ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

DURING EARLY ADOLESCENCE

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The associations between two types of self-consciousness (public and private) and indices of psychosocial distress (e.g., depression, anxiety) have been well-documented in the adult personality literature. However, little is known about these types of selfconsciousness during early adolescence in spite of recent evidence that self-conscious thoughts and feelings peak during the early adolescent developmental period. The present study explored the distinction between public and private self-consciousness during early adolescence by examining the psychosocial correlates of public and private self-consciousness while considering the distinction between (public) self-conscious and fearful shyness. Friendship quality was examined as a possible moderator of the relation between self-consciousness and maladjustment. Early adolescents' (N=137, 87 girls; M age= 13.98 years) reported on their self-consciousness, internalizing problems, shyness, fearfulness, and the qualities of their best friendships. Results confirmed the existence of the two different types of self-consciousness during early adolescence. However, findings indicated greater *similarities* than differences in the psychosocial correlates of private and public self-consciousness, suggesting that the distinction between these two

types of self-directed attention may still be developing during adolescence. Contrary to expectations, evidence revealed that *intimate* friendship qualities may exacerbate the difficulties associated with self-consciousness. Few adolescents were able to be identified as (public) self-consciously or fearfully shy, calling into question the meaningfulness of the distinction between these two different types of problematic shyness during early adolescence. Findings from the present study highlight the importance of considering the role of self-consciousness in internalizing problems and shyness. Results pertaining to friendship quality add to the growing literature on the "dark side" of friendships.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS DURING EARLY ADOLESCENCE

by

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CHAPTER I: RATIONALE.

Self-consciousness in Early Adolescence

Every adult remembers feeling self-conscious during his or her youth. *Self-consciousness* involves awareness of and attention to the self; it is also commonly associated with concerns and worries about the self as a social object, and also introspection and rumination. For many adults, *early adolescence* was the time during which self-conscious feelings and thoughts were the most frequent and of the greatest intensity. Indeed, empirical research supports these memories; feelings of self-consciousness peak at around thirteen years of age (Elkind & Bowen, 1979).

A considerable amount of theoretical and empirical attention has been focused on self-consciousness, specifically in the adult personality literature. Self-consciousness is often characterized as a personality trait or disposition, and investigators have explored distinctions between private and public forms of self-consciousness. In recent years, researchers who have studied the phenomenon of shyness have begun to examine the central role that self-conscious thoughts and emotions play in adult social wariness. Self-consciousness is considered the cognitive component of shyness in adults, and is thought to distinguish one type of problematic shyness (self-conscious shyness) from another (fearful shyness).

Those investigators who have considered self-conscious processes during childhood and adolescence have typically drawn from two different theoretical and empirical perspectives. First, self-consciousness has been associated with the experience of *adolescent egocentricism*. In this regard, self-consciousness has been conceptually and empirically associated with concerns involving an imaginary audience – a phenomenon

that some parents would suggest consumes the lives of their teenagers. Second, self-conscious thoughts and concerns have been examined within the literature on child and adolescent depression. In a handful of studies, self-consciousness has been related to depression.

The research study and its contributions

Researchers have contributed greatly to our understanding of self-consciousness; however, unlike those who study adults, few investigators have examined selfconsciousness as a trait during childhood and adolescence. Moreover, few investigators have differentiated between the public and private types of self-consciousness during childhood and adolescence. Both types of self-consciousness in adulthood are related to indices of psychosocial maladjustment. Thus, just as it is the case for adults, it is important to determine if self-conscious young adolescents are also at-risk for psychosocial difficulties. Also, the ways in which self-consciousness is affected by relationship factors has only been considered within the literature on the close relationships of shy *adults*. Yet, relationships, particularly the quality of friendships, may influence the level of distress that self-consciousness individuals experience. Finally, it has recently been proposed that two types of problematic shyness exist, namely selfconscious shyness and fearful shyness (Buss, 1986). These types of shyness are posited to differ not only in origin, but also in terms of their associated shyness-related symptoms (fear, anxiety, and distress versus self-consciousness and negative self-regard). Few investigators have empirically tested Buss's hypothesis, yet such an examination could further our understanding of the difficulties that shy individuals experience.

The primary goal of this proposed study was to examine the correlates and consequences of self-consciousness during early adolescence. The position taken herein was that self-consciousness during early adolescence is quite common and normative. Moreover, it was posited that depending on the social and relationship context, specifically friendship, the correlates and consequences of self-consciousness would vary. Thus, relationship quality was examined as a moderator of the relation between self-consciousness, both of the private and public ilks, and indices of psychological distress. Finally, self-consciousness was examined in relation to shyness, in attempt to better understand self-conscious shyness. Fearful shyness was also assessed, and it was hypothesized that the developmental "costs" of *fearful* shyness would be greater than those of *self-conscious* shyness.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.

Part I: Self-Consciousness.

From an evolutionary perspective, self-consciousness is an ability that is unique to humans. Self-consciousness is the awareness of the self, the self-system, and the self as a social object. No other living creature is thought to possess the cognitive ability to be aware of the self in such a manner.

In the personality literature, attention directed at the self has been conceptualized both as a state and a trait. Self-awareness is considered to be the state of self-directed attention (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975). In order to better understand selfawareness and the effects of being self-aware, investigators typically induce a state of self-awareness, through the use of such self-directing attention media as mirrors, cameras, and an "audience." In so doing, they have been able to examine the effects of self-directed attention on behavior and cognitions. For example, Scheier, Fenigstein, and Buss (1974) examined the relation between self-awareness and aggression. Participants were instructed to use an "aggression machine" to punish a confederate with mild shocks for incorrect answers on a learning experiment. Participants were placed in experimental conditions designed to manipulate self-awareness. Conditions involved mirrors positioned so that the participants could see themselves while operating the "aggression machine," and an audience (a man and a woman) placed in front of the participant to encourage eye contact between the participant and the audience. In one condition participants were instructed to make eye contact with the audience regularly in order to make certain that the audience did not have any "questions" regarding the experiment (high eye contact condition). Self-awareness inhibited aggression; results revealed that

participants administered *less* intense shocks when the mirror was present than when it was absent. Moreover, less intense shocks were administered when an audience was present, particularly in the high eye contact condition. The authors posited that the awareness of the self, particularly the self as a social object, can lead to decreases in socially unacceptable and inappropriate behaviors (e.g., aggression; Scheier, et al., 1974).

The trait of self-consciousness is conceptualized as consistent attention directed at the self (Fenigstein, et al, 1975). Concerns for one's behavior, acute awareness of the self as a social object, knowledge of internal and external attributes of the self, and introspection characterize self-consciousness (Fenigstein, et al., 1975). Importantly, as a trait, self-consciousness is considered an enduring characteristic with important individual differences. In order to understand the correlates and consequences of selfconsciousness, investigators have examined its relation to other personality traits and indices of social and emotional functioning. For example, Scandell (1998) examined the personality correlates of the private and public types of self-consciousness. As will be described in greater detail below, private self-consciousness is thought to be a type of self-consciousness in which attention is paid to the more private, unobservable aspects of the self, such as thoughts, feelings, and emotions, whereas the focus of public selfconsciousness is on the more public, and easily observable characteristics of the self, such as appearance, and the way one behaves in the company of others. The private type of self-consciousness was positively related to the personality traits of openness and agreeableness. The personality trait of neuroticism was positively related to the public form of self-consciousness.

It is important here to note the distinction between the *trait* of self-consciousness and self-conscious *emotions*, such as guilt, shame, and pride. *Self conscious emotions*, or emotions that involve injury to or enhancement of one's sense of self, are specific types of emotions that do not appear until the second and third year of life. Self-conscious emotions are thought to emerge later than such basic emotions as pleasure, anger, and disgust, because they require advanced cognitive abilities (Lewis, 1993).

Like self-consciousness, self-conscious emotions implicate the self; however self-conscious emotions are transitory, whereas the *trait* of self-consciousness is not. Also, and perhaps most importantly, self-conscious emotions require not only an *evaluation* of the self, but also a *judgment* regarding the self. For example, a child who feels *pride* after he or she helps Mommy cook dinner has made the judgment that helping Mommy was a "good" deed. Self-consciousness, on the other hand, does not require that a judgment be made about the self. Rather, self-conscious individuals may or may not form judgments about the self. The defining characteristic of self-consciousness is the *attention to*, rather than the evaluation of, the self. Thus, for example, a self-conscious person may attend to aspects of the self due to concerns or worries with the regard received by others; e.g., I may constantly look at my reflection in the mirror or think about my physicalappearance. In these two instances, the experience of self-consciousness may lead to evaluations or judgments about the self, however the process itself is one of attention.

The focus of the present study was on the *trait* of self-consciousness. It was my contention that the study of self-consciousness per se, rather than the transient state of self-awareness or self-conscious emotions, would further our understanding of individual differences in self-directed attention. An examination of self-awareness is affected

(purposely or accidentally) by social factors in the environment. For example, some people direct more attention at the self than they normally would when a mirror is placed in the room. In other instances, the presence of an audience might cause more attention to be paid to the self than is typical for the particular individual. As such, different individuals may be identified as high on self-awareness, depending on environmental circumstance. Yet, as a trait, self-consciousness is the *consitent*, *across situation*, tendency to focus attention on the self. Individuals who rate themselves to be highly self-conscious are reporting on a stable internal disposition, rather than on a momentary state. Put another way, differences in self-consciousness exist *inter*individually, rather than *intra*individually. If two persons' levels of self-consciousness across different situations are compared, then the person who is more self-consciousness in one situation, will most likely be more self-conscious than the other person in a *different* situation. The goal of the present study was to examine the correlates and consequences of individual differences in self-consciousness.

Private Self-Consciousness, Public Self-Consciousness and Self-Consciousness Theory

As noted previously, self-consciousness has been conceptualized as comprising two distinct categories, private and public self-consciousness (Buss, 1980). It is argued that when people focus attention on the self, some individuals are more prone to focus on the private aspects of the self, whereas others focus on public aspects. Furthermore, it has been proposed that attention will be drawn toward the aspects of the self that are the most salient to the individual (Fenigstein, 1987). This distinction between the public and private aspects of the self reflects the differentiation among different aspects of the self in the theoretical and empirical literature on the self-system (e.g., Harter, 1998). For

example, long ago William James (1890) argued that the many aspects of the self included a "spiritual" and a "social" self. Indeed, these aspects of the self appear to be markedly similar to the private and public selves (Fenigstein, 1987). The private self is theorized as encompassing cognitions, emotional states, desires, and intentions; the public self involves the self as a social object (Fenigstein, 1987).

Conceptually, there are important differences between the public and private types of self-consciousness. Whereas *private* self-consciousness is described as concern "with attending to one's inner thoughts and feelings, (e.g., "I reflect about myself a lot."), public self-consciousness is characterized as "a general awareness of the self as a social object that has an effect on others, (e.g., "I'm very concerned about the way I present myself"; Fenigstein, et al., 1975) and concern "with the recognition or regard received from others" (Fenigstein, 1987). Both types of self-consciousness implicate the self as the focus of attention, however according to Self Consciousness Theory (Buss, 1980, 1986, 2001), public self-consciousness requires an audience or social others or thoughts about being in the company of others and the close attention (or lack thereof) from others, whereas private self-consciousness does not. Social stimuli and social others are not thought to induce or activate private self-conscious thoughts. Rather, turning away from the social stimuli, and focusing inward, vis-à-vis diary writing, introspection, mediation, or daydreaming, is posited to characterize the experience of private self-consciousness. It is not too surprising that public self-consciousness (but not private self-consciousness) is positively correlated with indices of social anxiety in adults (Fenigstein, et al., 1975; Hope & Heimberg, 1988).

