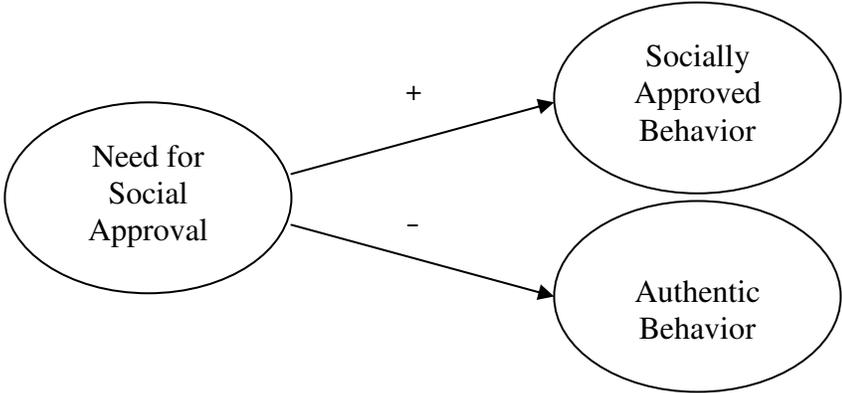


Figure 4.1 Need for Social Approval and Behavior

Figure 4.1 displays the relationship between NSA and two behaviors: socially approved behavior and authentic behavior. The tension between socially approved behavior and authentic behavior outlined here is not explicitly assessed in this study but is an implicit assumption of the model. That is, socially approved behavior is considered to be an alternative to authentic behavior. Although socially approved behavior and authentic behavior may co-exist, this dissertation focuses on electing authentic behavior in those times that authentic behavior and socially approved behavior are considered as being at odds. Other researchers have highlighted this tension. Erickson reports, “I no longer see the primary question as being whether people are authentic or inauthentic per se, but rather under what conditions or

contexts the experience of inauthenticity becomes a problem” (1995:140). I am interested in situations where authenticity becomes a problem, or, situations where inauthenticity becomes a problem (i.e., situations in which it is too costly to behave in a way that feels inauthentic).

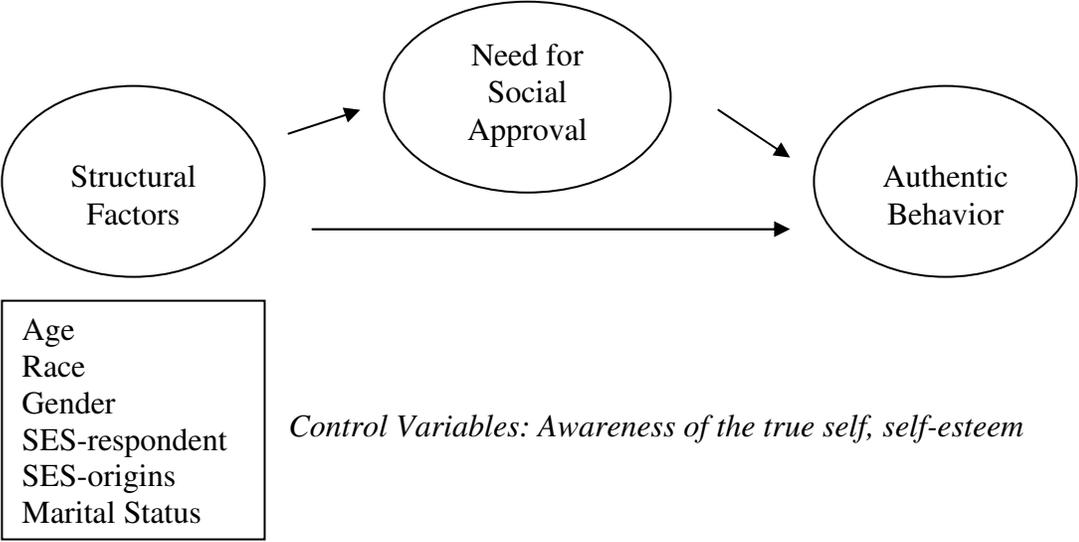


Figure 4.2 Structural Determinants of Need for Social Approval and Authentic Behavior

Figure 4.2 displays the hypothesized relationships among structural factors, NSA, and authentic behavior. This research assumes that NSA motivates behavior similar to the ways in which self-efficacy and self-esteem motivate behavior. Awareness and self-esteem are included as control variables. In studies of true self and false self behavior in adolescents, Harter et al. (1996) include a similar variable, *knowledge of one’s true self* and finds that the adolescents had a relatively high level of knowledge about the self. I include awareness of the true self as a control because it seems a logical precursor to enactment of the authentic self.

4.5 Social Stratification as Determinant

A primary hypothesis of this research is that social structural factors contribute to individuals' NSA and authentic behaviors. Support for the hypothesized relationships between social structural position and NSA was provided in the previous section. The goal of this section is to provide support for the hypothesized relationships between social structural position and authentic behavior. As used here, the term *social structure* is compatible with the definition offered by Blau (1974): "population distributions among social positions along various lines – positions that affect people's role relations and social interaction" (p. 616). Social structural forces are identified as a driving force in determining NSA and subsequent authentic behavior. "Members of oppressed groups are more likely to confront the 'problem' of authenticity than are those who inhabit the world of power and privilege" (Erickson, 1995: 137). Specifically, I expect that positions of greater privilege (i.e. being older, male, of high SES and married) will be associated with higher levels of authentic behavior. Race, however, is not expected to follow this pattern. Rather, I expect that Blacks will report lower NSA and subsequently higher authentic behavior than Whites. In addition, I expect that gender will moderate the relationship between age and authentic behavior such that at increasing ages, the effect of being male on authentic behavior will be weakened.

The idea of the true or authentic self as a component of the individual constrained by access and position in the social hierarchy is reflected in findings reported by Mason-Schrock (1996). Regarding the narratives created by his

transsexual research subjects he states, “Overall, these stories helped to create the notion that the ‘true self’ was constrained by forces *outside* the individual” (p. 181). I suggest that these forces are social responses to individuals’ fixed characteristics such as race, gender, and age, and I will assess whether positions of power are statistically associated with higher levels of authentic behavior. In other words, social position facilitates the ability to enact the true self. As these factors are largely fixed, the causal order from social structural position to authentic behavior is clear.

This research question has been identified as an important one by other sociologists. Mason-Schrock (1996) identified the need to examine the links between self-narratives and social structure. Kiecolt (1994) makes a similar point: “Research also is needed to relate intentional self-change to location in social structure—to characteristics such as gender, age, and education” (p. 60). Other scholars of authenticity have also made statements that support my hypotheses. As Erickson states, “People who make up the marginalized groups of a particular social context are more often faced with dilemmas that require them to choose between acting in accordance with their self-values or in accordance with the expectations of powerful others” (1995: 138). In the following pages, I provide conceptual and empirical support for each of my hypotheses.

4.6 Formal Hypotheses

The overarching hypothesis of this dissertation is that structural factors associated with more powerful advantaged positions (i.e., increasing age, male gender, high SES) are associated with a lower need for social approval and,

subsequently, increased engagement in authentic behavior. Authentic behavior is viewed as resting largely on social stratification. However, being Black is expected to be associated with lower levels of NSA, and subsequently higher reports of authentic behavior. I hypothesize that social approval and authenticity will be negatively correlated. In the previous section of this dissertation I reviewed the literature on authenticity. Here I provide support for hypotheses pertaining to (1) the relationships between structural factors and authentic behavior, and (2) the relationships between NSA and authentic behavior.

4.6.1 Race

Race will have a direct effect on authentic behavior. Blacks will have higher levels of authentic behavior than Whites. Race will have a direct effect on NSA. Blacks will have lower NSA than Whites. NSA mediates the positive relationship between being Black and authentic behavior.

4.6.1.1 Supporting Literature

Although the primary hypothesis for this research is that positions of higher power and privilege are associated with greater reports of authentic behavior, this is not the hypothesis regarding race. Rather, I expect that Blacks will report higher levels of authentic behavior than Whites. Support for this hypothesis comes from two areas of race scholarship: childhood socialization and family structure, and psychological literature on self-esteem. In addition, I briefly comment on the role of language in Black culture, which is relevant to the race hypothesis.

4.6.1.1.1 Childhood Socialization and Family Structure

Support for the race hypothesis can be found in research on childhood socialization and parenting practices in Black families. “The primary socialization task of the African American family is instilling in its members a sense of who they are” (Willis, 1998:183). Garcia Coll et al. (1996) argue that “Children of color also must effectively cope with racism and its derivatives and maintain a strong sense of self despite multiple threats” (p. 908). This highlights the idea that sense of self is an important focus of socialization in Black families. As Garcia Coll, Meyer, and Brillon (1995) state, “Among the distinct features that characterize ethnic and minority cultures in contrast to the dominant White middle-class culture is an emphasis on a more inclusive conception of the self in contrast to self-contained individualism...”. That comment is made in discussion of research by Harrison, Wellson, Pine, Chan, and Buriel (1990), which is based on African American, American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian Pacific Americans, and Hispanic individuals. Harrison et al. (1990) use the conceptual framework of Ogbu and contend that all of the groups named above have “a common element of exploitable resources” (p. 348). According to Ogbu (1983) there are multiple types of minority status, including autonomous minorities (i.e., Jews), immigrant minorities (i.e. Asians), and castelike minorities (i.e., Blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans). These distinctions are salient because socialization is not the same for all minorities. Although I propose that Blacks will report greater engagement in authentic behavior, I would not make the same prediction for other minorities.

The idea that Black culture and families emphasize the development of self, and being ‘real’ appeared in much of the literature I reviewed, including a book for lay audiences by Billingsley (1974): “The very expression “Walk tall!” is an item of Black culture. It grows out of the fact, the Black fact, that many of us have been able to teach young people to be proud, self-assured, competent, confident and dignified as they go about feeling, being and doing what life requires of them...The best and most lasting means of transmitting to our children a sense of worth, dignity and somebodyness is first to love and accept ourselves as we are” (Billingsley, 1974: 57-59).

Development of racial identity is an important marker of Black childhood socialization that is heavily emphasized by parents (Gibbs, 1990; Murray and Mandara, 2002). Racial identification is developed by between 5 and 8 years of age, as Black children begin to develop an own-group orientation (McAdoo, 2002). Robert Sellers and colleagues suggest a multidimensional model of racial identity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous, 1998) and have assessed situational stability and variability in the racial identity of Blacks (Shelton and Sellers, 2000). However, it is important to remember that personal identity and racial identity are not the same thing. As Cross (1985) asserts, “Knowing that a person has a strong black identity will not inform us about the nature of his/her personal identity; however, it gives us considerable insight into the person’s value system, political posture, and cultural stance” (p. 170). According to Gibbs (1990) and Cheatham (1990), Black children are socialized for independence at an earlier point in the life course than

White children. Although Gibbs suggests that experience “may result in identity foreclosure for many young girls” who parent younger siblings (1990:336), I expect that it may foster the ability to discover one’s authentic self.

Differences in family structure between Whites and Blacks are also compatible with the hypothesis that Blacks will report higher levels of authentic behavior than Whites. Willis (1998) highlights the important role of extended family in African American family structures. This family dynamic may demand a sense of accountability that is missing when families do not fully include extended kin. For example, it may be more difficult for an adult to attempt to appear a certain way or present a false self when elderly parents are living with him or her. The presence of individuals who have known one over the life course may inhibit false presentation of self and encourage more authentic behaviors. In addition, the presence of extended family may inhibit the individuals from achieving statuses in which they are more likely to experience feelings of inauthenticity. For example, in the study by Karp (1986), subjects who achieved social mobility may not have achieved the status that created the feelings of inauthenticity if they had lived in the presence of extended family. This suggests that the presence of extended family may have multiple potential implications. The importance of family structure has been demonstrated empirically: McWright (2002) found that grandparents transmit their values to their grandchildren. Billingsley (1968) provides detailed attention to the subtleties of types of family structures, all of which he indicates occur with some frequency in Black families. These family structures he names include: (1) incipient extended

family, (2) simple extended family, and (3) attenuated extended family. The first term denotes a married childless couple who take in family; the second, a married couple with children who do the same; and the third, a single parent and his/her child who take in other relatives. Furthermore, Billingsley (1968) classifies four types of relatives that families may take in: (1) minors, (2) parental peers, (3) parental elders, and (4) parental parents. This suggests the many potential family arrangements of extended family.

4.6.1.1.2 Self-Esteem

According to Billingsley (1974), the predominant view at the time was that Blacks have low self-esteem, but research suggests that view is false. Current self-esteem research documents higher self-esteem among Blacks than Whites. Recent meta-analyses by Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) on children, adolescents and young adults and by Twenge and Crocker (2002) across age groups compellingly document that Blacks have higher self-esteem than Whites, and that the self-esteem advantage increases over time. The need to focus on time is highlighted by Spencer (1987) who suggests that “A life-span perspective is thus essential in developing theories of ethnic identity and race dissonance” (p. 115). It appears that the influence of risk and resilience factors change across the life course. Another finding is birth cohort differences in self-esteem (Twenge and Crocker 2002). Black/White differences in levels of self-esteem have increased over historical time. In addition, Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, and Smith (1998) documented a weak but positive relationship between how central racial identity is for Blacks and self-esteem.

4.6.1.1.3 Language

“For many African Americans, the language that is used is often highly contextual, and they may choose to speak quite differently depending on the situation, the information to be communicated, and the listener” (Willis, 1998:196). Although this may seem to suggest that Blacks are less authentic than Whites, it is important to separate differential language use from inauthenticity. In other words, there is a distinction between the information being presented and the means of presenting it. Blacks may have developed a fluidity of living in two worlds (DuBois [1940] 1997). This should not be assumed to be inauthenticity. The vital question is how the individual experiences those situations. According to Willis (1998), much weight is given to “gut feelings” in African American culture p.197). This displays the sentiment that an individual knows intuitively what is right or true, and heeds that inner knowledge. A focus on language also suggests how race may affect experiences of authenticity in terms of context. Individuals may feel that they can be more authentic when surrounded by their own racial group. Much of the scholarship I cite in support of my race hypothesis is based on conceptual explication as opposed to empirical testing. As Gibbs (1990) suggests, “One of the major problems with all of the ideological perspectives on the black family is that they have not been subjected to rigorous empirical tests to determine their validity” (p. 328). However, the scholarship that has been reviewed is compatible with the race hypothesis proposed in this dissertation.

4.6.2 Age

Age will have both a direct and an indirect effect, via NSA, on authentic behavior. Increasing age will be associated with lower NSA and greater authentic behavior.

4.6.2.1 Supporting Literature

I expect that older adults (age ≥ 60) will report lower NSA and higher levels of authentic behavior than younger adults (< 60). I believe that older adults have greater freedom than younger individuals to be authentic (i.e., that it is not as risky to be authentic in late life). Older adults may perceive less risk in being authentic in part through their decreased ties to social institutions. This view suggests that embeddedness in social institutions may be a key factor inhibiting authentic behavior. Neugarten (1976) reminds us that when we think about the life cycle, we must consider historical time (the setting), life time (chronological age), and social time (markers of life transitions). The hypotheses made here are embedded in historical time, focus on the association between life time and authentic behavior, and when interpreted address the effects of social time by asking respondents about the influence of life transitions on authenticity.

The hypothesized association between frequency of authentic behavior and age is supported by both stratification scholarship and psychosocial research on aging. The advantages of age come in the form of higher life satisfaction and freedom. In addition, older adults have the advantage of more discretionary time (Verbrugge, Gruber-Baldini, and Fozard, 1996). Interestingly, Ardel (1997) finds

that wisdom (a composite of cognitive, reflective, and effective qualities) is a predictor of life satisfaction in older adults and contributes to understanding why older adults report higher levels of life satisfaction. Montepare and Lachman (1989) found support for the saying, “You’re only as old as you feel” when they discovered that young adults identify with older age identities while older adults identify with younger age identities. Beyond self-protection, authentic behavior can be a means of self-enhancement for older adults, as George (1998) suggests¹.

Previous research supports the hypothesized positive relationship between authenticity and age. Erickson and Wharton (1997) found a significant negative relationship between age and inauthenticity at work. However, it is not clear whether age is a proxy for higher job prestige, which may permit one to behave more authentically. As this is the only study that directly assesses the relationship between authenticity and age, I provide a chronological review of some of the theoretical and empirical work that is compatible with the hypothesis.

Erikson’s (1956) conceptualization of the stages of psychosocial human development is compatible with the hypothesis that authenticity increases with age. The last three stages *Intimacy v. Isolation* (ages 19-40 years), *Generativity vs. Stagnation* (40-65 years), and *Integrity v. Despair* (ages 65-death) are marked by psychosocial crises and conflicts that can be viewed as movement toward the authentic self. The resolution of the final crisis of the self (stage 8) is a sense of

¹ Aging should not be considered a period of decline of the self. Support for this proposition can be found in recent empirical scholarship indicating the ability of older adults to protect the self, particularly their self-esteem, through adaptive processes (Brandtstaeder, Wentura, and Greve, 1993; Brandtstaeder and Greve, 1994).

integrity. This notion of integrity is quite similar to the concept of authenticity as defined in this dissertation.

Loevinger and Blasi (1991) offer an alternative perspective on the development of the self². Based on subjects' responses to a Sentence-Completion Test (SCT), Loevinger and Blasi identified several levels of ego development: the impulsive level, self-protective level, conformist level, self-aware level, conscientious level, individualistic level, and the autonomous level. They suggest that movement from a place of needing social approval and monitoring one's self-presentation to more authentic behavior is developmental. This conceptualization of ego development is compatible with the hypothesized relationship between age and authentic behavior.

Carol Ryff (1989) investigated the views of middle-aged and older adults on positive functioning. Strikingly, she found that when asked "*what would you change?*" middle aged adults indicated "self-improvement" or "more accomplishments." "[N]othing" was on the bottom of their response list whereas "nothing" was the most frequent response for older adults. The idea that as we age we seek to change less about ourselves and our lives is compatible with the hypothesis of increasing authenticity with age. In other research, Ryff (1991) assessed the self-reported well-being of young, middle aged, and older adults. For each dimension of well-being, subjects were asked about four states; their past, present (actual), future, and ideal self. The results indicated a narrowing of the discrepancy between the individuals' actual and ideal selves such that the oldest

² See Loevinger (1976) for her earlier conceptualizations of ego development.

group reported the smallest discrepancies. According to Ryff, “There appears to be a later life gain wherein the ideal self better fits the real self, warts and all, with whom one has become an accustomed traveler” (1991:294). The narrowed discrepancy found in older age groups is compatible with the proposed age/authenticity link.

Labouvie-Vief, Chiodo, Goguen, Diehl, and Orwoll (1995a) examined the self-representations of 149 individuals aged 11 to 85 years. Respondents were asked to write a paragraph about themselves. Responses were coded according to five levels of complexity ranging from Level 0, concrete-presystemic which included responses that were simple and without reference to inner psychological processes, to Level 4 responses, which were labeled *dynamic-intersubjective* and were marked by complex psychological awareness and a processual approach. Participants were divided into seven age categories. Results indicated that the middle aged had the highest scores. Scores increased with age until middle age and then decreased. Older adults’ scores were similar to those of preadolescents. Other research by Labouvie-Vief, Diehl, Chiodo, and Coyle (1995b) also found that dynamic self-representations peaked in middle-age. These studies suggest that individuals conceptualize themselves in increasingly psychological ways though middle age and then experience declines in that type of conceptualization.

Mason-Schrock (1996) stated, “Transsexuals believed that the “true self” was more likely to govern one’s actions in childhood because its impulses had not yet been constrained by parents, teachers, and peers” (p. 180). Although individuals under the age of eighteen are not included in this study, this statement suggests a

possible curvilinear relationship between authenticity and age, with authenticity being the highest in early childhood and after mid-life.

Dollinger and Dollinger (2003) performed a cross-sectional study in which adults ranging from 18-50 years created an autophotography—a 20-photo display of who they are. Subjects were divided into seven age groups. The youngest group was 18-22 years, and the oldest 48-54. The autophotographies were coded both for their overall level of individuality (e.g. from “a superficial conception of the self” (level 1) to “self-reflective” (level 5), p. 230). Although not analogous, individuality seems related to authenticity. The results indicated significant increases in individuality across the increasing age groups. In terms of specific content, the researchers found different content themes in photos across age groups with the older age groups including photos that depict themselves more seriously compared to the more superficial photos included by younger age groups.

In contrast, Biggs (1999a, 1999b) denies that age is a social structural determinant of authentic behavior. He argues (1999a) that the structure of society and expectations about aging may submerge the enactment of authenticity. Instead, crises of authenticity may occur roles, norms, and expectations are blurred and identities become more fluid (Biggs, 1999a). Although Biggs (1999a) disagrees with George’s (1998) thesis, he recognizes late life as a time of potential authenticity, despite the conditions noted above. Biggs (1999a) suggests that memory and the formulation of a life course narrative through narrative therapy may serve as solutions to these dilemmas. Interestingly, this narrative formulation is quite similar

to that described by the transsexuals in Mason-Schrock's research. Perhaps looking back over our lives and constructing unifying themes helps us to identify our authentic selves. Despite Biggs' emphasis on roles and age norms, what he says is compatible with the hypothesis proposed here. Specifically, in an article which takes a developmental approach to the process of 'masking'- or presenting a false self, Biggs (1997) states, "This would lead to the conclusion that as social actors mature, the use made of social masking varies, from a rigid signifier of adopted roles to either a more flexible use of the mask itself or the distanced use of multiple masking and in some cases the absence of masking together" (p. 562). Whether the maturation of the social actor is marked by life time (chronological age) or social time (transitions of the life course), using Neugarten's (1976) distinction, is assessed in the interviews I conducted in this dissertation.

4.6.3 Gender

Gender will have both a direct and an indirect effect on authentic behavior through NSA. Men will report lower NSA and higher levels of authentic behavior than women.

4.6.3.1 Supporting Literature

Economic and occupational conditions may make authentic behavior more feasible for men than women. A large literature documents the *feminization of poverty* whereby women are exponentially more likely than men to be live in poverty (see Northrop, 1990; Kimenyi and Mbaku, 1995). Women also are more likely than men to have service sector jobs that require management of emotion (see Erickson

and Ritter, 2001: pp. 147-148). In addition, the gender wage gap is due more to occupational-establishment segregation than to within job-wage discrimination (Petersen and Morgan, 1995). Recent research suggests that in addition to macro-level processes of occupational and industrial placement at career entry, micro-level factors such as gender differences in occupational aspirations also contribute to the gender wage gap (Marini and Fan, 1997). Together, these studies suggest that a two-tiered process funnels women into lower wage jobs.

Although Erickson and Wharton (1997) propose that socialization better prepares women for the requirements of this work than men, I believe a corollary of these occupations is less ability to act authentically. My view is supported by Hochschild's (1983) *status shield* concept, which suggests that men have a stronger status shield against the pressures of emotional labor than women. However, as previously noted, my conceptualization of authenticity goes beyond emotional displays. Because men have access to greater resources and have more power than women, I hypothesize that men will report higher levels of authentic behavior than women.

4.6.4 Marital Status

Marital status will have both a direct and an indirect effect on authentic behavior through NSA. Married individuals will have a lower need for social approval and higher reported authentic behavior than unmarried individuals.

4.6.4.1 Supporting Literature

I hypothesize that married individuals will report more authentic behavior than unmarried individuals. This hypothesis is primarily supported by the social stratification literature that highlights the advantages of marriage, especially for men. Interestingly, recent empirical work suggests an *educational crossover* in which marriage is becoming more common among college educated women than among women with less education (Goldstein and Kenney, 2001). In addition, assortative mating, the marrying of individuals with equivalent educational levels, increased between the 1930s and the 1980s (Mare, 1991).

Direct support for the hypothesized relationship between being married and higher levels of authentic behavior is found in the Swann et al. (1994) study, which was reviewed earlier. Their participants consisted of married couples and dating couples. The authors' hypotheses were supported in that enhancement was most important for dating couples and verification (akin to authenticity) was most important for married couples. Swann et al.'s (1994) suggestion that marriage triggers movement from the need for self-enhancement to the need for self-verification is compatible with my hypothesis that being married will be associated with more authentic behavior than being unmarried (i.e., never married, widowed, divorced/separated).

4.6.5 Socioeconomic Status (SES)

Respondent's SES will have both a direct and an indirect effect on authentic behavior through NSA. Higher levels of SES will be associated with lower NSA scores and higher levels of authentic behavior.

SES origins will have both a direct and an indirect effect on authentic behavior through NSA. Higher levels of SES origin will be associated with lower NSA scores and higher levels of authentic behavior.

The effects of SES origins on NSA and authentic behavior operate primarily by influencing respondent's SES.

4.6.5.1 Supporting Literature

Higher levels of SES are expected to be associated with higher levels of authentic behavior. The indicator of SES used in this dissertation is highest level of educational attainment. Income is not examined because the incomes of older adults often are not indicative of their social position. I hypothesize that higher SES will be associated with lower NSA and reports of higher levels of authentic behavior³.

Service sector jobs are more likely to be held by low SES individuals. Such jobs require employees to provide good service and to do so in a convincing and apparently authentic way (Erickson and Wharton, 1997). Erickson and Ritter (2001) controlled on income and education in their analyses of the relationship between

³ Consideration of this hypothesis will provide some empirical tests of the theoretical framework proposed by Veblen ([1899] 1992). That is, assuming that high SES is associated with greater consumption, are individuals who engage in conspicuous consumption and seek external objects to define the self are less likely to behave authentically? On the contrary, I expect that high SES will facilitate rather than inhibit authentic behavior.

emotional labor and inauthenticity, but their effects were not significant. This surprising result may be specific to their sample, which they describe as “better educated than the average, employed, married parent in the county” (according to a comparison they did with 1990 U.S. census data for the county in which they sampled) (p. 152). Their study included individuals representing 152 different job titles. Despite their findings, I hypothesize that SES will be positively correlated with authentic behavior, and that this relationship will be partially mediated by the NSA.

I also expect that SES of origin will be associated with authentic behavior⁴. This hypothesis is compatible with research by Karp (1986), which investigated the self-views of socially-mobile individuals. He states, “...we shall see that however occupationally successful some people become, they continue to harbor feelings of uncertainty, inauthenticity, marginality and dis-ease” (p. 20).

Although I expect respondent’s high SES to be associated with lower NSA and higher levels of authentic behavior, I expect that individuals with lifelong high levels of SES will report the highest levels of authentic behavior. Historically, father’s education has had a stable effect on the educational attainment of their sons (Duncan, 1967, see also Mare, 1981). I include both father’s and mother’s educational attainment in this study. However, father’s educational attainment may be more relevant for the older adults in my sample who came of age in a historical time when it was more common for men than women to pursue higher education.

⁴ SES of origins is measured by father’s and mother’s educational attainment.

Conversely, it will be interesting to see how the combination of low SES origins and high respondent's SES influences levels of authentic behavior. Individuals from low SES origins who become high SES may carry a lingering sense of inauthenticity (Karp, 1986). In fact, it may be only with those of the same background that we can truly be ourselves and not have to put up a façade (Gordon 1964, as cited by Karp, 1986).

Karp (1986) suggests that feelings of inauthenticity may be a barrier to greater social mobility. He found that several of his research subjects reported limiting their further success as a way to stave off feelings of inauthenticity. Karp (1986) links his findings with Clance and Imes' 1978 imposter phenomenon suggesting that it is not reserved for only women who excel, but also extends to socially-mobile men. Karp (1986) suggests that socially mobile individuals create their own glass ceiling whereby they actively limit further advancement and feel inhibited from authentic behavior. Although the cross-sectional data collected in this dissertation will not allow me examine this proposition, it is viable topic for future inquiry.

Finally, research based on the Kohn hypothesis supports the hypothesized relationships among respondent's SES, SES origins, and authentic behavior. The Kohn hypothesis (Kohn 1959, 1963) posits that parents' social class is associated with the types of values the parents have for their children. Specifically, parents of lower SES favor conformity whereas parents of higher SES value self-directedness in their children. Self-directed behavior should be more compatible with authentic behavior than conforming behavior. The Kohn hypothesis has been supported in

many studies (see Luster, Rhoades, and Haas, 1989). I expect that the effects of SES origins on NSA and authentic behavior operate primarily by influencing respondent's SES.

4.6.6 Need for Social Approval (NSA)

Need for social approval will have a direct effect on authentic behavior.

Individuals higher in need for social approval will report lower authentic behavior levels than individuals scoring lower in need for social approval.

4.6.6.1 Supporting Literature

Little research has assessed the relationship between the NSA and social structural position—and the research available is based on samples of children. The Children's Social Desirability Scale (CSD), developed by Crandall, Crandall, and Katkovsky (1965), is modeled after the MCSDS and consists of 48 true/false items. A fairly large sample size was used in this study: 956 students from five schools in Ohio. Crandall et al. (1965) find that at all grade levels, girls report greater social desirability than boys, and fewer socially desirable responses at increasing ages. The authors note that female bias for social desirability in their study is contrary to findings based on college samples (Edwards 1957a; Marlowe and Crowne 1961). Crandall et al. (1965) suggest that academic women may be exceptional in that they may have a distinctly low NSA⁵. NSA was significantly and negatively related to IQ for both age groups studied. The authors also report a significant and negative association between SES and social desirability among older children. A significant

⁵ This statement caused me to consider the causal order: whether NSA may select an individual into a certain educational trajectory, or whether a lowered sense of NSA may be a byproduct of education.

relationship was observed between social desirability and race such that Blacks reported higher social desirability scores than Whites in both studies. The authors note that this may have been due to the small number of Blacks in the study, but I suggest that the finding may be an artifact of the historical and cultural context of 1965. Crandall et al. (1965) also reported on data from 470 schoolchildren in a Syracuse, New York. These children (grades 6 and 8) reported higher social desirability than the Ohio sample. The authors state, “This comparison is only meant to illustrate that subjects in the less privileged position on all these demographic variables, do, in fact, demonstrate greater social desirability of response” (Crandall et al., 1965:34). Other studies of children using the CSD did not report any gender differences in the NSA (for example, Morris and Coady 1974).

Overall, this research suggests that positions of privilege; being male, being White, having a higher IQ and being older are associated with lower NSA scores. These findings largely support the hypotheses I make about the associations between social structure and the NSA, especially if IQ is considered as a proxy for SES. However, this support is limited as the data are nearly forty years old. In addition, I hypothesize that being Black will be associated with lower levels of NSA. The discrepancy between that hypothesis and previous research may be attributed to changes in social and cultural conditions since much of the NSA research was conducted. NSA research on adults has not thoroughly examined its demographic correlates; a contribution of the current investigation.

Research on the NSA in middle and older aged adults is especially scarce. One exception is a 1988 study by Ray, which demonstrates the utility of examining NSA across the life course. In a sample of adults (mean age around 40), Ray (1988) reports a significant positive correlation between social desirability and age, which is particularly strong for women. He suggests that this may be due to a societal expectation that women compensate for the devaluation of their attractiveness as they age. In sum, Ray's findings are not compatible with my hypothesis that the NSA decreases with age. However, the results may not be generalizable, and/or may reflect historical context.

4.6.7 Interactions

4.6.7.1 Gender/Age Interaction on NSA

Gender will moderate the impact of age on NSA such that women will have higher levels of NSA at younger ages, but that this gender difference will narrow during later life. That is, among older respondents, the gender difference in need for social approval (women higher need) will be smaller than that reported by younger respondents.

4.6.7.2 Gender/Age Interaction on Authentic Behavior

Gender will moderate the impact of age on authentic behavior such that being male will be more highly associated with authentic behavior at younger ages, but that this gender difference will narrow during later life. That is, among older respondents, the gender difference in authentic behavior (men reporting more authentic behavior) will be smaller than that reported by younger respondents.

4.6.7.3 Race/NSA Interaction on Authentic Behavior

Race will moderate the impact of NSA on authentic behavior. More specifically, at similar levels of NSA, Blacks are more likely to express authentic behavior than Whites.

4.6.7.4 SES Origins/Respondent's SES Interaction on Authentic Behavior

SES origin will moderate the relationship between respondent's SES and authentic behavior. Persons with high SES origins and high respondent's SES will report the highest levels of authenticity.

4.7 Issues Addressed with Qualitative Data

In addition to these formal hypotheses that are tested with quantitative data, qualitative data have been collected. Qualitative data allowed me to examine the influence of life domain on authentic behavior. Qualitative data also allowed me to explore the tensions between socially approved behavior and authentic behavior. In addition, the qualitative data are used to obtain a sense of whose social approval matters most to respondents.

