The Imaginary Audience and Personal Fable: Factor Analyses and Concurrent Validity of the "New Look" Measures

Luc Goossens and Wim Beyers

Catholic University of Leuven

Mieke Emmen

University of Nijmegen

Marcel A. G. van Aken

Utrecht University

This study examined key components of the "New Look" at the imaginary audience and personal fable constructs. Toward this end, data from four samples of Belgian high school students ($N = 1,458$) were analyzed. Confirmatory and exploratory factor analyses failed to confirm that the measures associated with the New Look theory, the New Imaginary Audience Scale, and the New Personal Fable Scale (NPFS), tapped a common underlying construct. Only the invulnerability and omnipotence subscales of the NPFS proved to be highly related. In line with the New Look theory, boys were found to believe more strongly in their own uniqueness, invulnerability, and omnipotence than were girls. Higher scores on the invulnerability and omnipotence subscales were associated with lower levels of depression and loneliness. Finally, each aspect of the personal fable seemed to have its own specific role in the process of separation–individuation. Implications of these findings for the New Look theory of the imaginary audience and the personal fable are discussed. Suggestions for future research are put forth, with particular emphasis on the role of the invulnerability/omnipotence complex in adolescent development and behavior and on the family resemblances among the various aspects of the personal fable.

Requests for reprints should be sent to Luc Goossens, Department of Psychology, Catholic University of Leuven, Tiensestraat 102, Leuven B-3000, Belgium. E-mail: luc.goossens@ psy.kuleuven.ac.be

For over three decades, it has been assumed that adolescents construct imaginary audiences and personal fables (Elkind, 1967). The imaginary audience refers to adolescents' belief that everyone is as concerned about their behavior as they are. This belief results in heightened self-consciousness, an overconcern with the thoughts of others, and a tendency to anticipate the reactions of others in real and imagined situations. The personal fable refers to adolescents' belief that they are special in the sense of being unique, invulnerable, and omnipotent. These two types of self-centered ideations are used to account for a great number of typical adolescent behaviors that are of some concern to adults. The construct of the personal fable, for instance, is invoked to explain the reckless behaviors that adolescents engage in, such as unprotected intercourse or driving under the influence. Although many scholars of adolescence seem to accept the claim that adolescents construct imaginary audiences and personal fables, there is less consensus about the theoretical explanation for why they do so (Vartanian, 2000).

Two Rival Theories

Two theoretical approaches on the imaginary audience and the personal fable have gained prominence in the literature: the traditional account and the "New Look" theory. According to the traditional view (Elkind, 1967), the imaginary audience and the personal fable are associated with important changes in cognitive development during the transition from childhood to adolescence. A particular type of cognitive egocentrism, which is defined as a failure to differentiate between one's own thoughts and those of others, is then thought to emerge as a necessary by-product of formal operations. This lack of differentiation reveals itself in the mental construction known as the imaginary audience (essentially a failure to differentiate between one's own concerns and the concerns of others), whereas the personal fable can be described as an overdifferentiation of feelings.

The New Look theory (Lapsley, 1991, 1993) does not link the imaginary audience and personal fable to transitions in logical or general cognitive development. Instead, the two ideational patterns are related to (1) sociocognitive development, and (2) the process of separation–individuation. Specifically, it is assumed that adolescents should have reached Level 3 ("Third person") in Selman's (1980) account of sociocognitive development before they can engage in these self-centered ideations. The two constructs, the imaginary audience and the personal fable, would further serve important yet complementary functions during the second separation–individuation phase that takes place during adolescence (Lapsley & Rice, 1988).

Psychoanalytic authors (Blos, 1979; Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975) describe how this process is characterized by a double dynamic. Adolescents continue to be connected to their parents, while simultaneously striving to become independent from them. This "push-and-pull" of connectedness and separateness is acted out in different ways through the construction of the imaginary audience and the personal fable (Kroger, 1998). When adolescents surround themselves with an audience of their own making that proves that they matter to others, they can allow themselves to become separated from their parents without being overwhelmed by separation anxiety. In psychodynamic terms, adolescents are said to maintain a hold on object relations as they take some psychological distance from their initial love objects, their parents.

At the same time, adolescents' belief in their own uniqueness, invulnerability, and omnipotence (i.e., their construction of a personal fable) gives them the strength to go their own way. Psychoanalytic authors state that in so doing, adolescents try to re-establish firm ego boundaries that were weakened while they were trying to separate themselves from their parents. In short, both the imaginary audience and the personal fable have defensive and restorative functions during separation–individuation. Their respective roles in this process, however, are very different. The imaginary audience is associated with adolescents' desire for continuing connectedness, whereas the personal fable reflects their striving for increased separateness.

Measurement Issues

The New Look at the imaginary audience and personal fable not only provided a fresh theoretical account, but inevitably led to innovations in the measurement of the two constructs as well. The traditional account saw egocentrism as a negative by-product of cognitive development and therefore concentrated on critical audiences and their negative effects on adolescents—that is, heightened self-consciousness. The most popular measure associated with the "Old Look" theory, the Imaginary Audience Scale (IAS; Elkind & Bowen, 1979), probes adolescents' reluctance to reveal particular aspects of the self to others in real situations presented as brief vignettes. The New Look theory, in contrast, assigns a positive function to the imaginary audience in the process of separation–individuation. As a consequence, the emphasis is on admiring audiences and their positive effects on adolescents. The New Imaginary Audience Scale (NIAS; Lapsley, FitzGerald, Rice, & Jackson, 1989) therefore asks adolescents how often they imagine that they are admired by others. In short, the measures developed to tap the imaginary audience in the Old Look and New Look theories have a different rationale.

This is not the case for measures of the personal fable. Old Look and New Look measures of this construct share the same basic rationale, but the latter have some additional strengths. The most popular Old Look measure of the construct, a five-item subscale of the Adolescent Egocentrism Scale (AES; Enright, Shukla, & Lapsley, 1980), concentrates on feelings of uniqueness. The New Personal Fable Scale (NPFS; Lapsley et al., 1989) is a much longer instrument (46 items) that, in addition to a total score, provides separate subscales for adolescent uniqueness, invulnerability, and omnipotence.