The private and public forms of self-consciousness are most commonly assessed by the *Self-Consciousness Scales* (Fenigstein, et al., 1975). The questionnaire is well validated and reliable (e.g., Carver & Glass, 1976; Turner, Scheier, Carver, & Ickes, 1978), and the three subscales measure the degree to which an individual reports feelings of, or engaging in, behaviors related to private self-consciousness, public self consciousness, and social anxiety. Items taken from the *private* self-consciousness scale include: *I'm always trying to figure myself out; I reflect about myself a lot; I'm generally attentive to my inner feelings*; and *I'm alert to changes in my mood*. The *public* self-consciousness scale comprises items such as: *I usually worry about making a good impression; I'm concerned about the way I present myself; I'm concerned about what other people think about me;* and *One of the last things I do before I leave my house is look in the mirror. It takes me time to overcome my shyness in new situations; Large groups make me nervous; I feel anxious when I speak in front of a group;* and I get *embarrassed very easily* are examples from the social anxiety scale.

As indicated above, the public self-consciousness scale correlates modestly with the social anxiety scale (e.g., r = .21, p < .01; Fenigstein et al., 1975), and also with the private self-consciousness scale (e.g., r = .23; p < .01; Fenigstein et al., 1975). There is a non-significant association between the private self-consciousness and the social anxiety scales (Fenigstein, et al., 1975). The moderate correlation between the private and public self-consciousness scales may be accounted for by the large individual differences in self-consciousness. Buss (1980) posited that three different types of people can be identified in terms of self-consciousness, specifically (1) those who attend to *both* the private and public aspects of the self, (2) those who attend to *either* the public *or* the private aspects

of the self, and (3) individuals who do not spend much time at all attending to the self. Correlations between public and private self-consciousness scores for the first and the third groups would yield positive correlations, whereas correlations for the second group would yield negative correlations. The association between the two types of self-consciousness can be explained when the scores of these three groups of people are combined (Buss, 1980).

Within the literature on self-consciousness the distinction between public and private self-consciousness has received far more attention in adults than in children and adolescents. Thus, the focus of the following review is on the extant literature on public self-consciousness in *adults*. This is followed by a description of the existing literature on private self-consciousness in *adults*.

Public self-consciousness

In an attempt to better understand the correlates and consequences of the different types of self-consciousness, personality researchers have used the aforementioned Fenigstein et al. (1975) scale extensively. *Public* self-consciousness is related to feelings of anxiety in social situations (Fenigstein et al., 1975), rejection-sensitivity (Fenigstein, 1979), the personality trait of neuroticism (Scandell, 1998), worrying (Keogh, French, & Reidy, 1998), and reports of paranoid cognition (e.g., feelings of being watched; Fenigstein & Vanable, 1992).

Public self-consciousness has also been related to *self-presentation* concerns. For example, positive associations have been revealed between public self-consciousness and women's makeup use and beliefs about the positive effects of makeup in social situations (Miller & Cox, 1982); similarly, positive associations have been reported with

women's concerns about clothing and fashion (Solomon & Schopler, 1982). Moreover, public self-consciousness has been related to opinion conformity (Scheier, 1980). Individuals high on public self-consciousness change or moderate their opinions and personal beliefs more often than those low on public self-consciousness (Scheier, 1980). Self-presentation concerns may influence the public self-conscious individual to change their opinion so that they are "in-line" with others, or to prevent the self from standing out and perceived as different and unusual.

Finally, public self-consciousness has been related to self-as-target bias, or the tendency to implicate the self as the target/subject in situations in which the identity of the target is ambiguous. By using group experimental designs and the inducement of self-as-target bias, Fenigstein (1984) demonstrated that regardless of the valence of an event (positive versus negative, enjoyable versus unenjoyable), all college-age students were more likely to perceive themselves than others as the target or subject of an event (e.g., following an exam, students were told by their teachers that one student had scored extremely well or exceptionally poorly). Importantly, the self-as-target bias was positively associated with *public* self-consciousness, but not with private selfconsciousness. These results suggest "as a result of their own preoccupation with themselves as social objects, high publicly self-conscious persons believe that others are also interested in them" (Fenigstein, 1984). Moreover, Fenigstein and colleagues argued that results from the aforementioned studies support the notion that within *interpersonal* contexts, public self-consciousness increases the likelihood of attributions implicating the self as the center of attention or as the target, whereas private self-consciousness does not (e.g., Fenigstein, 1984; Fenigstein, et al., 1975).

In summary, the tendency to focus attention on the public aspects of the self causes *interpersonal sensitivity*, which in turn influences cognitions (e.g., paranoia, self-as-target bias, rejection-sensitivity), and behavior (e.g., opinion conformity).

Private self-consciousness

Private self-consciousness refers to the tendency to focus attention on private, internal experiences, such as desires, emotional states, and thoughts. While public self-consciousness is commonly related to *social* anxiety, private self-consciousness is positively related to overall measures of trait anxiety and depression (Anderson, Bohon, & Berrigan, 1996; Ingram & Smith, 1984; Smith & Greenberg, 1981).

Aside from anxiety and depression, private self-consciousness has been related to adaptive and psychologically healthy personality traits and cognitive styles. For example, persons who score high on private self-consciousness report themselves to be thoughtful (e.g., Turner et al., 1978), and compared to people low on measures of private self-consciousness, possess more accurate self-knowledge (e.g., Siegrist, 1996). It is important to note that one way in which the accuracy of self knowledge is determined is similar to internal consistency analyses conducted on measures; individuals who report high levels of private self-consciousness tend to be more consistent in their reports on personality measures, which is thought to reflect intimate knowledge about the self, than individuals who report lower levels of private self-consciousness (Siegrist, 1996).

Certainly other factors, such as motivation, may account for the *internal consistency* of privately self-conscious individuals. Nevertheless, the findings concerning

thoughtfulness and self-knowledge are not too surprising given that privately selfconscious individuals attend to and monitor the private aspects of the self.

What is less clear is why knowledge about the self and introspection would be related to anxiety and depression. "Psychological mindedness" has been posited to be positive and beneficial for mental health; long ago philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle argued that contemplation about the self is related to mental clarity, inner peace, and a key to happiness. Yet, private self-consciousness is consistently found to be associated with high levels of psychological distress, namely anxiety and depression. Investigators have dubbed these conflicting findings, the "self-absorption paradox" (e.g., Trapnell & Campbell, 1999).

In an attempt to resolve the aforementioned paradox, some researchers have scrutinized the items comprising the private self-consciousness scale. It has been argued that on the conceptual level some of the items in the Fenigstein et al. (1975) private self-consciousness scale seem to reflect being awarof the self (e.g., I'm alert to changes in my mood), whereas others are more descriptive of constant analysis of the self (e.g., I'm always trying to figure myself out). Empirically, intercorrelations and factor analyses reveal two subscales of Fenigstein et al.'s private self-consciousness factor -- a scale comprising 4 items descriptive of self-analysis (Self-Reflectiveness Scale; I'm always trying to figure myself out, I'm often the subject of my own fantasies I'm constantly examining my motives, I sometimes have the feeling that I'm off somewhere watching myself), and a scale consisting of 4 items descriptive of self-monitoring and awareness of internal states (e.g., emotions; Internal State Awareness Scale; Generally, I'm not very aware of myself (reverse-scored), I reflect about myself a lot, I'm generally attentive to

my inner feelings, I'm alert to changes in my mood) (e.g., Anderson et al., 1996;
Burnkrant and Page, 1984; Cramer, 2000). The Self-Reflectiveness Scale has been found to be associated with psychopathology, namely anxiety and depression (Anderson et al, 1996; Watson & Biderman, 1993; Watson, Morris, & Hood, 1988), low self-esteem and identity seeking (Piliavin & Charng, 1988), and confused self-concept clarity (Campbell, Trapnell, Heine, Lavallee, Katz, & Lehman, 1996), whereas the Internal State Awareness Scale is not. Findings that the two subscales are differentially related to mental clarity and negative mood/affect provide support for the notion that the two types of private self-consciousness are conceptually and empirically distinct.

In a further attempt to resolve the *self-absorption paradox*, researchers have argued that there exists "motivational ambiguity" in the wording of items on the private self-consciousness scale (Trapnell & Campbell, 1999). For example, the reasons behind reports on such items as *I reflect about myself a lot* and *I'm constantly examining my motives* may be very different. It has been asserted that differences in the motivation for internal self-focus are important to consider to fully understand the paradox (Trapnell & Campbell, 1999). Trapnell and Campbell argue the *philosopher* and the *neurotic* may score equally high on ratings of private self-consciousness as measured by the Fenigstein et al (1975) scale, however, the reasons and motives behind the internal self-focus differ in important ways. According to Trapnell and Campbell, the philosopher purposefully *reflects* and *the motive is of the curious nature*, whereas the neurotic uncontrollably *ruminates, driven by anxiety*.

In support of this contention, the investigators found that private selfconsciousness is related to the personality traits of *neuroticism* and *openness to* experience (Trapnell & Campbell, 1999). However, when the subscales were examined separately, different associations were revealed. While self-reflectiveness and internal state awareness were both related to the Openness to Experience personality variable, self-reflectiveness was significantly associated with *neuroticism*, whereas internal state awareness was related to *conscientiousness*. Self-reflectiveness was also related to a measure of *rumination*, whereas internal state awareness was not. Both subscales were positively associated with a measure of reflection. Importantly, when rumination was controlled for, private self-consciousness (the composite factor of the two private self-consciousness subscales) was no longer significantly related to indices of psychological distress. Results suggest that *rumination* is the distinguishing motivational feature between Fenigstein and colleagues' (1975) private self-conscious items. Trapnell and Campbell suggest that the person high on private self-consciousness is not sadder but wiser, but rather, sadder OR wiser (1999).

In summary, private self-consciousness in adults is related to knowledge about the self and the personality trait of thoughtfulness. Private self-consciousness is also related to anxiety and depression, however recent research suggests that these relations do not remain after the tendency to ruminate is controlled. Although private self-consciousness appears to comprise two distinct forms of private self-consciousness, the internal consistency of the private self-consciousness is adequate (e.g., alpha= .68; Scandell, 1998; alpha=.89, Spasojevic & Alloy, 2001), and rather than separately considering the subscales, it has been recommended to examine partial correlations when considering public and private self-consciousness (Anderson et al., 1996), and to control for rumination when examining the relations between private self-consciousness and indices

of psychosocial distress (Trapnell & Campbell, 1999). Nevertheless, there is a growing divide in the adult personality literature regarding the one- and two-factor model of *private* self-consciousness.