4.8 Contributions

This research will contribute across disciplinary boundaries to the fields of sociology, psychology, and social psychology. The primary contribution of this research is sociological for two reasons. First, this research proposes that processes of social stratification are responsible for group differences in authentic behavior. Second, this research tests Goffman's (1959) assumption that we lose our audience if we are authentic. This research embeds the concept of authenticity into a

sociological framework. Within psychology, authenticity may be seen as a universal goal that is not embedded in social structure or as having an impact on social structure. It is a contribution to both fields to elucidate the effects of social structure on how we define authenticity. This research speaks to the literatures on social structural position, specifically regarding development and aging through the substantial attention to age differences structured into the study design. Finally, this research will add to the social psychological literature by supplementing conceptualizations of identity and by focusing on a motivational force that has not been adequately explored in that literature. Authenticity has been considered, albeit modestly, as both an individual difference and a cultural phenomenon. In this research I address both spheres of authenticity.

5. Design and Methods

“Say what you want and be who you are because those who mind don't matter and those who matter don't mind.”

–Dr. Seuss

The research design for this study included quantitative and qualitative components. A multi-method design was mandated by the goals of this study, which included assessing the correlates of authenticity as measured on the authenticity inventory, forming a predictive model of authenticity, and contributing to social-scientific understandings of the mechanisms and nature of authenticity. Analyses included evaluation of both quantitative data collected through mailed questionnaires and thematic content analysis of interviews.

Data collection occurred in two stages. The first stage provided quantifiable data that enabled me to statistically estimate relationships between the variables in the proposed model and to test a predictive model of authentic behavior. In the second stage, qualitative interviews were conducted that provided detailed responses about the ways in which individuals conceptualize authenticity. Using the constant comparison method for qualitative data analysis, I identified themes of authenticity that emerged in the interviews. In addition, the qualitative data helped me to develop a clearer understanding of authenticity, the enactment of the true self, and to address the influence of context on experiences of authenticity, specifically the extent to which authentic behavior is situation or audience specific. Finally, the questions asked in the qualitative interviews facilitated an understanding of the tension between socially approved behavior and authentic behavior. The study protocol was approved

by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for Human Subjects Review at Duke University.

5.1 Sample

5.1.1 Quantitative Data

To examine authenticity across age, gender, and race groups, a diverse sample was required. The sample for this research was collected through the Aging Center Subject Registry at Duke University and through advertisement in a campus publication. The Aging Center Subject Registry includes more than 2,300 names of individual's age 21 and older. Individuals in the Aging Center Subject Registry are predominantly over 65 years of age and have an average level of education that is higher than that of the surrounding population. The registry coordinator randomly generated a list of one hundred and twenty-five individuals who met the study criteria of being White or Black. The sample list generated by the registry coordinator was selected to reflect the racial diversity (Black/White) of the surrounding community. These individuals had indicated a willingness to participate in research being conducted by Duke University. By contacting one hundred and twenty-five older adults, I expected that one hundred respondents would complete study questionnaires.

Most participants in the younger adult sample were recruited by an advertisement in a campus publication distributed largely to staff. Potential volunteers who contacted me were informed about the study, and those who expressed interest were mailed a questionnaire packet. Individuals from both groups

who did not respond after approximately thirty days often received follow-up contact (i.e. phone call or email) depending on the contact information I had for them. A small monetary gift was included with the questionnaire packets, and packet recipients were free to keep the gift regardless of whether they elected to participate. The questionnaire packets included consent forms and a cover letter that indicated that participants may be contacted in the future.

One hundred and ninety-four participants completed questionnaire materials that were suitable for analysis. This sample consisted of community-dwelling adults who were at least 24 years of age and was diverse in terms of gender and included both White and African-American participants. By comparing the data of the younger adults¹ to those of older adults, I examined hypotheses about the associations between age and authentic behavior. Overall, the study had an acceptable response rate. Although one hundred and twenty five older adults were contact, I received information or communications indicating that twelve of these individuals were deceased, had dementia, were no longer residing at the address on file, or were otherwise not eligible for participating. Of the one hundred and thirteen older adults who were eligible for participation, eighty-six provided suitable response packets (76.1% response rate). Recruiting participants for the younger adult sample was more challenging, and recruitment continued until a minimum acceptable number of participants representing each gender were recruited. Approximately one hundred and thirty eight individuals had contacted me with interest in the study, and 78.3%, or one hundred and eight of these individuals provided suitable response packets.

¹ Older adults are defined as those age 60 and older and younger adults under 60.

Recruitment younger men proved challenging and was most effectively achieved through word-of-mouth efforts.

5.1.1.1 Power Analyses

For OLS regression models (with NSA and authentic behavior dependent), power estimates are based on power tables provided in Cohen (1987). As up to 10 predictors were included in the models, power estimates are based on 190 independent observations. Table 5.1 reports power estimates for main effects in the proposed regression models (N=200, alpha = .05, 2 tailed test). Small, medium, and large effects are based on magnitudes given in Cohen (1987). The first row of Table 5.1 reports power estimates for models involving main effects only.

Table 5.1 Power Estimates for Proposed Regression Models

	STANDARDIZED DIFFERENCE			MINIMUM DETECTABLE DIFFERENCE W/POWER=.80
	Small (.20)	Medium (.50)	Large (.80)	
MAIN EFFECTS	.28	.93	>.99	.41
INTERACTIONS	.10	.41	.80	.80

For each outcome, I will be able to detect 'standardized' differences (mean differences measured in standard deviation units) of .41 with power equal to .80. Effects of this magnitude are considered "small to medium-sized" in the statistical literature (Cohen, 1987). For interaction effects, power estimates were adjusted based on the degree to which standard errors would be inflated assuming the sample would be would be evenly divided across two levels of a potential interactive variable

(e.g., age group). As indicated in the second row of Table 5.1, the analyses will be underpowered for interactions involving age and gender. Statistical power reaches .80 only for large effects (difference=.80). Interactions where the split is uneven across a potential modifier or those involving more than 2 groups would have less power.

In summary, the proposed sample size will provide sufficient power for the main effects. However, I will be underpowered for interactions and will examine interactive patterns but not formally test hypotheses regarding interactions.

5.1.2 Qualitative Data

Individuals from each group of participants (i.e., Aging Center Subject Pool and *Inside DUMC* volunteers) were contacted by phone and/or email and invited to participate in an interview. Potential participants were told that the interview would take approximately one to one and a half hours, and that they would be compensated \$20.00 for their time. I contacted individuals until I met, or neared, the desired number of participants from each age group, for each gender, race, and authenticity profile (high/low)². My goal was to include sixteen participants per age group. Older adults were very willing to be interviewed, and nearly every older adult contacted was willing to be interviewed. However, based on the questionnaires, I anticipated that I would experience more challenges, and may need to contact a greater number of

² Interviewees were selected while quantitative data collection was in its final stages, thus a small number of quantitative respondents were not considered for interviews. In addition, a small number of participants who were not located in the region were not considered for interviews. Interviewee selection was based on categorizing older adults as participants of fifty years of age or older, however as reported in Table 5.6 younger adult interviewees ranged in age from 25-44, and older adults from 63-81.

younger adults to approach the desired number of interviews. This was indeed the case. These interviews provided data about the contextual determinants of authenticity.

Qualitative interviews were conducted with twenty-one participants. Individuals to interview were recruited from local respondents according to certain criterion: age, gender, and authenticity score. Individuals were invited to participate based on their summary scores on the original 23-item version of the authenticity scale. Individuals were classified as high or low in authenticity. This distinction was based on scores within race-gender-age groupings; such that there was variation between groups in terms of the range of values included for each classification and the range between *high* and *low* authenticity distinctions. Sixteen subgroups were identified, with the goal of interviewing two individuals from each group. Table 5.2 details the sample:

Table 5.2 Interview Sample (N=21)

<i>Population Desired</i>	<i>Desired</i>	<i>Attained</i>
White older women, high AB	2	2
White older women, low AB	2	2
White younger women, high AB	2	2
White younger women, low AB	2	1
White older men, high AB	2	2
White older men, low AB	2	2
White younger men, high AB	2	0
White younger men, low AB	2	1
Black older women, high AB	2	2
Black older women, low AB	2	1
Black younger women, high AB	2	0
Black younger women, low AB	2	2
Black older men, high AB	2	2
Black older men, low AB	2	2
Black younger men, high AB	2	0
Black younger men, low AB	2	0
Total	32	21

The bulk of individuals who were invited to participate in interviews were willing to do so. Older adults were very willing to participate. However, as

demonstrated in Table 5.2, significant difficulty was experienced in attaining younger men who were willing to be interviewed. This is connected to the difficulty experienced in recruiting younger men to complete the questionnaire component of the study. Despite recruitment efforts that were largely similar to those employed for the other populations, a number of young men declined to be interviewed or were otherwise unavailable. Issues of timing and geography (note 2) also contributed to this difficulty. On a number of occasions, potential participants were unable to commit to scheduling an interview. Although disappointing, this difficulty suggests potential insights into understanding gender and authenticity that will be discussed further in later portions of this dissertation. Interviews lasted about thirty to forty-five minutes, with the shortest interview taking about twenty-two minutes, and the longest interview lasting about seventy minutes.

5.2 Measures

5.2.1 Quantitative Measures

Hypotheses about the relationships between social structural factors and NSA, the relationship between NSA and authentic behavior, and the direct relationships between social structural factors and authentic behavior were developed through a review of the NSA literature and relevant social stratification literature, previously reviewed. The research instruments employed in this study were selected and modified to reflect items, constructs, and ideas related to need for social approval and authenticity, as found in the literature review. The measures used are primarily compilations of items from existing measures.

In the questionnaire component of the research design, research subjects were provided a battery of instruments selected to address questions about the proposed relationship between NSA and authentic behavior. Instruments in the mailed questionnaire packet included the Demographic Questionnaire (Appendix A), Authenticity Inventory (Appendix B), Need for Social Approval Instrument (Appendix C), Awareness Scale (Appendix D), and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Appendix E).

5.2.1.1 Authenticity Instrument

The authenticity scale is a twenty-three item measure. Respondents are asked to indicate the extent to which they disagree or agree with items on a scale from 1 to 4. Items on this scale were drawn from the Martin-Larsen Approval Motivation Scale (Revised MLAM, 1984), Snyder's Self-Monitoring Scale (SMS, 1974), and items from Goldman and Kernis' Authenticity Inventory (2002). The items reflect both situations in which socially approved behavior is selected over authentic behavior, and situations in which authentic behavior is selected over socially approved behavior. Five items are reverse-coded.

5.2.1.2 Demographic Questionnaire

This twenty-five item questionnaire elicits information about a respondent's gender, age, race, marital status, education, parental education and occupation, number of children, and religious participation, and other basic information including questions about identity. The identity questions (Spenner, Buchmann, and

Landerman, 2005) ask individuals to evaluate the importance of various aspects of identity.

5.2.1.3 Need for Social Approval Instrument

Review of the NSA research suggests that the available measures of NSA may confound attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, I designed a measure to capture both dimensions of NSA. In developing this scale, I selected items from the MLAM and SMS. I did not include items from the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) as the MCSDS items did not meet the criteria discussed below. As a means to assess nuances of the NSA, I, like Bass (1972), selected items that are scored on a continuum, as opposed to being endorsed or denied. Millham and Jacobson (1978) point out that the approval motive entails both approach (seek social approval) and avoidance (avert negative evaluations) conditions. The scale I compiled has both approach and avoid items. Although Marlowe and Crowne (1961) posited that NSA is motivation, whereas conformity is behavior, their scale included both motivational and behavioral items. I disaggregated items about individual beliefs of what is right or wrong (approach and avoidance) from items measuring the tension between authentic and socially approved behaviors. In developing my scale, I included attitudinal items that measure the extent to which an individual seeks social approval. Behavioral items were included in my measure of authenticity when they reflected a tension between choosing between an authentic behavior and a socially approved behavior.

The need for social approval instrument used in this study is a ten item measure. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they disagree or agree with items on a scale from 1 to 4. Items on this instrument were taken from the SMS (1974), the MLAM (revised, 1984), and from Goldman and Kernis' (2002) authenticity inventory. Five of the items are reverse coded.

5.2.1.4 Awareness Scale

Awareness of the true self is gauged through the use of a five-item inventory. Respondents are asked to indicate the extent to which they disagree or agree with items on a scale from 1 to 4. The scale is unidirectional, and all items are from Goldman and Kernis' (2002) Authenticity Inventory.

5.2.1.5 Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE, 1965) is a commonly used measure of self-esteem. It consists of 10 items that respondents are asked to endorse in terms of how much they agree or disagree. Four response choices are offered and five items are reverse coded.

Table 5.3 displays how study items were measured and treated in the analyses.

Table 5.3 Measurement of Questionnaire Data

Variable	Measurement	Type
<i>Race</i>	Race/Ethnicity: White, Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, or Other.	Measured: Categorical Treated: Dichotomous (White, Non-White)
<i>Age</i>	Age in years.	Measured: Continuous Treated: Continuous and Dichotomous (Younger/Older)
<i>Gender</i>	Gender: male or female.	Dichotomous (Male, Female)
<i>SES- Respondent's Education</i>	Highest level of schooling completed.	Measured: Ordinal Treated: Continuous
<i>SES Origins- Parental Education</i>	Highest level of schooling completed.	Measured: Ordinal Treated: Continuous
<i>Marital Status</i>	Married, Widowed, Divorced/Separated, and Never Married.	Measured: Categorical Treated: Dichotomous (Married, Not Married)
<i>Need for Social Approval</i>	NSA Instrument	Continuous (summary score)
<i>Authentic Behavior</i>	Authenticity Instrument	Continuous (summary score)
Control Variables:		
<i>Awareness</i>	Awareness Instrument	Continuous (summary score)
<i>Self-Esteem</i>	Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale	Continuous (summary score)

5.2.1.6 Factor Analysis

Exploratory factory analyses were performed to determine whether the authentic behavior scale is unidimensional or multidimensional. These factor analyses revealed three distinct dimensions of authenticity. The factor analysis was performed on the final sample of 194 participants. This sample excluded individuals who had missing data on all items on the NSA scale (n=4) and the participants who were missing all items on the self-esteem scale (n=2). Treatment of missing data will

be discussed further in the section on descriptive statistics, which follows. Factor analysis was set to identify up to 5 factors. Twelve items clustered on Factor 1 with factor loadings $>.5$, and six items clustered on factor 2 with factor loadings $>.3$. Examining the items that clustered on Factor 1, there appeared to be two distinct groups of items: those that focused on behavior as a means for social cohesion and congeniality, and those that focused on behavior as motivated by instrumental or strategic purposes. With this observation, based on content, I divided these items into two subscales, described below. This decision was empirically supported through evaluation of the Chronbach's alpha scores for each subscale, which are high, and are reported below. The six items that clustered on Factor 2 were all thematically similar and described a sense of integrity as a motivation for authentic behavior. The original 23-item authenticity measure had an alpha of $.85$ ($N=194$), and the revised summary score using only the sixteen items from the three subscales had a slightly lower alpha of $.83$ ($N=194$). Given the only minor difference between alpha scores the modified summary scale form will be used and referred to as the authenticity summary score throughout these analyses.

The authenticity scale included two items that were very similar in wording (items b and n). To evaluate the appropriateness of keeping both items in the authenticity measure and subsequent analyses, I examined the correlation between the two scale items. The items correlated at the $r=.50$ level ($N=194$). The modest level of this correlation indicates that the slight difference in wording affected respondent's choices. However, the two items did cluster together on the factor

analysis and both are included as part of the social congeniality subscale, described below.

The first dimension consisted of five items and has been named congeniality. Items in this subscale include items from both the Martin-Larsen Approval Motivation Scale (b, f), Snyder's Self-Monitoring Scale (k, n), and Goldman and Kernis' Behavioral Subscale (t). The congeniality scale has an alpha of .74 (N=194) and captures behavior motivated by pursuit of the greater social good or for purposes of social cohesion. The second subscale, instrumental gains, captures behavior motivated by pursuit of strategic self-gain. The five items that clustered on this subscale originated from the Snyder Self-Monitoring Scale (i, o), and Goldman and Kernis' Behavioral Subscale (e, q, r). The instrumental gains subscale has an alpha of .72 (N=194). The third dimension is termed integrity. These items denote behavior motivated by an internal standard of integrity. Items on the integrity subscale originated in the Snyder Self-Monitoring Scale (m), the Martin-Larsen Approval Motivation Scale (h), Goldman and Kernis' Relational Orientation Subscale (p), and Goldman and Kernis' Behavioral Subscale (s, u, and v). The integrity subscale has an alpha of .6698. The analyses performed for this dissertation were conducted both for each subscale and for the authentic behavior summary measure, which includes the items from all three subscales.

Factor analyses also were performed for the need for social approval measure. The original need for social approval scale had an alpha of .52 (N=194). Two factors were observed. In examining the scale items, these two factors appeared to represent

different expressions of the need for social approval. That is, some items denoted an active pursuit of social approval and others a more passive yearning for social approval. Thus, creation of the subscales and subsequently the NSA summary scale was performed based on factor analysis and item-content. Specifically, not all items that clustered on a given factor were included with that factor. The first factor was composed of three items (c, f, and i) and is called passive and includes items that demonstrate a more passive approach to need for social approval, $\alpha=.5267$ (N=194). The second factor, active, was marked by a more active pursuit of social approval. This subscale (items a, b, e, and h), has an alpha of .58 (N=194). These two factors were compiled into a summary measure, which has an alpha of .57 (N=194) and which is referred to as the need for social approval summary measure.

5.2.2 Qualitative Measures

After the mailed questionnaire packets were collected, potential interview participants were contacted for interviews. Individuals with specific profiles based on the quantitative data were selected, as previously described. The interviews followed the authenticity interview protocol described below. The interviews were held primarily at on an off-campus office, but occasionally took place at a campus office or at a participant's home. The interviews were audiotaped and transcribed.

5.2.2.1 Authenticity Interview

The interview schedule was based on review of the authenticity literature and assesses issues of context and environmental influences on behavior, the tension between socially approved and authentic behavior, and lay conceptualizations of the

idea of the true self. Although I did not use the True Self Method proposed by Turner and Schutte (1981), I asked similar questions. The interview was semi-structured and addressed a core set of topics, yet also allowed for topics to spontaneously emerge. The core set of topics addressed ranged from understanding of what it means to be true to oneself, to times when it was easiest to be true to oneself, to experiences of authenticity and inauthenticity in the contexts of family, work, and with friends. Themes that spontaneously emerged pertained primarily to the influence of religious and spiritual participation on the true self and on whether or not individuals can tell when other people are not being their true selves.

5.3 Descriptive Statistics

5.3.1 Quantitative Data

The sample in this research was diverse in terms of gender, age, race, education level, and marital status. There was notable variation in the range of responses that participants provided for the key dependent variable: authentic behavior. In addition, a reasonable range of responses was observed for the proposed mediating variable: need for social approval. Table 5.4 provides descriptive statistics for the study sample. Although 201 individuals are included in the database, one individual was excluded from the analyses. This individual, an older adult, was removed because the questionnaire had been completed by her daughter. Other participants were removed due to missing data, described in the following section. The ranges reported in the table are the ranges observed for participant scores on study items and not necessarily the full range of possible scores. Table 5.5 presents

the number of study participants grouped according to race/ethnicity, age, and gender.

5.3.1.1 Missing Data

5.3.1.1.1 Race

Four respondents did not give straightforward responses to the question about race. One indicated “American Indian/Alaska Native,” but when asked to specify in one’s own terms wrote “American.” This individual was coded as White. Another, indicated White, but wrote considerable text indicating that she had a multi-cultural background. This individual was treated as White. Two individuals provided ambiguous race/ethnicity information of the questionnaire, but on the basis of information in my study records, one of these individuals was coded as White, and the other as Black.

5.3.1.1.2 Age

Originally, the recruitment effort was to have a sample of younger adults, ages 25-40, and a sample of older adults, age 65 and older. However, the analyses included five 24 year olds, and 14 individuals between the ages of 41 and 64. The decision to divide at the age of sixty was based on theoretical factors about aging, and the fact that the bulk of the fourteen individuals were in their early forties and early sixties, with only a few respondents in between those ages. Thus, younger adults are those 59 or younger and older adults are those 60 and older.

5.3.1.1.3 Scales

For individuals who were missing one or more, but not all items on a given scale, means were imputed. Means were imputed prior to the reverse coding of data so that the reverse scores would be properly calculated. Means were not imputed for individuals missing every item on a given scale. This affected the following scales: need for social approval scale (4 individuals are missing all items), awareness of the true self scale (3 individuals missing all items), and self-esteem scale (2 individuals missing all items). The two individuals missing all items on the self-esteem scale were two of three people missing all items on the awareness scale. Individuals missing all items on relevant scales were excluded from the analyses.

Table 5.4 Descriptive Statistics for Study Participants (N=194)

	M	<u>SD</u>	Range	Percent ^a
Age (years)	50.0	20.6	24-84	
Younger adults (n=108)	32.5	6.3	24-53	55.7
Older adults (n=86)	72.1	5.7	63-84	44.3
Gender				
Male (n=75)				38.7
Female (n=119)				61.3
Race/Ethnicity				
Caucasian (n=127)				65.5
African-American (n=67)				34.5
Education ^b	2.99	1.1	1-5	
Marital Status				
Married (n=94)				48.5
Not Married (n=100)				51.6
Self-Esteem	32.2	5.3	16-40	
Need for Social Approval	15.2	2.65	7-27	
Authentic Behavior	45.9	6.1	26-63	

^aPercentages sum to more than 100% due to rounding.

^bEducation: 1 = 8th grade or less, 2 = Some college or High School, 3 = Bachelor's degree, 4= Master's degree or some graduate study, 5 = Advanced graduate degree.

*Table 5.5 Description of Study Participants According to Ethnicity, Age, and Gender
(N=194)*

	n	Percent ^a
White older females	37	19.1
White older males	23	11.9
White younger females	35	18.0
White younger males	32	16.5
Black older females	16	8.2
Black older males	10	5.2
Black younger females	31	16.0
Black younger males	10	5.2

^aPercentages sum to more than 100% due to rounding.

5.3.2 Qualitative Data

Twenty-one individuals participated in the interview component of this research. All twenty-one participants were selected from the 194 questionnaire respondents. Table 5.6 presents basic descriptive statistics for the interview participants.

Table 5.6 Descriptive Statistics for Interview Participants (N=21)

	M	SD	Range	Percent
Age (years)	61	20.43	25-81	
Younger adults (n=6)	30.7	6.9	25-44	28.6
Older adults (n=15)	73.1	6.4	63-81	71.4
Gender				
Male (n=9)				42.9
Female (n=12)				57.1
Race/Ethnicity				
Caucasian (n=12)				57.1
African-American (n=9)				42.9
Education ^a	3.19	1.17	2-5	
Marital Status				
Married (n=12)				57.1
Not Married (n=9)				42.9
Authentic Behavior	63.73	11.46	45-84	

^aEducation: 1 = 8th grade or less, 2 = Some college or High School, 3 = Bachelor's degree, 4 = Master's degree or some graduate study, 5 = Advanced graduate degree.

As Table 5.6 shows, the interview sample includes White and Black, male and female, old and young, and married and unmarried participants. It should be noted, however, that the range of education levels is slightly narrower for the sample of interviewees than in the larger sample. None of the interviewees had less than a high school education. The interview participants also represent a broad range of

authenticity scores, and were selected intentionally to include individuals with both high and low authenticity.

5.4 Methods of Analysis

5.4.1 Quantitative Data

Data entry was done using Microsoft Access. Data entry was performed twice. A comparison was run to reveal discrepancies between the first and second data entry. Discrepancies were then examined and corrected. This method ensures that the data are accurately entered before analysis. The corrected data set was analyzed using Stata Version 9.2 software. Data analysis of the quantitative data was done in three phases: (i) descriptive statistics, (ii.) correlations, and (iii.) multiple linear regression.

5.4.1.1 Data Analysis

Data analysis began with an assessment of correlations for the study variables. The correlation analyses allowed me to assess the strength and direction of the relationships between study variables. Following the correlation analyses, regression analyses were performed for both the predictors of need for social approval and authentic behavior. The regression models enabled me to evaluate the amount of variance in authentic behavior accounted for by each of the independent variables, and to assess the predictive value of the various independent variables on the dependent variables. I also examined the relationships between the mediating variable, NSA, and other independent variables because those relationships are largely unknown.

NSA

Two nested models on NSA were examined, as little is known about the associations between NSA and social structural positions. Y is the NSA in the following models:

$$(1) Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{awareness}) + \beta_2(\text{self-esteem}) + \beta_3(\text{age}) + \beta_4(\text{gender}) + \beta_5(\text{race}) + \beta_6(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_7(\text{SES origins}) + \beta_8(\text{marital status}) + \varepsilon$$

$$(2) Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{awareness}) + \beta_2(\text{self-esteem}) + \beta_3(\text{age}) + \beta_4(\text{gender}) + \beta_5(\text{race}) + \beta_6(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_7(\text{SES origins}) + \beta_8(\text{marital status}) + \beta_9(\text{gender*age}) + \varepsilon$$

In model 2 I included the hypothesized interaction between gender and age.

Authentic Behavior

The relationships among the social structural factors, NSA, and authentic behavior were assessed, where Y is authentic behavior:

$$(1) Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{awareness}) + \beta_2(\text{self-esteem}) + \beta_3(\text{age}) + \beta_4(\text{race}) + \beta_5(\text{gender}) + \beta_6(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_7(\text{SES origins}) + \beta_8(\text{marital status}) + \beta_9(\text{NSA}) + \varepsilon$$

In models 2, 3, and 4, I addressed the specific hypothesized interactions. Model 2 is the hypothesized interaction between gender and age. Model 3 is the hypothesized interaction between race and NSA. Model 4 is the hypothesized interaction between respondent's SES and SES origins. Additional models were also tested to examine potential interaction effects between independent variables, and are described in

Chapter Seven.

$$(2) Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{awareness}) + \beta_2(\text{self-esteem}) + \beta_3(\text{age}) + \beta_4(\text{gender}) + \beta_5(\text{race}) + \beta_6(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_7(\text{SES origins}) + \beta_8(\text{marital status}) + \beta_9(\text{NSA}) + \beta_{10}(\text{gender*age}) + \varepsilon$$

$$(3) Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{awareness}) + \beta_2(\text{self-esteem}) + \beta_3(\text{age}) + \beta_4(\text{gender}) + \beta_5(\text{race}) + \beta_6(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_7(\text{SES origins}) + \beta_8(\text{marital status}) + \beta_9(\text{NSA}) + \beta_{10}(\text{race*NSA}) + \varepsilon$$

$$(4) Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{awareness}) + \beta_2(\text{self-esteem}) + \beta_3(\text{age}) + \beta_4(\text{gender}) + \beta_5(\text{race}) + \beta_6(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_7(\text{SES origins}) + \beta_8(\text{marital status}) + \beta_9(\text{NSA}) + \beta_{10}(\text{SES origins*respondent's SES}) + \varepsilon$$

Finally, in model 5, I included all the proposed interactions.

$$(5) Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{awareness}) + \beta_2(\text{self-esteem}) + \beta_3(\text{age}) + \beta_4(\text{gender}) + \beta_5(\text{race}) + \beta_6(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_7(\text{SES origins}) + \beta_8(\text{marital status}) + \beta_9(\text{NSA}) + \beta_{10}(\text{gender*age}) + \beta_{11}(\text{race*NSA}) + \beta_{12}(\text{SES origins*respondent's SES}) + \varepsilon$$

The equations above represent the framework for data analysis used in this dissertation. The final equations tested are described in Chapter Six.

5.4.2 Qualitative Data

Qualitative analysis was done in three phases. First, transcripts were reviewed. Second, detailed review of the transcripts supplied themes that spontaneously emerged from the guiding questions of this research. Third, transcripts were examined with specific attention to the various motivations for authentic behavior that emerged in the quantitative data analysis. Frequencies of themes were assessed and trends identified. Finally, the qualitative responses were considered in tandem with the quantitative data to develop a more comprehensive view of authentic behavior that reflects the ways in which individuals experience authenticity and the ways in which they actively enact authenticity in their lives. The Constant Comparison Method was used to evaluate the interview data. The Constant Comparison Method was developed by Barney Glaser (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Glaser, 1978) as a means of generating grounded theory. The constant comparison method is a reflexive approach in which the researcher refines research questions based on review of data and theoretical ideas. The constant comparison method

employed in the study loosely followed the steps outlined by Boeije (2002): comparison within an interview, comparison between interviews within a group, and a comparison of interviews between groups. The coding process initiated with open coding whereby I developed codes for ideas that emerged in review of the interview. Having performed open coding within that single interview, I then examined whether codes were relevant across interviews. When I found this to be the case, I expanded or refined the code to be inclusive of thematically similar constructs across interviews. That level of axial coding created clusters of participants who spoke about constructs in similar ways. Comparing across groups in terms of level of authentic behavior allowed further evaluation of hypotheses pertaining to qualitative differences in the ways that study participants conceptualize authenticity and the role that it may play in their lived realities.

6. Quantitative Results

“You’ve got to be honest; if you can fake that, you’ve got it made.”

–George Burns

6.1 Quantitative Assessment of Formal Hypotheses

Sample characteristics were previously described in Tables 5.4 and 5.5 in Chapter Five. As presented in those tables, the sample for this study is diverse in terms of all study variables. However, the sample moderately over represents women, and under-represents young Black men. Specifically, I experienced significant difficulty recruiting young Black men for participation in this study.

I had originally planned to include both self-esteem and awareness of the true self as predictors of authenticity and need for social approval. When I ran the models (N=193) predicting need for social approval with the demographic variables and self-esteem, awareness of the true self was not a significant predictor of need for social approval. When I ran the model (N=193) predicting authentic behavior including demographic variables, self-esteem, and authentic behavior, awareness of the true self was not a significant predictor. Nor was it a significant predictor when I ran that same model with need for social approval (N=193). However, self-esteem was significant in all models in which it was included, and so was included in the analyses reported here. Although self-esteem and awareness of the true self are only modestly correlated .41 ($p \leq .001$), self-esteem mediates the effects of awareness when the two variables are included in models together. However, when models are performed without self-esteem in the model, awareness is a significant predictor of both NSA and authentic behavior, but, its effects are limited to models which include

demographic factors only. Awareness of the true self was dropped from analysis, however, and the final sample size (N=194) excludes those individuals who are missing data on all self-esteem and all NSA items. Sample size is only reported in text from this point on if it less than N=194.

6.1.1 Correlations

Table 6.1 displays the Pearson correlation coefficients between study variables. Coefficients with p-values less than or equal to .05 are considered significant. The two main variables of interest, NSA and authenticity (AB) are negatively correlated such that as one increases the other decreases. Yet, the level of the correlation ($r=-.60$) is sufficiently modest that we know that NSA and AB are not the same construct.

Age is not significantly correlated with any of the other demographic variables. Gender has a small positive correlation with education ($r=.19$, $p\leq.01$) with men reporting higher levels of education. Gender (being male) is also correlated with being married ($r=.27$, $p\leq.001$). Race is significantly correlated with educational level and marital status. Positive correlations were observed between being White and having higher levels of education ($r=.20$, $p\leq.01$), and being married ($r=.16$, $p\leq.05$). Education also was positively correlated with being married ($r=.20$, $p\leq.01$). Self-esteem also was positively correlated with education ($r=.29$, $p\leq.001$), but was not significantly correlated with any other demographic variables.

NSA had a substantial and negative correlation with self-esteem ($r=-.52$, $p\leq.001$) and a positive correlation with race such that higher levels of NSA are

associated with being White ($r=.16, p\leq.05$). The dependent variable, authentic behavior was strongly and positively correlated with self-esteem ($r=.51, p\leq.001$). Authenticity was also correlated with demographic variables: A negative correlation was observed between authenticity and gender such that being male is associated with lower authenticity ($r=-.18, p\leq.01$). A small negative correlation was also observed between race and authenticity such that being White is associated with lower authenticity ($r=-.16, p\leq.05$).

Table 6.1 Control, Predictor, and Outcome Variables: Correlations (N=194)

Variables	Age	Male	White	Educ	Marr	SE	NSA	AB
Age	–							
Male	-.00	–						
White	.05	.13	–					
Education ^a	-.03	.19***	.20**	–				
Married	.09	.27***	.16*	.20**	–			
Self-Esteem (SE)	.12	-.04	-.10	.29***	.03	–		
Need for Social Approval (NSA)	-.13	.11	.16*	.01	-.02	-.52***	–	
Authentic Behavior (AB)	.13	-.18*	-.16*	.05	.04	.51***	-.60***	–

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

^aEducation: 1 = 8th grade or less, 2 = Some college or High School, 3 = Bachelor's degree, 4 = Master's degree or some graduate study, 5 = Advanced graduate degree.