Initially, the status of these subscales was unclear. Gradually, however, researchers have come to regard them as measures of conceptually and empirically distinct dimensions of the personal fable. This view implies that the NPFS subscales are only moderately correlated. Expanding on this view, some authors have even claimed that each dimension of the personal fable should be measured by a separate instrument. The Adolescent Uniqueness Scale (Duggan, Lapsley, & Norman, 2000; 24 items), Adolescent Invulnerability Scale (Duggan et al., 2000; 22 items), and Adolescent Narcissism Scale (Lapsley, 2000; 32 items) were designed for that purpose, and are extensions of the original uniqueness, invulnerability, and omnipotence subscales of the NPFS, respectively.

Associations among the "New Look" Constructs: Factor Analytic Evidence

Because the extended measures have only recently become available, researchers have focused on the correlations among the NIAS and the subscales of the NPFS. These associations have proven to be complex. The NIAS evidenced a significant correlation with the NPFS uniqueness subscale, but neither of these evidenced high correlations with the NPFS invulnerability and omnipotence subscales. The latter two subscales, in contrast, were strongly related to one another (Greene, Krcmar, Walters, Rubin, & Hale, 2000; Vartanian, 1997).

An exploratory factor analysis on both Old Look and New Look measures revealed that the latter type of scales loaded on three different factors. The NIAS had a high loading on the object-relational ideation factor, the NPFS uniqueness subscale defined a separate factor, and the NPFS invulnerability and omnipotence subscales loaded on a common factor, labeled the omnipotence factor (Vartanian, 1997). All these findings suggest that the New Look measures do not tap a common underlying construct. However, a direct test of this assumption by means of confirmatory factor analysis has not yet been attempted. Such an analysis was conducted in the present study.

A related issue is whether New Look and Old Look measures are strongly correlated with one another. Based on the sole study (Vartanian, 1997) that explored these associations, we phrased the following hypothesis. The NIAS and the NPFS uniqueness subscale would be unrelated to the IAS, but the latter (Old Look) measure would evidence significant, negative correlations with the NPFS invulnerability and omnipotence subscales (Hypothesis 1). The latter associations seemed to make sense, because adolescents who believe that no harm can come their way and that they can achieve just about anything will be less inclined to admit to feelings of embarrassment in the social situations described in the IAS.

Associations with Other Variables:
Concurrent Validity Evidence

In addition to links among the New Look measures, researchers have explored the associations that those measures have with other variables, and with social–cognitive development and separation–individuation in particular. The present study did not include a measure of sociocognitive development. It was assumed that, by and large, the respondents in the present study were old enough to have reached Level 3 in Selman's (1980) theory of social–cognitive development. Thus, a decision was made to select a sample that already qualified on that criterion, rather than actually measure social–cognitive development. Our three hypotheses regarding associations with separation–individuation and related variables were derived from the New Look theory. In these hypotheses, the expected associations for the imaginary audience were simply presumed to represent the mirror image of the relations that were expected to hold for the personal fable, and vice versa. No distinctions were made among the various aspects of the personal fable.

Associations with separation–individuation.   Lapsley (1993) posited that the imaginary audience was associated with connectedness, whereas the personal fable was linked to the complementary topic of separateness. This led us to phrase the following hypothesis (Hypothesis 2): Higher scores on the NIAS would be associated with higher scores on measures of connectedness and lower scores on measures of separation from parents. The three NPFS subscales, in contrast, would evidence the reverse pattern of associations with those two types of measures. Empirical research has indicated that the NIAS and the NPFS uniqueness subscale are not consistently related to separation–individuation. The NPFS invulnerability and omnipotence subscales, however, have been found to correlate inversely with measures of connectedness and directly with measures of separation,

as expected (Docherty & Lapsley, 1995; Lapsley et al., 1989; Milstead, 1993; Vartanian, 1997).

Gender differences.   Lapsley (1993) also assumed that connectedness or communion represented a more feminine theme, whereas separateness or agency should be considered a more masculine theme (Bakan, 1966). This led us to the following hypothesis (Hypothesis 3): Girls would score higher than would boys on the NIAS, whereas boys would score higher than would girls on all of the NPFS subscales (i.e., uniqueness, invulnerability, and omnipotence). Results of empirical research thus far have not been entirely clear. The hypothesis seems to be confirmed, with one important exception: previous research has not found any significant effects for the NIAS (Docherty & Lapsley, 1995; Greene et al., 2000; Lapsley et al., 1989).

Associations with psychological distress.   Lapsley (1993) also surmised that the imaginary audience expressed the anxiety associated with the loss of object ties, whereas personal fable ideations served a buffering function with regard to separation anxiety. Put simply: engagement in imaginary audience ideations indicates that adolescents experience normative separation anxiety and those same ideations compensate for this experience of loss. Personal fable beliefs, in contrast, are a defensive denial of this type of anxiety and the associated negative emotional states. In a sense, then, personal fable beliefs are a more radical defense mechanism, in that adolescents who entertain such ideas simply do not allow themselves to experience negative emotions.

This conceptualization led us to the following hypothesis (Hypothesis 4): Adolescents' tendency to construct an imaginary audience would be positively correlated with psychological distress, whereas their belief in the personal fable would be negatively correlated with psychological distress. Empirical research has shown that adolescents' belief in the imaginary audience and in their own uniqueness were directly related to psychological distress, whereas their feelings of invulnerability and omnipotence were inversely related to their level of psychological distress, as predicted (Docherty & Lapsley, 1995; Schonert-Reichl, 1994). In addition, higher scores on the Old Look measure of the imaginary audience (the IAS) were also correlated with greater psychological distress (Baron, 1986; Garber, Weiss, & Shanley, 1993).

The rather complex patterns of associations with theoretically relevant variables support two key findings on interrelations among the New Look measures. First, researchers have come to realize that adolescents' belief in the imaginary audience may not be the counterpart to the personal fable. Second, researchers no longer regard the personal fable as a unidimen-

sional construct. Exactly how the correlational findings for the personal fable may be explained, however, is still a matter under debate. One view on the issue is that the general assumptions derived from the New Look theory can be upheld for adolescents' beliefs in their invulnerability and omnipotence, but not for their uniqueness beliefs. An alternative and somewhat bolder view, based mainly on the direct association between uniqueness and psychological distress, is that there is a whole family of personal fable constructs, with differential relations to measures of separation−individuation and to indices of adjustment and mental health.