Self-consciousness during childhood and adolescence

In the literature on self-consciousness during childhood and adolescence, researchers have examined self-consciousness from two perspectives. First, self-consciousness has been addressed vis-à-vis *adolescent egocentricism*, wherein self-consciousness is commonly equated with feelings about an imaginary audience. Second, self-consciousness has been examined within the literature on childhood depression. In the following sections, I examine the construct of self-consciousness during childhood and adolescence from these two perspectives.

Adolescent egocentricism

It has been argued that self-consciousness is a common feeling/experience during adolescence (e.g., Elkind, 1967). In fact, it may be more normal to feel self-conscious during this age period than it is *not* to feel self-conscious.

Piaget characterized egocentrism at any stage of development as a failure to distinguish the self from the non-self, a struggle that involves "confusion of the ego and the external world" (Piaget, 1965). For the preoperational child, egocentricism is characterized by the inability to understand that their own thoughts and ideas differ from those thoughts and feelings of others. For example, the egocentric child might believe the gift that he or she desired the most, would also be the gift that Mommy or Daddy would desire the most. It is important to note that although recent theory-of-mind research findings have demonstrated that Piaget overestimated the prevalence and

consistency of egocentric thought during early childhood (e.g., Borke, 1975; Sullivan & Winner, 1993), children's perspective taking skills do improve with age (Selman, 1980).

Adolescent egocentricism differs from preoperational egocentricism because the adolescent, unlike the younger child, experiences difficulties differentiating his/her own thoughts about the self from the thoughts of others concerning the self. The adolescent understands that others have ideas, thoughts, and intentions of their own, however, according to Piaget, the adolescent has difficulty distinguishing among and integrating different perspectives on the self (Ryan & Kuczkowski, 1994).

In an attempt to explain behaviors and feelings unique to adolescence (e.g., risk-taking, feelings of uniqueness), Elkind (1967) expanded Piaget's notion of *egocentrism* during adolescence (Piaget, 1965). Elkind (1967, 1985) posited that when applied to the adolescent years, *egocentrism* is a dual construct; that is, adolescents struggle to differentiate the self from the nonself in two distinct ways; *Imaginary Audience*, and *Personal Fable*.

Elkind described the "Imaginary Audience" as the failure to differentiate one's own thoughts from the thoughts of others. For example, the adolescent may believe that his/her own personal thoughts and feelings are *shared* and easily understood by all. In addition, the adolescent may believe that what is important to him/her is equally as important to others. In a sense, Mom was right — the adolescent believes that he/she is the center of attention (or should be), and that everyone shares the same opinion about him/herself as he/she does. Although the adolescent (thanks to emerging formal operations) has improved perspective-taking abilities and can now think about thinking in a more sophisticated manner (Enright, Lapsley, & Shukla, 1979), Elkind argues that this

ability is coupled with "an inability to distinguish between what is of interest to others and what is of interest to the self" (1978, p. 129).

The construct of *Imaginary Audience* is often characterized as a state of self-consciousness; the over-attention to the self by the self and also by others (at least in the mind of the adolescent) is thought to cause the adolescent to be in a heightened state of self-awareness. As Elkind describes it:

"The imaginary audience helps to account for the super self consciousness of the young adolescent. When you believe that everyone is watching and evaluating you, you become very self-conscious. In the lunchroom or on the bus going home the young adolescent feels that he or she is at the center of attention....The *child* is self conscious about appearances, about clothes which are too big or the wrong style. But the *young adolescent* is more concerned about personal qualities and traits and physical features and abilities which are unique in themselves" (Elkind, 1978, italics added for emphasis, p. 130).

Finally, it is important to note that adults also experience concerns about an imaginary audience; Elkind contends that "imaginary audience behavior in adults is a relic of early adolescence which all of us carry with us and to which we revert to on occasion" (Elkind, 1978, p.130). However, imaginary audience concerns are thought to be ubiquitous during early adolescence, and to account for the adolescents' "self-consciousness and their boorish behavior" (Elkind, 1978, p.130).

The *Imaginary Audience Scale* (IAS; Elkind & Bowen, 1979), which assesses the degree to which one is willing to disclose information about the self to an audience, has

been used to examine the relations between adolescent *egocentrism* and indices of cognitive and social functioning. The measure is based on the notion that an individual's level of self-consciousness directly influences the degree to which one is willing (or unwilling) to disclose personal information. Compared to individuals low on selfconsciousness, high self-conscious individuals are thought to be less willing to discuss the self. The IAS measure consists of two subscales, the "Abiding Self (AS)" and the "Transient Self (TS)." According to Elkind and Bowen, the "Abiding Self" concerns qualities and characteristics of the self that are considered enduring, such as personality traits and mental abilities/cognition. The transient self comprises more momentary or changeable aspects of the self, such as appearances or behaviors. One example of an item descriptive of the "Abiding Self," is as follows: "Let's say you wrote a story for an assignment your teacher gave you, and she asked you to read it aloud to the rest of the class." Adolescents are then instructed to choose one of the possible reactions; I would not like that at all; I would like that but I would be nervous; or I would like that. The "Transient Self" is assessed with items such as, "You have been looking forward to your friend's party for weeks, but just before you leave for the party you mother tells you that she accidentally washed all your good clothes with a red shirt. Now all your jeans are pink in spots. The only thing left to wear is your jeans that are too big and too baggy. Would you go to the party or would you stay home?" Adolescents then decide whether they would, "Go to the party, but buy a new pair of jeans to wear," "Stay home," or "Go to the party in either the pink or baggy jeans." Responses were coded accordingly; an "unwillingness to participate" was coded as a 2, "an indifference to participation"

received a 1, and "a willingness to participate" was given a score of a 0. The higher the score, the less willing the individual is to expose their selves to an audience.

In their preliminary study, young adolescents (8th graders) scored higher on the TS and AS subscales than did 4th, 6th, and 12th graders, and across age, girls as scoring higher than boys (Elkind & Bowen, 1979). The authors posited that elevated self-consciousness during early adolescence account for these developmental differences (Elkind & Bowen, 1979).

The imaginary audience construct is similar to the Fenigstein et al *public* selfconsciousness scale. Both constructs involve concerns about the self as a social object and a tendency to assume and implicate the self as the target of social attention. In support of this contention, in a study examining imaginary audience concerns in 7th, 8th, 9th and 12th graders, public self-consciousness was significantly associated with the TS (r = .27, p < .001) and the AS (r = .41, p < .001); private self-consciousness was not associated with either TS or AS (Ryan & Kuczkowski, 1994). Furthermore, the imaginary audience subscales were related to measures of social isolation and inhibition (Ryan & Kuczkowski, 1994). These findings are consistent with a reported relation between public self-consciousness and withdrawal from stressful situations (Froming, Corley, & Rinker, 1990); this study is described below in greater detail. The TS and the AS were inversely related to a measure of dating frequency, and the AS was negatively related to self-reports of "going out with friends" and positively related to an index of hours watching television. Importantly, the AS was negatively related to measures of self-esteem, identity security and perceived emotional support, and the TS was negatively related to self-esteem. The authors suggest that the imaginary audience construct

"represents a tendency to remain publicly hidden or submerged" (Ryan & Kuczkowski, 1994).

It must be noted that although it has been argued that the imaginary audience construct represents self-consciousness, the imaginary audience measure simply evaluates the willingness or unwillingness to disclose information about the self. While self-consciousness may *explain* imaginary audience concerns and its associated behavior, the construct of the imaginary audience and its measure represents the reluctance to disclose intimate information, rather than self-consciousness per se. Researchers interested in self-consciousness during early adolescence may do better to employ actual measures of self-consciousness. Proxy measures assess the associated outcomes (e.g., the reluctance to reveal intimate information about the self) rather than the processes underlying self-consciousness.

Elkind (1967) identified the second problem resulting from *egocentrism* during adolescence as the "*Personal Fable*." In this instance, the adolescent believes that his/her own thoughts and experiences are unique and one-of-a-kind; the problem is not an *under* differentiation between the self and others, but rather an *over* differentiation.

According to Elkind, the personal fable is the belief "of being special and not subject to the natural laws that pertain to others," which explains why many adolescents feel lonely and as though no one, and especially not adults, understand them (Elkind, 1978, p. 131). Elkind argues that the personal fable declines as adolescents develop intimate friendships. Intimacy within friendship is thought to help the adolescent realize that they as less different than they originally thought.

Although the work by Piaget and Elkind highlight the ways in which adolescent thought differs from other developmental periods, recently researchers have suggested that the underlying processes for these differences may be more social and emotional than cognitive in nature (e.g., Jahnke & Blanchard-Fields, 1993; Lapsley & Murphy, 1985). In other words, the adolescent's perspective taking difficulties may be more about the "will," or the lack thereof, than about the "skill."

Childhood depression and self-consciousness

There is a well-established association between rumination and depression (e.g., Nolen-Hoeksema, 2000), and also between depression and self-focused attention in the adult depression literature (see Mor & Winquest, 2002, for recent review). Constant focus on the self, particularly when it is negatively biased and performed in a ruminative manner, contributes to the development of depression, and also helps a depressive cycle to be maintained. Women are more likely to ruminate than are men, which recent researchers have suggested may contribute to the gender differences in depression that develop during adolescence (Hankin & Abramson, 2001; Nolen-Hoeksema, Larson, & Grayson, 1999).

Recent research suggests that self-consciousness is also related to depression in adolescents (e.g., Garber, Weiss, & Shanley, 1993; Lewinsohn, Gotlib, & Seeley, 1997; Lewinsohn, et al, 1994). In one study comparing depressed adolescents with adolescents diagnosed with non-affective disorders and adolescents with no prior history of mental illness, self-consciousness was found to be uniquely associated with depression (Lewinsohn et al., 1997). The authors asserted that self-consciousness can make failures

more salient to the individual, and that the elevated sense of failure leads to depressive thoughts and emotions. As such, findings suggest that a tendency to focus on the self is a cognitive style that places adolescents at-risk for depression. However, it is important to note that Spasojevic and Alloy (2001) recently found rumination, and not private self-consciousness, to mediate the relations between depressive risk factors, such as self-criticism, a history of past depressive episodes, and neediness, and later depression in young adults (mean age=19 years).

Gender differences in self-consciousness

Studies on self-consciousness during adulthood typically find non-significant gender differences on the public and private self-consciousness scales (e.g., Fenigstein et al., 1974). However, there is some evidence that suggests girls are more self-conscious than boys during adolescence. For example, Davis and Franzoi (1991) found girls in the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades to self-report significantly higher levels of public selfconsciousness and social anxiety than did the boys. Rankin, Lane, Gibbons, and Gerrard (2004) also recently reported that girls aged 13-17 years reported greater public and private self-consciousness than did same-aged boys. However, it is important to note that after controlling for public self-consciousness, the gender differences on private selfconsciousness disappeared (Rankin et al., 2004). Given the particularly strong relation between physical appearance and self-esteem for girls during adolescence (Harter, 1998), it is not too surprising that public self-consciousness is heightened for girls. These findings are also consistent with previously noted results that girls demonstrate greater imaginary audience concerns (Elkind & Bowen, 1979), and engage in greater social comparison than do boys (Rankin et al., 2004).

Summary and goals

Taken together, self-consciousness during adolescence, measured with the imaginary audience construct, is related to social isolation and inhibition (Ryan & Kuczkowski, 1994). Moreover, there is evidence that suggests an important link between self-consciousness and depression (Lewinsohn et al., 1997). Finally, adolescent *girls* appear to be more publicly self-consciousness than their male counterparts (Elkind & Bowen, 1979; Rankin et al., 2004).