6.1.2 Other Correlates of NSA and AB

In addition to the correlations reported in Table 6.1, I examined the correlations between authenticity, need for social approval and other variables. Respondents were asked to identify how much time they have alone: less time than one would like, more time than one would like, just the right amount of time alone. Amount of time alone had a significant positive correlation with age such that increasing age is associated with a sense of having too much time alone ($r=.15$, $p\leq.05$, $N=190$). In addition, a small positive correlation was found between amount of time alone and need for social approval suggesting that individuals with higher need for social approval spend more time alone than they would like ($r=.14$, $p\leq.05$, $N=190$). This correlation makes sense: if an individual looks to others for validation, they may seek more time with others in order to feel validated.

I also examined correlations between NSA, AB, and retirement status ($N=193$). As expected, age was significantly correlated with retirement status ($r=.82$, $p\leq.001$). As expected, retirement status was also significantly and positively correlated with authenticity ($r=.14$, $p\leq.05$). Retirement status was not significantly correlated with NSA ($p=.10$), but the correlation coefficient was negative, as would be expected.

The questionnaire also included items asking respondents to evaluate the importance of various markers of identity: being a good child, a good parent, a good spouse, a politically active person, a volunteer, someone who socializes well with others, religious affiliation, gender, race or ethnicity, and career. Higher scores on

these items indicate that the individual feels the identity is important (response range from not at all important to very important). Several significant correlations were found between identity variables and the outcome variables NSA and authenticity. First, three of the identity variables were positively and significantly correlated with authenticity: political identity ($r=.18, p\leq.05, N=187$), volunteer identity ($r=.16, p\leq.05, N=185$), and religious affiliation ($r=.19, p\leq.01, N=186$). Rankings these identities as more important was associated with higher levels of authenticity. This is not surprising given that each of these identities is connected with a sense of moral or ethical belief. Two of the identities were correlated with NSA, but in different directions. Individuals who value socializing well with others reported higher levels of NSA ($r=.18, p\leq.01, N=191$). However, importance of religious identity and NSA were negatively correlated such that valuing religious identity more is associated with lower NSA ($r=-.15, p\leq.05, N=186$).

Table 6.2 displays correlations between subscales. All scales are significantly correlated with the exception of the two factors of the need for social approval scale. Although NSA and authentic behavior are strongly correlated, they are sufficiently distinct to preclude problems of multicollinearity in the regression analyses. Additionally, there are subtle differences in the dimensions of authenticity which are captured by the three authenticity subscales in the regression analyses.

Table 6.2 Correlations between Authenticity Subscales and NSA (N=194)

Variables	Con	Ins G	Int	Sum	Act	Pass	N Sum
Auth: Congeniality (Con)	–						
Auth: Instrumental Gains (Ins G)	.73***	–					
Auth: Integrity (Int)	.31***	.28***	–				
Auth: Summary (Sum)	.86***	.85***	.67***	–			
NSA: Active (Act)	-.55***	-.51***	-.21**	-.54***	–		
NSA: Passive (Pass)	-.21**	-.15*	-.55***	-.38***	.18	–	
NSA: Summary (N Sum)	-.52***	-.45***	-.47***	-.60***	.82***	.72***	–

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

6.2 Need for Social Approval and Authentic Behavior

Summary Scales

Regression models were run for the need for social approval summary scale and for the authenticity summary score. Each of these summary scores included only items that appeared on the respective subscales. Analyses conducted predicting each of the more complete original scales had similar effects, which are described below for each summary scale. The sample size used in these analyses provides enough power for main effects but is underpowered for interactions. Thus, for interactions, I examine interactive patterns rather than formally testing hypotheses.

6.2.1 Need for Social Approval

A higher score on the need for social approval scale indicates a greater need for social approval. Conversely, a lower score indicates someone who is lower in need for social approval. NSA scores could range from 7-28. In the methods chapter I said that I would test models including awareness of the true self and respondent's self-esteem and self-esteem origins. However, as previously described, awareness was examined and has since been excluded from all models. SES origins were also examined and were nonsignificant, and so are excluded from all subsequent models. Thus, the following models of NSA were tested:

$$\text{(Model 1) } Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{age}) + \beta_2(\text{gender}) + \beta_3(\text{race}) + \beta_4(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_5(\text{marital status}) + \varepsilon$$

$$\text{(Model 2) } Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{age}) + \beta_2(\text{gender}) + \beta_3(\text{race}) + \beta_4(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_5(\text{marital status}) + \beta_6(\text{self-esteem}) + \varepsilon$$

I first ran the model without self-esteem and then added it in in Model 2. This was the case for all subsequent analyses. This decision was made in response to the observation that self-esteem appeared to be masking the effects of the structural variables and as a means to fully understand those structural effects. Table 6.3 displays regression coefficients for predicting need for social approval.

Table 6.3 Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Predicting Need for Social Approval (N=194)

	Model 1	Model 2
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>
Age	-.02* (.01)	-.01 (.01)
Gender (Male)	.61 (.40)	.36 (.35)
Race/Ethnicity (White)	.95* (.41)	.48 (.35)
Education	-.10 (.18)	.36* (.16)
Marital Status (Married)	-.30 (.40)	-.30 (.34)
Self-Esteem	---	-.27*** (.03)
Constant	15.63	22.90
<i>Adjusted R</i> ²	.03*	.29***

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

The data displayed in Table 6.3 demonstrate several significant trends about the relationships among study variables and the need for social approval. In Model 1, race and age were the only structural factors found to predict NSA. Specifically it was observed that Whites have a higher NSA than Blacks, and that older adults have

lower NSA than younger adults. In Model 2, with the inclusion of self-esteem, the effect of being White was mediated by the inclusion of self-esteem. In Model 2, education also became significant such that individuals who have higher levels of education reported higher levels of need for social approval. That effect was not hypothesized. Self-esteem is suppressing the positive relationship between education and NSA in Model 1. That is, having higher education appears to be associated with greater NSA than having lower education because people with higher levels of education have higher levels of self-esteem. Self-esteem was also significantly related to the need for social approval. Specifically, individuals with higher levels of self-esteem report a lower need for social approval.

In addition, I ran these regressions using age as a dichotomous rather than continuous variable¹. The same trends were observed in both sets of models. Age did not attain statistical significance in either dichotomous (younger/older) or continuous form in Model 2, which included self-esteem, but was significant in both continuous and dichotomous forms in Model 1.

I also ran the models in Table 6.3 using the original 10-item version of the NSA scale. The results were the same as for the abbreviated 7-item version with one exception in Model 2: Education was not statistically significant in Model 2 ($p=.088$). The models reported in Table 6.3 were performed for each on the NSA subscales. Younger ages, being White, and being male predicted greater active pursuit of social approval. The gender effect persisted in Model 2, in which self-esteem was also

¹ Notation will be provided when age was tested in both continuous and dichotomous (younger/older) form.

statistically significant. Only self-esteem was a statistically significant predictor of a more passive NSA.

6.2.2 Authenticity

A higher score on the authenticity scale indicates greater levels of authentic behavior. Conversely, a lower score indicates someone who is lower in authentic behavior. Scores on the authenticity scale could range from 16-64. The models reported here are nested and show the effects of study variables on authentic behavior with and without NSA. The following models are tested and displayed in Table 6.4:

$$\text{(Model 1) } Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{age}) + \beta_2(\text{gender}) + \beta_3(\text{race}) + \beta_4(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_5(\text{marital status}) + \varepsilon$$

$$\text{(Model 2) } Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{age}) + \beta_2(\text{gender}) + \beta_3(\text{race}) + \beta_4(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_5(\text{marital status}) + \beta_6(\text{self-esteem}) + \varepsilon$$

$$\text{(Model 3) } Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{age}) + \beta_2(\text{gender}) + \beta_3(\text{race}) + \beta_4(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_5(\text{marital status}) + \beta_6(\text{self-esteem}) + \beta_7(\text{NSA}) + \varepsilon$$

The dependent variable in Table 6.4 is authenticity summary scores.

Table 6.4 Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Predicting Authentic Behavior (N=194)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>
Age	.04 (.02)	.02 (.02)	.01 (.02)
Gender (Male)	-2.38** (.92)	-1.85* (.80)	-1.49* (.73)
Race/Ethnicity (White)	-2.14* (.92)	-1.12 (.82)	-.63 (.74)
Education	.61 (.41)	-.36 (.38)	.01 (.35)
Marital Status (Married)	.41 (.90)	.41 (.79)	.10 (.71)
Self-Esteem	---	.58*** (.08)	.31*** (.08)
Need for Social Approval	---	---	-1.01*** (.15)
Constant	44.17	28.76	51.76
<i>Adjusted R</i> ²	.06**	.28***	.41***

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 6.4 displays several important trends about authenticity. First, in Model 1, two of the structural factors predict: gender, and race. Being female and being Black both predict higher authenticity. The race effect was as hypothesized, but the gender effect is not. The age effect falls short of statistical significance, $p=.056$, but is in the hypothesized direction: Increasing age predicts higher authenticity. Second, in Model 2, with the inclusion of self-esteem, only gender maintained statistical significance. Need for social approval is added in Model 3, and

is highly statistically significant. Specifically, higher levels of need for social approval predict lower levels of authenticity. Gender also maintains statistical significance in that model (in the same direction). Only a small portion of the gender effect is mediated by inclusion of NSA. In addition, I ran each of these models using age as a dichotomous rather than continuous variable. The models had the same patterns, however, age was statistically significant in Model 1 ($B=1.88$, $p=.03$).

I also ran these regression models using the original 23-item version of the authenticity scale. The results were the same as in the abbreviated 16-item version with two exceptions: (1) In Model 1, age was not significant. The sign of the correlation coefficient was positive, however, as in the abbreviated version, and (2) In Model 3, the gender effect, that males are less authentic, was not statistically significant.

6.3 Other Considerations

6.3.1 Parental Education

I also examined whether parental education would predict authentic behavior. Sample sizes were 179 for models including father's education and 187 for models including mother's education. Models including the educational levels of both parents have an $N=178$. Of the fifteen individuals missing father's education, nine individuals reported mother's education. Of the seven individuals missing mother's education, one was also missing father's education.

I ran three nested models predicting authentic behavior using mother's education, father's education, and both mother and father's education. Model 1

included age, gender, race, marital status, respondent's educational level and the parental education level. This required three sets of models: a set with father's, a set with mother's, and a set with both parents education. None of the parental education variables were statistically significant in these models. To evaluate whether respondent's education was reducing the effect of parental education, I then examined the same set of nine models with respondent's education excluded. Again, parental education variables were nonsignificant.

I also examined the role of parental education in predicting NSA, as previously mentioned. I examined the influence of each parent's education separately, and then with both parents' education levels included. I did this as a series of two nested models, with and without self-esteem. I then repeated these analyses with respondent's education excluded. Parental education variables were nonsignificant in all models. In addition, when parental education variables were included in the models with self-esteem, respondent's education was no longer statistically significant. Overall, for both NSA and authentic behavior, all measures of education were nonsignificant in the models including both parental levels of education. Thus, because parental education is not a statistically significant predictor of authenticity or NSA, parental education has been excluded from all models, with the exception of the interactive models discussed below.

6.3.2 Respondent's Education

Education was a statistically significant predictor of NSA when self-esteem was included in the model. A regression model was performed predicting

respondent's education using age, race, gender, father's education, and mother's education. Being older and having a father with a higher level of education were statistically significant predictors of higher levels of education. Mother's education and gender (male), surprisingly, were not statistically significant predictors of higher levels of education ($p=.08$ and $p=.07$, respectively). As the models including parental education variables revealed, parental education does not directly predict NSA or authentic behavior. However, noting that self-esteem suppresses the positive association between education and NSA, I examined the interaction of respondent's education and self-esteem.

6.3.2.1 Interaction: Education and Self-Esteem

Education is associated with greater need for social approval, and higher levels of self-esteem with lower need for social approval. Because greater need for social approval predicts lower authenticity, individuals with lower levels of education and higher levels of self-esteem are expected to have higher levels of authentic behavior. However, I expected to see the highest levels of authentic behavior among those with high education and high self-esteem since achievements at the highest levels of education may provide a sense of competency that is akin to high self-esteem.

The education by self-esteem interaction term was a highly significant predictor of authenticity but not in the direction that was expected: individuals with high levels of education and high levels of self-esteem were least authentic. These effects held with the inclusion of NSA in the model. For the subscales, the education

by self-esteem interaction term was a highly significant predictor both with and without NSA in predicting that individuals with higher education and higher self-esteem are more inauthentic for purposes of congeniality and more willing to submerge authenticity for instrumental purposes. The interaction term was not a significant predictor for the integrity subscale. The same patterns were observed for both the summary scale and subscales when a centered version of self-esteem was used in the analyses. Despite the significance of the interaction term in predicting authentic behavior, the interaction term was not a significant predictor of the need for social approval, (centered or otherwise).

6.3.3 Marital Status

Models predicting authenticity summary scores were also performed measuring marital status as whether an individual had been divorced versus not divorced (instead of as married versus not married). Results were the same pattern as those reported in Table 6.4 with the exception that gender is nonsignificant in Model 3, and so are not reported here. However, recoding the marital status variable did make a difference for NSA. The divorced variable was statistically significant such that individuals who are divorced have greater NSA (Model 1, $B=1.2$, $p \leq .05$). However, with the inclusion of self-esteem, only education and self-esteem were significant predictors of NSA, the same as reported in Table 6.3.

6.4 Authenticity Subscales

Regression models were also run for each subscale to determine whether the independent variables were differentially associated with the three dimensions of

authenticity. Scores on the integrity subscale could range from 6-24, and from 5-20 for both the instrumental gains and integrity subscales.

6.4.1 Congeniality Subscale

A higher score on this subscale indicates an individual is higher in authenticity—i.e., is unwilling to submerge authenticity for purposes of congeniality.

A low score indicates someone who is willing to be inauthentic for purposes of congeniality. The five items on this subscale include:

- In order to be liked, I tend to be what people expect me to be
- The best way to handle people is to agree with them and tell them what they want to hear
- In different situations with different people, I often act like very different persons.
- In order to get along and be liked, I tend to be what people expect me to be rather than anything else.
- I've often done things that I don't want to do merely not to disappoint people.

Table 6.5 displays the regression coefficients for predicting inauthenticity connected to a desire for congeniality.

Table 6.5 Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Predicting Congeniality

Subscale Scores (N=194)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>
Age	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.00 (.01)
Gender (Male)	-.90* (.37)	-.73* (.34)	-.61 (.32)
Race/Ethnicity (White)	-1.09** (.37)	-.78* (.34)	-.33 (.36)
Education	.15 (.16)	-.17 (.16)	-.04 (.15)
Marital Status (Married)	.33 (.36)	.33 (.33)	.22 (.31)
Self-Esteem	---	.19*** (.03)	.10** (.03)
Need for Social Approval	---	---	-.34*** (.07)
Constant	14.12	8.94	16.80
<i>Adjusted R</i> ²	.06**	.21***	.31***

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses

Several of the independent variables are statistically significant. First, gender and race predict greater authenticity due to less willingness to be inauthentic for purposes of congeniality. Both Blacks and women are significantly less likely than their counterparts to suppress authenticity for congeniality. This pattern becomes nonsignificant when NSA is added in Model 3. The self-esteem coefficient indicates that individuals with higher levels of self-esteem are less likely to engage in inauthenticity for purposes of congeniality. In the final model, we see that lower levels of need for social approval predict greater authenticity due to unwillingness to submerge authenticity for congeniality.

6.4.2 Instrumental Gains Subscale

A higher score on this subscale indicates an individual is higher in authenticity due to being unwilling to submerge authenticity for instrumental or strategic self-gain. Thus, a lower score indicates greater willingness to be inauthentic for instrumental purposes or strategic self-gain. Subscale items on this scale include the following:

- I find it easy to pretend to be something other than my true self.
- I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain people.
- I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them.
- I frequently pretend to enjoy something when in actuality I really don't.
- I've often used my silence or head-nodding to convey agreement with someone else's statement or position even though I really disagree.

Table 6.6 displays the regression coefficients predicting inauthenticity connected to strategic self-gain or manipulation.

Table 6.6 Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Predicting Instrumental Gain Subscale Scores (N=194)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>
Age	.03** (.01)	.02* (.01)	.02* (.01)
Gender (Male)	-1.16** (.40)	-.97** (.37)	-.87* (.36)
Race/Ethnicity (White)	-1.03*** (.40)	-.66 (.37)	-.53 (.36)
Education	.20 (.18)	-.15 (.17)	-.05 (.17)
Marital Status (Married)	.22 (.39)	.22 (.36)	.14 (.35)
Self-Esteem	---	.21*** (.03)	.14*** (.04)
Need for Social Approval	---	---	-.26*** (.07)
Constant	13.14	7.49	13.55
<i>Adjusted R</i> ²	.09***	.18***	.28***

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

Several independent variables are statistically significant predictors of willingness to be inauthentic for instrumental purposes. First, older age predicts greater unwillingness to be inauthentic for purposes of instrumental gain. Second, women are less willing than men to be inauthentic for instrumental purposes. Third, Whites had lower levels of authenticity than Blacks and were more willing to be inauthentic for instrumental purposes. These structural effects for age and gender persist in all models. In Model 2, with self-esteem, individuals with higher levels of self-esteem reported less willingness to submerge authenticity for purposes of

instrumental self-gain. Finally, in Model 3, individuals with higher needs for social approval reported greater willingness to be inauthentic for purposes of instrumental gain. The effect of being White (negative coefficient) which was significant in Model 1 is mediated by self-esteem.

6.4.3 Integrity Subscale

A higher score on this subscale indicates an individual is higher in authenticity due to a valuing of the principle of integrity. A low score indicates a willingness to be inauthentic despite a lack of integrity. This subscale is composed of six items, which include:

- I usually do not change my positions when people disagree with me.
- I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone else or win their favor.
- The people I am close to can count on me being who I am regardless of what setting we are in.
- I try to act in a manner that is consistent with my personally held values, even if other criticize or reject me for doing so.
- I rarely if ever, put on a “false face” for others to see.
- I am willing to endure negative consequences by expressing my true beliefs about things.

Table 6.7 displays regression coefficients predicting authenticity connected to maintaining a sense of integrity.

Table 6.7 Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Predicting Integrity Subscale Scores (N=194)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>
Age	.00 (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.01 (.01)
Gender (Male)	-.31 (.40)	-.15 (.37)	-.00 (.35)
Race/Ethnicity (White)	-.01 (.40)	.30 (.38)	.49 (.35)
Education	.25 (.18)	-.04 (.17)	.10 (.16)
Marital Status (Married)	-.14 (.39)	-.14 (.36)	-.26 (.34)
Self-Esteem	---	.18*** (.03)	.07 (.04)
Need for Social Approval	---	---	-.40*** (.07)
Constant	16.91	12.15	21.41
<i>Adjusted R</i> ²	-.01	.10***	.23***

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

None of the structural variables predict this form of authenticity in any of the models. In Model 2, self-esteem was significantly and positively related to authenticity for purposes of integrity. In Model 3, NSA is negatively related to authenticity for purposes of integrity. NSA also mediates the effect of self-esteem observed in Model 2.

When the models reported in Tables 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7 were performed using age as a dichotomous variable (older and younger), the patterns were the same as

observed with age in continuous form with one exception: Dichotomous age is not a statistically significant predictor of inauthenticity for instrumental gain in Model 3.

6.5 Interactions

6.5.1 Interactions with NSA

6.5.1.1 Race and NSA

I hypothesized an interaction between race and NSA in predicting authentic behavior. I expected that race would moderate the impact of NSA on authentic behavior such that at similar levels of NSA, Blacks would be more likely to express authentic behavior than Whites.

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{self-esteem}) + \beta_2(\text{race}) + \beta_3(\text{age}) + \beta_4(\text{gender}) + \beta_5(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_8(\text{marital status}) + \beta_9(\text{NSA}) + \beta_{10}(\text{race*NSA}) + \varepsilon$$

I examined the interaction term (Black x decreasing levels of NSA) both with and without self-esteem in a series of two nested models predicting authenticity summary scores as well as scores on each subscale. In addition, I performed the models twice: first using the standard NSA, and second using a centered version of NSA. This interaction term was nonsignificant in all models. The interaction term was consistently positive for predicting scores on the integrity subscale and consistently negative for the instrumental gains scale. However, for the congeniality subscale and summary score, the interaction term was positive in the first model, and negative in the second model that included self-esteem.

6.5.2 Interactions between Demographic Variables

6.5.2.1 Gender and Age

I had hypothesized the possibility of a gender/age interaction in predicting both NSA and authentic behavior:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{self-esteem}) + \beta_2(\text{race}) + \beta_3(\text{age}) + \beta_4(\text{gender}) + \beta_5(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_6(\text{marital status}) + \beta_7(\text{gender*age}) + \varepsilon$$

The gender and age interaction term (male x younger) was tested given my hypothesis provides that young men would be the most different from the other three gender/age groupings. The interaction was nonsignificant in all models predicting authenticity, including those that did and did not include self-esteem and NSA. Interestingly, the interaction term had a positive sign without the inclusion of self-esteem (Model 1), a negative sign in Model 2, and a positive sign in Model 3.

I also examined the gender and age interaction as a predictor of NSA. I tested the female x younger interaction term because my hypothesis implies that young women will be the most different from the other three gender/age groupings. I found that the interaction term was nonsignificant (and negative) in predicting NSA both with and without self-esteem included in the model. The dichotomous measurement of age was examined in both of the gender and age interaction terms.

6.5.2.2 Respondent's SES and SES Origins

I hypothesized an interaction between SES origins and respondent's SES in predicting authentic behavior:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{self-esteem}) + \beta_2(\text{race}) + \beta_3(\text{age}) + \beta_4(\text{gender}) + \beta_5(\text{respondent's SES}) + \beta_6(\text{SES origins}) + \beta_7(\text{marital status}) + \beta_8(\text{NSA}) + \beta_9(\text{SES origins*respondent's SES}) + \varepsilon$$

Although SES origins (i.e., parental education) had nonsignificant main effects, a significant interaction term is possible. I ran models evaluating the interaction term using mother's education and father's education each interacted separately with respondent education. I estimated a series of three nested models predicting each authenticity subscale as well as the authenticity summary scale. Although nonsignificant in all models, the interaction terms were consistently positive, suggesting that when parents' and respondent's education were high, individuals reported higher levels of authenticity. This interaction is in the hypothesized direction and suggests support for the idea of an 'imposter phenomenon,' in which individuals whose achievements are incongruent with their family of origin are subject to feelings of inauthenticity.

The interaction term repeatedly approached marginal significance, but was not statistically significant in these models. When mother's education was used in the interaction term, the term had a coefficient of .30 and $p=.11$ for predicting the extent to which individuals value integrity (Model 3), and a coefficient of .67 and $p=.10$, for predicting authenticity summary score (Model 3). When father's education was used in the interaction term, the term had a coefficient of .17 for predicting congeniality subscale scores ($p=.18$) and a coefficient of .45 for predicting authenticity summary scores ($p=.13$) (both for Model 3). These data are suggestive

of support for the interaction term, but the current study is underpowered to formally assess interaction terms.

6.5.2.3 All Interactions

Earlier in this dissertation I proposed that I would test a model which included all interaction terms in predicting authentic behavior. Because of small sample size, the hypothesized interactions were tested individually. The other interactions tested, previously described, were race by NSA and SES respondent's by SES origins.

6.6 Post-Hoc Analyses

6.6.1 Self-Esteem

Self-esteem was originally conceptualized as a control variable, but was consequently treated as an independent variable because it was masking the effects of the structural variables. Self-esteem is a powerful and statistically significant predictor of NSA and authentic behavior. To confirm that self-esteem, NSA, and authentic behavior each tap into different constructs, I examined the correlations among these scales. Self-esteem is only modestly correlated with each of these other scales, and in opposing and predictable directions. However, given the large effects of self-esteem, I investigated what variables predict self-esteem. The regression models estimated included all respondent's demographic factors in the first model (N=194), and those factors as well as parental education in the second model (N=178). In the first model, age, race, and educational level were statistically significant predictors of self-esteem. Older age, being Black, and having higher levels of education predict higher self-esteem. The age effect was absent in the

second model in which race and respondent's education were statistically significant predictors of self-esteem. Whites reported lower self-esteem than Blacks ($B=-1.78$, $p\leq.05$), and higher education was associated with higher levels of self-esteem ($B=1.57$, $p\leq.001$).

These predictions are interesting when considered in tandem with predictions for NSA. For example, Whites have both lower self-esteem and greater need for social approval, two factors that inhibit authenticity. Conversely, higher education is associated with both higher self-esteem (which supports authenticity), but also higher need for social approval (which inhibits authenticity). However, as previously described, education interacts with self-esteem in predicting authenticity. Increasing age is associated with two factors which would predict higher authenticity: greater levels of self-esteem and lower NSA.

6.6.2 Age

In part, what was expected for age did not happen: Age was not significant in this sample as a predictor of authentic behavior when self-esteem and NSA were included in the models. This expected pattern, however, was observed for the instrumental gain subscale: older adults are less willing to be inauthentic for instrumental purposes even when self-esteem and NSA are controlled. Yet, age did not have the magnitude of effect anticipated- the observed age effects were always minute. In contrast, as will be discussed further in Chapter Eight, the qualitative data suggest a distinct age trend. Considering only the quantitative data raises the question of whether the freedom of aging comes not in the form of lower need for

social approval or greater authentic behavior directly, but through higher self-esteem. Higher self-esteem may make older adults more confident in whatever they do, be it authentic or inauthentic living. As the models predicting NSA and authenticity show, the effects of age in predicting those variables are fully mediated by self-esteem.

6.6.2.1 Age and Retirement Status

In discussion of other correlates of NSA and AB, I reported that retirement status was significantly correlated with authentic behavior ($r=.14, p\leq.05$). To evaluate whether the effect that I had anticipated for age, was in fact due to retirement, I ran the models predicting authenticity and NSA using the retirement status variable instead of age. Although age and retirement status are highly correlated ($r=.82, p\leq.01$), retirement status represents a social role transition not necessarily captured by age. The results of those models are reported in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Retirement Status Predicting Authentic Behavior (N=193)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>
Retirement Status (Retired)	1.92* (.88)	1.14 (.77)	.85 (.70)
Gender (Male)	-2.57** (.92)	-2.01** (.80)	-1.61* (.73)
Race/Ethnicity (White)	-1.93* (.92)	-.96 (.81)	-.53 (.73)
Education	.70 (.41)	-.25 (.38)	.09 (.35)
Marital Status (Married)	.32 (.90)	.27 (.78)	-.01 (.71)
Self-Esteem	---	.59*** (.07)	.31*** (.08)
Need for Social Approval	---	---	-.99*** (.15)
Constant	45.18	28.67	51.26
<i>Adjusted R</i> ²	.07**	.29***	.42***

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

Comparing Table 6.8 (using retirement status) to Table 6.4 (using age), reveals similar trends. Being retired is a powerful predictor of higher levels of authentic behavior. Comparing the coefficient size of age ($B=.04$) to that of retirement status ($B=1.93$) suggests that it may be the transition out of work, and not necessarily increasing age that predicts greater authentic behavior. The retirement status coefficient (Model 1) is also slightly larger than the coefficient for the dichotomous form of age.

To evaluate whether having left the work force is associated with lower levels of NSA, I predicted NSA using retirement status instead of age. Those results are similar to those reported in Table 6.3 with the exception that age is statistically significant in Model 1 (Table 6.3) whereas retirement status is not. Retirement status appears to be a weaker predictor than age in estimating NSA. These models suggest that social role transitions may be associated with authentic behavior, but that NSA is a more deeply-rooted and psychological need.

6.6.2.2 Interaction: Age and Retirement Status

Considering the effects of age and retirement status, I examined whether there was an age/retirement status interaction such that older adults who were also retired would have the greatest authenticity scores. The interaction term was nonsignificant in all models predicting NSA and authentic behavior.

6.6.2.3 Race and Age Interaction

Although I had not hypothesized it, I estimated an interaction between race and age in predicting authenticity. I expected to see that the race differences would be especially pronounced in later life, such that older Whites would have the highest NSA and lowest levels of authenticity. This test was performed as a series of nested models: first without self-esteem and NSA, second with self-esteem included, and third with self-esteem and NSA included. The interaction term (with dichotomous measurement of age, White x older) was nonsignificant in all models, but always had a negative sign. When I ran the models using a continuous version of age and a centered version of age, the interaction was again negative and nonsignificant in all

models. I also examined whether this interaction would be a significant predictor of NSA, with the same expectation. The interaction term was not a significant predictor of NSA regardless of whether or not a dichotomous, continuous, or centered version of age was used in the models, and had a negative sign in all models.

6.6.2.4 Age: Item-by-Item Analysis

To further assess age differences in authenticity, I ran an item-by-item analysis for the full inventory of 23 authenticity items to evaluate which items have the largest age differences. Five items emerged as having mean differences $>.25$ between older adults and younger adults. These mean scores reflect reverse coded items, so a higher score means greater authenticity.

Three of the items that had age discrepancy came from the instrumental scale): (1) I find it easy to pretend to be something other than my true self, and, (2) I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain people. For both of these items, older adults endorsed the items higher than younger adults. Since these items were reverse coded, younger adults endorsed these items to a greater extent than older adults. The third item, (3): I've often used my silence or head-nodding to convey agreement with someone else's statement or position even though I really disagree, was not reverse coded. Older adults' higher score on this means that they endorsed it more than younger adults.

In addition to those items, the item-by-item age analysis revealed a few other items with notable discrepancy between age groups. One of these items was not on the subscales used in the analyses and will not be reported here. The final item which

had a large age discrepancy was included on the integrity subscale: I rarely if ever, put on a “false face” for others to see. This item was not reverse coded and the higher mean score reported by older adults suggests that they value integrity more and either do not have the inclination, or perhaps the opportunity to engage in ‘false face’ performances.

These findings suggest consideration in evaluating the age effects. The items that distinguish younger adults and older adults may tap into a more nuanced--or perhaps simpler--conceptualization of authenticity. For example, the three instrumental items can be classified as more active or more passive. Notably, the younger adults scored higher on the more active items, whereas the older adults scored higher on the more passive item. In addition, older adults endorse to a greater extent that they do not put on a false face for others. This item, of all the items, may be deemed the most face-valid core indicator of authenticity. Thus although, the age effects may have appeared modest on the subscales and summary scale, perhaps there is a real and powerful age effect as captured by the age difference on this item.

6.6.3 Religious Participation

Given that religious identity was positively correlated with higher authenticity and lower NSA, I examined whether religious service attendance predicted NSA and authenticity (N=192.) The results in Table 6.9 are different from those reported in Table 6.3 predicting need for social approval without the inclusion of religious service attendance (Model 1). The demographic variables that were statistically significant are now nonsignificant (Model 1). Although religious service did not

attain statistical significance in this sample, it does appear to carry some influence ($B=-.18$, $p=.06$ in Model 1), and should be considered further.

Table 6.9 Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Religious Participation Predicting Need for Social Approval (N=192)

	Model 1	Model 2
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>
Religious Service Attendance	-.18 (.09)	-.06 (.08)
Age	-.02 (.01)	-.01 (.01)
Gender (Male)	.46 (.41)	.30 (.35)
Race/Ethnicity (White)	.75 (.42)	.42 (.37)
Education	-.05 (.18)	.37* (.17)
Marital Status (Married)	-.11 (.41)	-.22 (.35)
Self-Esteem	---	-.26*** (.03)
Constant	16.07	22.90
<i>Adjusted R</i> ²	.05**	.29***

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

In Table 6.10, below, religious service attendance is a significant predictor of authentic behavior in Model 1. However, its effects are mediated by the inclusion of self-esteem. The positive sign of the attendance coefficient predicts that greater religious service attendance predict higher levels of authentic behavior.

*Table 6.10 Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Religious Participation
Predicting Authentic Behavior Summary Score (N=192)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>
Religious Service Attendance	.58*** (.21)	.34 (.19)	.28 (.17)
Age	.03 (.02)	.01 (.02)	.01 (.02)
Gender (Male)	-1.94* (.92)	-1.61* (.82)	-1.31 (.74)
Race/Ethnicity (White)	-1.47 (.95)	-.79 (.85)	-.36 (.77)
Education	.51 (.41)	-.38 (.38)	-.00 (.35)
Marital Status (Married)	-.16 (.92)	.08 (.81)	-.14 (.73)
Self-Esteem	---	.56*** (.08)	.29*** (.08)
Need for Social Approval	---	---	-1.00*** (.15)
Constant	42.65	28.35	51.24
<i>Adjusted R</i> ²	.09***	.28***	.42***

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

I examined whether the effects of religious service attendance exist for all three dimensions of authentic behavior: they do not. Religious service attendance was surprisingly, not a predictor of the extent to which individuals value integrity. However, it was a predictor of authenticity due to unwillingness to be inauthentic for congeniality and unwillingness to be inauthentic for self-gain. Those results are presented in Tables 6.11 and 6.12 below. The effect of religious service attendance in

these models is powerful—it continues despite the inclusion of self-esteem and the need for social approval for instrumental gains.