METHOD

Participants

Four samples of high school students from seven secondary schools took part in this study. These schools were located in three provinces of the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (Europe): the provinces of Antwerp, West-Flanders, and Limburg. The samples comprised 309 adolescents (Sample 1: 167 girls and 136 boys from two schools; gender unknown for 6 students), 251 adolescents (Sample 2: 147 girls and 104 boys from a single school), 604 adolescents (Sample 3: 345 girls and 259 boys from three schools), and 294 adolescents (Sample 4: 121 girls and 171 boys from a single school; gender unknown for 2 students), respectively. All four samples completed the New Look measures of the imaginary audience and the personal fable. Analyses that pertained to those measures exclusively were performed on the combined sample size ($N = 1,458$). Additional measures were used with each of the samples to address our hypotheses, but each sample filled out a different set of instruments (see the Procedure section). Actual numbers of participants for each analysis may differ slightly from the numbers mentioned because of missing data.

   Participants attended grades 8 through 12. Average age of the participants across the four samples was 13,11 for grade 8; 14,10 for grade 9; 15,8 for grade 10; 16,8 for grade 11; and 17,8 for grade 12. All of the students were in the academic track; that is, they were preparing themselves for higher education. Virtually all of the students were White. All of the schools were Catholic and are known to recruit mainly students with a middle-class background. The school principals of all seven schools were extensively briefed about the purpose of the study and granted permission to conduct the research in their schools after they had examined and approved the materials to be presented to the adolescents. Under Belgian law, this is the only type of permission needed to perform psychological research on school-age children and adolescents.

Measures

All instruments used were in Dutch, the native language of the participants. These measures were originally developed in English and translated into Dutch for this study. Two independent translations were made: one by the first author and a second one by a research assistant (an undergraduate student in psychology). Divergences were resolved through discussion, and a preliminary version of the translated measures was developed. The latter version was cross-checked by a third translator with a Ph.D. in Psychology, who had an intimate knowledge of the target language (i.e., Dutch).

Imaginary audience and personal fable measures

New Imaginary Audience Scale. The NIAS (Lapsley et al., 1989) is a 30-item New Look instrument that requires participants to indicate on a 4-point scale (1 = never, 4 = often) how often they engage in object relational ideations. Scores are summed across the 30 items to yield a total score. Sample items include "rescuing a friend from danger," "imagining what it would be like if you were gone," and "imagining what everyone will think if you became famous." The original instrument contained 42 items, but was shortened to 30 items for use in this study. The 30 items that evidenced the highest correlations with the total score in Sample 1 ($n = 309$) were retained for that purpose. Participants in Samples 1, 2, and 4 actually completed the full 42-item version, with the results for the 30-item subset being reported in this article, whereas Sample 3 completed the 30-item version. Analyses on the combined Samples 1, 2, and 4 ($n = 854$) revealed that the 30-item subset used in this study was highly comparable with the original 42-item measure. Internal consistency was equally high for the two versions (30 items, $\alpha = .88$; 42 items, $\alpha = .87$) and the two versions were highly correlated, $r = .97$.

New Personal Fable Scale. The NPFS (Lapsley et al., 1989) is a New Look instrument comprised of three subscales that concentrate on feelings of uniqueness, invulnerability, and omnipotence, respectively. Personal uniqueness (13 items) refers to feelings of being different from others and not being understood by other people (e.g., "No one has the same thoughts and feelings that I have"). Invulnerability (14 items) is defined as the incapability to be wounded, injured, or harmed (e.g., "It is easy for me to take risks because I never get hurt"). Omnipotence (19 items) is viewed in terms of having virtually unlimited authority, influence, or power (e.g., "I believe that I can do anything I set my mind to"). All items were answered on a 5-point scale (1 = completely disagree, 5 = completely agree) and responses were summed across the respective items to yield the three sub-

scale scores. Internal consistency estimates for the NPFS subscales in this study are presented in the first part of the Results section (Table 1).

Imaginary Audience Scale. The IAS (Elkind & Bowen, 1979) is a 12-item Old Look instrument that probes adolescents' self-consciousness—that is, their reluctance to reveal particular aspects of the self to others—in different situations. Each item consists of a brief vignette that describes the potentially self-revealing situation and participants chose one of three potential reactions to the situation (ranging from low to high levels of self-consciousness). For the present study, a total score was obtained for each respondent by summing these 12 item scores. Construct validity of this measure was established in studies on both U.S. (Adams & Jones, 1981) and European adolescents (Goossens, 1984; Goossens, Seiffge-Krenke, & Marcoen, 1992; Mallet & Rodriguez-Tomé, 1999; Puklek & Vidmar, 2000). These studies indicated that self-consciousness is directly related to social anxiety and inversely related to self-esteem. Cronbach's α in this study (Sample 4) was .60.

Measures of separateness and relatedness

Separation–Individuation Test of Adolescence (SITA). The shortened, 69-item version (J. B. Levine, personal communication, June 26, 1989; McClanahan & Holmbeck, 1992) of the SITA (Levine, Green, & Millon, 1986) was used in the present study. Item scores were summed to yield seven subscale scores. Participants' scores on those subscales were factor analyzed (principal components) and three factors were retained and subjected to a varimax rotation. The resulting factor solution accounted for 63% of the variance.

The first factor, which was labeled connectedness, was defined by high loadings for the separation anxiety and nurturance seeking subscales. Adolescents who scored high on this factor worried about being disapproved of by significant others (separation anxiety) and felt lonely when they were away from their parents for a long time (nurturance seeking). The second factor, which was labeled separation, evidenced a high loading for the engulfment anxiety subscale in particular. Participants with high scores on this factor claimed that their parents needlessly restricted their freedom and that they were looking forward to getting out from under their parents' rule (engulfment anxiety). The third factor, which seemed to transcend the separateness–relatedness dynamic, was labeled healthy individuation. This factor was defined by substantial positive loadings for the enmeshment seeking, healthy separation, and self-involvement subscales and a substantial negative loading for the dependency denial subscale. Adolescents who scored high on this factor had a desire for close relationships with friends (enmeshment seeking), claimed to have some common interests with their friends and some differences as well (healthy

separation), expressed appropriate self-confidence (self-involvement), and were less inclined to claim that they did not need others (dependency denial).