An examination of the existing adult personality literature and the literature focused on self-consciousness during childhood and adolescence reveals many gaps. Specifically, few researchers have examined self-consciousness per se, or the distinctions between public and private self-consciousness during adolescence. It is not known whether the two-factor model of self-consciousness also emerges during early adolescence. It may be the case that private and public self-consciousness are not distinct at this age, and a one-factor model better represents self-consciousness during early adolescence. And, if self-consciousness is as normative in early adolescence as it is posited to be, then an examination of its correlates and consequences may prove illuminating. Moreover, an assessment of individuals high on self-consciousness, either in its private or public forms, may add to our understanding of individual differences in adjustment during adolescence. It is well-established in the adult personality literature that the effects of focusing on private aspects of the self are very different from focusing on the public aspects of the self (Fenigstein, 1987); little is known whether these same differences exist during early adolescence. Elkind posited that adolescent egocentricism

could account for adolescents' "boorish" behaviors (1978). It might be the case that self-consciousness can help to better not only our understanding of adolescent-typical behaviors, but also contribute to our knowledge about associated psychosocial difficulties (e.g., depression, anxiety, rejection-sensitivity). To better understand the relations between the two types of self-consciousness and psychosocial functioning during early adolescence, in the present study, public and private self-consciousness were examined in relation to measures of internalizing problems (such as anxiety and depression and social problems) and rejection-sensitivity. A two-factor model of self-consciousness was examined, along with a one-factor model of self-consciousness and a two-factor model of private self-consciousness. Potential gender differences were also examined.

Part II: Self-consciousness and friendship

The second goal in the present study was to examine the influence of relationship factors, namely friendship quality, on the experience of self-consciousness. To date, few investigators have specifically considered the ways in which self-consciousness may be affected by close personal relationships. Although Buss (1980) posited that *public* self-consciousness rarely occurs with close friends, family, and lovers, there have been no empirical tests of this hypothesis. A close relationship might lessen self-conscious anxieties and worries of the adolescent, particularly the worries associated with public self-consciousness. In the present study, relationship quality was examined as a moderator of the relation between self-consciousness and psychosocial functioning. A high quality friendship was hypothesized to buffer adolescents from anxiety, depression, and concerns related to rejection-sensitivity.

The intimacy of adolescent friendships

Friendships during early adolescence become increasingly more intimate than the friendships of younger children, and are characterized by reciprocal self-disclosure (Newcomb & Bagwell, 1996; Rose & Asher, 2000; Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, in press). Children at this age begin to share their most personal and private thoughts, hopes, and secrets with close friends. Young adolescents value trust and loyalty in their relationships, and adolescents' friendships last longer, or are more stable, than the friendships of younger children (Berndt & Hoyle, 1985).

During early adolescence, friendships have been posited to be contexts that facilitate self-exploration and advance understanding of emotional experiences (Sullivan, 1953). Children learn about themselves through experiences with their friends.

Moreover, adolescents' friendships are an important source of social support. In support of this conjecture, Saarni (1997) found that adolescents cite the social support from friendship as one of the most preferred coping strategies for dealing with negative emotions, including anxiety, fear, and anger.

Friendship quality as a moderator

A close friendship during adolescence should be relationship that is emotionally "safe" and "secure," and one that allows its members to feel free to be "themselves" and engage in self-discovery. Accordingly, an adolescent who is feeling self-conscious should feel less worried or upset within the context of a friendship. Talking and sharing these worries and thoughts about the self should help adolescents feel supported and less

alone. There is evidence that suggests friendship may serve as a buffer against later psychosocial maladjustment, especially for children who are considered "at-risk" for emotional and social difficulties (Parker & Asher, 1993; Rubin et al, in press). Hodges, Boivin, Vitaro, and Bukowski (1999) found friendship to play a protective role in the relation between victimization and internalizing and externalizing problems among sameage children. Specifically, peer victimization predicted increases in internalizing and externalizing difficulties across the school year for those children who lacked a mutual best friendship. The relation between peer victimization, internalizing and externalizing problems was nonsignificant for children who possessed a mutual best friendship, thereby suggesting that friendship may function protectively for children who are victimized by their peers. Thus, it is reasonable to expect that friendship may also function protectively for self-conscious adolescents.

The relation between the two types of self consciousness and psychosocial distress, namely anxiety, depression, and rejection-sensitivity, may be tempered by a high quality friendship. Positive friendship qualities such as help and guidance, reliable alliance, and companionship, have been positively associated with indices of psychosocial adjustment and functioning, such as self-esteem (Berndt, 1996). A high quality friendship might promote positive adjustment, and in turn lessen the self-conscious adolescent's concerns and worries.

However, a low quality friendship might be particularly harmful for the self-conscious adolescent. Without the intimacy, loyalty, and trust that characterize high quality friendships, the adolescent may be left not only uncertain about the relationship and its possible future, but may also have carry-over concerns about the self. The

adolescent may question whether he or she is a worthy relationship partner, or blame the self for the poor relationship quality. Or, the adolescent may try to improve the quality of the relationship. In so doing, the adolescent may monitor his or her behavior and put forth concerted effort into the relationship, and in the process, become even more self-aware and self-conscious.

For the adolescent who is more publicly than privately self-consciousness, the adolescent may continue to feel like a "social object," even within the context of a close relationship. And, if the poor quality relationship is with someone whose opinions and judgments are important and valued, public self-consciousness and its associated concerns and angst may be exacerbated. The intimacy of the social objectification may prove overwhelming for the publicly self-consciousness, and rejection-sensitivity concerns might be heightened.

It may also be difficult for a privately self-conscious individual to be in a close personal relationship, particularly one that is characterized by poor relationship quality. Typically, private (unshared aspects) of the self are expected to be shared within the context of an intimate relationship. In a sense, the private self becomes a part of the public self within the context of a close personal relationship. A high quality relationship may lessen the privately self-consciousness sense of "exposure," whereas a low quality relationship may elevate concerns and worries associated with the once private aspects of the self.

There is some evidence that supports the contention that individuals experience less public self-consciousness when in the company of close friends than when with unfamiliar peers. In a study focused on withdrawal from hypothetical (modified version

of the IAS) and actual (singing in front of an audience) embarrassing situations, high publicly self-conscious individuals withdrew from hypothetical and actual embarrassing situations, regardless of the nature of the audience (a friend or a stranger; Froming, et al., 1990). However, individuals *low* on public self-consciousness were less likely to withdraw when the audience comprised a *friend* than strangers. Although the causality of the relation between self-consciousness and withdrawal cannot be determined, findings support the notion that friendship functions as a safe haven, or a secure place wherein one can engage in embarrassing acts and not have to worry about loss of approval, at least for those individuals low on public self-consciousness (Rubin, et al., in press). However, friendship does not appear to serve this same function for individuals high on public selfconsciousness. One possible explanation for this finding may be that the selfpresentation concerns of public self-consciousness negate the alleviating effect of friendship. Results suggest that individuals high on public self-consciousness consistently employ a protective style of self-presentation, even within the context of a close relationship wherein the chance of social disapproval is very unlikely. Froming et al. (1990, p. 617) suggest that individuals high on public self-consciousness "assume a rather unforgiving view of their own behavior---looking silly is looking silly, no matter who is present. From this perspective there is no reason to expect much tolerance from anyone, including friends." It is important to note that all participants rated the quality of their friendships to be relatively high, and average length of the relationship was approximately two years (mean = 27 months). Moreover, there were nonsignificant differences in the quality and the length of the relationship between individuals high on public self-consciousness and those low on public self-consciousness.

The strong association between public self-consciousness and social anxiety might also temper the ameliorating effects of a close relationship. Monfries and Kafer (1984) examined the relation between private and public self-consciousness and different types of self-reported social avoidance and distress, specifically avoidance in groups (e.g., I try to avoid situations which force me to be sociable), ease in unfamiliar groups (e.g., It is easy for me to relax when I am with strangers), and distress in familiar groups (e.g., I often feel nervous or tense in casual get-togethers). The aforementioned three types of social avoidance and distress comprise the Social Avoidance and Distress Scale (Watson & Friend, 1969). The private self-consciousness scale was not associated with any of these scales, however, public self-consciousness was positively related to feelings of distress in the company of familiar peers, and feelings of discomfort in groups comprised of unfamiliar people. There was a nonsignificant relation between public selfconsciousness and reports of general avoidance of groups. These findings suggest that while publicly self-conscious individuals may not avoid social interactions with others, social interactions with both familiar and unfamiliar peers remain sources of anxiety and stress. However, it may be that within the context of a closer, *more intimate* relationship, publicly self-conscious individuals experience less anxiety and stress. Adult volunteer clerical workers from Australia comprised the sample in the Monfries and Kafer study; the participants in the Froming et al (1990) study were college students. No researchers to date have examined the influence of relationship factors on self-consciousness during adolescence. Additional research is needed to determine if these results are generalizable to adolescents, and to further examine the way in which private self-consciousness might be affected by friendship. It may be the case that certain friendship qualities (e.g.,

closeness) are more helpful for privately self-consciousness adolescents than other friendship qualities (e.g., help).

Part III: Self-consciousness and shyness

While most personality researchers consider self-consciousness as a predictor of individual differences, within the shyness literature self-consciousness is considered a *characteristic*, or component, of shyness. Self consciousness, along with thoughts of uncertainty and negative self-appraisal, characterize the *cognitive* component of shyness (e.g., Cheek & Briggs, 1990; Crozier, 1990). Indeed, shy people often describe the experience of being shy in terms of thoughts and worries (e.g., self-consciousness, fears of rejection; Cheek & Watson, 1989). The *behavioral* component of shyness is characterized by overtly shy and anxious behaviors (social withdrawal, reticence) and timidity in social situations (e.g., delay in initiating conversations). Anxiety, nervousness, and depression (e.g., depression caused by feelings of incompetence and helplessness in social situations and negative feedback from others), and somatic symptoms such as "butterflies in the stomach" and nausea are considered descriptive of the *affective* component of shyness.

Self-conscious versus fearful shyness

In addition to being considered a characteristic of shyness, self-consciousness has also been recently implicated as an important determinant of one type of problematic shyness, namely *self-conscious shyness* (Buss, 1986). *Self conscious shyness*, which is posited to develop during early childhood (3 to 6 years) when children begin to develop an advanced sense of self, is characterized by uncomfortable and awkward feelings in

interpersonal situations and excessive concern with the self as a social object (Buss, 1986). Individuals who are self-consciously shy are "expected to be especially reactive to being scrutinized, being uniquely different, breaches of privacy, and formal situations" (Buss, 1986, p.44). Importantly, public self-consciousness (but not private self-consciousness) has been theoretically (Buss, 1986) and empirically associated with shyness (e.g., Pilkonis, 1977).