Table 6.11 Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Religious Participation Predicting Congeniality Subscale Scores (N=192)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>
Religious Service Attendance	.25** (.09)	.17* (.08)	.15 (.08)
Age	.01 (.01)	.00 (.01)	.00 (.01)
Gender (Male)	-.72* (.37)	-.61 (.34)	-.51 (.32)
Race/Ethnicity (White)	-.80* (.38)	-.58 (.36)	-.44 (.34)
Education	.11 (.16)	-.18 (.16)	-.05 (.15)
Marital Status (Married)	.08 (.37)	.16 (.34)	.08 (.32)
Self-Esteem	---	.18*** (.03)	.09** (.04)
Need for Social Approval	---	---	-.34*** (.07)
Constant	13.47	8.83	16.51
<i>Adjusted R</i> ²	.10***	.23***	.32***

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 6.12 Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for Predicting Instrumental Gains Subscale Scores (N=192)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>
Religious Service Attendance	.27** (.09)	.18* (.09)	.16* (.08)
Age	.02* (.01)	.02 (.01)	.01 (.01)
Gender (Male)	-1.01** (.40)	-.89* (.37)	-.81* (.36)
Race/Ethnicity (White)	-.72 (.41)	-.47 (.38)	-.36 (.37)
Education	.19 (.18)	-.12 (.17)	-.02 (.17)
Marital Status (Married)	.02 (.39)	.10 (.36)	.04 (.35)
Self-Esteem	---	.20*** (.03)	.13*** (.04)
Need for Social Approval	---	---	-.26*** (.07)
Constant	12.35	7.28	13.31
<i>Adjusted R</i> ²	.13***	.26***	.30***

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

6.6.3.1 Interaction: Religious Attendance and Race

Given the strength of the religious attendance effect, I examined whether religious participation interacted with race in predicting authentic behavior. I expected that religious Blacks would have the highest levels of authentic behavior (Black x increasing levels of attendance). Regression models were performed predicting authenticity summary scores, scores on each authenticity subscale, and NSA summary scores. The regression models were estimated as a series of two

nested models, first with attendance, race, and the interaction term, and then with those variables and self-esteem. The interaction terms were nonsignificant in all models.

6.6.4 Gender

The gender hypothesis was not supported: men were found to be less authentic than women on authenticity summary scores and two of the three subscales.

6.6.4.1 Gender: Item-by-Item Analysis

To further assess gender differences in authenticity, I ran an item-by-item analysis for the full inventory of authenticity items to evaluate which items have the largest gender differences. Four items had mean differences $>.25$ between men and women. These mean scores reflect reverse coded scores, so a higher score indicates greater authenticity. Two of the four items are on the congeniality subscale, and two are on the instrumental subscale. The two congeniality items with large gender differences were: (1) The best way to handle people is to agree with them and tell them what they want to hear, and, (2) In different situations with different people, I often act like very different persons. On both of those items, women scored higher than men. These items were reverse coded, thus men endorsed greater authenticity than women.

Women and men also scored differently on the following two items from the instrumental inventory: (1) I find it easy to pretend to be something other than my true self, and, (2) I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain people. For both of those items, women scored higher than men.

These analyses suggest some caution in considering the gender findings. In terms of gender, consider the idea that there may be two aspects of congeniality: one that relates to wanting to be liked, and another that pertains to handling people (for example, the two items reported above). The two items on the congeniality scale with gender differences seem to be centered on handling people. Men and women may have different conceptualizations of what it means to submerge the true self for purposes of congeniality. That women score higher on those two instrumental items is not surprising—men and women may use different ‘rules’ when they engage in impression management. For women, impression management is performed to keep other people happy, for men, the mission is to keep oneself happy. When the item-by-item analysis is examined, it appears that women and men engage in inauthentic behavior for different purposes.

6.7 Overall Patterns

6.7.1 Race

Hypothesis: Race will have a direct effect on authentic behavior. Blacks will have higher levels of authentic behavior than Whites. Race will have a direct effect on NSA. Blacks will have lower NSA than Whites. NSA mediates the positive relationship between being Black and authentic behavior.

Finding: Race has a direct effect on authentic behavior in Model 3:² Blacks report higher levels of authentic behavior than Whites, but this effect is fully mediated by self-esteem. Race has a direct effect on the congeniality subscale

² In this section, the term *authentic behavior* denotes summary scale scores unless noted as a subscale.

(Models 1 and 2) and instrumental subscale (Model 1), which suggests that Blacks are more authentic due to unwillingness to submerge authenticity for purposes of congeniality or instrumental self-gain. The effect of race on the congeniality subscale is partially mediated by self-esteem (Model 2) and fully mediated by NSA (Model 3). The effect of race on the instrumental gains subscale is mediated by self-esteem.

Race has a direct effect on NSA in Model 1 such that Blacks have lower NSA than Whites. However, this effect is fully mediated by self-esteem.

6.7.2 Age

Hypothesis: Age will have both a direct and an indirect effect, via NSA, on authentic behavior. Increasing age will be associated with lower NSA and greater authentic behavior.

Finding: When only structural factors are considered, age has a direct effect on authentic behavior such that increasing age is associated with higher levels of authentic behavior. This effect is stronger when a dichotomous form of age is examined. However, this effect is fully mediated by the inclusion of self-esteem. Older age predicts greater unwillingness to submerge authenticity for purposes of instrumental self-gain. This unwillingness is not mediated by the inclusion of self-esteem or NSA (the coefficient changes by .01 between Models 1 and 2, and does not change between Models 2 and 3). However, the effect of age is small.

Age significantly predicts NSA as hypothesized; however, the lower NSA of older adults does not explain their greater authenticity. The effect of age on NSA is mediated by self-esteem.

6.7.3 Gender

Hypothesis: Gender will have both a direct and an indirect effect on authentic behavior through NSA. Men will report lower NSA and higher levels of authentic behavior than women.

Finding: Gender has a direct effect on authentic behavior, however not in the direction predicted. Men are found to have lower levels of authenticity in all models in which gender was significant. The effect of gender on authentic behavior is partially mediated by self-esteem and by NSA. However, a strong effect persists even when both of those variables are included in the models. The same pattern is observed for the instrumental subscale. Women's greater authenticity on the congeniality subscale is mediated by NSA.

6.7.4 Socioeconomic Status (SES)

Hypothesis: Respondent's SES, as measured by education, will have both a direct and an indirect effect on authentic behavior through NSA. Higher levels of SES will be associated with lower NSA scores and higher levels of authentic behavior.

Finding: Educational level was not a predictor of authenticity scores on the summary scale or subscales in any model. Educational level was a predictor of need

for social approval only when self-esteem is included in the model. In that case, higher levels of education are associated with a greater need for social approval.

Hypothesis: SES origins will have both a direct and an indirect effect on authentic behavior through NSA. Higher levels of SES origin will be associated with lower NSA scores and higher levels of authentic behavior. The effects of SES origins on NSA and authentic behavior operate primarily by influencing respondent's SES.

Finding: Parental education was not a significant predictor of authentic behavior. Parental education (father's education) predicts respondent's education.

6.7.5 Marital Status

Hypothesis: Marital status will have both a direct and an indirect effect on authentic behavior through NSA. Married individuals will have a lower need for social approval and higher reported authentic behavior than unmarried individuals.

Finding: Marital status (being currently married relative to currently unmarried) was not significant in any of the models examined. However, being divorced was a predictor of NSA when self-esteem was not included in the model.

6.7.6 Need for Social Approval (NSA)

Hypothesis: Need for social approval will have a direct effect on authentic behavior. Individuals higher in need for social approval will report lower authentic behavior levels than individuals scoring lower in need for social approval.

Finding: This hypothesis was highly supported in all models. NSA is a powerful predictor of authenticity such that higher levels of NSA predict lower levels of authentic behavior.

Table 6.13 provides a visual display of the quantitative study findings. A ↑ denotes higher scores among that group, and a ↓ denotes lower scores among the group listed.

Table 6.13 Summary of Findings (N=194)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Scale			
Authenticity: Congeniality	Male↓ White↓ ---	Male↓ White↓ Self-Esteem↑	n/s n/s Self-Esteem↑ NSA↓
Authenticity: Instrumental	Age ↑ Male↓ White↓ --- ---	Age↑ Male↓ n/s Self-Esteem ---	Age↑ Male↓ n/s Self-Esteem NSA↓
Authenticity: Integrity	NONE	Self-Esteem↑ ---	n/s NSA↓
Authenticity: Summary	Age↑ ³ Male↓ White↓ ---	n/s Male↓ n/s Self-Esteem↑ ---	n/s Male↓ n/s Self-Esteem↑ NSA↓
NSA	Age↑ White↑ n/s ---	n/s n/s Education ↑ Self-Esteem↑	---

³ Continuous age was only marginally significant. However, a dichotomous form of age was examined and was statistically significant in this model.

7. Qualitative Results

“I prefer to be true to myself, even at the hazard of incurring the ridicule of others, rather than to be false, and to incur my own abhorrence.”

–Frederick Douglass

7.1 Analysis of Qualitative Data

Although the statistical analyses identify group differences in authentic behavior, statistical data will not adequately display the subtleties of views toward authentic behavior and its social costs along the lines of social structural position. The qualitative data allow me to look at the domains of life experiences that affect authenticity. In order to present a more complete picture of experiences of authenticity, interviews were conducted which provide rich contextual data about individual experiences of authenticity. These data have been grouped by themes, and trends highlighted. Verbatim passages are used to illustrate the quantitative findings and qualitative trends¹. The examples selected illustrate the most common themes from the interviews.

As previously described, the constant comparison method is a means to generate grounded theory. This method begins with the identification of raw data bits. The researcher then forms an initial category set which is used to preliminarily classify data points. This initial category set is then refined in multiple iterations and produces a final category array. Coding in this method serves as a way to identify and differentiate passages of text which relate to a certain topic or theme. The constant comparison method can begin in the process of data collection. For

¹ My comments and utterances that do not contribute substantively (i.e. Un huh, Yes, Right, Okay) have been removed for ease of reading. My substantive comments have been included in parentheses.

example, I began to notice the relevance of the topic of religion as I conducted interviews. Thus, I expanded my questions to address that concept, as appropriate. This type of refinement permeates the constant comparison method in both data collection and data analysis.

The qualitative interviews provided a nuanced story of experiences of authenticity, and suggest that different things inhibit and facilitate authenticity for different groups. Although there is a strong sense of respect for authenticity and pride in behaving that way, individuals also recognize that there are times when authenticity would be too costly- be it in the workplace or in a valued relationship.

7.1.1 Familiarity of Construct

I began the interviews by asking respondents if they had heard the expression “be true to yourself.” All respondents reported that they had heard the expression, but there was significant variation reported in what individuals perceived the expression to mean, with one individual indicating that he did not know what it meant. The responses to this question clustered into two themes: a sense that being true to oneself means living life with a level of honesty and integrity (n=14) and a sense that being true to oneself means knowing who you are (n=5).

For example, an older Black man with low authenticity² felt that being true to oneself means living with honesty and integrity:

Well, I think it means being an honest person. There are a lot of people who say one thing and do something else. I have a feeling, I believe in this thing,

² Respondent age is presented as younger or older denoting whether the respondent was part of the younger age group (25-44) or the older age group (63-81). Authenticity is presented and classified as low or high according to whether the individual’s inclusion as an interviewee was as a representative of high authenticity or low authenticity.

there is a destiny that makes us brothers. None goes his way alone. Whatever you send into others comes into your very own. And I believe that if I cheat somebody or do them wrong, uh, that I believe in the truth of that statement. It'll come back to me.

This idea of integrity was also alluded to in the responses of individuals who focused on knowing who you are. For example, an older White woman with low authenticity stated:

That's a difficult one because first before you can be true to yourself you have to know who you are. And that's a first set and that's a hard one. Often we fudge who we are so much that we really don't know. But I guess don't do things just because you think somebody else is watching you and will judge you by what you're doing.

One individual whose response did not fall neatly into either of these thematic groups indicated that being true to oneself means doing what makes you happy.

Most respondents (n=14) reported that the saying is personally meaningful and highlight how it has been useful in their lives. One respondent, an older White man with low authenticity described it like this:

Well I've always lived by that. As well as the golden rule. But I expect to be truthful to myself and it has helped me in my work. Working, of course I've been retired now ten years. But, and it helps in just everyday life.

Yet, five respondents reported that the statement is not personally meaningful, highlighting that they either don't understand what it means or don't think about it or find it relevant. Two other respondents (both younger Black women with low authenticity) stated that although they find the statement compelling it is not personally meaningful because it is not their lived reality.

7.1.2 Meaning

After discussing the expression “be true to oneself” and its personal meaning with respondents, respondents were asked to describe their sense of what it means to “be yourself.” The majority of responses for this question were coded under the heading of honest, defined as a sense that being true to yourself meant having a sense of integrity in your actions. Male and female participants gave this definition in fairly equal proportions. An example of an ‘honesty,’ response comes from an older White man with high authenticity who said: “To be honest and forthright, sometimes brutally blunt, frank, uh, and to do the best I can.” There was also a sense of freedom that permeated these ‘be honest’ responses. Interestingly this sense of freedom was not restricted to one age group. Respondents from both age groups appeared to have recognize that the ability to be oneself was freedom. For example, a younger White woman with high authenticity said “...A lot of freedom I’d say. Freedom and independence is probably my primary mode of being myself.” An older White woman with low authenticity echoed this sentiment: “...to do the things that I would like to do and think I should do and, might, might be two different things. So do the things that I get enjoyment from and like doing.” Perhaps an age difference emerges when we evaluate whether or not individuals can in fact act on the urge to experience this freedom. Other less frequent response categories included a sense of being able to live with oneself, a sense of morality, and a sense of consistency.

7.1.3 Time of Day

Although many respondents reported that the time of day made no difference in the extent to which they felt most free to be themselves, other respondents reported a sense of inhibition at certain times of day with specific environments. That is, about a quarter of respondents say that the home environment is a place of freedom where they can behave without pretense or fear of judgment. For some individuals, the presence of family is what makes home comforting. For example, a younger Black woman with low authenticity stated “At home with my daughter. When it’s just us we can do whatever we want, and if she wants to jump on the bed I’ll jump on the bed with her or any little thing. I, I guess the biggest thing is I can be a kid again.” Yet, for other respondents, such as a younger White woman with low authenticity, the value of being at home lies in the absence of others. For this woman, home is freeing “Because there’s nobody else around [laughing], I guess.”

Only a small minority of respondents described work and the employment setting as a place of freedom to be oneself. In terms of time of day, there was a sentiment of greater ease of being oneself in the morning. This response was generated exclusively by older adult participants. These responses included a spiritual/religious aspect, as well as a sense that the morning is a quiet reflective time in which the individual can approach the day with a fresh perspective, free of wanting or striving.

7.1.4 Life Course Approach

This research assumes that the self is not static, but rather is a changing evolving being. In this spirit, I asked participants when in their lives they felt most true to themselves. Through this question I hoped to assess variations in level of authenticity that were related to both social time and life time. Particularly, I was curious whether social transitions (i.e. marriage, children, and retirement) were precursors to authenticity, or if it was life time, and accumulated experiences, or lack of experience that bestow the ability to behave in a way that feels true to oneself.

The responses to this question were almost evenly split between a sense that older age facilitates authentic behavior (n=7), and that younger age facilitates authentic behavior (n=6), with the remainder of respondents indicating a sense of being most authentic in middle age (n=4), or that age doesn't matter, it is curvilinear, or no answer (n=5). However, what is most interesting about these competing perspectives is their relationship to respondent's ages. That is, only one of the responses indicating that younger ages facilitate authentic behavior came from an older adult. By and large, the older adults felt that it was as they aged that they were most free to be themselves. Yet, the younger adult respondents who are approaching middle age and do not have the perspective of the older adults reported a sense of authenticity and freedom that is tied to youth and pre-adulthood. This is cited as one of the glories of childhood- freedom from expectation and the ability to just be who one is. With some circularity, this reflects the sentiment of older adults who view

their older years (post-adulthood) with the same sense of enchantment and magic which is identified by the younger adults as the trademark of childhood.

In addition to the freedom of childhood and older adulthood, respondents highlighted other features of life that facilitated the ability to be authentic. Some themes that were repeatedly mentioned included freedom from the expectations of others, wisdom and perspective, and engagement in other-focused activities in which individuals were distracted from self-focus. Social variables such as spiritual/religious involvement and getting married were also highlighted as transition points facilitating the ability to behave in a way that felt true to one self.

With a sense of when respondents felt most able to be true to themselves, the interview turned to exploring whether younger and older adults agreed about whether getting older makes it easier or harder to be one's true self. Interestingly, there was a shared sense among both age groups that growing older facilitates the ability to behave more authentically, and acknowledgement of the potentially curvilinear nature of this relationship—i.e., that authenticity peaks at the earliest and latest portions of the life course. This shared expectation is becoming socially normative and may reflect the efforts of positive aging groups like the Red Hat Club and Elder Wisdom Circle to highlight authenticity as an advantage of aging. I also asked a number of respondents whether they thought their views about aging and the ability to be true to one's self were true for most people. The individuals who were asked this question varied in their opinions. One concurred, and the other two cited

insecurity and obligation as obstacles to the ability to be true to oneself, despite increasing age.

7.1.5 Times of Challenge

All but one respondent was able to recall times when it was difficult to be true to oneself. The times that people recalled as being difficult to be true to oneself were largely connected to social institutions. Those that received frequent mention included interactions with family, the business world, the military, and with the church and religious institutions. An example of reference to church comes from an older Black man with low authenticity who, when asked about times when it was difficult to be his true self, stated:

In the church sometimes, even now. You know sometimes it does, there are, there are philosophies, well, I consider myself a Christian, but there are philosophies, there are challenges that I see in the Bible, there are sometimes when I would be somewhat reluctant to say what it is. In fact, I enjoy my Sunday school teacher very much and so, I take a central stand. But uh, I enjoy her so much because she is the same kind of way, just she will, you know, she will simply say, you know, I'm not going to give all my stuff to somebody poor, and you know, I do feel that some of the time, I'm not following what the Lord says, you know, a true, true Christian.

This response displays a sense of conflict between the demands of the social institution, in this situation the church, and the feelings of the individual. Although this man was able to feel some comfort because his thoughts aligned with the teacher, there was still a sense of discordance with the dogma of the church.

The work environment was cited as another venue in which individuals experience difficulty being their true selves. This may be especially true of younger

individuals who are just starting out in employment environments. One younger

White woman with high authenticity states:

I suppose the main times it's difficult to be my true self would be when I'm having an argument with someone since I'm in a very male dominated lab and how women get angry. You raise our voice but for a woman if you raise your voice you, they think you're you know going nuts. And so I have to not do what I really want to do to stay totally rational so they'll actually listen to me. That's yeah. Being angry is the main time when I guess I'm not being true to myself. I have to act the way they would want me to act.

This quotation displays a sense of having to actively inhibit oneself from saying what one would like to say. In this example the interviewee's sense of gender role expectations had a strong role in determining her behavior. She had a clear sense that to be strategic in that environment she needed to actively engage in impression management. Another work-related example comes from an older Black woman with low authenticity. She states, "...at one time I was in supervision work. I didn't like it because there was some things in being your true self that you wasn't suppose to do. You're supposed to be a different type of person in that position and I didn't like it and that was hard." Again, this woman implies a sense that the job made demands of her that were at odds with her sense of her true self. If we take her gender into account, we may wonder whether she had an underlying sense of gender role expectations which colored her expectations: while she may have had one schema for a supervisor, she may have had a competing schema for women's behavior.

Family was also mentioned as a factor that can make it more difficult to be one's true self. An older White woman with low authenticity remembered the

following time: “Yes, with my parents. You know when they became completely dependent on me.” Her experience of changing role expectations felt like it limited her ability to be her true self.

In a follow-up question to asking people if they could remember times when it was difficult to be true to oneself, I also asked interviewees who could remember such times **what** it was about those times that made being true to oneself difficult. A variety of factors were identified (code names in italics): *impress*- a desire to impress other people, *raised*- Sense that the way one was raised is attributable for current views/beliefs/behaviors, *image*- A desire to uphold a certain portrayal of oneself, which can be a belief that if you act/perform particular mannerisms all the time those will become representations of your true self, *obligations*- social roles or obligations, specifically for career which affect ability to be one’s true self, *spiritual/religious*- the idea that being spiritual or religious contributes in some way how one defines one’s sense of true self, *relationships*- the idea that relationships with others affect ability to be one’s true self, and *right thing*- a sense that being true to oneself can be equated with doing the objectively right thing. Individuals also mentioned companions, emotions and feelings, and age as factors that made it difficult to be true to oneself.

The need to impress people is similar, if not synonymous, with the need for social approval, and was highlighted as a factor which could guide behavior. When asked about what made it difficult to be true to oneself, a younger White woman with low authenticity stated, “I guess I always felt the need to impress people and be like

whatever quote unquote perfect. Whatever perfect is.” This sentiment of wanting to please others can prevent individuals from behaving in ways that match how they feel.

One interviewee attributed her difficulty in being herself to a desire for congeniality, which she attributed to how she was raised. This younger White woman with high authenticity stated, “In past relationships I tended to sort of lose my sense of self because I was concentrating on the other person so much. And then when I was younger I have pretty much, I had a strict home life where my father more than anything was the ‘you can’t do this, you can’t do that’ and that kind of thing so yeah.” This sense that our background and how we are raised pervasively affects our ability to behave in an authentic fashion came through in another response. An older Black woman with high authenticity said:

Okay. I came from a working class background...My father worked.....My mother slaved in... And I say slaved because they lived, they worked under the worst kinds of conditions... This is the background I came from. But my mother always impressed upon us the importance of getting an education....I’m the only one that got a doctoral degree... But when I was in grade school I guess I remember most vividly and in high school I felt a little, a bit insecure because the, the students whose parents were teachers or doctors or lawyers or something etc. I felt that they were somehow better than I was because they, they were more privileged than I was. And I always felt it was important for me to be on my Ps and Qs and you know so that I could measure up and be as good as they were and that may have carried over into my early adult years. But after a while I think I caught up with them [laughing]...We were all working on professional jobs and so it became easier and easier for me to be myself...But it was sort of like being free from what I had had to, that I felt that I had had to do before that time.

Social institutions, such as the army were also cited, specifically by men, as creating situations in which these men experienced obligations which made it difficult for them to be true to themselves. One older White man with lower

authenticity stated, “Everything was structured, and you had to do what they said. You had to do a lot of things that you didn’t particularly want to do.” Another older White man with high authenticity felt similar pressure: “It was during the Korean War. Actually, it was taking bodies to parents, and well, it’s a tough thing. I still get choked up about it.” College was also named as a factor making it difficult to be true to oneself. One older White woman with low authenticity reports a sense of needing to meet the expectations of professors. She said, “I really didn’t have time to think what do I really feel about this? I read what I was told to read and took examinations on that and found with a lot of professors that if you input your own ideas it didn’t work too well. You had to kind of give them back what they fed you. Not all of them but a good many of them.”

7.1.6 Religion and Spirituality

The topics of religion and spirituality were not originally included in my authenticity interview, but they spontaneously emerged and I integrated them into later interviews. Questions about religion and spirituality were asked primarily after questions about the effects of age on the ability to be one’s true self. I asked respondents if they had any religious or spiritual practices and how these practices affect their view of the self. Respondents generally reported that their religious practices influenced their sense of self. This response profile persisted across age groups, and often invoked mention of the way in which the individual was raised. That is, for people raised in religious families, or who had parents who were religious figures, there was a belief that the sense of self reflected that background.

7.1.7 Feeling

Following discussion of the times when it was more difficult or easier to be true to oneself, I asked interviewees how they felt in those moments when they were being true to themselves and felt authentic, and when they felt unable to be authentic. All twenty one respondents were asked how they felt when they were being their true self, and how being their true self affected their mood. Unanimously, all respondents reported that being true to oneself feels good. Of course, interviewees spoke about this in different ways. Words used to describe this feeling include: serenity, comfort, happy, relaxed, at ease, confident, outgoing, bitchier (in the context she meant sassier), glad to be alive, content, normal, and uplifted.

One interviewee, an older Black man with low authenticity, articulated the feelings very clearly stating that it affects him “One hundred percent probably. When I’m being my true self, I feel good, you know, you just, that’s it. It feels good. When I don’t feel that I’m my true self, I feel bad. Really, it’s just two opposites, really. That’s all I can say.” Another interviewee, an older White man with high authenticity says that it feels normal: “Probably if I said normal to you, you wouldn’t know what I was talking about [laughter]. Um, probably a cheerful side, not a sad side.” Some interviewees also felt that being authentic has positive consequences. A younger White man with lower authenticity shared this sentiment: “Well I’m much happier you know. Things work out better in the long run when you are.”

An interesting feeling that elicited in times of authenticity was guilt. At least two interviewees spoke about guilt. Both reported that authenticity made them feel

good, but for one individual this was freedom from guilt, and for the other this was guilt-producing. Freedom from guilt was identified by an older Black woman with high authenticity who stated, “I relax more when I’m being my true self. You know. I don’t have any, you know how you feel guilty about when you do something that’s not your true self.” In contrast to this, an older White woman with low authenticity describes a sense of guilt, saying she feels: “Pretty good most of the time. Sometimes I feel a little guilty, perhaps. Um, when I’m thinking of me first, like I have a friend right now who used to live in my building, and she no longer could afford to live there... not demands, but the feelings that I need to do more, but I know that if I do, I will be involved in the situation....” Perhaps the differing feelings about guilt can be partially explained by the women’s different levels of authenticity. For the first woman, who scored high on authenticity, authenticity is more a way of life and is freeing. For the second woman, authenticity is seen as a behavioral choice, and one in which you are putting your needs above the needs of others.

Other interviewees were cognizant of the level of self-awareness required to be able to describe how it feels when one is being true to oneself. An older White woman with high authenticity stated:

But you see, you would think, I mean that question almost implies that a person goes around thinking am I being my true self. (Uh huh. Well correct me. If you don’t like my questions or if you think that there’s a different way to see it. Tell me. That’s what I need to know.) Well, I mean, I to be, it would be maybe there are times when, even at this age when I think oh I should have spoken up. I should have said such and such and I let it slide. But I’m thinking that and thought I have to admit those, those occasions have come up but I, I want to kick myself but life goes on you know. I haven’t done, I haven’t acted upon it. I just remained silent when I should have spoken and that’s, that’s not good. Yes. (And that doesn’t feel good). No that doesn’t feel good. (So how does it feel when you speak up when you

know you should have. So when you really like you're just doing what's right being yourself.) You mean when I find that I just have to say something? (Uh huh) Then I try to weigh my words. It's the way you say something. And my first impulse is to say oh for goodness sakes. That's my attitude. To think about it and then approach it very tactfully and that's what I like to think I'm going to do and not just blurt out something. But I feel better once I said what I think I should say.

Following up the question about how it feels to be authentic, I asked interviewees how it feels when they are not being their true self. All twenty-one respondents unanimously reported a sense that not being one's true self feels bad. Many respondents described a sense of discomfort that occurs when behaving in a way that does not feel genuine. The terms stuffy, cramped, confined, stiff, and restricted were used to describe this discomfort and it was viewed as a difficult and stressful experience. Other respondents touched more on the moral aspects of this feeling, noting a sense of being conscious-stricken and nervous and experiencing guilt and regret. One respondent reported feeling resentful on such occasions. Men and women described the emotions of this experience differently with men referring to themselves as agitated and mad, and women as frustrated and depressed.

Being inauthentic was described as having a physiological impact, described by one respondent as making him physically sick, nauseous and another as making her cranky. A younger White woman with high authenticity describes the demands of the situation in this way: "It's more difficult. Maybe more stressful. Because that's not the way you want to act. So you have to keep track of what you should be doing instead of what you want to do..." A younger White man with low authenticity feels this social pressure too: "Well it feels pretty stiff. Pretty you know I feel like

I'm watching myself from the outside making sure that I'm not you know revealing too much you know and I feel very cautious and kind of weary.”

7.1.8 Chosen vs. Required Impression Management

I next asked questions designed to differentiate the experiences of choosing not to reveal oneself versus times when one felt unable to reveal themselves. Sixteen of the respondents indicated that they had experienced a time when they elected not to reveal their true self. These respondents mentioned two primary motives: (1) wanting to protect other people and their feelings and (2) trying to satisfy the demands of their occupation and strategically negotiate interactions with co-workers. These sixteen respondents were then asked to give specific examples of these incidents as well as describe how they felt at that time.

Of these sixteen responses, the majority (n=7) described situations in which being inauthentic (although chosen) still felt bad. For example, an older White man with low authenticity said the following:

Yeah I mean. Yeah I mean there have been occasions when I have, I have refrained from exposing my true feelings. And just kept my mouth shut. But that's very rare. Now that I'm as old as I am and finally I can speak what I say what I have to say. And but, but there have been occasions when I, I just you know, suppressed my true feelings and. (How did it feel?) Very uncomfortable. And, and, and times I have reflected on it, after the fact, you know. Should I have done that. Should I have, should I have kept my mouth shut. But I can assure you that that's seldom.

Another older adult, an older Black woman with high authenticity, also mentioned the influence of age: “Oh yes. Well I used to, I used to choose not to, choose not to be my true self [laughing] I, I, I recall hiding hurt feelings and unhappy feelings because I, somehow I always found it was important to have, to put on a

happy face. No matter what else is going. I feel you should have a happy face but I don't have to put it on. It's just there [laughing]. But, I recall having, I recall hiding hurt feelings and insecure feelings..." Although age is noted as a freeing force for that older respondent, this younger White woman with high authenticity feels like she still has to engage in face work, and describes it as: "Exhausting [laughing]. I'm not an extravert most definitely not, and it's very tiring but if I didn't do that I wouldn't meet anybody..." Regardless of age, the feeling of choosing not to reveal oneself can be uncomfortable.

Although most respondents felt that being inauthentic, even if it self-selected, feels bad, others said that this experience can feel good. Four respondents felt that choosing not to reveal one's true self could be beneficial and positive. Interestingly, three of these four respondents were women. Their responses may represent an example of the greater pressure on women to engage in self-protective impression management. For example, a younger Black woman with low authenticity says,

...I remember when I first started dating my husband now. I was a bit withdrawn. As far as trying, as, I was trying to reserve something for me and not let everything come out at the beginning...you go on then you get to know and you reveal one thing that you think might be something that is a headturner or a turnoff or and they accept it and digest it and it went okay. Then you feel like okay. I can come out with one other thing. (Uh huh. So it's sort of self protective.) Correct.

A younger White woman with high authenticity described the feeling as one of relief: "Well if you take that situation [at jobs] then it would probably be relief because then you don't have to if you chose not to, didn't have to get into anything deeper than you originally had planned. But in other situations I guess it would

depend. There's, there's a scale there of wide variation of situations that could affect." Another woman who spoke about this, an older White woman with high authenticity also spoke about the feelings in a strategic and positive light:

This is my thought on reveal yourself to other people. Never reveal your whole self to anybody, maybe your spouse if you live with them long enough you know, say I don't understand you but I can predict you. But so you, they you know one another. But my dear friends I tell you I show certain things to this one, certain things to that one. I never, I don't just let it all hang out to one person. (Uh huh. So, you, are you very conscious of that or?) That's a life long habit so I don't have to be conscious any more about it. I'm very careful about how much I reveal about myself. That's a word to the wise too. (Noted. And how do you feel those times when you're choosing not to reveal all of yourself?) I feel smart. (Okay). In control.

Two of the respondents felt that choosing not to reveal their true self had no effect on their mood and three did not provide a definitive answer. The responses of the two respondents who stated that inauthentic behavior does not affect their feelings and mood were quite different. One, a younger Black woman with low authenticity, said that when she chooses not to reveal her true self "I do kind of feel like I'm being fake but I think if I let them know how I really am then they might think I'm crazy or too, too happy." Although not explicitly stated, this response implies that the respondent may choose inauthenticity out of fear of the social response if she revealed her true self. A different and perhaps more benign perspective is offered by an older White man with low authenticity. Consider this discussion of his occupation:

(Wow, so for your occupation it required you to not reveal your true self.) That's right, yeah. (You had to put on your salesman face to do what you needed to do in business). That's right, yeah. (Huh, how did that feel at work each day?) It worked, [laughter]. You have to do what you have to do. I started out in accounting, and ended up, which I enjoyed very much, and ended up in management and then in sales, and you just sorta do what you

have to do. Nothin' wrong, I mean...illegal, immoral, or fattening about it, just [laughter]. Just your career path takes you into places you probably wouldn't have chosen when you were twenty years old. (And do you think there were any costs to you from doing that, from doing that job those years?) Well, it was hard work. (Any costs to you?) Well, no. I'm fairly easy-going. I didn't get any ulcers, anything like that.