These three factors were conceptually similar to the three categories of SITA subscales distinguished in an earlier content analysis of the instrument (McClanahan & Holmbeck, 1992). The first two of these, overdependence and excessive autonomy, have a somewhat negative ring to them. The third one, healthy individuation (labeled healthy mutuality or healthy interdependence by McClanahan & Holmbeck, 1992), may be regarded as the more adaptive solution of the separation–individuation process that avoids the pitfalls of both excessive dependency on, and exaggerated autonomy from, parents. The reliability and construct validity of the SITA has been demonstrated in several studies (Holmbeck & Leake, 1999; Levine & Saintonge, 1993; Quintana & Kerr, 1993). Higher scores on the separation anxiety and engulfment anxiety subscales, important markers of the first and second factor, respectively, were associated with lower self-esteem and higher scores for depression, loneliness, and anxiety. The enmeshment seeking, healthy separation, and self-involvement subscales, all positive markers of the third factor, were directly related to self-esteem and inversely related to negative emotional states such as depression and loneliness (McClanahan & Holmbeck, 1992).

Separation Anxiety Test (SAT). The SAT (Hansburg, 1980) is a measure comprised of a set of 12 separation situations, most of which deal with interactions between parents and children (e.g., a child leaves his parents to go to camp, or a child and her father are standing at the coffin of the child's mother). Participants are asked to imagine themselves in these situations and indicate from a list of 17 possible reactions what reactions they would exhibit in the situation. The number of times that an adolescent chooses each of the 17 reactions is summed across the 12 situations. In the present study, participants' scores on those 17 subscales were factor analyzed (principal components) and two factors were retained and subjected to a varimax rotation. The resulting factor solution accounted for 42% of the variance.

Thirteen of the subscales (e.g., attachment and anxiety) had high loadings on the first factor, which was labeled connectedness. Adolescents who scored high on this factor stated that they would feel lonely or rejected in the separation situations depicted (i.e., the attachment system would be activated) and that they would try to defend themselves against the negative impact of those situations (i.e., defensiveness). The other four subscales (adaptation, evasion, well-being, and sublimation) had high loadings on the second factor, which was labeled separation. Participants with high scores on this factor stated that they would try to make the best of the

situation (adaptation) or could see some positive aspects of the separation experience (well-being). Reliability and construct validity of the SAT has been demonstrated in several studies (Goossens, Marcoen, Van Hees, & Van de Woestijne, 1998; Hansburg, 1986; Kroger, 1985). Correlational research has indicated that the connectedness subscales had a somewhat negative quality to them, as opposed to the overall positive quality of the separation subscales. High scores on subscales related to attachment and defensiveness, both key markers of the connectedness factor, were indicators of overly close or symbiotic relationships (Levitz-Jones & Orlofsky, 1985; Wade, 1987). When summed across the four subscales, the separation subscales were directly related to positive feelings in the relationships with parents as experienced during students' adaptation to college (Rice, Cole, & Lapsley, 1990).

Emotional Autonomy Scale. The EAS (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986) is a 14-item scale that probes adolescents' emotional distancing from their parents in both the cognitive (e.g., de-idealization) and affective realms (e.g., nondependency on parents). Items are rated on a 4-point scale, ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree. Scores are summed across the 14 items to yield a total score. A sample item, reverse coded, reads, "My parents hardly ever make mistakes." Cronbach's α in the present study reached .81 (Sample 3). The EAS was used to measure adolescents' desire to be separated from their parents. Earlier research has revealed that this scale is directly related to feelings of depression and delinquency and may therefore be considered an indicator of unhealthy detachment from parents (Silverberg & Gondoli, 1996).

Relationship Support Scale (RSS). The RSS (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993) is an 11-item instrument that probes adolescents' beliefs that their parents are supportive, and available to help when needed, and spend time with them. Adolescents' scores on the 11 items are summed to yield a total score. A sample item reads, "I can count on my mother/father to help me out when I am in trouble." Cronbach's α in the present study reached .67 (Sample 3). This scale was used to measure adolescents' desire to be connected to, or supported by their parents. In earlier research, the measure has been proven to be directly related to self-esteem and academic competence (Gray & Steinberg, 1999). As expected, the RSS evidenced a significant negative correlation, $r = -.54$, $p < .001$, with the EAS (Sample 3).

Psychological distress

Center for Epidemiologic Studies–Depression Scale (CES-D). The CES-D (Radloff, 1977) is a 20-item measure that assesses the frequency of depressive symptoms, with particular emphasis on depressed mood, and is intended

for use with the general population. For each item, participants indicate on a 4-point scale (0 = rarely or never, 3 = most or all of the time) how often they have experienced each symptom during the last week. Participants' scores are summed across the 20 items in the scale. In earlier research, the CES-D demonstrated excellent reliability and validity when used with adolescents (Radloff, 1991). Cronbach's α in the present study was .86 (Sample 4).

UCLA Loneliness Scale–Revised. This 20-item instrument (Russell, Peplau, & Cutrona, 1980) measures loneliness conceptualized as a unidimensional emotional response to a discrepancy between desired and achieved levels of social contact. The scale has well-established reliability and validity (Shaver & Brennan, 1991) and proved to be highly reliable in the present study. Each item is scored on a 5-point scale (1 = completely disagree to 5 = completely agree) and these scores are summed into a total score. In the present study, Cronbach's α reached .90 (Sample 4). Consistent with the literature, depression and loneliness further proved to be distinct but related constructs in the present study, $r = .44$, $p < .001$ (Sample 4).

Procedure

The participants in all four samples completed both the NIAS and the NPFS. The participants in Sample 1 filled out one additional measure: the SITA. The adolescents in Sample 2 likewise completed one additional measure: the SAT. Participants in Sample 3 filled out two additional measures: the EAS and the RSS. Finally, the adolescents in Sample 4 completed three additional measures: the IAS, the CES-D, and the UCLA Loneliness Scale–Revised.

In six of the seven schools, all measures were group administered to whole classes at a time by a research assistant (an undergraduate student in psychology) according to standardized instructions. All testing sessions occurred during regularly scheduled classes and took up to 50 min. At the start of each testing session, it was made clear to the participants that they could decline to take part in the study if they so desired. None of the adolescents opted to do so. As a consequence, all of the students targeted for participation successfully completed the questionnaires in the six schools in which this well-controlled procedure was used.