In contrast to self-conscious shyness and its cognitive nature, Buss also posited that a second type of problematic shyness exists that is more sensory in nature and involves fear of social others (Buss, 1986). Fearful shyness is believed to have a genetic component and to develop during the first year of life. Buss hypothesized that individuals who are temperamentally fearful, and children who "rarely encounter strangers and have few acquaintances" are most at-risk for developing fearful shyness (Buss, 1986, p. 44). Children who have little experience with strangers are thought to develop lasting associations between the unfamiliarity and novelty of strangers, and the fear response. Importantly, although Buss hypothesized that fearful shyness *primarily* develops during the first year of life, he also suggested that fearful shyness may develop during childhood due to bullying and victimization by other children (Buss, 1986). In this case, the victimized child is believed to "associate strangers or casual acquaintances with being harmed or threatened" (Buss, 1986). Lastly, Buss purported that the social nature of fearful shyness distinguishes it from other nonsocial fears (e.g., the fear of heights or snakes); the fear of fearful shyness "involves being upset about social interactions or being frightened when being with others" (Buss, 1986).

There have been relatively few empirical studies to date in which fearful shyness and self-conscious shyness have been examined, and only a handful which have considered these two types of shyness beyond childhood, in part because researchers have emphasized the *origins* of these two categories of shyness. In one study, children's conceptions of fearful and self-conscious shyness were examined (5-11 years; Crozier & Burnham, 1990). Few 5- and 6-year olds made references to self-consciousness; however, references to self-consciousness and also to embarrassment increased with age (e.g., When asked the *sources* of shyness, responses coded as self-conscious shyness included feeling embarrassed, and being observed). In addition, children at all ages made references to fearful shyness (Responses included in this category included novel situations, strangers, and being frightened or afraid). The authors suggest that while fearful shyness emerges earlier than self-conscious shyness does, self-conscious shyness does not "replace" fearful shyness (Crozier & Burnham, 1990). Rather, self-conscious shyness and fearful shyness represent two distinct types of shyness during childhood. However, there are no other known studies to date that have examined the meaningfulness of the distinction between fearful and self-conscious shyness during late childhood or adolescence.

Results from the few empirical studies that have been conducted with adults suggest that the developmental "costs" or correlates of fearful shyness and self-conscious shyness may differ in meaningful ways. Moreover, results from the few studies that have addressed this distinction suggest that *fearful shyness* may in fact be more problematic to adjustment than *self-conscious shyness*. For example, results have shown individuals who are fearfully shy have lower self-esteem (Schmidt & Robinson, 1992),

and are more likely to report somatic anxiety and debilitating arousal than self-consciously shy people (Bruch, Giordano, & Pearl, 1986). Bruch and colleagues also found that fearfully shy males self-reported more inhibited behaviors than did self-consciously shy males. Schmidt and Robinson suggest that the "fear of negative evaluation is more enduring and acute for fearfully shy as opposed to self-consciously shy individuals" (1992, p. 257). In turn, it may be the case that both the *real* and *perceived* social difficulties of shy individuals may be more bothersome and perhaps more damaging to the self-systems of fearful than self-consciously shy individuals. Importantly, in the Bruch et al study, the self-consciously shy group did not differ significantly from the nonshy group in terms of social skills knowledge.

In a recent study, Henderson (2002) examined self-conscious and fearful shyness, and self-blaming attribution styles and feelings of shame in college-age students. The goal of the study was to explore possible differential relations between self-conscious shyness and fearful shyness and reports of self-blame and shame. It was predicted that self-conscious shyness, particularly reports of public self-consciousness and shyness, would be strongly associated with feelings of shame and self-blaming attributions (Darvill, Johnson, & Danko, 1992). However, findings revealed non-significant associations between public self-consciousness and the variables of interest, and nonsignificant shyness by public self-consciousness interaction effects. Contrary to expectations, fearfulness moderated by *private* self-consciousness predicted self-blaming attributions and shame; at high levels of private self-consciousness, fearfulness predicted self-blame and state-blame. The author suggested that fearful shyness may lead to dispositional private self-consciousness. Accordingly, because private self-consciousness

is related to fear of negative evaluation and negative evaluations of the self (Monfries & Kafer, 1984), Henderson suggested that fearfulness may be viewed as cowardly and therefore worthy of self-blame.

Only a handful of researchers have empirically examined this distinction, and all studies have been conducted only with adults (the Henderson study involved college-age students). Additional studies are clearly to needed to further examine the meaningfulness of this distinction, and to better understand their associated "costs." A greater understanding of these two types of shyness could in turn increase the specificity of, and hopefully the effectives of, interventions designed for shy individuals (Buss, 1986). There is great variability in the difficulties reported by shy individuals; a distinction between self-consciously shy and fearfully shy individuals may add to our understanding of this variability. Thus, the third goal of the present study was to examine the distinction between and the correlates of self-conscious and fearful shyness.

Shyness during early adolescence

There are no known studies of young adolescents that have explicitly considered shyness, self-consciousness, and fearfulness in the same investigation. Yet, it is particularly important to consider these relations during this developmental period. Early adolescence is a time during which shyness becomes viewed by other children in an increasingly negative light. Indeed, shyness and social withdrawal becomes a particularly strong predictor of peer rejection during early adolescence (Newcomb, Bukowski, & Pattee, 1993). And, rejection in childhood is a significant predictor of maladjustment (see Parker, Rubin, Price, & DeRosier, 1995 for a relevant review). Shy

adolescents report feelings of anxiety and depression, and social withdrawal during middle childhood has been associated with negative peer and teacher ratings, along with difficulties with peers, and self-reports of loneliness and negative self-regard during late childhood (Hymel, Rubin, Rowden, & Le Mare, 1990). Presumably, both selfconsciously and fearfully shy adolescents experience some or all of the aforementioned negative correlates of shyness. However, fearfully shy adolescents may in fact experience more difficulties than self-consciously shy adolesents. Whereas the selfconsciously shy group may experience most problems with regard to acute public selfawareness, the problematic nature of fearful shyness may involve not only fear and worry about past and future stressful situations, but also social withdrawal (Buss, 1986). Although self-consciously shy individuals are predicted to be socially awkward and uncomfortable in social interactions, these individuals are not expected to withdraw from stressful social situations. Accordingly, in conjunction with a peak in self-consciousness, self-consciously shy individuals during early adolescence may suffer more from rejection-sensitivity and thought problems. Conversely, fearfully shy individuals may suffer particularly from depression, anxiety, somatic problems, and social withdrawal. However, Buss hypothesized that fearfully shy individuals experience the greatest difficulties (Buss, 1986).

Overview of the present research and hypotheses

The preceding theoretical and empirical review supports the contention that selfconsciousness is a cognitive trait, or disposition, and that individual differences in selfconsciousness have important implications for psychological functioning and adjustment.

Two types of self-consciousness, public and private self-consciousness, have been considered in relation to personality traits and psychosocial functioning in adulthood and adolescence. Theoretically and empirically, public self-consciousness is related to concerns and worries about the self as a social object, and related constructs such as rejection-sensitivity. Whereas public self-consciousness has primarily been conceptualized as a negative personality trait, private self-consciousness is associated with self-reflection, knowledge about the self, and thoughtfulness, along with rumination, and anxiety and depression.

Although theoretically it has been argued that self-consciousness peaks during early adolescence, researchers who have examined self-consciousness during this developmental time have used indirect measures (e.g., adolescent egocentricism), and few researchers have examined the distinction between public and private types of self-consciousness. The majority of the empirical research on public and private self-consciousness has involved college samples or adult participants. However, if self-consciousness peaks at age 13, then late childhood and early adolescence may be an important developmental period within which to consider self-consciousness. If it is more normative to be self-conscious at this age than not to be, this may be an important time to examine possibly pathological consequences of self-consciousness, and simultaneously, to investigate self-consciousness as a normative process. Only one study to date has examined the factor structure of the Self-Consciousness Scale with

adolescents (Rankin et al., 2004); additional studies are needed to confirm the two-factor model of self-consciousness during this developmental period.

Self-consciousness might be influenced by close personal relationships, yet few researchers to date have explored the role of relationship factors in self-consciousness. Friendship quality may moderate the relation between self-consciousness, and internalizing problems such as anxiety, depression, and rejection-sensitivity. Moreover, it may be the case that certain friendship qualities are more beneficial, such as those pertaining to intimacy, e.g., *companionship*, *closeness*, for highly self-conscious adolescents than others (e.g., help).

Finally, it is generally agreed that self-consciousness is the cognitive component of shyness. However, it has recently been proposed that there are two distinct types of problematic shyness, self-conscious shyness and fearful shyness. Importantly, while recent research suggests that there may be different developmental "costs" associated with these two types of problematic shyness, researchers have not yet examined this hypothesis during early adolescence. Yet, a study involving early adolescents, who are at their peak in terms of self-consciousness, may help to reveal the way in which self-consciousness, fearfulness, and shyness combine, or interact, to predict adjustment difficulties. Thus, in the present study, self-consciousness and shyness, and fearfulness and shyness, were considered jointly, in an attempt to expand on previous research findings that suggest that fearful shyness and self-conscious shyness are independent, and distinct, predictors of psychosocial functioning.

To summarize, the first purpose of the present study was to examine the factor structure of the SCS and to examine individual differences in self-consciousness during

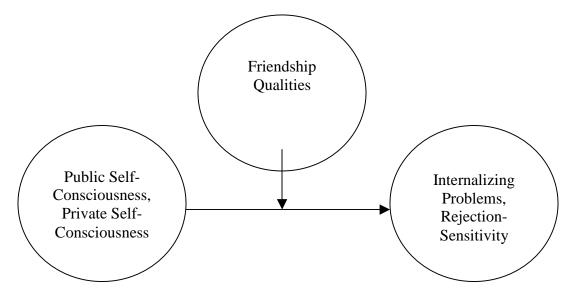
early adolescence. The fit of data to a one-factor and two factor model of selfconsciousness, along with a two-factor model of private self-consciousness were compared. The two-factor model of self-consciousness was expected to represent the best model fit. Individual differences in self-consciousness were related to individual differences in indices of psychological functioning (internalizing problems, rejectionsensitivity). Consistent with findings from the adult personality literature, it was expected that public self-consciousness would be more strongly related to rejectionsensitivity than was private self-consciousness. It was also predicted that private selfconsciousness would be more strongly related to anxiety and depression than was public self-consciousness. Other indices of internalizing problems were also examined in relation to public and private self-consciousness. Specifically, it was expected that private self-consciousness would be more strongly related to reports of thought and somatic problems, whereas public self-consciousness would be more strongly related to reports of social problems. Reports of social withdrawal and overall internalizing were also examined in relation to public and private self-consciousness. Given the paucity of research focused on self-consciousness during early adolescence, no hypotheses were offered in this regard. Further, it was hypothesized that girls would report higher levels of private and public self-consciousness than boys. However, given the lack of data addressing gender differences in the correlates and consequences of private and public self-consciousness, hypotheses were not offered in this regard.

The second objective of the present study was to explore the relation between self-consciousness and friendship; it was posited that a high quality friendship would lessen the anxiety, depression, and rejection-sensitivity that is typically associated with

the private and public forms of self-consciousness, and promote positive adjustment (see Figure 1 for model). Specific friendship qualities were examined; it was hypothesized that friendship qualities pertaining to intimacy, such as closeness and companionship, would be particularly helpful for the self-consciously adolescent. A negative quality friendship, specifically a friendship characterized by high levels of conflict, was expected to augment the internalizing difficulties associated with self-consciousness. Given that the friendships of *girls* are typically higher in relationship quality than those of boys, it was hypothesized that the *influence* of friendship would be greater for girls than boys (Parker & Asher, 1993).