I also assessed other themes that came up in these descriptions. Notably, the ideas of congeniality and self-gain were mentioned repeatedly as motivations for choosing not to reveal the true self. The influence of maintaining an image and fulfilling obligations also emerged in respondents stories about times when they chose not to reveal their true self.

Five of the twenty-one respondents were unable to recall a time when they chose not to reveal their true selves. Of these five, three were straightforward responses of no (with one respondent saying that it had likely happened but was just not coming to mind), and two were cases in which the respondents offered additional information. Of those two latter respondents, both seem to come from a place of personal power in which the individuals described a sense of not experiencing the tension of the situation, or an urge to impression manage. One, an older White man with high authenticity stated, "Well, I don't think I've ever been in a position where I'd need to reveal or not reveal my true self if I didn't want to. But normally, I don't give a you know what." Another, a younger White man with low authenticity said, "No. I am one of those people that really you know I would just as soon be myself. I wouldn't fake if I didn't have to. I know that's not typical."

Recollections of choosing not to reveal one's true self and feeling like one could not reveal one's true self were equally common. As described above, sixteen

individuals recalled times when they chose not to reveal their true selves, with five individuals reporting that they could not recall such times. When asked about times when one felt that he or she could not reveal one's true self, sixteen respondents recalled such times. Two individuals could not recall either experience. Both were older White men, but one was classified with high authenticity and the other with low authenticity.

Of the five respondents who could not recall times when they felt that they could not reveal their true self, three of these five individuals gave fairly straightforward denials, although one of them noted that there was likely such a time. The older adult who said he could not recall but it likely occurred, is not the older adult who could not remember the details of choosing not to reveal one's true self. Finally, one of the respondents who indicated he could not recall a time when he felt unable to reveal their true self replied no, stating that he had given up on pleasing others.

The individuals who reported that they had experienced times when they felt that they could not display their true selves largely reported that the experience felt uncomfortable. For this younger White woman with low authenticity the experience is one of sadness: "It's frustrating and I guess sad and (Like what is sad about it?) Just the fact that I don't feel like I can be open and honest with people that I consider close friends." For another individual, a younger White woman with high authenticity, this frustration takes the form of anger rather than sadness:

Well I'm obviously angry so frustrated anyway but also it's just, it's hard to act in a way that I don't want to act. To try to keep my voice down because raising it in any way sounds hysterical to the guy. That's very frustrating. And yet I usually just leave because it's not going to work and so it just doesn't work. It doesn't help my boss to know either. (So you develop strategies.) Yeah.

One respondent felt that the experience of feeling unable to express her true self could itself be positive and a form of self-enhancement. This older woman with low authenticity said: "...I have three daughters, raising them and being around grandchildren. I want to be what I want them to think I am. So I don't feel that I can reveal too much... And incidentally I had the feeling that if you continuously project an image of other than who you might think you really are, you become that person..." I then asked her how upholding that image of herself feels, to which she replied, "It depends on what kind of image I project... It feels right to try to be to them what I think they want to have out of a grandmother."

Congeniality was described as a motivating force for why at least one respondent felt that he could not reveal his true self. An older Black man with low authenticity described a time when he just couldn't be his true self:

Well, yes, you see, uh, as I vaguely stated, just interaction in the world, basically, uh, well, you ought to be able to say to people, you are a terrible person. But you can't. Uh, I've got a son, and I've got four grandchildren, naturally there've been times when I've wanted to be physical with my son. You didn't do what I told you to do, so I'll knock your brains out. In other words, I used to have parents come in my office, and had one man to come in there and he said, "She did?... you know. I told you not to do anything," and he snatched off this building. He tore my office up, He was trying to whip that boy, and knocked everything off my office and everything. Well, uh, I might've felt like doing my child that way. I might have felt like when I had some big burly boy come to me and say, you know, you better not put your hand on me. Well, if I had had the strength, 'cause I needed to know that all it would do would be exacerbate the problem, so I had to just bear back off of him and let him know that he won. You know because you can't you know, not just talking about the school, but in everyday life. If you run

into situations, where uh, even at my church, um, there are times when I can't say to people the things that I wish I could say to them. I don't want them to be unhappy, I don't want them to be mad, but you know, it's just one of those things.

Another work-related example was provided by a younger White man with low authenticity who gave the following example of a situation in which he felt like he couldn't be his true self:

Well, I worked in film and television for a number of years and most of those folks are from California and they have some very particular way of thinking about things you know. They clickish as well and so I'm a little more tell it like it is and I'm from the south so you know, we in the south for some reason seem to accept some things that's just a part of life you know and so I definitely didn't share all of my opinions you know. I mean I wouldn't necessarily express any you know agreement per se but you know, strangely enough some of those people can be more narrow minded than you know a fundamentalist preacher, you know. Believe it or not you know you can be militantly vegetarian or whatever you know it's just so, you know, you just have to go with the flow you know. I mean there's I, I'm very tolerant of, of all kinds of ideals so I could just you know work, work with them without having any of these, you know if they want to go on a tirade about something you know, I just you know, okay, yeah I can see what you're saying. You know I don't have to you know confront that or you know. I don't know if that's exactly what you're asking about as far as being your true self you know.

Two other respondents provided work-related examples of times when they felt they could not be their true selves in order to maintain or advance their status. in that environment. Financial influences, work obligations, relationships were also repeatedly cited as influencing respondents' inability to reveal their true selves. .

7.1.9 Present Day Experiences

Respondents were then asked about their present day experiences of authenticity and inauthenticity. I asked respondents if there were things that prevented them from being true to themselves now, and if yes, what those things are. Nine of the twenty-one respondents reported that no, there were not things that

prevented them from being true to themselves now, whereas twelve respondents reported that they were. The individuals who did not name barriers are fairly equally composed of older (n=6) and younger (n=6) adults, men (n=5), and women (n=4), Whites (n=5) and Blacks, (n=4), and individuals of high (n=5) and low (n=4) authenticity. However, the characteristics of the respondents who said that there are things that prevent them from being true to themselves now are less evenly distributed. First, the twelve participants who indicated that there are things that keep them being true to themselves now are disproportionately women (n=8), and older (n=9), with low levels of authenticity (n=7). The direction of the authenticity results is what we would expect: a higher number of high authenticity individuals among those who said that there are not things that prevent them from being true to themselves now, and a higher number of low authenticity individuals among participants who reported that there are things that prevent them from being true to themselves now.

Individuals in both group--those who felt inhibited and those who felt free to be authentic--reported many influences on their behavior. Of the influences mentioned, relationships received the most mentions, followed by image, and obligations. Respondents who spoke about the influence of relationships unanimously reported that relationships inhibit their ability to be their true self. Three of the five mentions of relationships came from older men. These responses pertained particularly to relationships with close kin, such as spouses and children, in

which negotiation and flexibility are key. A younger Black woman with low authenticity said:

Yes. Marriage and being mom a mother keeps that from happening completely. ..Well I mean yes the person that you're married to, at least in my case my husband. I can talk to him about anything. However I feel that sometimes the things that I, I've opened up with and, and shared with him has changed his perception and his view. And in that instance it kind, I think it kind of gets those wheels turning and they start thinking hum I wonder if they just read to much into it so when, what you're say is this all there is to it you don't have to go any further. And so I think you do even in your marriage you have to reserve something. I like, for instance I'll give you an example. Now that I've, I've gained 40 pounds being married I find that you know I'm not as active as I use to be and, and so forth and, and I have joint pain now and you know just, and I share, if I share that with my husband it's like man you're getting old. And they feel like I'm not married to the young bride person that I use to be married to. And with sharing that too many times I think it kind of numbs them to your situation over time. And so therefore when it comes up it's like you don't get as much sympathy and catering to or help as you would normally get had you kept some of those instance just within yourself... yes I do feel the need to you know withhold who I really, or the some of my feelings and the feelings are a part.

Another participant, an older Black woman with high authenticity, spoke about her relationship with her husband:

Well there are very few times that I'm not true to myself now. But I guess one of them might be if I'm angry with my husband or something like that or may not necessarily want him to know I'm angry with him. I may just not say anything or just go somewhere else and not deal with or just not do anything about it or. Or he may bring something. My husband is an avid shopper. He loves to shop. And sometimes, he, he shops for me a lot. Sometimes he brings home things that are really nice and sometimes he brings some things that oh really. But of course I would not say oh really. I say oh thank you for being so kind. I guess the only time that I cannot be my, when I think about it the times that I may not really be my true self is when I feel that being my true self may cause someone else to feel bad or to, to be unhappy, to be uncomfortable. And I just think it's important to, to look out for people who that you're around and that you mingle with, interact with.

Finally, an older White man with low authenticity also spoke about negotiations with family:

I don't know. [laughter] I pretty well do what I want to do now. I mean there are financial considerations, things like that that get in the way of what you want to do, and my interaction with my spouse, compromises and so forth... Comes up every day [laughter]. Want go out to eat, don't want to eat, do this and don't want to do that. And uh, buy something, uh, think what thing to buy, all those little things that happen every day.

Relationships with colleagues may also strain one's ability to fully express one's true self. An older White man with high authenticity sees it like this:

But anyway, there's members of the board, and understanding, that all the board of directors is volunteers, and there's some of them that want to be on there just so they have their name on the board of directors, put it on their resume if they're still putting one out, and there's others that are truly interested in trying to improve the area and taking care of things that need to be taken care of. And some of the ones just don't seem to come forward. They'll say they'll do something, won't do it, so somebody's gotta pick up the slack, usually myself or a couple of other people, and it annoys them. They get in the group, they talk about what they've done, what they haven't done, and it makes me, [laughter] boil inside a bit. (So, so does that get in the way of you being your true self then, the way they are?) My true self cannot tell them, look them right in the eye, and say you didn't do that. You said you'd be here Saturday, where were you? (So making people accountable.) Yeah.

In terms of the feelings invoked by present day experiences, only one respondent spontaneously touched on this, stating that feeling fake feels bad. This individual, a younger White woman with low authenticity who feels inhibited from being her true self now, spoke about a lifelong history of having a need to compare her self with others, and feeling the need to put up a front to keep up with others.

In regard to the motivations that emerged in the quantitative research, the need to engage in impression management for purposes of congeniality was most commonly invoked. For one respondent, an older White woman with high authenticity, the ability to be able to engage in impression management has been subsumed as part of the true self. She said:

Yes [laughing] it's all there. I don't really suppose there is. Because there again I say there are circumstances where you, you back off of a little bit. Because of not wanting a confrontation or something, but at the same time that backing off is a part of being true to yourself.

7.1.10 Costs and Benefits

Being authentic has both costs and benefits. To assess respondents sense of the costs and benefits of authentic and inauthentic behavior, they were asked times when they were their true self and the results weren't totally positive as well as times when they were their true self and it had positive results. Eighteen of the twenty-one respondents recalled times when being their true self yielded negative results. Alternately, twenty respondents recalled times when authentic behavior yielded positive effects, only one respondent could not recount such a time. Responses to these questions also invoked the importance of considering what is meant by effects—be it effects on the individual actor or effects on others or their environments.

Situations in which individuals revealed their true selves and had negative outcomes varied widely. Respondents spoke about relationships with spouses, with children, and work colleagues. The scenarios they detailed ranged from banal moments to crucial life decisions. The best way to illustrate this range of responses is to share some of their stories. Other participants spoke about experiences of revealing their true selves at work, with less than positive results. One younger Black woman with low authenticity described a moment when she spoke her mind

and had negative consequences. She recounted the following humorous but potentially consequential story:

Hum. Yes. Oh yes. [laughing] Oh yes. I will never forget this one. I use to be a catering manager and I did social events for the Marriot. And this bride, this bride and her mom and family came in and we got very, I got very involved because I'm, I'm, I'm just that type of person is that I like to deal with my customers as though you know they're family and friends. And I got very involved with their organizing and she came in and she wanted to try on her dress for me and do all this stuff and I said oh sure and she asked me my opinion, I mean and I was honest and said you know. She says your face looks, I said you like it and she said you don't like it. I'm like, I don't think it's appropriate for your body style, you know, your body type. And you know she was like no you didn't just say that. But you asked me my, and so for me being my self and I had been that way from day one. I just felt okay. And you know she wanted to cancel her wedding. She wanted to cancel me doing her wedding at the Marriot because of that comment. (Wow. How did it turn out? I'm just curious.) Well, she, I, I let her out of her contract and she from my understanding, from she ended up going to another resort...She ended up spilling out of her dress.

Another work story came from a younger Black woman with low authenticity:

I know it's something. Well I could use talking to a lady at work and usually when people upset me I'll walk off and not say anything and keep it all in. But I just had so much that, at that time period and I kind of snapped at her. And that's what I usually, that's what I do at home and then we kind of, there was a little friction there... Yeah, well, that's, that's been about three months ago and I think we're finally getting over it. So, yeah we had a little, well a lot of friction between us [laughing] but and we, she kind of learned that I, I'm not always this, this, a push over.

Yet another work example comes from an older White man with low authenticity who recounted having results that weren't positive: "A lot of times in sales when I was my true self, and I still didn't get the job, maybe because of the lack of personality or a whole lot of other reasons." An older White woman with low authenticity spoke about a work dilemma intersecting with a family dilemma:

Yeah, I had one incident, uh. I worked in research, cancer research, and I had an opportunity through the grant to go to Australia to an international

congress, and my mother was very bad, and I really was torn between going and not going, and all my friends or a lot of my friends we'll go every day to the nursing and we'll you know look after your parents. Now my brother had retired, and there was no reason in the world he could not come. He had retired, but he was part-time, he was physician, and he could have come, and I told them that I had this chance, but I, because we would be gone 4 weeks, and would they come, at least for one week.. And they said which week, and I said any week, maybe in the middle of it, whenever you can come. And the chaplain of the hospital was working with us on our grant, and I don't know if you know Wes, and he said, "XXX, look, your parents know me very well, look, and I'll go over there, not every day, but almost every day, and I'll be in touch with your brother if anything happens." I hated to put a responsibility like that for four weeks. And I knew my brother and sister-in-law were coming. They didn't come. Wes and my coworker went every day, one or the other, for four weeks. When I got back, now I went because that's when I was being myself, I had that opportunity, and I wanted to go, even though my mother was very bad at this point, and I didn't know if she would still remember me when I got back, which she did. I was very angry, and my brother said, "I never told you we were coming" when I got back, and I let him know that my sister-in-law "oh yes you did tell her" and I felt like saying to her, "why didn't you say let's go" or "we're going this week" but she would not cross him. He was a very, he was like my mother, very strong-willed, so it was, I went even though I was afraid that it would happen just the way it happened.

Other respondents spoke about personal relationships- from dating to marriage. A younger White woman with high authenticity said this of a time when revealing her true self did not yield entirely positive results:

Well, I suppose when you're dating and someone doesn't call you back. Obviously they didn't like your true self and I guess that. (Assuming you exposed it). Yeah. Which, which I do. I, I act the way I would normally act. I don't make up an act for anybody. And so maybe I didn't get as many dates that way and that sucked at that time but obviously in the long run I think that was the better way to go.

Another participant spoke about the very personal issue of a spouse's extramarital affair. An older Black woman with high authenticity recalled this memory:

Well yes. This is a very, this is, this is a very personal situation though, but my husband had a mistress early on in our marriage. And I found out about it. So I was my true self with that situation. I mean I really, I acted really, really, really bad. [laughing] And the results were not so positive because I did give in about it. And something I would not do again. Because and at the same situation confronted me now I just be on my way. I'd send him packing on his way. But at that time I didn't understand. I didn't really understand what was important. But I do now. So that's something he and I, I really wouldn't like to share that with a lot of folk but [laughing] but it is. And, and I can't think of other times that. (Well there's no, there's no way to identify you this is anonymous.) There just a lot of, I mean there, I mean I just can't think of times when, when I just, I can't think of a lot times when I was just myself regardless of how it might affect other people. (What.) Because I've always been conscious of that. (Yeah.) Uh huh. (I think what's, what's notable about the example you gave is that was a situation where there's probably so much emotion.) Yeah. (Involved....)

Another family related example comes from an older White woman with high authenticity. Her story was this:

Sure. My, my husband, it was a great marriage until, we were married young had four children. Wonderful children I might say. And things were great for about seven or eight years. (How old were you when you got married?). I was, well I was nineteen, well I was eighteen, but I was nineteen in about three days. (Okay.) And he was a brilliant man from a very fine family. And I was a good wife. I know that. But after about eight years something shifted in his psyche or something and he became very difficult. And it was really hard but I, but I loved him you know. And I treated him very well because I wanted to. One day he came home and said that I love you but I'm leaving. And I said what have I done. He said nothing, I'm very proud of you. And I said well what your doing is wrong. And he said...it's something I have to do. And when I said, when he said I love you. I said well you know love is an act. I said you could sit in a corner and say I love you all day and it wouldn't do me really any more good than if you sat there and said I hate you because love is what you do not just what you say. And he said well you'll have to get a divorce because I don't have any, any grounds. And he, he packed and was gone now. (Within how long?) Well from when he came home that day within a half an hour you know. Until maybe, but what had happened before that I said there were many years of difficulty and I just always thought it was going to get better you know and I know he did love me and it never occurred to me not to love my husband. No matter how he behaved. You know. This was something you did. And although the kids had even come to me and asked me to leave him I said no it will be alright you know... But anyway the thing of it is, the thing of it is he did us a favor and I, I, I realized that I had to not be angry. I would see other people who were divorced and their lives would be so bitter and I thought well that's affecting your kids and that is not bothering him in the least. He's out having

a good time and you're here eating yourself up. Didn't make sense you know. Doesn't mean that I agree with what he did but it has to be right for both of you or it's not right for either... We made it and I've had to show my kids, I thought, I don't know what life is going to deal them but you have to show them that no matter what it is you'll be alright. You'd be a winner. And I asked them, they're old now too, my kids are old... I asked them a couple of years ago individually I said you know... were you ever concerned that I wouldn't be able to take care of you. Every one of them said never occurred to me [laughing] (And you did a good job I think.) So I was so glad. I was so glad to hear that.

Relationships with children were mentioned by an older Black man with low authenticity as a situation in which he revealed his true self and the results weren't totally positive. He says:

Well, I'd have to think about raising my own child and the grandchildren. I've tried to set an example for my son and for those grandchildren, but um, they don't seem to have used me as a role model to some extent. My son, uh, my wife and I were divorced, he grew up in a broken home... And so he grew up with the uh, I don't care what you say, I'm going to do what I want to do. And that brings on a lot of warped values, and even though I tried to do the best I could by him, for example, I'd wake up every morning and cook his breakfast... I'd fix his breakfast for him, and I'd sit there and say go on now and eat your breakfast, and I'd go in the bathroom, but he'd hide from me, he wasn't going to eat the breakfast. I'd be trying to do something good, and I'd be looking in a drawer for something to service something, and here'd been two slices of bacon and scrambled eggs in the doggone bureau drawer, so who'd ever think of something like that?...

Relationships with friends can also be strained when an individual elects to reveal the true self. A younger White man with low authenticity shared his experience:

Yes. Everybody says things you know they're like why did I say that you know I mean and I am a blunter. You know I'm very, I'm very much in touch with who I am as a person you know I mean I'm a kind of a introspective person and so you know I, I totally will say things you know sometimes without thinking and you asking about what kind of result did that create. I, yeah, umm, I example I went with a friend to a church this weekend and I just could not help but say that preacher stood for just about everything that scared me about the future of our country... at breakfast after I expressed you know and they were like well you're going to come back or

anything like that. Well to be honest with you I don't want to hurt your feelings but you know I have to tell you the truth so that was just very recent too. (Oh how did they respond to you?) It wasn't very good. It wasn't very good at all. Because I think you know your church you take it pretty personally. It's like a whole set of ideals about who I am as a person and where I fit in the world and I was basically saying that this guy's dangerous. ...I, I know I shouldn't have said it but I cared about that person so I said exactly what was on my mind and I think it's going to work out for the best in the end because it looks like you know they were saying well you know where would you like to go to church and so there may be you know, may I mean for a while there though there they were very you know kind of hurt about it you know so. Is that enough?

Another participant, a younger White woman with low authenticity spoke about adolescence as a time when she revealed her true self and the results were not totally positive. She described her favoring sports over shopping, and feeling that her interest in sports and exercise, which has continued, is still part of her true self. This sense that our true self can shape our behavior to consequence also came through in the response of a younger White woman with high authenticity who described her experience that being authentic may cause one to act in a more bold, perhaps too bold way, saying: "But have being my true self in some ways takes you off on a course that is more exuberant than you intended it to be in the first place." This course may be positive or negative.

All three respondents who said that they had not had the experience of revealing the true self and experiencing results that were not totally positive were older males.

The benefits of revealing the true self were experienced by twenty respondents. The sole individual who reported not having this experience was an older White man with high authenticity, who reported dissatisfaction with

relationships in his life and described a history of limited interpersonal connection. Of the twenty respondents who had positive experiences, the contexts described were the same as those mentioned for experiences of negative results. Relationships with family and friends, and work experiences were cited frequently as domains in which individuals experienced positive effects as a result of being their true selves. In addition to receiving mention as a domain in which individuals can reveal their true self, relationship formation was cited as a precursor to the ability to reveal the true self. An older White woman with high authenticity summarized her experiences like this: “Well once I got my feet back on the ground after all those adolescence [laughing] Yes it was. Yeah, I, I was my true self in my marriage, I’m, my marriage worked...” An older Black man with high authenticity relayed a story with a similar sentiment: “Oh boy. Well yeah, when I got married I guess. I figured yeah this is it. And I was true. I think that was the real me coming out there. That’s been that way ever since so...”

Another participant, a younger White woman with high authenticity related a story in which she was uninhibited, with positive results. She said:

Well I like to be impulsive and I like to travel a lot and my, my husband who was just my boyfriend at the time had heard about something on the radio when we were living in Seattle. And he had heard about a trip that we could take on United to Hong Kong and it was a really cheap deal. Five days and, and he’s like let’s go and he was sort of mostly kidding and didn’t think I would really say yes. But I love to travel and, and, and I’ve been to Europe a couple of times and I was like let’s do it. He, he, at that point we were new to the relationship. At this point it probably put a damper on it but then he was like really. And he was sort of bowled over and he went along with it so we went...

Another positive story came from a younger White woman with high authenticity who said that times when revealing her true self had positive effects was in attracting her spouse (being married) as well as in pursuing her career. She said “Just told them the way I was and I, when I got accepted obviously that worked [laughing].”

In addition to relationships with romantic partners and spouses, relationships with children received mention. Relating to children was cited by a younger Black woman with low authenticity as a time when she could reveal her true self and experience positive effects. She said: “Yeah my daughter loves me [laughing]. She says I’m the best ever just because I, I play with her and if she wants to do something silly I will do it...” This woman found that she could let go of the need to please or impress others when relating to her daughter. That context of unconditional love and lack of judgment freed her to just be.

Respondents also spoke about displaying their true selves with friends and at work. An older White man with low authenticity said: “Well, yeah. When I was selling, you know, I built a reputation of being the man who would get the job done and at a fair price, and it was right, and that was sorta my true self, and it worked out fine for years.” Another work example comes from a younger Black woman with low authenticity who said: “Yes. In the, in the job that I’m in now. You know I, you get in customers that are requesting for me to you know them to fall under me because I’m just me...I mean they come to me and they say you know we like your style and you’re, you’re upfront and you’re honest.”

This idea that revealing the true self could be beneficial in business was mentioned by a number of respondents, and one spoke about the serendipitous effects of revealing the true self. A younger White man with low authenticity told the following story:

All the time you know I think I'm you know a really funny open person. One time I got a job this is how I really got my foot in the door in the film and television industry. I had a rolodex I kept all my phone numbers in and a lot of time there'd be just totally full to where I just couldn't sit any more. It was one of these big ones you know. It was full of people and I would go through it and find phone numbers that I couldn't recognize and didn't have anything written and I would just call these people and say who are you and why are you in my rolodex you know and I got this one guy and we compared notes. We had never met. We had all the very much common friends. It was really amazing that we had never met. We got to talking about things and having a nice time and then eventually just through the course of the conversation it turned out that I had dated a girl that had lived in that house with him you know for a brief period of time and that was how I had that phone number and but then through the course of conversation you know I had mentioned that I had just gotten out of school in electronics and he said well wow do you need a job and I'm like yeah. And he said well I work for film rental house and I need to go to California to work but I promised my boss I would find him somebody good you know. And so why don't you come in and talk to Bruce and see and so you know I mean so just being my authentic self with this guy you know just checking got me a job you know working in the rental house so.

Religious and spiritual aspects emerged in some of the responses, particularly in relating how it felt in those times when one could reveal one's true self and experience positive effects. An older Black woman with low authenticity recounted a moment of crisis in which she was her true self in seeking religious healing. An older White woman with low authenticity said that she displays her true self when she plays an instrument at church. Interestingly when she spoke about the positive effects, she mentioned that she is told by others that it has positive effects. This idea of revealing the true self and being praised by others suggests that revealing your true

self, when that the true self is well-liked, can be a source of social approval. This raises the idea that sometimes revealing our true selves will make us more liked, and sometimes less liked. This sentiment also emerged in the response of an older Black man with low authenticity who suggests the importance of considering what is meant by positive effect. His response suggests that when we ask if the effects are positive we must specify positive for whom. He said, “Well, I, I guess, I guess, the difficulty of the first question was that I always that when I have, when I am my true self, it’s positive, for my, well it may not be positive for the person or whatever that I’m dealing with, but for myself, when I’m being my true self, it’s positive.”

Arguably, it is more difficult, and perhaps more consequential, to reveal the true self in those contexts or domains in which such revelation will not be well-received. One participant, an older White woman with high authenticity spoke about our interview time as one in which she revealed her true self and had positive effects in that she was enjoying the interview process. Another participant, an older White woman with low authenticity, felt that the incident that she had described as an example of when revealing her true self to negative results is also an experience of her true self having positive effects. She said: “Well, that same incident. I was myself, I had a ball, I thoroughly enjoyed it, uh, I got to see Australia where I’d always wanted ‘cause I had friends there, and they took time off and took us everywhere, so I was myself, I had a ball, and it was very positive.”

7.1.11 The Influence of Others

Can people tell when we are not being authentic? To explore this question, respondents were asked if they thought that other people could tell when they were not being their true selves. Seventeen of the twenty-one respondents answered affirmatively. Three respondents believed that people cannot tell when they are being inauthentic, and one respondent was coded as “no answer” for a response of “I hope not....” Of the seventeen individuals who felt that others could tell, responses emphasized the idea of giveaways that reveal that one is being inauthentic, as well as the idea that only those who are closest to us can tell when we are not being our true selves.

Discussion of behaviors, gestures, mannerisms, and giveaways of the true self were mentioned in a number of responses. The idea that “...people can tell when you’re ill at ease or when you’re not in your comfort zone...” was the giveaway for an older White man with low authenticity. An older Black man with high authenticity felt that his being less talkative would be a giveaway, while an older White man with high authenticity felt that his face and clamming up would give him away. An older Black man with low authenticity said people could tell by his behavior: “Oh I’m sure, they, if they see me out there drunk and if they see me doing something uh, well I think people would know now if they don’t see me in church every Sunday. That’s not my true self. I’m going to go to church every Sunday I can get somebody to carry me.” An older White man with high authenticity thought that people would know because, stated simply: “People ain’t dumb. People can see through people.” What

is interesting to notice is that all of these responses that speak explicitly about giveaways come from older males.

Other participants mentioned that they thought others could sense their authenticity because this is something they can sense about others. An older White man with low authenticity said "...I just would imagine that they can, I can, I can tell when somebody else is not being their true self." A similar sentiment was conveyed by an older Black woman with low authenticity: "Because I can, you can tell most times when somebody's not really being their true selves."

Some study participants put qualifiers on the idea that others could tell when they are being authentic and specified that this was primarily true within close relationships. An older White woman with high authenticity described that her children can sense when she is not speaking her mind. Another participant, an older White woman with low authenticity spoke about one particular close relationship, and the loss of that relationship, which was likely more difficult because of the integrity of the relationship. She said:

I had one friend, who has since died, who did. We were very close, um, but she was very astute, and when we were living, she was here working at Duke, and we were living together. She could tell immediately, although I never knew it, uh, trying to think of one example, where I knew that she knew that I was not being myself, but we really very attuned to each other, and even when she took another job in South Carolina, we still were very very much tuned into each other. Um, and it was very hard when she died recently.

A younger White woman with low authenticity felt that her close friends could tell because "I guess it's just because they know me a long time and or they just see more of my true self than other people have so." A younger Black woman

with low authenticity echoed this sentiment saying, “I think only the people that are closest to me who have known me the longest. But otherwise they, people wouldn’t know.” A younger White woman with high authenticity specified that her male colleagues could not tell, but her husband could. However, she specified that it is with her colleagues and not her husband, that she would be displaying an inauthentic self. One male respondent, an older Black man with high authenticity felt that only his three close friends could tell when he was being inauthentic.

Another younger White woman with high authenticity spoke about both relationships and skills. She said:

Only people close to me. I can fake pretty well. (How do you think that the people close to you can tell?) Because I’m more reserved and I cuss less. [laughing] I have a potty mouth. That’s for sure. But my husband does too. And I say less of things that I think or I, I’m not a subtle person so I would say that, that I am more subtle when I am on a leash so to speak. (Uh huh. So what are your techniques you use to fake?) [laughing] I’m incredibly polite. It made waiting tables very good. In social situations I mean. Incredibly polite and just stand smiling happy and you know talk about the weather kind of thing. Keep it to a light topical conversation.

This idea of skills also emerged in the response of an older Black woman with high authenticity. She felt that people could sometimes, but not always, tell when she was not being her true self. She said: “It depends, it depends on how good you are at it [laughing]... when I was striving to impress people I don’t think they really knew. They may have. But I don’t think they did [laughing].”

What is so immediately compelling about responses to this question was the very clear gender divide in responses. Men spoke about behavioral cues and gestures that gave them away, and women focused on the idea that only people in close relationships could tell. For male respondents, the contingency of relationship was

not as relevant as it was for women. Women also largely focused on the effects of relationships, particularly relationships with a long history. Only one man provided a response that focused on relationships.

All three participants who felt that others could not tell when they were being inauthentic were Black. Their responses were largely straightforward reports that other people cannot tell. The most extensive of the three was from an older Black man with low authenticity who attributed the fact that others cannot tell to the idea of: “I hold too much in. You know, I guess I’m wanting that the outward appearance, an okay thing for whoever I’m telling with. So I do hold a lot of stuff in, that’s the reason I think I’m not being my true self sometimes.”

Although it was not one of the original interview questions, it quickly became apparent that it would be useful to ask interview participants if they thought that they could tell when others were not being their true selves. Nineteen of the twenty-one participants were asked this question. Thirteen participants reported that they can tell when others are being inauthentic, and six participants reported that they could not. Of the thirteen participants who reported that they could tell when others were being inauthentic, people gave responses that evoked either the contingency of closeness of the relationship or the idea of giveaways.

Before exploring those themes further, several respondents reported a sense of not caring or being unaffected by whether or not other people are being authentic. An older White man with low authenticity was not bothered by this for interactions, but

believed that these individuals were doing themselves a disservice. When asked if he could tell if other people were being inauthentic he replied:

Well if I know their background or have been around them before and, and you need to be, you need to know the person, the individual. And I just, we have friends that, I consider them friends and not these faux friends but friends that I can tell when they're not being truly honest and themselves. It's just something you, you know. Like I said if you know their background and all and you can see that they're, they're not being honest with themselves.

An older Black man with high authenticity reported in a more straightforward way that he just does not care when other people are being inauthentic. He said:

“Well to be very candid I don't worry about that too much because people do play games. And so I just accept them at face value and move on and it works...”