In one school (one of the three schools from Sample 3), the school principal refused to comply with the researchers' request to use the above procedure. In this school, the self-administering questionnaires were handed out to the students by teachers with an accompanying letter that explained the general purpose of the study. The students were asked to return the completed questionnaires within 1 week. The return rate in this school

reached an estimated 60%, which seemed a reasonable participation rate for this type of research.

RESULTS

Associations among Imaginary Audience and Personal Fable Scales

Internal consistency.   Subscale intercorrelations and internal consistency estimates (Cronbach's α) for the New Look measures are presented in Table 1, for all four samples combined (N = 1,451). All measures evidenced levels of internal consistency acceptable for use in the early stages of construct validation research. Both the NIAS and the total score for the NPFS were highly reliable (with αs approaching or even exceeding .80). The three subscales of the latter measure were modestly reliable (αs = .60–.70). It should be noted that the latter reliabilities set a limit on the size of observed correlations.

Confirmatory factor analysis.   As shown in Table 1, the NIAS and the NPFS uniqueness subscale evidenced a significant positive correlation. Adolescents' belief in their own uniqueness was significantly related to their feelings of invulnerability and omnipotence. The latter two types of feelings proved to be highly interrelated. The intercorrelations among four measures—the NIAS, and the NPFS uniqueness, invulnerability, and omnipotence subscales—were subjected to confirmatory factor analysis (CFA; maximum likelihood method). This analysis tested whether all four measures tapped a common latent construct and was performed on the co-

TABLE 1

Intercorrelations and Internal Consistency (Cronbach α) for the New Imaginary Audience Scale (NIAS) and the New Personal Fable Scale (NPFS) and subscales

Measure	2	3	4	5	α
1. NIAS	.13***	−.03	.14***	.12***	.87
2. NPFS uniqueness subscale		.08**	.24***	.59***	.65
3. NPFS invulnerability subscale			.47***	.70***	.64
4. NPFS omnipotence subscale				.84***	.74
5. NPFS					.78

Note. N = 1,451. Confirmatory factor analysis was performed on the covariance rather than the correlation matrix.

**p < .01; ***p < .001.

variance matrix for the total sample ($N = 1{,}451$) using LISREL 8.30 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993). The associated χ^2 value, a statistic that should be nonsignificant in well-fitting models, was highly significant, $\chi^2(2, N (1{,}451) = 27.47, p < .001)$. Additional fit indices that are less sensitive to sample size were equally poor: adjusted goodness-of-fit index $= .95$; root mean square error of approximation $= .09$. The NIAS and the NPFS uniqueness subscale further had low standardized loadings on the common construct, $\lambda = .11$ and $.18$, respectively, and, consequently, had high residual variances. Together, overall fit indices and standardized factor loadings led to the rejection of the single-factor model for the data.

Models comprising two and three factors could not be tested using CFA, due to identification problems experienced with the data (i.e., there was insufficient information in the covariance matrix to estimate the model parameters properly). To avoid these difficulties, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted. Two- and three-factor models were compared (using principal factoring with iterations followed by varimax rotation). In the two-factor EFA solution, the NPFS omnipotence and invulnerability subscales had high loadings on the first factor, whereas the NIAS and the NPFS uniqueness subscale had substantial loadings on the second factor. The results of the three-factor exploratory analysis, which accounted for 37% of the variance, are presented in Table 2. The communalities (h^2) for the NIAS and NPFS uniqueness subscale were low, which confirmed the high residual variances in the confirmatory analyses. The pattern of factor loadings confirmed earlier findings that the NPFS omnipotence and invulnerability subscales had high loadings on the first factor, whereas the NIAS and the NPFS uniqueness subscale each defined a separate factor.

Associations between New Look and Old Look measures.   Null correlations were obtained in Sample 4 ($n = 290$) between the IAS on the one hand, and the NIAS, $r = .08$, *ns*, and the NPFS uniqueness subscale, $r = -.03$, *ns*, on the other. The NPFS invulnerability, $r = -.32, p < .001$, and

TABLE 2
Factor Loadings Following Varimax Rotation for the New Look Scales

Measure	Factor			h^2
	I	*II*	*III*	
New Imaginary Audience Scale	.00	.14	**.40**	.18
NPFS uniqueness subscale	.11	**.40**	.18	.21
NPFS invulnerability subscale	**.70**	.05	−.09	.50
NPFS omnipotence subscale	**.68**	.30	.23	.60

Note. $N = 1{,}451$. Loadings greater than .35 are boldfaced. NPFS = New Personal Fable Scale.

omnipotence, $r = -.35$, $p < .001$, subscales evidenced significant negative associations with the IAS. These findings confirmed Hypothesis 1.

Associations with Other Variables

Associations with the separateness–relatedness dynamic. Correlations between the separation–individuation measures and the New Look scales are presented in Table 3. The associations obtained for the NIAS did not confirm our expectations (i.e., positive associations with measures of connectedness and negative ones with measures of separation). Instead, the instrument evidenced significant positive correlations with most measures of both connectedness and separation (and one negative correlation). The NPFS uniqueness subscale was positively related to most of the separation measures, as expected, but most of the negative correlations with measures of connectedness failed to reach significance. The opposite held for the NPFS invulnerability and omnipotence subscales. In line with our hypotheses, both of these scales evidenced significant negative correlations with five out of the six measures of connectedness (and a positive correlation with the sixth measure). The evidence was somewhat more convincing for the NPFS invulnerability subscale. Contrary to expectations, however, these same two subscales failed to exhibit significant positive associations with measures of separation. Hypothesis 2, therefore, was only partially confirmed. An additional finding was that higher scores on the NPFS omnipotence subscale were associated with higher scores on the

TABLE 3
Correlations between New Look Scales and Measures of the Separation–Individuation Process

Separation–Individuation	NIAS	NPFS Uniqueness Subscale	NPFS Invulnerability Subscale	NPFS Omnipotence Subscale
Connectedness; SITA	.23***	−.06	−.32***	−.14*
Connectedness; SAT	.24***	−.07	−.18**	−.17**
Connectedness; RSS	−.01	−.11**	−.13***	.07
Separation; SITA	.19***	.19***	.10	.08
Separation; SAT	.24***	.06	.10	.02
Separation; EAS	.03	.22***	.11*	−.12**
Healthy individuation; SITA	.18**	.04	.09	.26***

Note. NIAS = New Imaginary Audience Scale; NPFS = New Personal Fable Scale; SITA = Separation–Individuation Test of Adolescence (Sample 1; $n = 309$); SAT = Separation Anxiety Test (Sample 2; $n = 250$); RSS = Relationship Support Scale (Sample 3; $n = 604$); EAS = Emotional Autonomy Scale (Sample 3; $n = 604$).