Lastly, self-consciousness in relation to shyness, in contrast to fearfulness in relation to shyness, was related to the indices of psychosocial distress. It was expected that fearful shyness would be more detrimental to the self-system than will self conscious shyness. Specifically, children identified as fearfully shy were expected to be more anxious and depressed, and to report more somatic problems and socially withdrawn behavior than children identified as self-consciously shy or nonshy. Significant differences between the self-consciously shy and nonshy groups of children were not expected on these variables. However, children identified as self-consciously shy were expected to report greater rejection-sensitivity and thought problems than the other two groups. The fearfully shy group was also expected to report greater rejection-sensitivity and thought problems than the nonshy group of children. Based on previous research, it was expected that group differences would be greater among the groups of *boys* than girls.

Figure 1. Proposed Relations between Self-Consciousness, Friendship Quality, and Internalizing Problems.



CHAPTER III: METHOD

Participants

Participants were 137 (50 males, 87 females) 8^{th} grade students from a middle school in Upstate New York. The mean age of the sample was 13.98 (SD= .37) years (Males: M= 13.92 years, SD= .30; Females: M=14.01, SD= .38). Approximately 70% of the children were Caucasian, 5% Black, 4% Hispanic/Latino, 3% Asian, 2% Native American, and 8% Biracial or Multiracial. All students in the middle school were invited to participate in the study; a raffle for 'Best Buy' gift certificates was held to encourage participation (see Appendix A for Recruitment Letter and Appendix B for Parent Consent Form). Only those adolescents for whom parental consent was obtained were allowed to participate in the study. Overall consent rate was 99% (only one child returned a consent form indicating that his parents did not want him to participate in the project); overall participation rate for the 8^{th} grade was 50%.

Procedure

Students were visited in their classrooms in the Spring of their 8th grade year (in the months of April and May). All students were told that their answers were private and confidential, and were instructed not to discuss their answers with their classmates.

Students completed packets of questionnaires at their desk on two consecutive school days (Part 1 and Part 2); each session lasted one class period, approximately 45 minutes.

The order of the questionnaires for all adolescents was: Part 1: Friendship Nominations, Friendship Qualities Scales, and Youth Self-Report; Part 2: Self Consciousness Scales, Child Rejection-Sensitivity Questionnaire, and Shyness & Fearfulness Scales.

Measures

Friendship nominations. (Bukowski, Hoza, & Boivin, 1994; Appendix C)

Participants were asked to write the names of their "very best friend," their "second best friend," and their "third best friend" at their school. Students were instructed to name same-sex best friends in Grade 8. An adolescent was considered to have a *mutual* best friendship if their first best friend choice reciprocated the nomination as one of their three best friends. This procedure is similar to the procedure used to identify best friendships specified by other friendship researchers (e.g. Hodges et al., 1999).

Friendship Qualities Scale (Bukowski et al., 1994; Appendix D) The 23 -item Friendship Qualities Scale was used to assess the child's self-perceived quality of friendship with his/her best friend. All children were instructed to complete the measure in reference to the relationship with the peer whom he/she reported as their "very best friend" on the friendship nominations measure. Each item involved a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 'Not at all true' about the relationship to 5 'Really True' about the relationship. The FQS yields five subscales in the areas of companionship (e.g., My friend and I spend all our free time together), conflict (e.g., My friend and I argue a lot), help (e.g., My friend would help me if I needed it), security (e.g., If I have a problem at school or at home, I can talk to my friend about it), and closeness (e.g., I think about my friend even when my friend is not around). Scale scores are the arithmetic mean of the corresponding item scores. Higher scores indicate greater perceived friendship quality on all of the subscales. The Cronbach alphas for the FQS subscales were: Companionship:

.72; *Conflict*: .68; *Closeness*: .76; *Help*: .81; and *Security*: .58. Given the low alpha for the FQS *Security* scale, the scale was excluded from further analyses.

Youth Self-Report (YSR; Achenbach, 2001; Appendix E) for adolescents ages 11-18 was used to assess self-reports of internalizing problems. Adolescents completed questions pertaining to the broad-band internalizing subscales: Withdrawn Behaviors, Anxiety/Depression, Somatic Problems, Social Problems, and Thought Problems. Adolescents indicated how true each item was for him/herself now or within the past 6 months, on a 3-point scale ranging from 0 'Not true' to 2 'Very often true.' The items pertaining to suicide and suicidal ideation were excluded. Summing the scores for each of the subscales created a total *Internalizing Problems* scale. The YSR also contains items pertaining to externalizing problems, however these items were not of interest in the present study and were therefore not included. Previous researchers have demonstrated adequate construct validity, test-retest and internal reliability, and cross ethnic and gender measurement equivalence (e.g., Achenbach, Howell, McConaughy, & Stranger, 1995). The Cronbach's alphas in the present study were: Withdrawn Behaviors: .63; Anxiety/Depression: .82; Somatic Problems: .74; Social Problems: .69; Thought *Problems*: .78; and *Internalizing Problems*: .93.

Self-consciousness Scales (SCS; Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1974; Appendix F)
The SCS assesses public and private self-consciousness and social anxiety. Participants indicate their self-consciousness and anxiety on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (extremely uncharacteristic) to 4 (extremely characteristic) in terms of how characteristic the item is of them. The SCS yields three subscales, public self-consciousness (e.g., I'm concerned about my style of doing things; 7 items), private self-consciousness (e.g., I'm aware of the

way my mind works when I work through a problem; 10 items), and social anxiety (e.g., It takes me time to overcome my shyness in new situations; 6-items). Item scores are summed to yield 3 scale scores for each participant. Test-retest correlations for the subscales are high (public self-consciousness, .84; private self-consciousness, .79; social anxiety, .73; Fenigstein et al., 1974). Previous researchers have demonstrated that the public self-consciousness scale correlates moderately with the private self-consciousness scale (r=.26, p<.01) and with the social anxiety scale (r=.21, p<.01). Only the private and public self-consciousness scales are of interest in the present study; thus, the social anxiety scale was not included. Although the SCS was designed for use with an adult population, a number of researchers recently have utilized the measure with adolescents (e.g., Davis & Franzoi, 1986; Martin & Debus, 1998). One of the primary goals of the present study was to examine the psychometric properties of the Self-Consciousness Scales with early adolescents (see below).

Children's Rejection-Sensitivity Questionnaire (CRSQ; Downey, Lebolt, Rincon, & Freitas, 1998; Appendix G). The CRSQ assesses the extent to which children have angry or anxious expectations of rejection. The CRSQ includes two subscales: (1) Angry expectations of rejection (e.g. You wonder if the teacher will choose you to meet the famous guest; How mad would you feel about whether the teacher will pick you to meet the famous guest?); and (2) Anxious expectations of rejection (e.g., You wonder if the kid will really come; How nervous would you feel about whether the kid will really come?). Angry and anxious expectations of rejection scores were calculated by multiplying the expected likelihood of rejection by the degree of anger or anxiety for each situation and dividing by 12 (the total number of situations). These two subscales were highly

correlated (r = .77, p < .001) and were therefore summed to form an overall composite of rejection-sensitivity. Adequate test-retest reliabilities (.85) have been demonstrated for the overall rejection-sensitivity scale (Downey et al., 1998). The Cronbach alpha for the Rejection-Sensitivity scale in the present study was .87.

Shyness (Cheek & Buss, 1981; Appendix H). The 9-item Shyness Scale, one subscale of Shyness and Sociability Scales (Cheek & Buss, 1981), was used to assess shyness. The Sociability scale was not of interest in the present study. Items on the Shyness Scale include: I have trouble looking someone in the eye; I am often uncomfortable at parties and other social functions; and I feel tense when I'm with people I don't know well. Participants indicate on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0 'Extremely uncharacteristic' to 4 'Extremely characteristic' how characteristic each shyness item is of them. Test-retest reliability of the Shyness Scale is high (e.g. r = .74; Cheek & Buss, 1981), and convergent validity has been previously demonstrated (e.g., Cheek & Buss, 1981). "Conversing" was changed to "talking," "inhibited" was changed to "shy," and a social situation example of a "school dance" was added to make the measure more suitable for adolescents. The Cronbach alpha for the Shyness scale in the present study was .73.

EASI-III: Fear Scale (Buss & Plomin, 1984; Appendix I). This measure comprises 5 –items descriptive of temperamental fears (I am easily frightened; I often feel insecure; I tend to be nervous; I have fewer fears than most people my age; and When I get scared, I panic). The Fear scale is one subscale from EASI-III Temperament Scale, which assesses temperamental differences in adults. On a 5 point scale, participants indicate how well each item describes their own fear, ranging from 0 'Extremely

uncharacteristic' to 4 'Extremely characteristic.' The Fear scale has a retest reliability of .75 (Buss & Plomin, 1984). The Cronbach alpha for the 5-item factor was unacceptably low (.60); however, reliability item-analyses suggested improvement if one item, *I have fewer fears than most people my age*, was deleted. Thus, this item was excluded from the factor, and the Cronbach alpha for the 4-item Fear factor was acceptable (.72).

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

Overview of data analytic plan

The psychometric properties of the Self-Consciousness Scales were analyzed with an inspection of individual-item means and standard deviations, and inter-item correlational analyses. Confirmatory factor analyses were performed to examine whether data confirmed the one or two-factor model of self-consciousness reported in the adult personality literature. A two-factor model of private self-consciousness was also examined. To determine the associations between adolescents' self-consciousness and their reports of internalizing problems and rejection-sensitivity, correlational analyses (including partial correlations) were computed between adolescents' reports on the Self Consciousness Scales (SCS), the Youth Self-Report (YSR), and the Children's Rejection-Sensitivity Questionnaire (CRSQ; Part I). A series of hierarchical linear regression analyses were conducted to examine the possible moderating role of friendship qualities on the relation between self-consciousness and internalizing problems and rejectionsensitivity (Part II). Lastly, additional analyses were performed to assess self-conscious and fearful shyness during early adolescence; the criteria outlined by Buss (1986) were used to identify self-consciously and fearfully shy early adolescents (Part III).

Part I: Self-Consciousness Scales: Item analyses

Means and standard deviations for the individual items of the Self-Consciousness Scales (SCS) are presented in Table 1. For the most part, the means of the individual items clustered around 2 (the mid point of the scale) and displayed reasonable variability. However, one item, *I sometimes have the feeling that I'm off somewhere watching myself*, had a low mean (.80) relative to the other items, and was excluded from further analyses.

During the administration, a number of students asked for clarification of the meaning of this item. It seems likely that many students did not understand this particular item.

Correlations between the individual items of the SCS are presented in Table 2. The majority of intercorrelations were low to moderate in the positive direction. However, the two items that were reverse-coded, *Generally, I'm not very aware of myself*, and *I never scrutinize myself*, were correlated with the other SCS items in the negative direction, after the responses were reverse-coded. It seems likely that the negative phrasing of the items was confusing or misleading to the students; hence, these two items were also excluded from further analyses. It is also important to note that these two items have been omitted in numerous studies involving adults (e.g., Burnkrant & Page, 1984; Piliavin & Charng, 1988).