A younger White man with low authenticity feels that he can recognize and is sensitive to inauthenticity when he observes it. When asked if he could tell, he said:

Yes. I'm very empathetic. I pay attention to details. (So how can you tell if someone's being inauthentic?) Well you know I cut them some slack. It's just you know I can kind of feel their desire to have some face. You know you sort of feel a need you know. I sense, I'm really good sensing people's needs. Whatever, you know I can't explain it exactly but if I feel that they, if I feel the conversation that they need something they are not getting or that they're you know, maybe they're afraid you know. I, I, tend to you know. There's no kind of specific body thing it's more of a you know emotional sort of thing. Emotional release. (And how can, how can other people tell when you're not being true?) I don't know. I can't tell. I never got away with anything when I was a kid, nothing, nothing. So I know, I know that people can tell somehow.

Note that all of the responses about being unaffected or unconcerned with whether an individual is revealing the true self came from men.

A number of respondents spoke about how they could tell when someone was not being authentic. When asked if she could tell, a younger Black woman with low authenticity said: “I think I can but then in some people I would think they aren't

being their true self but they really are because that's who they, that's who they are. But, I think, the majority of people I think I can...Just, there's one lady and she's a sweet lady but it's the way she talks I don't think that's how she talks at home [laughing]..." Although that respondent spoke about an intuitive sense that the woman's presentation was not the same across contexts an older Black man with high authenticity said spontaneously at an earlier point in the interview- not for this question about being phony: "... I hate these women that wear all these wigs just to you know try to look good and stuff. I mean be real, you know. Don't, don't be phony. I mean guys said oh man she looks great and come to find out she's got this, pull off that hair and she got these you know and she got that..." Later in the interview in response to the question about being able to tell when other people are being inauthentic he said he could tell "Just by what they're saying. You know, you know a little bit different then you go hum. You know where's this person coming from."

An older Black woman with high authenticity said she could tell through interaction: "Well actually if you're in a conversation with them a short while. Something will be revealed in the relationship. You know. And you could always tell if you're, you're open to this. You can tell when people are using you to a certain extent...But I can tell sometimes by the, you know, the mannerisms they use. Remember I worked for the Internal Revenue Service for a number of years..." She went on to tell the story of a dishonest person she worked with: "...But any way I

kind of got a feeling that he was not what he said. So you get to know people. You get to know whether they're honest or not....”

An older Black woman with low authenticity said she could tell: “It’s like a discernment, you know. It’s shown to you that this person is not really what he think or trying to portray.” An older Black man with low authenticity said that he could tell to some extent, but at other times could be tricked by people who appeared friendly. He recounted the following story: “To some extent. Uh, there are some people who the ability to walk up to you with a smile on their face. I take the smile as a image of acceptance and goodwill and friendliness, but I’ve known people, for example the people who build this house for me, they always had a smile on their face and everything, but they were two of the biggest crooks that ever lived...so they were not being their true selves whatever the image the projected.” This sense of being cheated or tricked was mentioned by a number of Black participants, who likely were exposed to more of such situations as a result of their skin color.

An older White man with high authenticity said he could spot someone who was being inauthentic by their voice. He went on to tell the story of a friend who had been blinded in the war who “was always true to himself” and who “could tell by voice, how people were feeling, whether people were lying to him.” The respondent felt that this was “a great piece of advice.”

Other respondents focused on the idea that they could sense performances of inauthenticity only with their closest friends and family. For example, a younger Black woman with low authenticity specified that she could tell with “not just people

in general. If it's a person that I have a, have had interaction with or that I you know I consider them as associate. Then and I hear them talk to someone else when they were just talking to me about something. I can tell that they're being, that they were either, they were being fake with me. And you know they're being more real to that, with that person..." A younger White woman with low authenticity said that she could tell with some people: "I mean like friends or whatever. And most the time I would say it's when we're in social situations but strangers or people you don't know to well and you know. I guess everybody tries to put on a good face for first impressions but..." A younger White woman with high authenticity said: "I guess it kind of depends. I can kind of tell when someone is like you know pretending to be polite. Like you know when the management of my apartment complex is just trying to make me happy so that I will go away. And they aren't planning on doing on doing anything I want them to do [laughing]. But I can't really think of many instances when knew that someone was acting in the way that was different than the way they really are..."

Distinguishing authenticity was noted by many women to be much easier with individuals who they have known for some time. An older White woman with high authenticity conveyed a sense of long relationships, and felt that an individual's past behavior could serve as yardstick by which to measure his or her current authenticity. An older White woman with low authenticity specified that she could tell only with close family. "Not unless it's somebody really close to maybe my daughters." A younger White woman with high authenticity said that she couldn't tell "Not on first

meetings generally but if it's people that we've met several times you can get a bit of an idea that there's an undercurrent, tension or something..."

As in the earlier question about how others could know if respondents were not portraying their true selves, response to this question about one's ability to tell if others are not being their true selves clustered around the idea of giveaways, and the type of relationships involved. Interestingly, relationships were mentioned more by women than men-- as in the previous question. Of the four individuals who responded that they could not tell when other individuals were being inauthentic, three were older adults who scored higher on the authenticity measure. Three of these four responses clustered on a theme (a trust), and the other response was general and did not give a reason or explanation. The responses that were thematically similar came from individuals with higher authenticity. It appears that people with higher authenticity have a trust in other people that renders them unable to tell when other people are being inauthentic. Perhaps these individuals are so committed to their own authenticity that they cannot imagine a situation in which others would feel the need to or would choose to behave inauthentically.

The three thematically similar responses shared similar sentiment. In one, an older Black woman with high authenticity said she could not tell "No. I don't think so because it never occurs to me really to delve into it. You know to analyze and see if they're being their selves. I hope they are. But if they are not I don't know about it [laughing]. Another, from an older White man with high authenticity attributed his inability to identify inauthentic performances of others to his own gullibility: "No,

I think I'm gullible and naïve ninety percent of the time, but maybe I just don't have the self confidence that I need, but I don't try to put on a false face because I believe most people can read people. I might be wrong, but I believe that." Those sentiments were similar to that of an older White woman with high authenticity who said "Because I'm pretty trusting. No. I don't think I can always tell. I usually believe people."

Considerably later in the interview, as the second to last question, I asked respondents whether they thought that the idea of being true to oneself was important to others. Although this question was asked much later in the interview, the results are here because they pertain to respondent's sense of the influence of others: both how others shape their behavior, and how they conceptualize others' perceptions of authenticity. There was not universal agreement that people value the concept of authenticity. Eleven of the twenty one participants felt that the concept was important to others, two respondents felt it was not, two respondents provided answers that were not conclusive, and six respondents gave answers with contingencies and conveyed a sense of 'it depends.' To understand this further, respondents were asked to elaborate on why they did or did not feel that the idea is important to others.

The eleven respondents who felt that the idea is important to others presented a variety of different reasons for their beliefs. For many, authenticity was believed to have social value. Reasons for this ranged from the idea that people like authenticity and integrity, to a sense that being authentic makes people feel good. One respondent

suggested that like-minded people associate with one another. Another respondent conveyed an optimistic sense of wanting others to value authenticity.

Many respondents felt that other people think about authenticity because they value integrity. The frequency and tone of these responses is significant because they suggest that authenticity, being one's self, can be a socially desirable attribute. This is contrary to the literature that suggests a universal demand for impression management behaviors. An older Black man with low authenticity says this simply: "I, you know, uh, you like to see that real person. And I have friends like that you know, Johnny, for instance, he's going to say what he feels, regardless, you know, of how it makes others feel, and he is as I am, you know." A similar sentiment comes from an older White man with low authenticity: "I'm still defining being true to oneself as following your conscience and the values that are ingrained into you, and I think everybody wants to do that." A younger White woman with high authenticity feels the same way. As she says: "Yes. Probably because people, people want to think that they're getting the genuine article in their interactions and sort of have a some of them having authentic directions versus something that's based on fake front..." but also felt that knowing how to fake it when necessary was a learned and strategic skill.

An older Black man with high authenticity feels that being authentic makes people better: "Oh I really don't know but I think that, that it make them a better person to be true to themselves. And just like you try to be true to yourself. And I think that's, that's what everybody should kind of strive for..." An older White man

with low authenticity values authenticity because it makes you dependable: “That people can depend on you and if you’re your true self and they know you’re your true self then they know they can depend on you...” Similarly, an older Black woman with low authenticity said:

Because they seem, well some people, let’s say some people say that for some reason this lady’s always happy or smiling. Why is she happy and smiling all the time. Because I’m trying to be my true self. I’m not trying to be someone else. That would probably be it in a nut shell for me. (So you think that other people think about the idea of being true to themselves?) Maybe. And just well, I’ll just start by saying anyone likes over the years we, we’re older but there’s a lot of young couples. Like to associate with us because they say I want to be just like you all when I grow up. I said well honey you have to work at it. It don’t just happen. And that type of thing and your friends. Oh, they just don’t understand us because we seem to be happy and satisfied all the time. Most of the time. Let’s put most of the time not all the time. (Yeah. We’ve all got our moments.) Yeah we do have our moments. But I think that’s one the reasons.

The idea that people who value authenticity like to associate with others that value authenticity was mentioned by an older White man with high authenticity. He said: “Well, the few friends I have, have a philosophy about like me. They don’t care either. They are themselves...” Other respondents conveyed a sense that upbringing influences the extent to which authenticity is valued. An older White woman with low authenticity said: “... I think it varies maybe by upbringing and personality. And your personality is very much influenced by your upbringing. It’s not something you’re born with. It to a, to a complete extent. It is somewhat but in your genes but you’re really influenced by your upbringing.”

An older Black man with high authenticity had optimism in his answer, and a sense that he would like others to be authentic. He said: “It’s because I would, that’s the way I would want them to react to me, he is being true to me. So, I would hope

that they would be, they would be true to me as I would be true to them. ...you want to give people the benefit of the doubt. I'm also, a, a, a, person who, an optimist. You know always thinking the best of. And, and I find that that works. And then some people who, who, who look for the negative in others. But, that's not my approach. And it works."

The two individuals that were coded as saying no were both younger adults who shared a sense of pessimism about people. One, a younger Black woman with low authenticity said it like this: "Because I think we live in this pretty overall selfish society and everybody is really you know just worried about their own life. And what they're going to do and how they're going to make their own life better..." The other, a younger White man with low authenticity said he does not think other people value it "Because it's not a survival skill per se. I think that being able to be what you know a given moment calls for is a survival skill, you know I think you know that being everything to everyone is a, a way of you know influencing people and getting you know politicians are a perfect example..."

Respondents who were coded cannot conclude, both older adults, provided responses that were very interesting, but did not provide a clear answer about whether authenticity is relevant to others. One, an older Black man with low authenticity said: "Well, I think if a man is a vicious character, it's better for him to let people know that for example, since the world has now done away with the business of separate but equal, there are some people who uh, masquerade their true feelings and there are some who don't. For example, uh, if I know a person really rejects the idea

of intermingling with people, then uh, you know, at least I know where they stand. Uh, I would, you know, but if a person is masquerading, you don't know, and you might make some mistakes that had you known that, you wouldn't have made the mistake.” The other, an older White woman with high authenticity said: “I never thought about that. I just you know when I meet somebody and what they project I just figure it's them you know [laughing].”

The six individuals who said it depends, a group composed equally of older and younger adults conveyed a sense of contingency. Specifically they felt that it may be important to some people but not others. Overall, the themes in response to the questions emphasize the ideas that being true to oneself feels good, that older age facilitates authenticity, that relationships and how one was raised influence authenticity, and that integrity and self-gain can sometimes be competing motivations for human behavior.

7.1.12 Company

To explore whether individuals value the ability to be their true selves equally across all contexts and with all people, I asked respondents two questions: (1) Are there situations or people with whom you really seek to be your true self, and (2) Are there situations or people with whom it doesn't matter as much if you are being your true self?

The large majority of respondents reported that they are truer with family, close friends, and other closer relationships (n=15). The responses of individuals who named family and friends were similar and conveyed a desire for family and

friends to know who one really is. A sense of the shared history of family and friends seemed to fuel this desire. A number of respondents specifically noted that it was important to them to convey their true self with their children.

Some respondents alluded to the motivations or background for this desire. An older Black man with high authenticity attributed it to a need for reciprocity: “Yeah, there’ve been, especially with my friends. People who I trust, you know and depend on. And I, I, see that it’s imperative to be my true self. Because I am depending on them to be honest and candid with me.” An older White man with low authenticity conveyed a similar sentiment: “My family. They know what to expect from, I know what to expect from them. There are some surprises along the way.” An older White woman with low authenticity wants to be able to be her true self to maintain peace in her marital relationship. She said: “Yeah. Well, I, I guess I do. I’m constantly trying to argue with my husband that that’s not what I meant or what I meant to say and you’re misconstruing what I’m saying [laughing], so I really would like him to know who I really am rather than, rather than trying to oppose who he thinks I am want what I’m saying or what I’m doing.”

Other respondents did not report situations or people with whom it was more important to be authentic. These six respondents, all older adults, reported that they are the same with everyone. For these individuals, not being selectively authentic was a mark of integrity. It is notable that they are all older adults. An older White man with low authenticity said: “No. No more. I’ll be my true self with you just as much as I would be with my closest friend. (Okay.) I just always try to be that way.”

An older Black man with low authenticity said: “With everybody, really...”

Similarly, an older White man with high authenticity said: “well, no. I’m myself with about everyone I come in contact with, this day and time. I don’t on no front with no one anymore.” It’s interesting that a number of these older adults’ responses convey a sense that they used to be more selective but have arrived at an age or time when they are consistently themselves.

One of these older adults, an older Black woman with high authenticity said that she is the same with everyone, but also, in the next question revealed that she is freer to be her true self with family because they don’t judge her for it. She took my question about it not mattering to mean that it would be free of judgment, not that it would be unimportant to her.

When asked whether there are situations or people with whom being one’s true self does not matter as much, respondents clustered into two groups: those who said that it is not as important around stranger and acquaintances and those who said they are the same with everyone. Respondents in the former category conveyed a sense of different functions for their behavior. For a number of respondents, authenticity does not matter with acquaintances and strangers because they are not invested in those relationships. According to an older White man with high authenticity: “Well, like you go to meetings, stockholder meetings, things like that, you’re meeting for the first time. I could care less whether they like me, dislike me, or, um, 'cause I can turn around and walk away from them without any problem.” Similarly, an older White woman with low authenticity said: “Probably. Yeah, I

would have to be truthful and say yes I really don't care what they think of me. (Uh huh. Okay. And what, what people? Do you have a sense of who that might be or?) That's hard. Probably people whom I don't know very well and don't feel that I have to be in contact with them if I don't want to be."

For a younger Black woman with low authenticity the need to not be authentic with everyone serves a self-protective function. She says: "Well so see it's people that, that I, that are not, that are not in my immediate inner circle. I don't think it's you know that they have gained the, I don't want to say privileged because I don't feel I'm all the way up there but. That they, they get what they kind of get and, and if they survive that and want to you know explore more then. You know you let a little bit out at a time. I think revealing your, revealing who you are in the fullest, fullest sense it just, it opens you up for to many, to many options to be hurt by people or stabbed in the back I think..."

Other respondents spoke about self-protection, particularly in the business context. A younger White woman with high authenticity said: "I guess it would probably be with a job. I wouldn't want to be my true self as much since I know that with coworkers they generally aren't your best friends. They are generally more acquaintances. And so you want to show your confident self and all that..." An older Black woman with high authenticity felt this way about her business work: "...Because what I'm doing for them, I'm meeting their need. There's no need of getting into who I am and what I'm about except my qualifications to the work that they want me to do..."

For a younger Black woman with low authenticity, it is not important to be authentic outside the home, but home is a place of reprieve. She says: “At work. As long as I get my work done it, I don’t think it would matter...because I always know that when I go home I can kind of lighten up...”

Another group of respondents said that they are the same with everyone. These responses emphasized the idea that this is a matter of personal integrity. For example, an older Black man with high authenticity said: “Well I’m sure there are occasions, there are people that I don’t fall outside of my orbit. But, I, I try to be as, you know, when talk about integrity, I, I try to be who I am to everybody. Not putting on. Not, not anything, just I, being honest and fair to people. And it works.” An older White man with low authenticity said that company doesn’t matter: “To me, to me it really doesn’t. If that’s a lifestyle you live of being your true self. You don’t, you don’t do it through any particular individual. I do it for everybody.” Similarly, an older Black man with high authenticity said “No. Because I don’t like to you know lie about things. I like to be straightforward and say hey apples are apples and oranges are oranges you know.”

7.1.13 Importance of Authenticity

To gauge the importance of authenticity to interview participants I asked a closed question about the importance of being true to oneself in all one does. Specifically I asked how important this was: a little, somewhat, or a lot. Sixteen respondents reported a lot, two said somewhat and one said a little. Interestingly, all three participants who did not say ‘a lot’ are women with low authenticity. This

raises the question of why these women value authenticity to a lesser extent than other respondents.

Having established how important authenticity is to individuals overall, I asked questions tapping into the importance of authenticity in different domains of life. The domains addressed were relationships with family, work, and relationships with friends and acquaintances. For each domain, questions were asked about whether respondents would be their true selves (with family/at work/with friends) if it meant that those people would be disappointed and/or upset. Respondents were then asked in an open-ended fashion how important it is for them to be liked by others (with family/at work/with friends). Next, a hypothetical situation was posed in which individuals were asked how they would handle the situation, and how the context (family/work/friends) affected their decision. Finally, respondents were asked, with response choices of 'a little,' 'somewhat,' and 'a lot,' how important it is to them to be their true self if the relationships (with family/at work/with friends). This series of questions allowed me to assess whether individuals value authenticity in one context more than others, and also to assess how the need to be liked in a given situation may relate to the need to be authentic in that situation. Results for each section will be discussed separately. However, the overall trend for this portion of the interview suggests that authenticity is valued to the greatest extent in relationships with family and friends, and to a lesser extent in the work environment.

7.1.14 Authenticity with Family

Although authenticity with family is highly valued, respondents also stated that relationships with family sometimes inhibit them from revealing their true thoughts and feelings. A little more than half of the interviewees reported that they would reveal their true selves even if it meant that their families would be upset or disappointed. For these individuals (n=12), integrity was frequently mentioned. Integrity was a theme in the response of this younger White woman with high authenticity, who distinguished between immediate and extended family, and credited her strong self-esteem and relationship with her family as a force allowing her to be her true self. She said:

Well with my close, with my you know nuclear family my parents that really wouldn't come up. My parents pretty much support whatever I want to do. My dad sometimes is you know didn't you do something different then my mom will slap him and say no she gets to do what she wants. For my more extended family I could see where sometimes they wouldn't approve of what I'm doing but it doesn't make a difference. It's what I want to do. My extended family really doesn't understand why I'm getting a Ph.D. They have never. I'm the first generation to go to college and so that's the main thing. They are just quite confused about what, what any learning is. But I did what I wanted to do. My parents brought me up to do what I want and I don't know I guess I've never done anything so destructive they'd be worried about me...I know that I have a very high self esteem and it's really mainly from my parents that I really feel as if I can do what I want and they're going to support me no matter what I want to do.

An older White woman with high authenticity said she had previously revealed her true self to her family's dissent: "Because that was the honest thing to do. It was no, it wasn't necessarily easily done but didn't want to be living a lie you know..." This idea of honesty was also a theme in the response of a younger White woman with high authenticity who said: "Because I like to be straight out in the open

with them and, and it's more probably along the fact though that just by lying to be too much trouble...Besides I have too many family members. I have six brothers and sisters [laughing] and it just gets around..."

The idea that the loving nature of family creates a safe context in which to reveal the true self was expressed by a younger Black woman with low authenticity. She said: "For the most part but if I thought it was something really bad that would hurt our relationship I, either wouldn't say it or find a different way to say it. But for the most part I would. (Okay. And why?) Because they know me and they know I love them. So if it's something that I do or say that they don't agree with then we'll just talk about it."

Other respondents reported that they would not reveal their true self if it meant their families would be disappointed (n=8). For these individuals, the theme of congeniality and a desire to keep peace was a strong motivating force. These responses were often direct and brief, and were an immediate response to a seemingly absurd question. The responses have many similarities. An older White man with low authenticity said "That's, that's a hard question because I'm sure there's been times when I really wanted maybe to say something that I held back because it would have hurt some feelings or, yeah, I'm sure there's times like that." A younger Black woman with low authenticity said: "...But no not in, because I don't like hurting people's feeling. Especially when you talk about your family members. I mean there's some people in your family you can do it with and life goes on but there's some people in your family that it would just linger and it would affect your over all

relationship with that person and to me my measly little self and opinion I can toss that to the side to keep that from happening..”

Family roles were also named. An older White woman with low authenticity said: “As far as the family is concerned I guess the role peacemaker. Try to be, and something like that would not be peacemaking.” This sense of being someone who maintains the family peace was also mentioned by an older White man with low authenticity. He said: “Definitely not. I mean, well, it would depend on the situation, sometimes. (But why?) Well, because you want to please your family and have harmony in the family. And follow their goals are more than your own goals. So you try to do that, but sometimes it’s impossible.”

An older Black woman with high authenticity, speaking of both her family of origin and her current family said: “Probably not. Probably not because I value other’s feelings very much. I especially value my family’s feelings. What I will probably do. I would probably, if it was something I wanted to say or do and I thought might upset them I’d probably try to figure out a way to do it or say it them that wouldn’t upset them quite as much or explain to them why I was doing it or saying it so that they would understand.

The desire to not disappoint others was also a prominent reason for not revealing the true self in the context of family. A younger White woman with low authenticity said “If it would disappoint them I’d probably not be mentioned. (Why?) Because I don’t like to disappoint people.” An older Black man with low authenticity conveyed a similar sense: “I may not, if it would disappoint them, really.

(And why not?) I guess I'm wanting my family to be happy with me, what I do, and I imagine there would be some situations, that at this time we have grown children and all that now, but as kids and my kids, and there were times...I certainly quit smoking due to their feelings.”

It's not surprising that a sizeable portion of the respondents would not reveal their true selves if it meant that their family members would be disappointed in them because ten respondents said it is very important to be liked by family, seven categorized it as important, two respondents were fairly neutral, and two respondents conveyed a sense that it was not important at all. Not surprisingly, five out of the eight individuals who said they would not disappoint family reported that it was very important to them to feel liked by their families.

To gain a better understanding of how individuals might negotiate a situation with family, I posed a hypothetical vignette asking them how they would respond to being asked to attend a dinner party with a family member after having a very tiring day and not wanting to go out. Ten respondents said straightforwardly that they would go, five said that they would not, and others provided less straightforward responses. Of the respondents who said they would go, many conveyed a sense that they would try to make the event tolerable by reframing how they were thinking of it—i.e. they would try to make themselves think about it more positively, and see the bright side of it. Of those who said they would not go, a number noted that they would just be honest about the situation. Others, who said they would not go, stated

that they would manage to avoid the situation or manipulate things so that they just could not attend.

Interestingly, three of the five respondents who stated straightforwardly that they would not go also reported that they would be their true selves even if it meant that they would disappoint their family.

When asked if they would handle the situation differently if it were not a family member, but rather a friend or somebody from work, about half the respondents said they would behave similarly, and the other half said they would behave differently. The bulk of those who said they would handle it differently stated that they would feel less obligation if it were not a family member. Yet others said that they would be more likely to go if it were a friend/colleague because those relationships are voluntary and thus you need to push yourself more for them.

In closing the discussion of family, I asked respondents how important it is to them to be their true selves in relationships with family. I offered the responses of a 'little, 'somewhat,' or 'a lot.' Nineteen of the twenty one interviewees said 'a lot,' one person said 'somewhat,' and one individual was coded as a 'little' for his response that it was "not important at all".

7.1.15 Authenticity at Work

The majority of interviewees reported that they would reveal their true selves at work even if it meant upsetting their colleagues. These respondents offered a variety of reasons for this decision. For some respondents, the decision was one of personal integrity, or commitment to a work ethic and notion of doing the right thing.

Yet for others, the decision was more an issue of principle, and evaluation of the salience of the work situation. Interestingly, these examples were even more personal than family and friend examples, and so they have often been edited to preserve confidentiality.

Integrity was prominent in the response of an older Black man with high authenticity who said that he would be his true self at work, and that it had happened. He recounted a situation in which he was working in the political arena and took "...positions contra to the prevailing consensus of my colleagues. And I know it bothered them and I didn't mind..." He also recounted a story about challenging colleagues who proposed giving themselves a salary increase much higher than that being offered to employees. When I asked what accounted for his action, he said "I just didn't think it was fair."

Conscience and integrity were echoed by an older White man with low authenticity, who, although long retired said "I've done that yes." He explained, "I just felt, I just. I have a conscious. And I know I'm, again being my true self. You start with well am I normally my true self. I am. An sometimes that hurts I'm sure. It hurts me too. (How does it hurt you?) By having to be my true self when I know that it's going to maybe bother me financially or, or in my business relationships. I'm sure it's probably has. There's been times when being my true self has affected some part of my business relations." This example is notable because it clearly illustrates that revealing the true self may have costs, both theoretically and literally.

Work ethic was a theme in the response of a younger Black woman with low authenticity who said “...you’re not going to be able to please everyone. That’s a different arena of people. And so you deal with them eight, nine hours a day and then you’re done with them for the rest of the day... keeping my work ethic that’s a, that’s also a part of me...” Doing the right thing was important to an older Black woman with low authenticity who said “...I always try to do what I knew was right. If it bothered them, sorry.”

The principle of the situation was also important to a retired older White woman with high authenticity who said she would be her true self “Well if it was a principle that was at stake yes. Even if it upset them...” Protecting a principle and the importance if the issue were mentioned by a younger White woman with high authenticity who said: “If it was, if it was important enough yeah. If it was something that would cause enough discomfort to somebody to somebody and it wasn’t worth it then I, it would make the relationship too tension filled and I probably wouldn’t do it. But if it’s important enough I would.” When asked how she would determine if it’s worth it, she replied “Well I’d probably say if it affected my position enough... if it was something that had to do with the integrity of my work yes.”

A retired older Black woman with high authenticity also focused on the importance of the situation: “Well that would depend on, that would depend on the situation. Now I wouldn’t want to go around upsetting colleagues all the time. But, as when I chaired the department, sometimes there were people on my staff who were

upset with me but it was because of decisions that I felt were in the best interest of the department or the students, and so I tried to explain why it was necessary...”

Doing what one believes is right was also a theme in the response of an older White woman with low authenticity who recounted a story in which she bucked tradition on the job: “...Because in that situation I feel that it’s important for the to know who I, at least who I think I am.” The confidence required for such decisions was also reported by an older White man with high authenticity who described that he had always worked for himself, with a helper, and had the view that “...they could leave if they didn’t want to be around me.”

Four of the five respondents who reported that they would not reveal their true selves if it would upset their colleagues were younger individuals. They largely spoke about the desire to maintain congeniality in the workplace. Their responses may represent a lack of power that comes from longevity in career.

A younger Black woman with low authenticity said: “It would depend on the situation. If it strictly dealt with work. Well I probably wouldn’t. If it was going to upset somebody else I probably wouldn’t be my true self. Unless it was like something that I, I had a firm belief about.” She attributed this to a dislike of upsetting people, saying “And if it means you know making somebody angry or sad or whatever and or being fake. I’d rather be fake.” Similarly, a younger Black woman with low authenticity said she would not: “Just because I, I have it in my head that if I upset anybody then they can go tell or try to get me put out or something. So I don’t. Not really. No, not at all actually...” A younger White

woman with high authenticity expressed similar thoughts: "...There, there are times that I'm not completely my true self to not upset my colleagues since you know you have to compromise in a work situation since I'm in a lab so we're around each other all the time."

An older White woman with high authenticity attributed her unwillingness to a belief in adults' abilities to monitor themselves. She said: "I'm not a good supervisor. I thought adults should just work and do their jobs. That's what I thought adults did. So, I didn't like confrontations. I never really confronted anybody. (So you may not have been your true self.) No. I wasn't."

When asked how important it was to be liked at work, the majority of respondents indicated that it was moderately important (n=10), some rated it as very important (n=6) and a handful were neutral (n=2) or expressed that it was not important (n=3). Not surprisingly, four of the five respondents who were neutral or said that it was not important to be liked at work also said that they would reveal their true selves even it meant that colleagues would be upset.

A hypothetical vignette was posed to interviewees asking them how they would handle a situation in which they enjoyed their jobs, but noticed that a supervisor's work was below the quality standard of the company. Responses to this question were quite varied with some respondents reporting that they would approach the supervisor, others saying they would reframe or avoid the situation, and others saying they would keep quiet and ignore the situation. Some respondents said their responses would depend on the supervisor-- what the person is like and how he or she

might respond. Other respondents reported that their responses would depend on how personally important the situation was to them. Overall, however, about half of the respondents said that they would actively respond to the situation.

When asked if they would handle the situation differently if it did not involve a supervisor, that is if it was someone at a lateral level, or who was hierarchically below the individual, responses were evenly split between those who would behave differently and those who would not.

Respondents who would proceed differently said that when interacting with someone at their level or lower, they would proceed in a more direct fashion. A younger Black woman with low authenticity explained that if it were not her supervisor, she would handle it differently. However, she made the distinction that with someone lateral to her she would go to her boss whereas with someone working below her she would approach the individual directly: “Because I’m not so afraid of a confrontation at that point, because to me I feel like I’m kind of empowered. I have somewhat of an upper hand...” She went on to explain that the way she would do it would be in a way that honors her true self and who she is: “...And I wouldn’t do it in a derogatory way...Because that’s just not me. It would be more of a gal pal let’s walk down to the cafeteria kind of thing....And then if I noticed that there wasn’t a change after that then I would probably go to the supervisor and then say hey she’s not producing good work.”

A younger White woman with high authenticity explained that she would be more comfortable with someone at or below her level in the company. Her response

had a clear awareness of the potential costs and benefits of authenticity, her comfort came from a sense of knowing that her coworker could not terminate her employment.

Respondents who said that they would not proceed any differently gave brief reasons. The idea that it was their job responsibility to focus on the quality of their work was mentioned, in addition to comfort. However, one individual, who had said they would just complain about the situation with their supervisor, said that with someone at a lateral or lower level they would handle the situation by correcting their work. This individual, an older White woman with high authenticity added, "...I, I, had no business in the work world. I went out to work after he [her husband] died."

In closing discussion of authenticity at work, respondents were asked how important it is to them to be their true selves at work. Three response categories were offered: 'a little,' 'somewhat,' and 'a lot.' Eleven respondents said 'a lot,' six said 'somewhat' and four said 'a little.' Interestingly, all five of the respondents who had earlier said that they would not reveal their true self if it would upset colleagues also said that it was only 'a little' or 'somewhat' important to them to be their true selves at work. In fact, one of them said it was "not at all" important (which was coded as 'a little.').

Three of the four respondents who were coded as saying 'a little' were younger adults who are arguably in less powerful positions in the workplace and may have to submerge the true self to a greater extent.

7.1.16 Authenticity with Friends and Acquaintances

Most respondents reported that they would reveal their true selves even if it upset or disappointed their friends and acquaintances (n=14). Integrity was a common theme in their responses. For example, an older White man with low authenticity said he would be his true self with friends because "...That's just always what I've lived by...that's something I've always done." An older Black man with low authenticity also believed that being authentic is part of self: "Yes, I think I would. I'm just so bent on being my true self [laughter] that I really think so." An older White woman with low authenticity said that she would temper things a bit, but would typically be authentic: "With most of them yes. Some of them, I don't care [laughter]. No, I think I would temper it, but in most instances, I will say what I feel, and do what I want to do."

For an older White man with high authenticity, authenticity with friends would be desired and pursued, but not without some thought and reframing: "Probably I'd have to think about it long and hard, but in the end, I would probably disappoint them and perhaps try to put in a kind of way to let them know that it might disappoint them, so when it comes up it's not a slap in the head or something like that." When asked why he would make that choice he replied: "Well, I think people need to know sometimes how you really feel about certain things or certain situations. Well, there's people that are going to be involved."

For others, the desire to maintain the authentic self and not be hypocritical held the greatest motivation. An older Black man with high authenticity said: "Well.

I, I, you know I'm going to be my true self and let the devil take the high most."

When asked why, he continued: "Well, I, I, I think otherwise one of the most damning indictments of anybody is to be called a hypocrite, and that's, and that's what I try to avoid, and, and I, I would rather be criticized for being honest than for being praised when in fact I'm being a hypocrite..."

A younger Black woman with low authenticity expressed a belief that being authentic and honest is a mark of friendship. In her own words:

Because that's a, to me that's the mark of true friend. You're, I mean you're not a true friend if you're gonna sugar coat something. And just to save my feelings. I mean if something, if I look bad in something and you know I look bad in something then to me it's my duty as your true friend to say that's not for you or if I hear that you're about to go do something that you know is just not right then I would not be a true friend if I didn't try to stop you if it was going to be something to your detriment. So.