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

healthy individuation factor, a dimension tapped by a single instrument (the SAIT).

Gender differences.   All four samples were again collapsed and gender differences for each of the four New Look measures were examined by means of one-way analyses of variance. In these analyses, 777 girls were compared to 666 boys (total $N = 1,443$). Significant effects for gender were found for the NPFS uniqueness, invulnerability, and omnipotence subscales, $F(1, 1441) = 5.81$, $p < .05$; $F(1, 1441) = 120.12$, $p < .001$; and $F(1, 1441) = 58.68$, $p < .001$, respectively. In all three cases, males obtained higher scores than did females, as expected (boys: $M = 43.27, 41.92$, and 54.20, $SD = 6.52, 6.57$, and 8.14; girls: $M = 42.42, 38.35$, and 50.87, $SD = 6.71, 5.81$, and 8.35 for uniqueness, invulnerability, and omnipotence, respectively. These findings represented a small effect size for uniqueness, $d = .13$, and medium effect sizes for both invulnerability, $d = .58$, and omnipotence, $d = .40$. The gender difference fell short of significance for the NIAS. In short, Hypothesis 3 was confirmed for the NPFS subscales, but not for the NIAS, on which girls were expected to score higher than boys. The latter failure to confirm our initial expectations is in line with earlier findings in the literature.

Correlations with psychological distress.   Correlations between both the New Look and Old Look measures and measures of two aspects of psychological distress (i.e., depression and loneliness), as obtained in Sample 4, are presented in Table 4. In line with Hypothesis 4, the NIAS was positively related to depression (but not to loneliness). The NPFS invulnerability and omnipotence subscales evidenced negative correlations with both indices of psychological distress, as predicted, with three out of four correlations being significant. The NPFS uniqueness subscale, however, showed positive associations with both depression and loneliness, although negative correlations had been expected. In short, Hypothesis 4 was confirmed, with the exception of the NPFS uniqueness subscale. Significant positive associations were also found between both depressive symptomatology and loneliness, on the one hand, and the Old Look measure, the IAS, on the other. This finding again confirmed earlier work with this instrument.

DISCUSSION

Earlier work on the New Look scales had suggested that the NPFS invulnerability and omnipotence subscales were more closely related to one an-

TABLE 4

Correlations between the New Imaginary Audience Scale (NIAS), the New Personal Fable
Scale (NPFS) subscales, and the Imaginary Audience Scale (IAS),
and Psychological Distress in Sample 4

Measure	Depression	Loneliness
New Look measures		
NIAS	.26***	−.05
NPFS uniqueness subscale	.18**	.15**
NPFS invulnerability subscale	−.20***	−.20***
NPFS omnipotence subscale	−.10	−.13*
Old Look measure		
IAS	.20***	.34***

Note. Sample 4; $n = 290$. Depression was assessed using the Center for Epidemiologic studies–Depression Scale; loneliness was assessed using the UCLA Loneliness Scale–Revised.
  *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

other than to the NPFS uniqueness subscale and the NIAS. Those two sub-scales, moreover, were consistently related to other variables along the lines suggested by the New Look theory. An integrative view on these cor-relations, therefore, assigns a central role to what may be referred to as the invulnerability/omnipotence complex. An alternative view holds that there is a whole family of personal fable constructs that are relatively inde-pendent from one another and each has a specific set of correlates. The findings of the present study mainly confirmed the former view and occa-sionally yielded evidence in favor of the latter one.

Factor Analyses

Confirmatory and exploratory factor analyses converge on the conclusion that current theories of the imaginary audience and the personal fable are in need of revision. The New Look scales do not measure a common un-derlying construct, as Elkind's (1967) theory would lead one to believe; and the NPFS uniqueness, invulnerability, and omnipotence subscales cannot be considered indicators of a single personal fable construct, as Lapsley's (1993) New Look theory in its original formulation would have it. The pattern of correlational findings further implies that the two basic constructs of the New Look theory, the imaginary audience and the per-sonal fable, are not closely related to one another. In line with earlier re-search, an alternative conclusion has to be reached. It appears that the NIAS and the NPFS uniqueness subscale are relatively independent from

the other measures. The two remaining subscales of the personal fable instrument (NPFS), however, have a lot in common and may be collectively referred to as measures of the invulnerability/omnipotence complex.

The two subscales that tapped this complex also evidenced significant negative associations with the traditional (Old Look) measure of the imaginary audience (the IAS), whereas the other New Look scales had nonsignificant correlations with that measure. This finding confirmed our initial expectations (Hypothesis 1). The low correlation between the Old Look and New Look measures of the imaginary audience (IAS and NIAS, respectively) suggests that the new measure has unique strengths compared with the older one.

Concurrent Validity

Associations with other variables confirmed, at least in part, the distinction between the invulnerability/omnipotence complex on the one hand, and the NIAS and the NPFS uniqueness subscale, on the other. Our initial expectations concerning gender differences were mostly confirmed (Hypothesis 3). Boys scored higher than did girls on the NPFS invulnerability and omnipotence subscales and, to a lesser extent, on the uniqueness subscale. There was some support also for the protective effect of feelings of invulnerability and omnipotence against adolescents' psychological distress (Hypothesis 4). Adolescents' belief in the imaginary audience and in their own uniqueness, in contrast, seemed to be risk factors for depression and loneliness; however, the correlations obtained were low. Additional research is needed in this particular area.

Other findings suggest that additional distinctions can be drawn between invulnerability and omnipotence. The results with regard to separation–individuation (Hypothesis 2) are a case in point here. The original hypothesis that the invulnerability/omnipotence complex would be related to adolescents' distancing from parents in a specific way (positive associations with separateness and negative ones with connectedness) was not confirmed. Instead, the findings suggest that each aspect of the personal fable has its own specific role in the process of separation–individuation. Invulnerability beliefs lead adolescents to de-emphasize the connectedness theme and, in many cases, to avoid overdependence. Uniqueness beliefs are related to greater emphasis on separation from parents, and on excessive autonomy in particular. Omnipotence beliefs, in contrast, are associated with markers of healthy individuation. On the whole, however, these correlations were low. Further conceptual work will have to respecify the exact role of the various components of the personal

fable in the process of separation–individuation, and to delineate more fully which forms of adolescent connectedness and separation are most adaptive throughout adolescence (Kroger, 1998).