Table 1. Self-Consciousness Scales item means and standard deviations (n=121).

<u>Item</u> (in abbreviated form)	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
Always trying to figure myself out	1.61	1.11
Concerned about my style of doing things	1.80	1.19
Very aware of myself	2.93	.98
Reflect about myself a lot	1.72	1.17
Concerned about the way I present myself	2.25	1.28
Subject of my own fantasies	1.53	1.31
Always scrutinize myself	2.44	1.12
Self-conscious about the way I look	2.42	1.28
Generally attentive to my inner feelings	2.11	1.80
Worry about making a good impression	2.49	1.15
Constantly examining my motives	1.79	1.14
Last thing I do before I leave is look in mirror	2.46	1.44
Have feeling I'm off somewhere watching myself	.80	1.14
Concerned about what other people think of me	2.29	1.15
Alert to changes in my mood	2.07	1.11
Usually aware of appearance	2.76	1.01
Aware of way mind works through a problem	2.48	1.05

Table 2. Intercorrelations between individual SCS items

2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Figure self .61**4						.33**	.19**	.27**	.29**	.18	.36**	.30**	.12	07	04
2. Concern style3						.41**	.20*	.45**	.37**	.21*	.29**	.44**	.13	.01	.12
3. Aware self		41**				20*	19*	18*	24**	.04	26**	18	17	.18*	.10
4. Reflect self			.40**	.43**-	.05	.30**	.40**	.41**	.43**	01	.39**	.35**	.16	.20*	.20*
5. Concern present				.32**-	.12	.60**	.27**	.58**	.37**	.28**	.23*	.53**	.13	.19*	.15
6. Subject fantasies				_	.13	.19*	.26**	.28**	.13	.07	.23*	.30**	.22*	.08	.04
7. Scrutinize self						.05	12	01	.05	.18	01	09	.11	.10	27**
8. Self-conscious							.32**	.60**	.38**	.45**	.22*	.55**	.16	.24**	09
9. Attentive feel								.37**	.33**	.02	.14	.14	.14	.13	.15
10. Worry impress									.48**	.29**	.24**	.58**	.11	.25**	04
11. Examine motives										.19*	.30**	.40**	.12	.09	.03
12. Mirror											.15	.24**	.21*	.36**	15
13. Watching self												.11	.19*	.04	.04
14. Concern opinions	}												.05	.16	2
15. Alert mood														.09	.09
16. Appearance															.15
17. Aware mind															

^{**} *p* <.01*; *p* <.05

Confirmatory factor analyses of SCS

Previous researchers have revealed two-factor (Turner et al., 1978), and three-factor structures (Anderson et al., 1996; Cramer, 2000) to the Self-Consciousness Scales. Thus the data were subjected to confirmatory factor analyses to compare the fit of these models, and also a one-factor model, to the data in the present study. The two-factor model included the same alignment of items that emerged in the formulation of the Self-Consciousness Scales (Fenigstein et al., 1975), that is used by most researchers with adult samples, and that was recently reported as the best model fit in a study focused on self-consciousness in 13-15 year-olds (Rankin et al., 2004). All models were tested with the structural equation modeling program EQS, version 6 (Bentler, 2003)

Confirmatory factor analyses conducted with the *one*-factor model yielded a χ^2 = 175.51, p < .001, df=77, comparative fit index (CFI) = .79, a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .10, and a standardized root mean square of residual (SRMR) = .08. Acceptable data-model fit is typically indicated by CFI value that is greater than or equal to .96 and SRMR value that is less than or equal to .10; or a RMSEA value that is less than or equal to .06 and SRMR value that is less than or equal to .10 (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Confirmatory factor analyses conducted with the *two*-factor model, one factor representing private self-consciousness and the other public self-consciousness, yielded a χ^2 = 153.39, p < .001, df=76, CFI = .85, a RMSEA = .09, and SRMR = .08. A comparison of Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC) comparison was performed. The AIC index reflects the difference between model-implied and observed covariance matrixes. AIC comparisons are recommended for non-hierarchical model comparisons;

when comparing two models, the lower AIC is thought to reflect the better model fit (Burnham & Anderson, 1998). Comparison of the AIC values revealed that the *two*-factor model (AIC: 1.39) was a better fit to the data than the one-factor model (AIC: 21.51).

Although the two-factor model represented a better fit to the data than the onefactor model, the model fit indices were still somewhat lower than the values typically considered acceptable (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Thus, modification indices were examined to determine whether the model fit could be improved. Indeed, Wald test indices suggested that the two-factor model fit could be improved by dropping one private selfconsciousness item, I'm aware of the way my mind works when I work though a problem. During the administration, many students asked questions about this particular item; the wording of the item may have been difficult for early adolescents to understand. Prior studies have also eliminated this item from analyses due to word confusion (Anderson et al., 1996). Thus, this item was eliminated and CFAs were repeated. Analyses conducted with this modification indicated $\chi^2 = 128.95$, p < .001, df = 64, CFI= .86, RMSEA= .09, and SRMR=.07. Again, a comparison of AICs was performed; the two-factor model without the item, I'm aware of the way my mind works when I work through a problem, represented a better fit to the data (AIC: .95) than the two-factor model including this item (AIC: 1.39).

To examine a two-factor model of *private* self-consciousness, the private self-consciousness factor was divided into *Internal State Awareness* and *Self Reflectiveness* subscales, according to the factor structure revealed by Anderson et al., (1996).

Consistent with prior studies comparing the two- and three-factor models of self-

consciousness (Anderson et al., 1996), the fit of the private self-consciousness data to a one-factor and two-factor model was separately examined. Analyses conducted with the *one*-factor model of private self-consciousness indicated χ^2 = 14.74, p< .001, df=14, CFI= .99, RMSEA= .02, SRMR= .05, and AIC= -13.26. The *two*-factor model of private self-consciousness revealed χ^2 = 9.08, p< .001, df=8, CFI= .98, RMSEA= .03, SRMR= .04, and AIC= -6.92. Thus, based on AIC comparisons, the one-factor model of private self-consciousness represented the better fit to the data.

Final model of Self-Consciousness

Although the fit indexes were below the recommended criterion values for a good fit to data (Hu & Bentler, 1999), the two-factor model of self-consciousness, private selfconsciousness and public self-consciousness, demonstrated an advantage in fit, and was therefore used in all subsequent analyses. Thus, the Public Self-Consciousness scale comprised all of the original seven-items from the Self-Consciousness Scales (Fenigstein et al., 1975; I'm concerned about my style of doing things; I'm concerned about the way I present myself; I'm self-conscious about the way I look; I usually worry about making a good impression; One of the last things I do before I leave my house is look in the mirror; I'm concerned about what other people think of me; I'm usually aware of my appearance). The Private Self-Consciousness scale comprised six of the original ten private SCS items (I'm always trying to figure myself out; I reflect about myself a lot; I'm often the subject of my own fantasies; I'm generally attentive to my inner feelings; I'm constantly examining my motives; I'm alert to changes in my mood). As noted above, the 6-item factor of private self-consciousness showed an advantage in fit over the 7-item factor of private self-consciousness (including the item, I'm aware of the way my mind

works when I work through a problem). It is also important to note that reliability analyses revealed the Cronbach's alpha for the 7-item private self-consciousness factor was .68, whereas the 6-item factor yielded an Alpha value of .72. Given that a widely accepted Alpha value is .70 for a scale to demonstrate internal consistency (Nunnally, 1978), that previous researchers have excluded the item (Anderson et al., 1996), and that participants in the present study reported difficulty understanding the wording of the item, the decision was made to use the 6-item factor of private self-consciousness. The alpha value for the 7-item public self-consciousness scale was .81.

Lastly, it is important note that the data was subjected to confirmatory factor analyses separately for males and females in order to examine for possible gender differences in model fit during early adolescence. For both boys and girls, the twef actor model showed an advantage in fit over the one-factor model. For *boys*, analyses conducted with the one-factor model of self-consciousness indicated χ^2 = 145.28, p< .001, df=77, CFI= .70, RMSEA= .14, SRMR= .12, and AIC= -.8.72. The two-factor model of self-consciousness (public self-consciousness, private self-consciousness) revealed χ^2 = 111.32, p< .001, df=64, CFI= .79, RMSEA= .13, SRMR= .12, and AIC= -.24.25. For *girls*, analyses conducted with the one-factor model of self-consciousness indicated χ^2 = 152.40, p< .001, df=77, CFI= .77, RMSEA= .11, SRMR= .10, and AIC= -1.60. The two-factor model of self-consciousness (public self-consciousness, private self-consciousness) revealed χ^2 = 107.38, p< .001, df=64, CFI= .86, RMSEA= .09, SRMR= .09, and AIC= -9.68.

Correlations between SCS subscales.

Correlations were computed between the public and private self-consciousness subscales, for the entire sample, and separately for males and females. For the entire sample, the correlation between public and private self-consciousness was .57, p < .001. The correlation between these subscales for males was .50, p < .001, and .61, p < .001 for females. Although the correlations between the self-consciousness subscales reported by Fenigstein et al (1975) were low to moderate when adults' self-consciousness was assessed (r = .20-.26), the correlations in the present study are similar to those reported by Rankin et al (2004) involving an adolescent sample (r = .41-.49).

A set of correlational analyses was conducted to examine the relations between the SCS subscales of public and private self-consciousness and internalizing problems that have been associated with self-consciousness in the adult personality and depression literatures (Anderson et al., 1996; Fenigstein, 1974). Correlations were computed between the public and private self-consciousness scales and (1) self-reports of internalizing problems on the *Youth Self-Report* (YSR), including subscales pertaining to withdrawn behaviors, anxiety and depression, somatic problems, social problems, and thought problems, and a total internalizing problems scale, and (2) self-reports of rejection-sensitivity, per the *Children's Rejection-Sensitivity Questionnaire* (*CRSQ*). The means and standard deviations for the entire sample on the YSR, CRSQ, and SCS, along with the Cronbach Alphas' are presented in Table 3. It is also important to note that all adolescents reported significantly more *public* public and private self-consciousness, t (122) = 10.81, p < .001.

A series of preliminary t-tests was conducted to examine for potential gender differences in self-consciousness, internalizing problems, and rejection-sensitivity. Results were significant for somatic problems, t (124) =- 3.19, p < .001; and total internalizing problems, t (125) = -2.23, p < .03. *Girls* reported more somatic problems and overall internalizing problems. Non-significant differences emerged on all other YSR, CRSQ, and SCS variables. Means and standard deviations for these variables are presented in Table 4 separately for males and females. Given the above mentioned gender differences, all correlational analyses were conducted for the total sample, and then separately for boys and girls.

Table 3. YSR, CRSQ, & SCS subscale means and standard deviations (*n*=121).

-		
Subscale	Mean	<u>SD</u>
YSR		
Withdrawn behaviors (alpha= .63)	3.21	2.18
Anxiety/Depression (alpha= .82)	5.64	4.48
Somatic problems (alpha= .74)	5.04	3.51
Social problems (alpha= .69)	4.08	3.15
Thought problems (alpha= .78)	5.10	4.08
Internalizing problems (alpha= .93)	13.83	8.81
CRSQ		
Rejection-Sensitivity (alpha= .87)	16.41	5.56
SCS		
Public Self-Consciousness (alpha= .81)	16.39	5.91
Private Self-Consciousness (alpha= .72)	10.81	4.35

Table 4. YSR, CRSQ, & SCS means and standard deviations, separately for boys and girls.