A younger White woman with high authenticity said that she had upset a friend when she expressed her true self. She told the following story: "I had some really good friends that all through elementary school and high school and afterwards but one of them was into drugs and I talked her about that and whether or not she should be doing it and it, it pretty much pissed her off and she walked away." I asked this participant if she knew she was risking the friendship when she chose to confront her friend. She replied: "That's a good question because at the time I didn't. At the time I thought we were just talking but it went further than that and then she, you know in, in future conversations then I did know and it, so I guess. Not to begin with but I pursued it afterwards even though I did know." This idea of advice-giving being a way of expressing the true self within the context of friendships was

mentioned in a less serious example by an older Black man with high authenticity who said:

Well I'd like, you know want to tell, tell the truth about stuff that I, I, I wouldn't want. Although you know they, it may come out wrong. They may be a little mad about what I say. But I still would tell them. And, of course I've had that happen too. Poor guy. This friend of mine said he wanted to marry this particular woman and I knew her. I had been knowing her a long time. And he said he was gonna, you know give the ring to her. I couldn't let him marry her you know because I knew her and knew a little about the background, so. I didn't want to see him go off in something and get hurt so I told him. He didn't like it but eventually, later on you know he came in and said oh man you know I'm glad you told me that. We didn't lose friendship. But he sulked a little you know. He didn't speak to me for a few days. But it was for his you know for his own benefit but I had to tell him. (Was it hard for you to make that choice?) It was. It was real hard because I knew that, you know he cared a lot, a lot about this woman and I knew you don't want to go there. I don't know whether she ever found out or not, but I told him. You know what she found out what I told him. It had to be done. I think it had to be done.

Some respondents reported that they would not have friendships with people with whom they could not be authentic. Another participant, an older Black woman with high authenticity expressed that she does not have friends with whom she had to feel bad about revealing her true self. A similar sentiment was shared by an older Black woman with low authenticity who said: "Because most of my friends are to the point and you either like it or not. Because you like me or you don't." This sense of choosing friends who accept us as we are was not confined to women. A younger White man with low authenticity communicated a similar perspective: "I would rather not have the friend or acquaintance because who I have, well, an acquaintance might be like some sort of work networking thing or I mean there's like acquaintance and there's friends. (I meant more, here I am talking more in the friend realm) Well in the friend realm I wouldn't want to have friends that wouldn't be able to, I'd rather

just not, That's why I don't have very many friends I guess...." When asked why is this so important with friends, he replied: "Well because I am who I am, you know personally my true self is I guess very strong and so it wants to be out you know and I can't really hold it back very well so I find it very uncomfortable." This response is interesting because it refers to costs and benefits. For example, the respondent shares that his desire for friends that accept him has potentially resulted in a more limited friend pool (cost). Yet, as a benefit, he is able to avoid the discomfort that he says he experiences when he must submerge the true self. Thus, he ranks the benefit to the self over the cost to his social network.

Four respondents reported that they would not, and three respondents gave responses that did not clearly indicate how they would proceed. Of these three, two focused on how important the situation is, and one simply didn't know. Respondents who said that they would not express the true self if it generated discord with friends and acquaintances focused on a desire for congeniality and keeping the peace. A younger White woman with low authenticity said: "I don't think I would be my true myself if it was going to disappoint them." When asked why, she replied "I just don't like to upset people." Another respondent, a younger Black woman with low authenticity, who also tries to avoid conflict with others, describes efforts to reign herself in during such situations: "Because sometimes I notice that I'm a kind of getting into being my true self and then I realize that something I say probably hurt their feelings. So I kind of, I do a lot more listening than talking. But there's a lot that I want to say but I don't."

An older Black woman with high authenticity shares this desire to not disappoint others, but distinguishes between upset and disappointed³. She said: “...Because if, if it’s going to disappoint the people who I care about and who care about me then maybe I’m not doing the right thing. Maybe it’s not the right thing to say or thing to do. On the other hand if it simply may upset them then I think I would still be myself. I think there’s a difference in someone being upset and disappointed.” For an older Black man with low authenticity, unwillingness to reveal the true self to friends and acquaintances if it would upset or disappoint them wants to avoid rejection. In his own words: “Well, uh, naturally to be truthful about it, if I know that they would be mad with me, I just wouldn't say it.” When I asked why, he replied: “I, uh, there's nothing like being rejected. It hurts me know that somebody dislikes me...”

Surprisingly, only six of the twenty-one interviewees said that it was very important to be liked by their friends. Twelve respondents said that it was important, two were neutral, and one said that it was not important. The three individuals who were neutral or felt it was not important to be liked by friends also said that they would be their true selves even if it meant upsetting their friends.

A hypothetical vignette was posed to respondents asking them how they would handle a situation in which they were at a party with friends and acquaintances and people were watching a television program they found offensive. The space was described as small and the sounds of the television inescapable. A very interesting

³ I used both terms: upset and disappoint when posing the question to this woman. She was coded as no for her response.

pattern emerged in response to this question. The large majority of respondents described a passive response. Only five of the twenty-one respondents, all women, said they would actively respond to the situation.

A younger White woman with high authenticity said she "...would probably tell them they were stupid and to turn that shit off. [laughing] Pretty much." An older Black woman with high authenticity said she "...would tell them this is offensive. I don't like it. How can you watch this? How can you muddle your mind and your thoughts with this kind of garbage? You know, it's not good for you. I would go on about it. Yeah I have done it. Yeah."

The rest of the responses were passive. Respondents replied that they would handle the situation in different ways- by leaving, or not looking, tuning it out, or turning it down. For example, an older Black man with low authenticity said that he would basically do nothing because "I wouldn't want all those people mad with me, and I mean, I just would have to go along with the party. Not that I would be, now if there was somebody, you know, you gotta do this, and do that, I wouldn't be do that, but I would never tell them you oughta cut that thing off, that isn't nothing." When asked why he would leave without saying anything he said: "Because I understand how you know I have had a lot of conversations with a lot of people about a lot of different subjects and I know how ingrained some of this stuff is how their whole personality can be caught up in their misinformation and you know if they're not looking you know for a broad horizon you know you can really you know make things worse you know you're really not, you know and I'm not confrontational you

know...You know I just understand a lot more and so in that scenario I would just leave and if anybody said to me hey you know we missed you, you know. I might use that as opportunity to say what I thought.”

When asked how important it is to be authentic with friends and acquaintances: ‘a little,’ ‘somewhat,’ or ‘a lot,’ the majority of respondents said ‘a lot’ (n=16) and three respondents said ‘somewhat’ (two participants were not asked).

7.1.17 Value of Authenticity with Family, Work, and Friends

To assess how individuals differentially value authenticity in the contexts of family, work, and with friends and acquaintances, responses can be systematically compared across domains. When asked if they would be true to their selves even if others would be upset or disappointed, work generated the most affirmative responses, followed by friends, and then family. Note, however, that many caveats were introduced in discussion of work situations, which may temper this seeming trend. A higher proportion of people don’t want to disappoint family members and are somewhat willing to submerge the true self for those relationships. This pattern is understandable: people want to believe that those to whom we are closest love us for who we are. However, when faced with the possibility that exposing who we are will disappoint them, people are more willing to deal with the consequences of submerging the true self than face the possibility that a loved one will ‘reject’ the true self.

This idea was supported by the data in response to the question asking how important it is for respondents to feel liked in each domain. Most respondents

reported that it is very important to be liked by family, about equally important to be liked by friends, and that being liked by work colleagues is least important.

When posed with hypothetical vignettes designed to assess whether individuals will reveal the true self, a clear trend emerged. Individuals are most willing to be passive with friends and acquaintances. That is, in the hypothetical examples, people seemed to tiptoe most around feelings in the social example. Although most participants said that they would react to the situation, the goal of their responses was often to quietly remove oneself from an uncomfortable situation. This contrasts with the family and work examples in which individuals were more likely to speak up.

Being authentic with family is generally valued more than being authentic with either friends or work colleagues. Individuals most value their ability to be authentic with family, with nineteen respondents indicating that it held ‘a lot’ of importance. The ability to be authentic with friends also held ‘a lot’ of importance, but was less important for work.

7.1.18 Closing Thoughts

In closing the interview, respondents were invited to share any other thoughts about authenticity. Many respondents shared suggestions for research or made personal disclosures at this time.

One participant, an older Black woman with low authenticity, said, simply: “It’s a great thing being your true self as much as possible.” Another, an older White woman with low authenticity focused on the complexity of the matter:

It is a complicated subject, really. In essence, you'll be damned if you do, you'll be damned if you don't kind of thing. I think a lot of people don't really think of it. It, you know, they're just here. They just don't care, they don't, it's not that they don't care, they don't look at it that way. Um, I don't that that says what I'm trying to say. (They don't consider the idea.) No. It was interesting. I made the comment to who was it, somebody, the last day or two, wanted to do something, wanted me to do something this morning, and I said no, I had an appointment. What're you going to do? Well, some people would call that nosy and say none of your business. I said no, that I participate in these various studies, I have for years, through the agency. "I would do that. How much do you get?" I said, I don't know, money is not the object to me, um, it's that it's interesting to me. Some of these tests that I've done, psychology mostly, they've been fun to me. This has been very enjoyable to me. It's made me stop and think about things that you don't just consciously think about...

For an older White man with high authenticity, this research has social value:

"But I think frankly, it'll probably help somebody down the street somewhere because if people will learn be true to yourself, life is so much easier. He continued: "And I think there are so many things today like drugs. Kids get all screwed up, their thinking cap the wrong way or something, and they come to crash and hit bottom, and if you can just find out to be true to yourself you probably wouldn't ever do it. And if they think what they're, well not all of us, but they think of what their parents would think of them would help."

The importance of the topic was also noted by a younger White man with low authenticity who said "You asked an important question about you know I mean I, I never really thought about it from a point of view of being my true self you know... it can be tiring to know when to express yourself and when not to you know and it can be tiring to tolerate views too you know... I'm glad that we had this talk and could help me wonder about myself you know."

An older White woman with low authenticity offered her view of the challenge of authenticity: “So, and so, and that, you know if you, you have to decide how much you are willing to give up to be who you are. And if being who you are means that you’re not going to make it in the, in the business world or in the paying world, or you’re, you’re not going to be recommend for a job that’s a difficult decision. Then do you give up feeling who you are and become, try to become what other people want you to be or who they think you are.”

Respondents also used this question as an opportunity for self-disclosure. One such respondent, a younger Black woman with low authenticity said: “I have issues. But, I mean, I, I notice, I notice myself being really fake sometimes...” Another respondent, an older Black woman with high authenticity said: “...I should be thinking about it more...I just, I just am. And I enjoy people who feel as if they can be comfortable around me and be what they are, you know rather than wearing a mask all the time about everything. You know and I enjoy that, that kind of company. If I’m uncomfortable around folks I don’t have to be around them...”

Words of the poetry of Henry Van Dyke were shared by an older Black man with low authenticity:

...Four things a man must learn to do. If he would keep his record true, he must learn to think without illusion clearly. He must learn to act, with honest motives, purely. He must learn to trust in God and Heaven, sincerely, and he must learn to well, two more things, but he covers a lot in that little poem, you must have read that...

Other respondents offered suggestions for the research project, ranging from greater attention to demographic variables and cultural background (a younger Black woman with low authenticity) to greater attention to romantic partnerships (an older

White woman with low authenticity), and when the ‘acting’ begins (a younger White woman with high authenticity). Overall, respondents offered complementary and encouraging words about the research project and expressed interest in this work and my career.

7.2 Themes

7.2.1 Motivations for Behavior

In the quantitative portion of this interview, three themes emerged as motivations for authentic behavior: congeniality, integrity, and instrumental gain. These themes were repeatedly echoed in the qualitative data.

The qualitative data are consistent with the quantitative findings in a number of respects. First, the three motivations for authentic behavior emerged. The idea of *integrity* was the most common theme in responses, followed by *congeniality*, and lastly *self-gains*. An exemplar of the theme of integrity comes from a younger White woman with low authenticity who, when asked if the expression ‘be true to yourself’ is personally meaningful, replied in the affirmative saying: “I guess just because I’m the kind of person or I feel like I’m the kind of person that I like to [be] honest. I like to be you know straightforward. I don’t like, I feel very uncomfortable when I put on a face or feel like I have to put on a face.” Congeniality is an undercurrent in this response from a younger White woman with high authenticity who spoke of a time when she did not reveal her true self: “In past relationships I tended to sort of lose my sense of self because I was concentrating on the other person so much...”

Strategy and instrumental gain seemed to be the motivation for behavior in this response of an older White man with low authenticity: “Well, I don’t sometimes you have to tell a little white lie every once in a while, you get stopped for speeding, something like that...”

In addition to instrumental self-gains, an additional theme: self-protection, also emerged in these interviews. For example, this is evident in the statement of this older Black woman with high authenticity: “I could not say what you know if, if, if there was something on my mind that I wanted to say. If it was not in my best interest I could not do that. Because, because of the consequences...So. Maybe that’s still choosing but it’s, but it’s kind of [laughing] It’s kind of a necessary choice...in order to, to survive.”

7.2.2 Context

What emerged in the qualitative data, however, that was not able to be distinguished in the quantitative analyses was the idea that people have different motivations for behavior in different contexts. That is, each motivation was connected to a context.

Overall, these responses indicate a sense that people want to be known and liked and valued for who they are most in their relationships with family, and this is motivated by a need for personal integrity. People also greatly value authenticity with friends, but can temper this need for purposes of congeniality. In the workplace, people are less fiercely committed to being authentic, and are more willing to engage

in impression management for strategic purposes including the self-protective task of keeping one's job.

7.2.3 Emotions

Another major insight of the qualitative data was the emotions generated by authenticity and inauthenticity--- that it feels good to be authentic, and it feels bad to submerge the true self. For example, an older Black woman with high authenticity engaged in the following dialogue:

(And maybe, maybe that's something to think about. About how what happens when your true self in situations when there's high emotion.) Yeah. (versus being your true self in situations where there's lower levels of emotion.) Uh huh. (Are you more likely to have less positive results if there's all that emotion.) Yes, yes. (You know that's something to think about.) Yes, yes. Much, much so. Much more likely. But I, I don't think at this point I don't allow things to upset me to that extent. And it's kind of selfish in a way because I enjoy living. [laughing] And I know that allowing one's self to, to be emotionally upset and raging and ranting and get...It's not good. For one's physical health. (True.) It cause high blood pressure. It causes heart problems. It cause all kinds of things...And I think we choose to, we choose to allow ourselves to be stressed or not to allow ourselves to be stressed, but that doesn't come usually to teenagers or earlier on in adult life. I think it's something that we mature into...

7.2.4 Need for Social Approval

In addition to providing a sense of how the different motivations for behavior connect to the contexts, the qualitative data also provide a discourse of how subjects speak of identity. Individuals differ in the extent to which they hold a magnifying glass to self. For some interviewees, there is a reflexive process whereby behaviors are questioned and examined. Other individuals look to others to tell them who they are. In this regard, the interviews revealed how need for social approval relates to the construction of identity. Some participants look to others for feedback about how

they present themselves and adjust their behavior accordingly. Other respondents present themselves to the world and are less affected by the responses of others. Although virtually all identity theorists believe that identity reflects both self-construction and the reflected appraisals of others, these data suggest that there are differences in influence of these forces. The term identity construction does not seem unanimously relevant—for some people identity seems much more constructed than for others whereas for others identity appears to be largely evoked by others.

7.2.5 Virtue but not Action

Overall, individuals classified as having high and low authenticity according to the quantitative measure raised similar issues and spoke fairly similarly about their own authenticity. In addition, both low and high authenticity individuals described themselves as valuing authenticity, and as seemingly high in authenticity. Thus, it can be concluded that authenticity is a virtue that is valued by most respondents. Yet, for a number of respondents, this valuing of authenticity as a virtue is not incorporated into one's behavior or action.

7.2.6 Sources of Self

The interview protocol provided unexpected insights regarding sources of the true self, and individuals willingness (or lack of willingness) to enact the true self. Many respondents referenced how they were raised as profoundly influencing the relevance of authenticity in their lives. For some, the true self has religious and spiritual aspects, which in some cases were also connected to one's upbringing. The qualitative data provide support for the idea that the extent to which one considers

and values the true self is intrinsically connected to how one is raised. Families have rules about behavior and impression management, and these are passed along to children. Children learn from their families when and how often they are allowed to speak freely, and when they need to actively manage how they present themselves.

7.2.7 Group Differences

The qualitative data analysis suggests group differences in conceptualizations of authenticity that are consistent with the theoretical underpinnings of this dissertation. Specifically, authenticity, although not linearly higher or lower for female participants, is more tenuous for women than men. This finding seems to be connected to women's competing needs for congeniality and principles. The age finding, that with older age comes increased authenticity, is, if not a lived reality, a shared belief among younger and older adults. Part folk lore, part truth, the view that older adults are more authentic provides an inspirational sense of freedom for younger adults, and a point of pride for older adults.

7.2.7.1 Gender

Analyses of the qualitative data reveal a picture of authenticity that differs along gender lines. The gender story of authenticity suggests that women and men are inauthentic for different reasons. Specifically, women reported valuing relationships much more than did men. The value placed on relationships sometimes causes women to submerge the true self in order to maintain a congenial dynamic and honor relationships. When men reported submerging the true self, however, the

motivation was less often the pure pursuit of congeniality, and more often a strategic means of impression management done to achieve a greater end or gain.

Men and women also had different emotional responses to failing to reveal the true self. For women, this often resulted in feelings of depression or sadness whereas for men the experience elicited frustration and anger. Women also seemed to value principles more than men, and were less willing to submerge the true self if there was an important principle at stake. Men expressed a greater willingness to relinquish authenticity even if there was a principle at stake. Women then are in the position of balancing important principles and keeping peace in relationships. In this regard, women may feel tension to a greater extent. Respondents unanimously described some tension between the need for social approval and the need for authenticity, but for women there is an additional tension between the need for congeniality and the need for integrity to principles.

7.2.7.2 Age

The qualitative data also tell a story of aging. Respondents felt that authenticity is freedom, and this freedom is most accessible at the earliest and latest parts of the life course. Older respondents seemed to delight in this freedom as a positive aspect of aging. There was a genuine sense of not caring about what other people think and feeling free to just act as one believes. Younger and older adults alike shared the view that the ability to be authentic is a wisdom that comes only with life experience.

A limitation of these interviews, however, was that younger adults (particularly Black younger men of both authenticity levels, and White younger men and Black younger women high authenticity were not adequately represented in my interviews). Given these selection problems, I could not fully adjudicate whether the trends that were inductively observed can be more broadly generalized. However, the sample set study, consistently provided support for a number of trends that seem unconnected to age, race, gender, and level of authenticity. The most compellingly apparent themes were: (1) that individuals value the idea of a true self and want to enact the true self, (2) that individuals think that their ability or inclination to enact the true self will increase with time, and (3) that there are things (i.e. work, family, etc.) that inhibit our ability to display the true self.

In the following and final chapter of this dissertation, I link the qualitative and quantitative findings. Specifically, I discuss the consistencies and discrepancies between the understandings of authenticity generated by each data set.

8. Discussion and Conclusions

“The most exhausting thing you can do is to be inauthentic.”

–Anne Morrow Lindbergh

Over a quarter century ago, only 3.4% of adults surveyed reported that they often ask ‘who am I,’ while 82.0% reported never asking themselves that question (Turner, 1975). Yet, in the current study, the large majority of interview respondents (two-thirds) reported that the question is personally meaningful. This is suggestive of a paradigm shift in the extent to which individuals are self-reflexive and introspectively consider the self. Whether this shift is the result of a change in culture due to the predominance of the books on the self that began in the seventies, or whether the trend is due to a cohort effect is unclear, and perhaps unimportant. What is clear and important, however, is that questions of self and exploration of what it means to be true to oneself hold meaning for people across age groups, across the lines of race/ethnicity, and across gender lines. Most people desire to ‘be real.’ Within a postmodernist context that would preclude the existence of a true self, people still believe in the existence of a true self and want to enact that true self.

Part of the value of the constant comparison method is triangulation with other data sources. Thus, by comparing and contrasting the quantitative and qualitative data collected in this study, we are able to attain a fuller and more complete picture of the construct of authenticity. Qualitative data analysis, unlike quantitative data analysis, often reveals contradictory evidence. Specifically, in

performing the qualitative data analysis, I paid special attention to contradictory information.

8.1 Overall Trends

Overall, the quantitative and qualitative data do not tell the same story, but they also do not tell discrepant stories. That is, the quantitative data tell a story of gender, race, self-esteem, and the need for social approval, and to a lesser extent age. The qualitative data tell a story of gender and race, and again, to a lesser extent, age. The gender stories in the two data sets provide a more nuanced view of authenticity than would be suggested by either data set alone.

An unanticipated finding was that within the qualitative interviews, few differences were observed between respondents who scored as high and low on the authenticity scale. As previously described, interviewees were selected on the basis of demographics and authenticity scores so that high and low authenticity individuals would be represented. I anticipated clear differences between these two groups' interviews. Although the differences observed between the two groups were in the predicted directions, they were surprisingly understated. Respondents rated as high and low authenticity raised the same issues: Level of authentic behavior did not differentiate what topics, themes, and sentiments interviewees mentioned. Most importantly, many respondents rated as low authenticity described themselves as highly authentic.

In the following paragraphs I review the findings for each of the variables of interest in this study. I review the quantitative and qualitative findings, addressing

their consistencies and discrepancies. Efforts are made to account for these discrepancies and present a view of authenticity that honors all findings.

8.1.1 Age

The results of this dissertation suggest that older adults are more authentic than younger adults, and that this relationship is partially mediated by the higher levels of self-esteem observed among older adults. Because of the cross-sectional design of this study, I am unable to distinguish whether this result is a cohort difference (due to context) or is developmental (i.e. age differences that would be observed in longitudinal data). Sociologically, the age findings support the hypothesis that age brings social power which lessens the demands for social approval and facilitate authenticity.

The quantitative analyses suggest that age is associated with an unwillingness to be inauthentic for instrumental purposes of self-gain. This facet of authenticity that may be particularly connected to embeddedness within the social context. That is, as we age, we may decrease our ties with social contexts in which we are seeking self-gain or feel that we must act in instrumental or manipulative ways. The work context is an environment in which older adults may be less likely to be involved. Retirement may free older adults from the need to be inauthentic for instrumental purposes. The quantitative models conducted using retirement status instead of age in predicting authenticity support this idea.

When we consider the qualitative data in terms of age differences, it seems that this main effect may be the result of developmental differences between younger

adults. In addition to giving responses that suggested higher levels of authenticity among older adults, older adults often made mention to the fact that they formerly behaved in ways that were more self-conscious, but had evolved over the life-course, to behave more authentically. Yet, some caution is warranted in interpreting this result: older adults may under-estimate their more youthful levels of traits that are expected to increase with age (McFarland, Ross, and Giltrow, 1992).

Younger adults do not describe less embeddedness in social networks which might be expected if they are considered to be representatives of postmodernity. Both age groups believe in the existence of a true self, which challenges the perspectives of postmodern theorizing on the self. When the qualitative accounts of older adults are examined, it appears that older adults both experience fewer situations in which there is a tension between NSA and authenticity, but also handle those situations differently than younger adults.

The finding that older adults report enacting the true self to a greater extent than younger adults is not surprising. American culture endorses honoring the experiences and wisdom of elders. This reverence is apparent in the website www.elderwisdomcircle.org, a website on which individuals (particularly younger adults) can email questions to interested elders. Free of the pressure of work and obligation, and with wisdom and life experience, these elders provide recommendations about ways to negotiate life.

8.1.2 Race

The quantitative findings, and to a lesser extent, the qualitative findings, support the hypothesis that Blacks are more authentic than Whites. Sociologically, the race findings support the idea that cultural traditions and racial identity contribute to the values individuals carry and how those values are translated into behavior.

The hypotheses about race were counter to the power hypotheses put forth elsewhere in this study. I expected that individuals in positions of greater social power would have lower need for social approval and have report authentic behavior. Yet, for reasons of socialization and culture, I expected that Blacks, who have lower social power than Whites, would have lower need for social approval and report authentic behavior than Whites. The quantitative data suggest that Blacks are more authentic than Whites due to lower willingness to submerge authenticity for purposes of congeniality and instrumental self-gain. Blacks had greater levels of overall authenticity than Whites and lower levels of NSA.

Perhaps having less power leads to fewer constraints and enables Blacks to have more freedom to be authentic than their White counterparts. Perhaps this lower need for social approval is a defense mechanism, the result of operating within racist structures. The effects of race may operate in a similar way to age and retirement in that the status membership in a social group that is not expected to perform in a certain way may lower the need for impression management and loosen the boundaries of acceptable behavior. Thus, the question of authenticity may be not wholly about social power, but also marginalization. This hypothesis seems

reasonable for young Blacks growing up in post-Civil Rights society. However, Blacks who lived through the Civil Rights Movement may have been forced to develop impression management strategies in order to ensure their own self-protection and personal safety. Although the race by age interaction was not statistically significant in these analyses, this idea demands further consideration. Civil Rights and race related experiences were mentioned by the majority of older Black participants in the qualitative interviews. However a limitation of this qualitative research is that younger Blacks, particularly younger Black males are under-represented. Questions of cultural assimilation were alluded to in the qualitative interviews. The qualitative analyses suggest that for Whites, there is a notion of individualism that drives behaviors, whereas for Blacks, there was a sense of community requiring that behavior be not only personally authentic but racially authentic as well. Thus, the referent group for determining authentic behavior may vary for Whites and Blacks--- from being true to oneself, to being true to one's culture, respectively. In the 1996 New York Times Bestseller *The Color of Water*, a book recommended to me by an older Black woman I interviewed, James McBride describes a situation in which a Black minister is interacting with his White mother (whose Black husband was the founding minister of the church). He writes, "Instead he treated her like an outsider, a foreigner, a *white person*, greeting her after the service with the obsequious smile and false sincerity that blacks reserve for white folks when they don't know them that well or don't trust them, or both" (p. 252). This passage illustrates the idea that we may have ideas of racially authentic behavior

as well as ways of behaving across racial boundaries, which was also threaded throughout the interviews.

Blacks had significantly higher self-esteem than Whites. This higher level of self-esteem may contribute to the greater levels of global authenticity observed among Blacks. There is also the possibility that Whites are less authentic because they think so much about the self rather than just being. In *The Color of Water* (1996), McBride describes his sense of racial differences in the extent to which the true self is considered and pursued, saying: “Most black folks considered ‘finding myself’ a luxury. White people seemed to think of it as a necessity...” (p. 265). This self-awareness may actually function to hinder authenticity.

8.1.3 Gender

The value of a multi-method approach is most apparent when we consider the gender findings of this study. The quantitative and qualitative data, together, serve to provide a more nuanced view that reveals the mechanisms underlying gender differences in conceptualizations of authenticity and rationalizations for inauthenticity. Sociologically, the gender findings highlight traditional gender roles while simultaneously demonstrating that women highly value authenticity.

The quantitative data suggest that women have higher global authenticity than men, and specifically, that they are more authentic due to an unwillingness to submerge authenticity for purposes of congeniality or instrumental self-gain. Although the data suggest that women are less willing to be inauthentic for purposes of congeniality than men, that result demands caution. The quantitative items that

measured willingness to be inauthentic for purposes of congeniality may not capture what it means for women to be inauthentic for congeniality. Consider for example, the two congeniality subscale items that men endorsed more than women: (1) The best way to handle people is to agree with them and tell them what they want to hear, and, (2) In different situations with different people, I often act like very different persons. For men, it appears that suppressing authenticity for purposes of congeniality is akin to telling people what they want to hear and changing behavior to fit diverse situations. The qualitative data suggest that for women, being inauthentic for congeniality means something different. The referent 'other' with whom congeniality is being maintained is an important consideration.

The qualitative data illuminate those findings and suggest that women are more conscious of the need for congeniality in social relationships. This desire for congeniality is different from need for social approval and it is the desire for congeniality in longer-term relationships and not the social approval of acquaintances that may inhibit women from behaving in ways that feel authentic. This inauthenticity to maintain congeniality may be enacted through engaging in social graces, biting one's tongue, and being highly aware of how individuals in a social context are getting along. These women described inauthenticity as a means to create a calm and warm social environment. This behavior does not seem to be of particularly high cost to these women, perhaps because the need for positive social interactions supersedes the need to express the authentic self. In many ways, this finding is compatible with the work of Carol Gilligan (1977) which suggests "that

women impose a distinctive construction on moral problems, seeing moral dilemmas in terms of conflicting responsibilities” (p. 515).

The silencing of the authentic self that women may engage in the workplace may have costs to women’s well-being. Recent research suggests that women receive negative evaluation when they display anger in the workplace (Brescoll and Uhlmann, forthcoming). This research suggests that both men and women respond negatively to a woman who displays anger, but positively to a man who displays anger. In addition, external attributions are made for men’s workplace anger, while internal attributions are made for women’s workplace anger. These effects persist regardless of the woman’s rank (i.e. trainee or CEO). For a woman who is angry at work, both behavioral choices: submerging the true self, or exposing the true self may have substantial consequences.

Considering the quantitative and qualitative data sets together provides an understanding of gendered conceptualizations of congeniality and gendered understandings of the value of impression management behaviors. In addition, considering the costs of authenticity raises the question of whether authenticity is a skill set to be learned, and if so, how women’s unfamiliarity with this skill set may put them at disadvantage in certain social contexts and at advantage in others. If only the quantitative data are considered it appears that women are more authentic than men. If only the qualitative data are considered, it appears that men are more authentic than women. However, through examination of both data sets it can be observed that men and women select different environments in which to be authentic

and inauthentic, and are authentic and inauthentic for different reasons. Women, unlike the men in this study, did not describe a predominant sense that they could harness their authenticity and use it for their success or gain.

The gender story of this research is the opposite of what was originally hypothesized. Yet, the story is not a simple one. The quantitative assessment tool did not inquire about suppressing authenticity in ongoing relationships. That idea only emerged in the qualitative interviews. Women appear to highly value authenticity, and it appears to affect their behavior in day-to-day encounters. Yet, from the interviews, we hear women speaking in more traditional gender role ways, focusing on a desire to maintain relationships.

8.1.4 Socioeconomic Status

Education carried much less statistical weight in these analyses than had been originally anticipated. I had hypothesized that higher levels of education would be associated with lower need for social approval and higher levels of authentic behavior. In addition, I expected that parental education would be an important factor in predicting both NSA and authentic behavior. Specifically, I expected that individuals whose educational attainment was similar to that of their parents would feel more authentic than those for whom there is a larger discrepancy between their educational attainment and that of their parents. Sociologically, the education-related findings suggest that education is an important determinant of authentic behavior through its association with self-esteem.

According to the quantitative data analyses, education was not a direct predictor of authentic behavior. Level of education is a predictor of need for social approval when self-esteem is taken into account. Higher levels of education are associated with a greater need for social approval. Although it is commonly understood that parental education predicts children's educational attainment, scientists are less clear regarding the extent to which motivations for behavior are transmitted through generations. Whether parents promote education or value social approval is unclear. Both may to some extent be transmitted through the familial context.

I had hypothesized that there would be an interaction between SES origins and respondent's SES in predicting authentic behavior. Because of a small sample size, I was only able to explore and not formally test interaction hypotheses. Although SES origins alone were not predictive of authenticity, in several equations the interaction term approached marginal significance. This finding is notable because it is supportive of the idea that when individuals maintain the educational levels of the family they are more likely to feel authentic. This has practical and policy implications for programs designed to 'lift' individuals out of lower SES backgrounds. That is, these efforts should not only provide education, but should also address issues of well-being associated with upward mobility. Similarly, I expect that downwardly mobile individuals would have a similar sense of inauthenticity. However, because this study was underpowered for interaction terms, this interaction requires further empirical examination.

Education predicted NSA when self-esteem was taken into account suggesting that the education and self-esteem association operates through the greater levels of self-esteem of those with higher educational attainment. The education by self-esteem interaction term was highly significant and supports the idea that individuals with high levels of education and high levels of self-esteem are the least authentic. One of the functions of education, perhaps, is to teach impression management skills. Thus, while we may expect that individuals with high education and high self-esteem are the most successful in life, they may not be the most authentic. Education may also have a socializing influence, encouraging a level of self-consciousness that is not experienced by individuals with lower levels of education. Thus, individuals with higher levels of education and higher self-esteem may feel encumbered by expectations of the workplace despite their high self-esteem.

Qualitatively, educational attainment did not emerge as a major theme. For at least one respondent the educational context was an environment in which she felt inauthentic, while another respondent described her educational attainment as a means to find her true self. Respondents did speak in ways suggestive that workplaces vary in the extent to which they allow for authentic behavior. This allowance is not formally stated, but rather is the result of structural differences in workplace environments (i.e. autonomy, space, scheduling).