The highly differentiated findings with regard to associations with separation–individuation thus challenge the invulnerability/omnipotence view. Rather they provide support for the alternative view: that there is a whole family of personal fable constructs. Additional findings of the present study that revealed that adolescents' belief in their own uniqueness acts as a risk factor for both depression and loneliness, whereas their beliefs in their own invulnerability and omnipotence act as protective factors in this regard, may also be construed as evidence in favor of this alternative interpretation. One could surmise, for instance, that adolescents' belief in the uniqueness of their feelings, which blocks the way to true intimacy and emotional relief through sharing one's negative feelings with age-mates, actually leads to higher levels of psychological distress. Confidence in one's invulnerability and omnipotence, in contrast, can be more effective as a protective factor against such distress, even though this protection may appear overly strong and somewhat rigid to the adult observer.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future research will have to concentrate on the exact role of the invulnerability/omnipotence complex in adolescent development and behavior and on the family resemblances among the various aspects of the personal fable. Specifically, researchers have to ascertain whether some of the New Look constructs are more strongly linked to their supposed origins and alleged consequences than are others. With regard to origins, researchers may want to explore the hypothesis that the invulnerability/omnipotence complex is more strongly associated with Selman's (1980) levels of sociocognitive development than are other aspects of the personal fable and the imaginary audience. Distinguishing between various aspects of the personal fable may help to clarify the inconsistent results found in earlier work on links between the New Look constructs and sociocognitive development (Buis, 1987; Jahnke & Blanchard-Fields, 1993; Milstead, 1993; Vartanian & Powlishta, 1996). With regard to consequences, researchers could check whether some aspects of the personal fable are more strongly correlated with risk-taking behavior than are others.

A more general recommendation is that future studies should include measures of sociocognitive skills (e.g., role taking). In fact, the present study's failure to include such measures may be considered an important

flaw. Additional work should concentrate on Lapsley's attempts to link the two parts of his New Look theory; that is, his views on the respective roles of separation–individuation and sociocognitive development. In one suggestion, which is as yet unexamined in the empirical literature, Lapsley (1993) stated that the process of separation–individuation will commence when an adolescent reaches a certain level of sociocognitive development (i.e., Selman's Level 3). If this claim were to be substantiated by empirical research, current understanding of psychological development in adolescence would be significantly advanced.

Limitations of the Present Study

First, it is important to realize that the findings of this study may have limited generalizability to other populations of adolescents. Whether the present findings with European adolescents can be generalized to North American adolescents (United States and Canada), on whom the bulk of the available research on the imaginary audience and personal fable has been conducted, remains an open question. Because all four samples employed comprised White adolescents with a middle-class background, care should also be taken not to generalize the results to adolescents from different ecological niches such as minority adolescents.

Second, it is important to keep in mind that although most correlations reached statistical significance and were comparable with associations usually reported in this field of research, they have limited practical significance. Future studies could address this issue further, for instance, by studying clinical or more extreme (sub)groups.

Third, this study concentrated on correlations among the New Look measures and on associations of these scales with other theoretically relevant variables. This is an important limitation because the New Look is, in essence, an integrative theory about adolescent development. Future research should therefore move beyond correlational findings and focus on changes in mean level of the various constructs across age, preferably using a longitudinal design. Future studies could also examine how the associations among the various aspects of the personal fable and the imaginary audience, and the associations of the personal fable and the imaginary audience with the process of separation–individuation, change when adolescents grow older.

In spite of these limitations, it is our hope that these suggestions for future research will prompt other researchers to examine adolescents' belief in the imaginary audience and the personal fable. A more careful distinction between the various aspects of the personal fable and a stronger emphasis on the specific role of the invulnerability/omnipotence

complex in the adolescent process, as advocated in this study, may represent an important step in the conceptual clarification of Lapsley's (1993) New Look theory.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES

Adams, G. R., & Jones, R. M. (1981). Imaginary audience behavior: A validation study. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 1*, 1–10.

Bakan, D. (1966). *The duality of human existence.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Baron, P. (1986). Egocentrism and depressive symptomatology in adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 1*, 431–437.

Blos, P. (1979). *The adolescent passage.* Madison, CT: International Universities Press.

Buis, J. M. (1987). *A test of two theories: Elkind and Lapsley on the imaginary audience and the personal fable.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgia State University, Atlanta.

Docherty, C. K., & Lapsley, D. K. (1995, April). *Separation–individuation, adolescent adjustment, and the "New Look" at the imaginary audience and personal fable.* Poster presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Indianapolis, IN.

Duggan, P. M., Lapsley, D. K., & Norman, K. (2000, April). *Adolescent invulnerability and personal uniqueness: Scale development and initial construct validation.* Poster presented at the eighth biennial meeting of the Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago, IL.

Elkind, D. (1967). Egocentrism in adolescence. *Child Development, 38*, 1025–1034.

Elkind, D., & Bowen, R. (1979). Imaginary audience behavior in children and adolescents. *Developmental Psychology, 15*, 33–44.

Enright, R. D., Shukla, D., & Lapsley, D. K. (1980). Adolescent egocentrism-sociocentrism and self-consciousness. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 9*, 101–116.

Garber, J., Weiss, B., & Shanley, N. (1993). Cognitions, depressive symptoms, and development in adolescents. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 102*, 47–57.

Goossens, L. (1984). Imaginary audience behavior as a function of age, sex, and formal operational thinking. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 7*, 77–93.

Goossens, L., Marcoen, A., Van Hees, S., & Van de Woestijne, O. (1998). Attachment style and loneliness in adolescence. *European Journal of Psychology of Education, 13*, 529–542.

Goossens, L., Seiffge-Krenke, I., & Marcoen, A. (1992). The many faces of adolescent egocentrism: Two European replications. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 7*, 43–58.

Gray, M. R., & Steinberg, L. (1999). Unpacking authoritative parenting: Reassessing a multidimensional construct. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61*, 574–587.