Financial issues did emerge as a factor that inhibits authenticity. For some sample members, the need to secure and maintain employment demanded a willingness to inhibit authenticity, as necessary. This suggests that lower SES is

associated with lower authenticity. Another respondent suggested that financial concerns (seemingly about not having enough money) can discourage doing what one wants to do, and potentially from being authentic.

The qualitative interviews also suggest that how we are raised contributes to our current ability to be authentic. There was an underlying tone that financial freedom provides personal freedom to do what one wants to do. This aligns with the power hypotheses of this research. Overall, the basic story about education is that it provides both demands and skills which may stifle authenticity in potentially lucrative ways. That the ‘imposter phenomenon’ was supported should not go unnoticed: Although the respondent’s education by educational origins interaction term did not reach statistical significance, it was in the predicted direction and did approach marginal significance. That interaction term suggested that high education and high parental education were associated with greater authenticity. The ‘imposter phenomenon’ would be expected more among people who are living a life that is markedly different from that in which they were raised. That an individual who comes from a high achieving family and achieves highly feels more authentic than a high-achiever from a low educational attainment family also provides some support for the notion of cumulative disadvantage. Cumulative disadvantage research addresses the idea that disadvantaged positions lead to more disadvantaged positions which accumulate and increase the likelihood of additional disadvantage. On the premise that being authentic, or having knowledge of impression management expectations has advantages, individuals who rise above their circumstances may not

gain the full advantage of their new situation because they have a lingering sense of falseness in that new status.

8.1.5 Marital Status

Marital status was not associated with authenticity or need for social approval in the quantitative data. Nor did marital status emerge as a major factor in the qualitative interviews. Sociologically, the marital status findings suggest that marital status, a factor often highlighted as a protective factor so many health-related outcomes, is neither a protective nor risk factor for authenticity.

Marital status was occasionally mentioned in the interviews. A younger participant noted that she was most authentic when single, while two older participants felt that their marriages freed them to be more authentic. Although marriage was not mentioned extensively in the interviews, other family relationships were cited often. Overall, there was a sense that relationships both free us to be more authentic, yet require that we temper ourselves in order to maintain those relationships.

The fact that marital status, specifically being married, was not associated with any of the variables in this study is surprising. The absence of statistical associations suggests that marital status may not uniformly provide individuals with a cocoon within which they can be authentic. Although the existence of the marriage itself does not influence need for social approval or authentic behavior, perhaps the quality of the individual marriage would be associated with need for social approval and authentic behavior. The sole statistical association pertaining to marital status

indicated that being divorced is associated with higher NSA. Whether the experience of divorce contributes to higher NSA, or higher NSA has negative effects for marriage cannot be determined through these cross-sectional analyses. Both hypotheses seem reasonable.

8.1.6 Need for Social Approval

NSA was a powerful predictor of global authenticity as well as each of its dimensions. This effect was not fully mediated when self-esteem was included in the model. Sociologically, the NSA results suggest that the desire for the approval of others, highlighted as a pervasive aspect of social life by Goffman, encourages inauthenticity and impression management.

Quantitatively, the effects of NSA were clear and strong. The effects of NSA were observed in models including demographic variables and self-esteem. Individuals with higher NSA are less authentic. That those in social power (i.e. Whites) have greater NSA seems at first counterintuitive. The result that younger adults, who are in more social contexts that demand NSA have higher NSA is less surprising.

In the qualitative interviews, need for social approval emerged as an important influence, but in a more direct way. NSA was mentioned implicitly by respondents through their descriptions of how the presence of others influences their behavior. There was a pervasive sense that individuals behave differently around different groups of people, and that individuals are concerned with the impressions they make on others according to how much they seek the approval of others.

Thus, the qualitative findings are consistent with the quantitative finding that need for social approval is related to authenticity. Both data sets provide evidence that individuals differ in the extent to which they value NSA, and that these differences can influence the extent to which individuals engage in impression management.

8.1.7 Interactions

The education-related interaction terms, respondent's education by educational origins, and respondent's education by self-esteem were the only promising interaction terms examined. The respondent's education by educational origins interaction term was discussed previously in the section on SES. The education by self-esteem interaction term, also mentioned in the section on socioeconomic status is discussed in the following section on post-hoc analyses.

8.2 Trends of Post-Hoc Analyses

8.2.1 Self-Esteem

Self-Esteem, originally conceptualized as a control variable in this research proved to be a powerful predictor of need for social approval and authentic behavior. Many of the structural factors were predictive of greater levels of self-esteem. Two of these predictors were in direction in line with the power hypotheses (age and education), and the race effect, although opposite of the power hypothesis, was in the direction that would be expected based on the NSA and authenticity hypotheses. Blacks reported higher self-esteem than Whites. To include the role of self-esteem in

the conceptualization of authenticity, I have produced a revised model of authenticity: Figure 8.1.

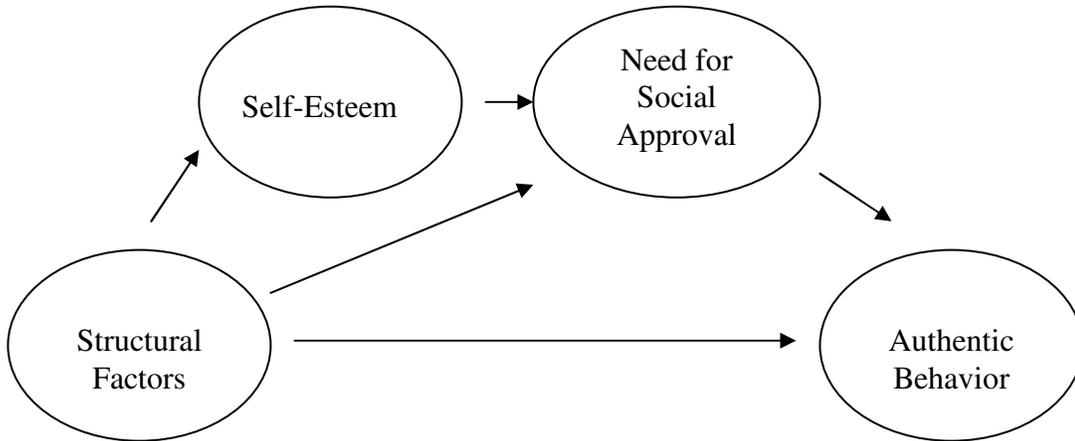


Figure 8.1 Determinants of Authentic Behavior

In the qualitative interviews, some respondents spoke about themselves in ways that clearly denoted high self-esteem while others displayed low self-esteem through self-disparaging comments. Respondents who reported about behaving in highly authentic ways also conveyed a sense of confidence and pride. This makes sense, and is compatible with the research of Hussain and Langer (2003) on the costs of pretending: to expose one's true self and be positively received may be the most validating experience possible. To expose a 'false self' to acclaim is not nearly as rewarding. Likewise, to reveal one's 'true self' and receive negative feedback may be more traumatic than receiving a negative response to a 'false self.'

Individuals appear driven to succeed in those roles and capacities that confirm their self-views of who they think they truly are. Thus, there may be a process through which we integrate our successful performances into our sense of the true self and seek out contexts in which we can be in the self-verifying role.

Although George (1998) referred to self-efficacy and self-esteem as components of the self, Hitlin (2003) refers to them as self-processes. In this research, self-esteem is conceptualized as both a component of the self and a process of the self. Self-esteem is a component of the self because it appears is an important facet of identity. Yet, it is also a process of the self because of its dynamic nature. Self-esteem, although somewhat enduring, is not stagnant.

8.2.1.1 Education and Self-Esteem Interaction

I had not hypothesized an education by self-esteem interaction, but it was highly significant, indicating that individuals with high levels of education and high levels of self-esteem were least authentic. This was true for the congeniality and instrumental subscales, as well as the measure of summary authenticity. However, the interaction term was not a significant predictor of the need for social approval. The education by self-esteem interaction which was so clear in the quantitative findings was less apparent in the qualitative findings. The results of the qualitative interviews emphasized the constraining effects of the workplace, which may be associated with one's level of education and employment sector. There was a sense that the workplace was a major inhibiting force of authenticity and provided social constraints which required individuals to submerge their true selves. It did not appear to be the case that having high self-esteem within that workplace put one at greater proclivity to behave inauthentically.

8.2.2 Religious Participation

Religious participation was not a hypothesized predictor in this research. However, given the extent to which it emerged in the qualitative interviews, I decided to evaluate it quantitatively. Church attendance was a statistically significant predictor of authentic behavior such that those with higher levels of church attendance report higher levels of authentic behavior. The direction of these results complements the qualitative interviews in which individuals described their religious and spiritual activities as ways to connect with their authentic selves.

8.3 Implications of this Research

The implications of this research are greatest for our understandings of how status characteristics affect our willingness to reveal our true selves. The quantitative and qualitative findings suggest that women and men negotiate life with different value hierarchies. For women, impression management is less important than relationship management. For men, impression management is a staple of workplace behavior that can produce desired ends. Thus, it is not a straightforward question of knowing when it is 'right' or 'wrong' to be authentic, but rather, acknowledging the influence of values on individuals choices about authenticity. This has implications for research on the mental health consequences of inauthenticity. We might expect, from the results of this research that women will suffer to a greater extent from authenticity that harms relationships and men will experience suffering when their true self has negative effects in the workplace. Yet, new research shows that a broader array of social behavior is acceptable for men in the workplace. It seems that

the continuum of acceptable social behavior is much more limited for women than men.

The findings of this research contribute to our understanding of how race and racial identity influence behavior. This research demonstrates that Whites have greater NSA which partially explains their lower levels of authenticity. Depending on whether one values authenticity as a social good or sees inauthenticity (i.e. impression management) as a valuable skill will influence the interpretation of these findings. In his 2005 text “Real Black: Adventures in Racial Sincerity,” Jackson distinguishes between sincerity and authenticity. Although not a new distinction, Jackson denotes that racial authenticity is the work of identity scholars and race theorists whereas sincerity is “epistemologically distinct” (p. 12). Jackson distinguishes these constructs more practically describing authenticity as something that can be enacted and subsequently re-enacted and sincerity cannot. Rather, sincerity is of the moment. Jackson research suggests that sincerity gets in the way for Blacks. The current research might support that view. If viewed as a social good, the higher authenticity of Blacks should be celebrated as a strength. Yet, if inauthenticity is considered a valuable skill, Blacks may be disadvantaged in lacking this skill in a ‘White world.’

Finally, the quantitative and qualitative findings in tandem suggest that something specific and unique occurs in later life, whereby older adults experience a certain freedom of being. Whether this experience is a lived reality or not, it is certainly an expectation among younger and aging individuals alike. As the

participants in this dissertation suggest, this freedom of being entails a sense that one no longer needs to carry the weighty burden of impression management. This perspective is quite consistent with the research on aging that suggests that older adults are somehow enlightened. The concept of gerotranscendence (Tornstram, 1989) suggests that in the course of aging, adults shift from materialistic views to more transcendent views of life and the purpose of life. Recent empirical studies on transcendence, which can be measured by a scale, suggest that the construct is particularly salient for women (Tornstram 1997, Braam, Bramsen, van Tilburg, van der Ploeg, and Deeg, 2006), and widows (Braam et al., 2006). However, the gender by age interaction term was nonsignificant in this research.

Higher authenticity may still have costs for older adults. Authenticity and wisdom are distinct constructs. The higher authenticity of older adults means that whomever they are, and whatever they believe—be it noble or socially undesirable—will be less filtered and more pronounced in later life. For older adults who espouse socially desirable views, this may be desirable. Yet, for older adults who espouse socially undesirable views (e.g. prejudices), this unfiltered self may have negative social consequences, such as leading to arguments and/or social isolation.

Social roles and activities had notable effects in this research. Retirement status was more strongly associated with authenticity than age. Religious participation's effects on NSA and authentic behavior in tandem with other findings, suggest that authenticity has ethical or moral connotations. In addition, the qualitative data emphasized spiritual practices as a way to discover and enact one's

true self. The idea of a morality or ethic of authenticity brings this sociological analysis back to the philosophical table.

Self-construal theory (Markus and Kitayama, 1991) suggests that there is an independent and interdependent self and that it is important to consider the construals of self, of others, and the interdependence between the two. Three aspects to the self can be considered based on this framework: the individual self (self), the relational self (role), and the collective self (membership). The three motivations for behavior identified in this project may be differentially associated with these aspects of identity. Behavior in which the individual is inauthentic for purposes of integrity may be associated with the individual self. The motivating force of congeniality may be associated with the relational self, and the motivation of instrumental gains with the collective self. This research suggests that people may vary in which aspect of the self most guides their behavior.

8.4 Limitations

8.4.1 Social Desirability Bias

The qualitative interviews appear to have a greater social desirability bias than did the quantitative measures. This may be a result of the face-to-face format of the interviews. I often felt that respondents wanted me to perceive them as highly authentic individuals. This desire may have also contributed to their willingness to be interviewed on the topic, making the interview sample potentially skewed. The quantitative measures (NSA and authenticity) had excellent variability and the effect of a social desirability bias, if any, seems negligible.

8.4.2 Sampling

A limitation of this research is that the sample qualitative data under represent younger adults. That is, White younger men with high authenticity, Black younger women high authenticity, and Black younger men with both authenticity levels were under-represented or completely missing from the interviews. Thus, the gender, age, and race stories told through this research should be examined further in future research.

8.4.3 Validity of Quantitative Measurement

A study limitation of this research pertains to the validity of the quantitative measure of authenticity. The goal of that scale was to classify individuals as having high or low authenticity. Yet, the designations produced by the scale appear to only modestly match the authenticity levels reported in the interviews. Although the mismatch may be due to a social desirability bias in the interviews, as previously described, interviewees did report inauthenticity. This lack of congruence suggests that the quantitative and qualitative measures of authenticity were tapping into different phenomena. Specifically, it appears that the quantitative measure was assessing preferred interaction style for non-intimate interactions, whereas the qualitative interviews focused more on interaction styles in relationships, including ongoing relationships. In addition, in part based on the differences between the quantitative and qualitative findings, I would like to recommend that the more trait-like quantitative measurement of authentic behavior be referred to as perceived authenticity.

In addition, the high/low distinctions made in the qualitative data were based on quantitative assessment of levels of authenticity with race-age-gender groupings. Thus, in future analyses it may also be useful to consider high/low distinctions according to a more systematic categorization that distinguishes across groups (i.e. designating high and low scores as those above or below certain thresholds). This may make the distinctions more meaningful, and perhaps would elucidate more clearly whether the qualitative descriptions of authenticity are more aligned with the quantitative designations. Furthermore, a greater number and variety of interview participants (particularly in terms of race-gender-age) would also facilitate more meaningful comparison of quantitative responses with interview content.

8.5 Future Research and Concluding Remarks

Like all research, this dissertation raises many more questions than it answers. If authenticity is a motivation that drives behavior, should it be considered as a common good? Or do the reasons for authentic or inauthentic behavior (the ends) justify that behavior (the means)? Is the question of authenticity a question of ethics—is authenticity a virtue of an individual, or does it merely display role comfort or lack thereof? Carver and Scheier (1985) speculate that both well-meaning and manipulative aspects are present to varying degrees in all instances of self-presentation, and that the more useful question is how the two are balanced. This research supports that idea, and contends that the values used to achieve that balance are intrinsically and deeply connected to both the individuals' psychology- i.e. their self-esteem, their NSA, their values, and who they are- at a minimum, their gender,

age, and race. These unchangeable factors carry weight- they carry the traditions in our families, the opportunities we have, and our basic social rules.

Regardless of whether the motive is well-meaning or manipulative, should we consider inauthenticity something shameful or a social skill? This raises the question of tolerance for inauthenticity. Tolerance is a relevant construct at both the personal and social levels. “One can perform a role at work without feeling inauthentic because it is known to be a role; the self is more vulnerable at a party, in a dating relationship, or in a sacred ceremony because one must appear to *be* the part one is playing” (Turner and Billings, 1991:118-119). The quantitative and especially qualitative findings of this research support this differentiation. We have greater tolerance (and perhaps even expectations) of inauthenticity in the workplace, yet when it comes to personal interactions, we expect the authentic self. Thus, men and women may each have a task to learn. Men, so adept at the skills of impression management in the workplace, may benefit from relinquishing those skills in the home environment. Women on the other hand, so adept at using their skills in the home environment and with loved ones, may experience gains by increasing the use of those skills in the workplace. These recommendations assume a match, however, between personal tolerance and social tolerance for inauthenticity. Only future studies will confirm if this is the case. In addition, these different motivations raise the importance of addressing reactions to inauthenticity when it is performed by choice versus as a result of structural constraints. An indisputable finding of this work is that authenticity is both an individual and group variable.

Earlier in this study, I described the three types of self-presentation styles described by Leary (1996): authentic, deceptive, and evasive. Authentic presentation was conveying the private self, deceptive, conveying a false self, and evasive presentation was avoiding displaying a true or false self. The motivations for authenticity and inauthenticity identified in this study are compatible with those three behavioral approaches. Authentic presentation may be motivated by a valuing of integrity, and desire for others to know the real or true self. Deceptive self-presentation seems motivation by self-gain or instrumental purposes. Finally, evasive self-presentation seems connected to both congeniality, and self-protection, a theme identified in the qualitative portion of this study.

A goal of this research was to enhance social-scientific understanding of authenticity. This research supported the idea that there is a global concept that is relevant to most people that can be defined as enactment of the true self. Yet, it also promoted the idea of culturally nuanced experiences of authenticity and what it means to be authentic across the lines of gender and race. This also raises the possibility that the measurement itself, particularly the quantitative measurement, may be biased. For example, perhaps Whites and Blacks differ in the extent to which they perceive or define certain traits as authentic. In addition, the analyses suggest that authenticity is not merely just the behavioral component of NSA, but rather is a behavior that is influenced and motivated by factors other than NSA. This research also suggests that impression management strategies can be used to make authenticity

more palatable to others. That is, there are ways that individuals can be effectively authentic, acting in accordance with their true being without driving others away.

Future evaluations of authenticity should address religion more extensively. The religious findings described here suggest that religious practices merit being prospectively studied. Future studies should also consider issues of sexual orientation. Individuals who self-identify as non-heterosexual, but have kept that identity secret may experience profound feelings of inauthenticity. Qualitative interviews with this population may yield especially interesting findings as it would offer the possibility of interviewing individuals who have relinquished authenticity (i.e., kept their sexual orientation secret) and those who have reclaimed it (i.e., ‘come out’). Hattingh’s (2005) research on this topic suggests the value of this line of inquiry.

In the literature review, I described a study by Gove et al. (1980) who found that men, younger individuals, those with higher education, those with higher status occupations, those with low-income, and Jews engaged in more ‘playing dumb’ behavior. These results persisted controlling on social desirability. The findings of the current study mirror these results: men and younger adults are less authentic, and individuals with higher education have higher NSA. This supports the idea that authenticity is a conscious choice- those groups admitted that they ‘play dumb,’ while my study participants reported that they choose not to be authentic. In that regard, men, younger adults, and those with higher education should experience the costs of this impression management work to a greater extent than women, older

adults, and the less educated. This hypothesis counters the large literature which suggests that face work is the work of women and those in low education sector jobs. Future research should address this face work, and the different types of face work that different status groups perform.

The study of authenticity may also deepen scientific understandings of pluralistic ignorance, the situation in which individuals will conform to what are perceived to be normative public beliefs, even if their personal beliefs are discrepant. Are individuals who value authenticity less likely to engage in pluralistic ignorance behaviors, or are experiences of pluralistic ignorance a facet of inauthenticity?

Future studies should further differentiate between normative levels of impression management behaviors, such as the social graces of civilized society, and those situations in which the broader question of authenticity is at stake. Perhaps that inquiry should even designate a term to denote behaviors that are at a more basic level of impression management. The quantitative measures in this study were more akin to measures of impression management, whereas the qualitative interviews more deeply tapped into the situations in which authenticity is truly at stake. The interviews also made clear that it is possible to engage in normative and socially expected impression management behaviors without authenticity being at stake. Unearthing the threshold where questions of impression management cross the boundary into questions of authenticity should be pursued.

Longitudinal study of this topic would provide greater understanding of the developmental trajectory of authenticity: whether authenticity is constant, random,

asymptotic, linearly increasing, or is a step function that changes in response to events, marriages, jobs, or children. Considering both the quantitative and qualitative data, authenticity appears to both vary across age groups (with older adults having higher baseline levels than younger others) and have a step-wise function in response to life events such as marriage and retirement. In addition, longitudinal data would be useful in exploring the temporal links among self-esteem, NSA, and authenticity.

The linkage between reduced sense of authenticity and distress is something that I will address in future research. Specifically, in future research I plan to test the hypothesis inauthenticity is associated with higher levels of anxiety and depression.

Appendices

Appendix A: Demographic Questionnaire

ABOUT YOU AND YOUR FAMILY

1. What is your date of birth? (MM DD YY)

2. How old are you? (AGE IN YEARS)

3. Are you: (Mark an in one box)

Male ₁

Female..... ₂

4.

A. Were you born in the United States?

Yes..... ₁

No..... ₂

B. If you were not born in the U.S., in what country were you born?

C. If you were not born in the U.S., at what age did you first come to the U.S. for an extended period of time (i.e., more than 1 month)? _____

5. What is your race?

White..... ₁

Black or African American ₂

American Indian or Alaska Native.. ₃

Asian ₄

Hispanic ₅

Biracial/Multiracial ₆ Please specify _____

Some other race..... ₇ Please specify _____

6. Now think about your racial/ethnic identity in a different way, suppose there were no categories or boxes provided to check, how would you identify yourself?

7. Was your mother born in the United States?

Yes..... 1

No..... 2

8. Was your father born in the United States?

Yes..... 1

No..... 2

9. What was the primary language used in your home when you were growing up?

English..... 1

Spanish..... 2

Other..... 3 *Please specify* _____

10. Which of the following describes you?

Married..... 1

Widowed..... 4

Never Married..... 2

Other..... 5

Divorced/Separated... 3

11. How many children do you have?

- None 0
- One 1
- Two 2
- Three 3
- Four 4
- Five 5
- Six or more..... 6

12. In the past 12 months, please indicate who was living with you. Include everyone who lived in your home, relatives and non-relatives, even if they did not live with you the entire 12 months. Begin with your parent, guardian, or closest relative. (If you need more space, please attach a separate sheet.) Please tell us about each person.

Name	Relationship to You	Sex (M or F)	Current Age (if known)

13.

A. On average, how many hours a day do you spend by yourself?

_____ **Hours**

B. Is this more or less time than you would like to have alone, or just the right amount of time alone?

More time than I would like to have alone..... 1

Less time than I would like to have alone..... 2

Just the right amount of time alone 3

14. In what religion, if any, were you raised?

- Catholic 1
- Protestant..... 2
- Jewish..... 3
- Islam..... 4
- Hindu..... 5
- Buddhist 6
- Other 7 *Please specify* _____
- None 8

15. What is your current religious affiliation?

- Catholic 1
- Protestant..... 2
- Jewish..... 3
- Islam..... 4
- Hindu..... 5
- Buddhist 6
- Other 7 *Please specify* _____
- None..... 8

16. Are you currently a member of a church or synagogue?

- Yes 1
- No..... 2

17. How often do you currently attend religious services?

- More than once a week 1
- Once a week..... 2
- Nearly every week 3
- About once a month..... 4
- Several times a year 5
- About once or twice a year 6
- Never..... 7

18. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (Please choose only one box.)

- Completed elementary school 1
- Completed eighth grade..... 2
- High school graduate..... 3
- Some college/vocational school 4
- Bachelor's degree 5
- Some graduate school..... 6
- Master's degree 7
- Law degree (LLB, JD) 8
- Medical degree (MD, DDS, DVM, etc.) 9
- Doctoral degree 10
- Other..... 11

Please specify : _____

19. How many years of schooling have you completed? (High school= 12 years)

20.

A. Are you currently retired?

Yes 1

No..... 2

B. What is your current occupation? If you are retired, what was your most recent occupation? (Occupation = type of work such as high school teacher, carpenter, manager of a bookstore)

Now we have a few questions about your parents.

21. What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Please choose only one box for each parent.)

	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>
Completed elementary school	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Completed eighth grade.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
High school graduate.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Some college/vocational school	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Bachelor's degree	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
Some graduate school.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
Master's degree	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7
Law degree (LLB, JD)	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
Medical degree (MD, DDS, DVM, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 9
Doctoral degree	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
Other.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 11	<input type="checkbox"/> 11
<i>Please specify (<u>mother</u>):</i> _____		
<i>Please specify (<u>father</u>):</i> _____		
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 0

22. What is or was your mother's occupation? If your mother is deceased or retired, what was the last occupation she had? (Please be as specific as possible, including any area of specialization.)

23. What is or was your father's occupation? If your father is deceased or retired, what was the last occupation he had? (Please be as specific as possible, including any area of specialization.)

24. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. On a seven-point scale of the political views that people might hold, from extremely liberal (1) to extremely conservative (7), where would you place yourself on this scale?

- Extremely liberal 1
- Liberal 2
- Slightly liberal 3
- Moderate, middle of the road 4
- Slightly conservative 5
- Conservative 6
- Extremely conservative 7
- Other..... 0 *Please specify:* _____

25. Think about who you are, and all of the things that are important to you. **For each of the terms below that describes you, please mark how important it is to your overall sense of yourself at this point in your life. If the term is not applicable to you (for example, you are not a parent or a spouse), please check the first box labeled “Not Applicable.”**

	<u>Not</u> <u>Applicable</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>Important</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Important</u>	<u>Not at All</u> <u>Important</u>	
A. Being a good child	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
B. Being a good parent	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
C. Being a good spouse	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
D. Being a politically active person...	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
E. Being a volunteer	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
F. Being someone who socializes well with others.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
G. Your religious affiliation.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
H. Your gender	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
I. Your race or ethnicity	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
J. Your career	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4

Appendix B: Authenticity Inventory

For the following statements, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree:

- | | | <u>Strongly</u>
<u>Disagree</u> | | <u>Disagree</u> | | <u>Agree</u> | | <u>Strongly</u>
<u>Agree</u> | | | |
|--|--------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|---|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|---|
| A. Depending upon the people involved, I react to the same situation in different ways..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| B. In order to be liked, I tend to be what people expect me to be | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| C. I find it difficult to talk about my ideas if they are contrary to group opinion..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| D. One should avoid doing things in public which appear to be wrong to others, even though one knows that he/she is right..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| E. I find it easy to pretend to be something other than my true self..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| F. The best way to handle people is to agree with them and tell them what they want to hear | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| G. I am careful at parties and social gatherings for fear that I will do or say something that others won't like..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| H. I usually do not change my positions when people disagree with me | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| I. I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain people | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| J. When I am uncertain how to act in a social situation, I look to the behavior of others for cues. | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| K. In different situations with different people, I often act like very different persons..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| L. Even if I am not enjoying myself, I often pretend to be having a good time. | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

- M. I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone else or win their favor..... ₁ ₂..... ₃..... ₄
- N. In order to get along and be liked, I tend to be what people expect me to be rather than anything else..... ₁ ₂..... ₃..... ₄
- O. I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them ₁..... ₂..... ₃..... ₄
- P. The people I am close to can count on me being who I am regardless of what setting we are in. ₁ ₂..... ₃..... ₄
- Q. I frequently pretend to enjoy something when in actuality I really don't..... ₁ ₂..... ₃..... ₄
- R. I've often used my silence or head-nodding to convey agreement with someone else's statement or position even though I really disagree ₁ ₂..... ₃..... ₄
- S. I try to act in a manner that is consistent with my personally held values, even if other criticize or reject me for doing so ₁ ₂..... ₃..... ₄
- T. I've often done things that I don't want to do merely not to disappoint people ₁ ₂..... ₃..... ₄
- U. I rarely if ever, put on a "false face" for others to see..... ₁..... ₂..... ₃..... ₄
- V. I am willing to endure negative consequences by expressing my true beliefs about things. ₁ ₂..... ₃..... ₄
- W. I spend a lot of energy pursuing goals that are very important to other people even though they are unimportant to me ₁ ₂..... ₃..... ₄

Appendix C: NSA Instrument

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. For the following statements, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree:

- | | | <u>Strongly</u>
<u>Disagree</u> | | <u>Disagree</u> | | <u>Agree</u> | | <u>Strongly</u>
<u>Agree</u> | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|------------------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|-------|--------------------------|--|---|
| A. I am willing to argue only if I know that my friends will back me up | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 4 |
| B. If I hear that someone expresses a poor opinion of me, I do my best next time that I see this person to make a good impression | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 4 |
| C. I seldom feel the need to make excuses or apologize for my behavior..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 4 |
| D. It is not important to me that I behave “properly” in social situations | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 4 |
| E. It is hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged to do so..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 4 |
| F. If there is any criticism or anyone says anything about me, I can take it | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 4 |
| G. I laugh more when I watch a comedy with others than when alone. | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 4 |
| H. I am willing to change myself for others if the reward is desirable enough | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 4 |
| I. I would rather be myself than be well thought of..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 4 |
| J. I find that my behavior typically expresses my personal needs and desires..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 1 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 2 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 3 | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | 4 |

Appendix D: Awareness Scale

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal beliefs. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u>		<u>Disagree</u>		<u>Agree</u>		<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u>				
A. For better or for worse I am aware of who I truly am.	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
B. I actively try to understand which of my self-aspects fit together to form my core or true self	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
C. I am aware of when I am not being my true self	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
D. I am able to distinguish those self-aspects that are important to my core or true self from those that are unimportant	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
E. I want close others to understand the real me rather than just my public persona or “image”	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	4

Appendix E: Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	Strongly <u>Agree</u>
A. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
B. At times I think I am no good at all.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
C. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
D. I am able to do things as well as most other people.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
E. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
F. I certainly feel useless at times.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
G. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
H. I wish I could have more respect for myself.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
I. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
J. I take a positive attitude toward myself.....	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄

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Biography

Alexis T. Franzese was born in Smithtown, New York on September 28th, 1979.

Alexis received her Bachelor's Degree from Union College in Schenectady New York in 2001, where she completed her Honors thesis in Sociology (her major) and graduated *cum laude* with minors in Psychology and History. Alexis began her studies in Sociology at Duke in the fall of 2001 and received her M.A. in Sociology from Duke in 2003. Alexis has been simultaneously enrolled as a student in the Clinical Psychology program at Duke since the fall of 2004, and will complete that doctorate program in the next few years.

Alexis has had one article published, and has three other publications forthcoming:

Dupre, M.E., Franzese, A.T., & Parrado, E.A. 2006. The effect of religious involvement on the black/white mortality crossover in late life. *Demography* 43(1): 141-164.

Cukrowicz, K.C., Franzese, A.T., Thorp, S.A., Cheavens, J.S., & Lynch, T.R.

(forthcoming) *Personality factors and social support among depressed older adults: A six-year longitudinal study*. Aging and Mental Health.

Franzese, Alexis T. (forthcoming). Self-Presentation. In The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 2nd edition.

Franzese, Alexis T. (forthcoming). Addiction. In *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd edition.

Over the course of her graduate education, Alexis was awarded the following academic honors:

Fellow, Spencer Discipline Based Scholarship in Education Program (DBSE), Duke University (2007-2008)

Child Policy Summer Research Assistantship, Center for Child and Family Policy, Duke University (2007)

Graduate Teaching Scholar Award, Department of Sociology, Duke University (2006)

Fellow, Center for Child and Family Policy, Duke University (2005-2006)

Fellow, Kenan Institute for the Study of Ethics, Duke University (2005-2006)

Scholarship Development Award, Midwest Sociological Society (2005)

Aleane Webb Dissertation Research Fellowship, Graduate School, Duke University (2005)

Summer Research Fellowship, Graduate School, Duke University (2005)

Awardee, NIDA Transdisciplinary Prevention Research Center (2004-2005)

Fellow, Preparing Future Faculty Program, Duke University (2003-2004)

Awardee, Mini-grant Fellowship, Center for Teaching, Learning, and Writing, Duke University (2003-2004)

Awardee, Conference Travel Awards, Departments of Sociology, Psychology, Women's Studies, and from the Graduate School, Duke University (2002-2005)

Awardee, Leadership in an Aging Society Internship Program, Duke University (2002)

Honorable Mention, National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship Competition (2002)

Awardee, Graduate Award Fellowship, Department of Sociology, Duke University (2001-2002)

Alexis currently resides in Durham with her husband, Thomas, their son Brennan, and their pets: Cleo and Joelle.