Greene, K., Krcmar, M., Walters, L. H., Rubin, D. L., & Hale, J. L. (2000). Targeting adolescent risk-taking behaviors: The contributions of egocentrism and sensation seeking. *Journal of Adolescence, 23*, 439–461.

Hansburg, H. G. (1980). *Adolescent separation anxiety: Vol 1. A method for the study of adolescent separation problems.* New York: Krieger.

Hansburg, H. G. (1986). *Researches in separation anxiety: A third volume on the Separation Anxiety Test.* New York: Krieger.

Holmbeck, G. N., & Leake, C. (1999). Separation–individuation and psychological adjustment in late adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 28*, 563–581.

Jahnke, H. C., & Blanchard-Fields, F. (1993). A test of two models of adolescent egocentrism. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 22*, 313–326.

Jöreskog, K. G., & Sörbom, D. (1993). *LISREL VIII users' reference guide.* Mooresville, IN: Scientific Software.

Kroger, J. (1985). Separation–individuation and ego identity status in New Zealand university students. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 14*, 133–147.

Kroger, J. (1998). Adolescence as a second separation–individuation process: Critical review of an object relations approach. In E. E. A. Skoe & A. L. von der Lippe (Eds.), *Personality development in adolescence: A cross-national and life span perspective* (pp. 172–192). London: Routledge.

Lamborn, S. D., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Emotional autonomy redux: Revisiting Ryan and Lynch. *Child Development, 64*, 483–499.

Lapsley, D. K. (1991). Egocentrism theory and the "New Look" at the imaginary audience and personal fable in adolescence. In R. M. Lerner, A. C. Petersen, & J. Brooks-Gunn (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of adolescence* (pp. 281–286). New York: Garland.

Lapsley, D. K. (1993). Toward an integrated theory of adolescent ego development: The "New Look" at adolescent egocentrism. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 63*, 562–571.

Lapsley, D. K. (2000, April). Adolescent narcissism: An empirical typology and a new assessment strategy. In D. Lapsley (Chair), *Adolescent narcissism: Interdisciplinary perspectives.* Symposium conducted at the eighth biennial meeting of the Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago, IL.

Lapsley, D. K., FitzGerald, D. P., Rice, K. G., & Jackson, S. (1989). Separation–individuation and the New Look at the imaginary audience and personal fable: A test of an integrative model. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 4*, 483–505.

Lapsley, D. K., & Rice, K. (1988). The "New Look" at the imaginary audience and personal fable: Towards a general model of adolescent ego development. In D. Lapsley & F. C. Power (Eds.), *Self, ego, and identity: Integrative approaches* (pp. 109–129). New York: Springer.

Levine, J. B., Green, C. J., & Millon, T. (1986). The Separation–Individuation Test of Adolescence. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 50*, 123–137.

Levine, J. B., & Saintonge, S. (1993). Psychometric properties of the Separation–Individuation Test of Adolescence within a clinical population. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 49*, 492–506.

Levitz-Jones, E. M., & Orlofsky, J. L. (1985). Separation–individuation and intimacy capacity in college women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49*, 156–169.

Mahler, M., Pine, F., & Bergman, A. (1975). *The psychological birth of the human infant.* New York: Basic Books.

Mallet, P., & Rodriguez-Tomé, G. (1999). Social anxiety with peers in 9- to 14-year-olds: Developmental process and relations with self-consciousness and perceived peer acccceptance. *European Journal of Psychology of Education, 14*, 387–402.

McClanahan, G., & Holmbeck, G. N. (1992). Separation–individuation, family functioning, and psychological adjustment in college students: A construct validity study of the Separation–Individuation Test of Adolescence. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 59*, 468–485.

Milstead, M. (1993). Interpersonal understanding, separation–individuation, and imaginary audience and personal fable: A test of an integrated model for early and middle adolescence. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 54*(03), 1695A. (University Microfilms No. DA 93-20190)

Puklek, M., & Vidmar, G. (2000). Social anxiety in Slovene adolescents: Psychometric properties of a new measure, age differences and relations with self-consciousness and perceived incompetence. *European Review of Applied Psychology, 50*, 249–258.

Quintana, S. M., & Kerr, J. (1993). Relational needs in late adolescent separation–individuation. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 71*, 349–354.

Radloff, L. S. (1977). The CES-D scale: A self-report depression scale for research in the general population. *Applied Psychological Measurement, 1*, 385–401.

Radloff, L. S. (1991). The use of the Center for Epidemiologic Studies–Depression Scale in adolescents and young adults. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 20*, 149–166.

Rice, K. G., Cole, D. A., & Lapsley, D. K. (1990). Separation–individuation, family cohesion, and adjustment to college: Measurement validation and test of a theoretical model. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 37*, 195–202.

Russell, D., Peplau, L. A., & Cutrona, C. E. (1980). The revised UCLA Loneliness Scale: Concurrent and discriminant validity evidence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 39*, 472–480.

Schonert-Reichl, K. (1994). Gender differences in depressive symptomatology and egocentrism in adolescence. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 14*, 49–65.

Selman, R. (1980). *The growth of interpersonal understanding: Developmental and clinical analyses.* New York: Academic Press.

Shaver, P. R., & Brennan, K. A. (1991). Measures of depression and loneliness. In J. P. Robinson, P. R. Shaver, & L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.), *Measures of personality and social psychological attitudes* (pp. 195–289). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Silverberg, S. B., & Gondoli, D. M. (1996). Autonomy in adolescence: A contextualized perspective. In G. R. Adams, R. Montemayor, & T. P. Gullotta (Eds.), *Psychosocial development in adolescence: Progress in developmental contextualism* (pp. 12–61). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Steinberg, L., & Silverberg, S. B. (1986). The vicissitudes of autonomy in early adolescence. *Child Development, 57*, 841–851.

Vartanian, L. R. (1997). Separation–individuation, social support, and adolescent egocentrism: An exploratory study. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 17*, 245–270.

Vartanian, L. R. (2000). Revisiting the imaginary audience and personal fable constructs of adolescent egocentrism: A conceptual review. *Adolescence, 35*, 639–661.

Vartanian, L. R., & Powlishta, K. K. (1996). A longitudinal examination of the social–cognitive foundations of adolescent egocentrism. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 16*, 157–178.

Wade, N. L. (1987). Suicide as a resolution of separation–individuation among adolescent girls. *Adolescence, 22*, 169–177.