	Boy	S	Girls		
Subscale	Mean	<u>SD</u>	Mean	<u>SD</u>	
YSR					
Withdrawn behaviors	3.22	2.07	3.20	2.25	
Anxiety/Depression	4.73	4.02	6.16	4.66	
Somatic problems	3.75	2.63	5.76	3.74	
Social problems	4.00	3.41	4.12	3.01	
Thought problems	4.78	4.07	5.27	4.10	
Internalizing problems	11.55	7.53	15.12	9.25	
CRSQ					
Rejection-Sensitivity	16.41	5.56	17.68	7.57	
SCS					
Public Self-Consciousness	15.16	6.07	17.12	5.73	
Private Self-Consciousness	10.18	4.42	11.18	4.23	

Relations with internalizing problems (YSR). Analyses conducted with the entire sample revealed that *public* self-consciousness was significantly and positively related to all YSR subscales (Withdrawn Behaviors: r = .20, p < .03; Anxiety/Depression: r = .41, p<.001; Somatic Problems: r = .37, p < .001; Social Problems: r = .19, p < .03; Thought *Problems*: r = .31, p < .001; total *Internalizing Problems*: r = .40, p < .001). Likewise, private self-consciousness was also significantly and positively related to all YSR subscales (Withdrawn Behaviors: r = .27, p < .001; Anxiety/Depression: r = .43, p < .001.001; Somatic Problems: r = .33, p < .001; Social Problems: r = .32, p < .001; Thought *Problems*: r = .46, p < .001; total *Internalizing Problems*: r = .41, p < .001; see Table 5). Fischer's r to z transformations were performed to test for significant differences among the correlations between public self-consciousness and the YSR scales, and private selfconsciousness and the YSR subscales. Analyses revealed non-significant differences (Withdrawn Behaviors: Z= .56, ns; Anxiety/Depression: Z= .19, ns; Somatic Problems: Z= .35, ns; Social Problems: Z= 1.06, ns; Thought Problems: Z= 1.35, ns; Internalizing Problems: Z=.09, ns).

For boys, publicself -consciousness was non-significantly related to all YSR internalizing subscales. The correlations between private self-consciousness and thought problems was significant (r = .43, p < .001), however all other correlations were non-significant. When comparing the strength of the correlations between public self-consciousness and the YSR scales and private self-consciousness and the YSR scales, Fisher's r to Z transformations revealed non-significant differences (*Withdrawn Behaviors*: Z = .19, ns; Anxiety/Depression: Z = .01, ns; Somatic Problems: Z = .51, ns;

Social Problems: Z= .73, ns; Thought Problems: Z= 1.15, ns; Internalizing Problems: Z= .29, ns).

For girls, publicself -consciousness was significantly and positively related to reports of anxiety/depression (r = .48, p < .001), somatic problems (r = .42, p < .001), social problems (r = .29, p < .01), thought problems (r = .37, p < .001), and total internalizing problems (r = .45, p < .001). Private self-consciousness was significantly and positively related to all YSR subscales (*Withdrawn Behaviors*: r = .29, p < .01; Anxiety/Depression: r = .51, p < .001; Somatic Problems: r = .41, p < .001; Social Problems: r = .38, p < .001; Thought Problems: r = .47, p < .001; total Internalizing Problems: r = .50, p < .001). Fisher's r to r transformations revealed non-significant differences between the public and private self-consciousness correlations (*Withdrawn Behaviors*: r = .76, r = .76, r = .76, r = .77, r = .27, r = .29, r = .29, r = .21, r = .21, r = .22, r = .23, r = .24, r = .24, r = .25, r = .26, r = .27, r = .27, r = .27, r = .27, r = .29, r

Fisher's r to Z transformations were also performed to examine for possible gender differences in the strength of the associations between the two types of self-consciousness and the YSR scales. For example, the strength of the associations between boys' reports of withdrawn behaviors and public self-consciousness (r = .26) was compared to the association between girls' reports of withdrawn behaviors and public self-consciousness (r = .17). Two trends were revealed. The correlation between private self-consciousness and somatic problems for *girls* tended to greater than the correlation between private self-consciousness and somatic problems for boys (Z = 1.7, D < .09). Also, the correlation between private self-consciousness and total internalizing problems

for *girls* tended to be greater than the correlation between private self-consciousness and total internalizing problems for boys (*Z*= 1.7, *p*< .08). All other comparisons were non-significant (*Withdrawn Behaviors* and *Public Self-Consciousness*: *Z*= .48, *ns*; *Withdrawn Behaviors* and *Private Self-Consciousness*: *Z*= .38, *ns*; *Anxiety/Depression* and *Public Self-Consciousness*: *Z*= 1.31, *ns*; *Anxiety/Depression* and *Private Self-Consciousness*: *Z*= 1.52, *ns*; *Somatic Problems* and *Public Self-Consciousness*: *Z*= 1.19, *ns*; *Social Problems* and *Public Self-Consciousness*: *Z*= 1.22, *ns*; *Social Problems* and *Private Self-Consciousness*: *Z*= .90, *ns*; *Thought Problems* and *Public Self-Consciousness*: *Z*= .95, *ns*; *Thought Problems* and *Private Self-Consciousness*: *Z*= .26, *ns*; *Total Internalizing Problems* and Public *Self Consciousness*: *Z*= 1.06, *ns*).

Table 5. Associations between YSR subscales and SCS subscales, for the entire sample, and separately by gender.

	Public SCS	Private SCS		
Subscale	r	r		
Withdrawn behaviors: total sample	.20*	.27**		
Boys	.26	.22		
Girls	.17	.29*		
Anxiety/Depression: total sample	.41**	.43**		
Boys	.26	.26		
Girls	.48**	.51**		
Somatic problems: total sample	.37**	.33**		
Boys	.21	.10		
Girls	.42**	.41**		
Social problems: total sample	.19*	.32**		
Boys	.06	.22		
Girls	.29*	.38**		
Thought problems: total sample	.31**	.46**		
Boys	.20	.43**		
Girls	.37**	.47**		
Internalizing problems: total sample	.40**	.41**		
Boys	.27	.21		
Girls	.45**	.50**		

^{**}*p*<.001; * *p*<.05

Relations with Rejection-Sensitivity (CRSQ). Results from correlational analyses performed with the entire sample, and then separately for males and females, are shown in Table 6. For the entire sample, publicself -consciousness was significantly and positively related to reports of Rejection-Sensitivity (r = .37, p < .001). Private self-consciousness was also significantly and positively related to Rejection-Sensitivity (r = .39, p < .001). Fisher's r to Z transformations revealed non-significant differences in the strength of these associations (Z = .13, ns).

For *boys*, public self-consciousness was significantly and positively related to reports of rejection-sensitivity (r = .36, p < .02). Boys' private self-consciousness however, was not significantly associated with rejection-sensitivity (r = .09, ns). There were non-significant differences between correlations involving public self-consciousness and those involving private self-consciousness (Z = 1.30, ns).

For *girls*, public self-consciousness was significantly and positively related to reports of rejection-sensitivity (r = .37, p < .001). Girls' private self-consciousness was significantly associated to rejection-sensitivity (r = .51, p < .001). There were non-significant differences between correlations involving public self-consciousness and those involving private self-consciousness (Z=1.03, ns).

Gender differences were also examined with a series of Fisher's r to Z transformations. Analyses revealed a significant difference in the correlations between private self-consciousness and rejection-sensitivity (Z=2.39, p<.01). The correlation for girls (r=.51) was significantly greater than the correlation for boys (r=.09). The comparison between boys' and girls' reports of public self-consciousness and their reports of rejection-sensitivity was non-significant (Z=.07, ns)

Table 6. Associations between CRSQ and Public and Private Self-Consciousness, for the entire sample, and separately by gender.

	Public SCS	Private SCS		
Subscale	r	r		
Rejection-Sensitivity: total sample	.37**	.39**		
Boys	.36*	.09		
Girls	.37**	.51**		

^{**}p<.001; * p< .05

Partial correlations. Given the strong association between public and private self-consciousness in the personality literature (e.g. Fenigstein et al., 1975) and also in the present study (r = .57), a series of partial correlations was performed between each type of self-consciousness and internalizing problems and rejection-sensitivity, controlling for the other type of self-consciousness. Rather than aggregating the two factors, partial correlations have been recommended (e.g., Anderson et al., 1996). Partial correlations were also performed separately by sex, and results are displayed in Tables 7 and 8.

Noteworthy are changes in these associations compared to the previously noted zero-order correlations. For the entire sample, when private self-consciousness was controlled, public self-consciousness was no longer significantly associated with reports of withdrawn behaviors (r = .05, ns), thought problems (r = .05, ns), and social problems (r = .01, ns).

Fewer changes occurred for the private self-consciousness scale. Private self-consciousness was significantly associated with all YSR and CRQS scale of Rejection-Sensitivity, however, one of these associations changed from significant associations to trends. The associations between private self-consciousness and somatic problems (r = .16, p < .08) approached significance when public self-consciousness was controlled.

When data were examined separately by gender, girls' public self-consciousness was no longer significantly related to the following variables after private self-consciousness was controlled: $Social \ Problems$: r = .08, ns; $Thought \ Problems$: r = .12, ns; and Rejection-Sensitivity: r = .09, ns. The association between girls' reports of public self-consciousness and internalizing problems changed from a significant association to a

trend after private self-consciousness was controlled (r = .21, p < .07). The association between girls' reports of private self-consciousness and somatic problems (r = .22, p < .06) became only marginally significant.

Table 7. Partial correlations between YSR subscales and SCS subscales, for the entire sample, and separately by gender.

	Public SCS	Private SCS			
(contro	olling Private SCS)	(controlling Public SCS)			
Subscale	r	r			
Withdrawn behaviors: total sample	.05	.19*			
Boys	.16	.11			
Girls	01	.24*			
Anxiety/Depression: total sample	.21*	.27**			
Boys	.14	.17			
Girls	.24*	.32**			
Somatic problems: total sample	.23*	.16+			
Boys	.18	01			
Girls	.23*	.22+			
Social problems: total sample	.01	.25*			
Boys	08	.21			
Girls	.08	.27*			
Thought problems: total sample	.05	.37**			
Boys	04	.42*			
Girls	.12	.33**			
Internalizing problems: total sample	.22*	.25*			
Boys	.18	.12			
Girls	.21+	.31*			

^{**}p<.001; * p< .05; + p < .10

Table 8. Associations between CRSQ and Public and Private Self-Consciousness, for the entire sample, and separately by gender.

	Public SCS	Private SCS (controlling Public SCS)			
(c	ontrolling Private SCS)				
Subscale	r	<u>r</u>			
Rejection-Sensitivity: total samp	ole .20*	.23*			
Boys	.37*	10			
Girls	.09	.38**			

^{**}*p*<.001; * *p*<.05

Part II: Hierarchical linear regression analyses: Examining friendship quality as a moderator

Preliminary t-tests were conducted to examine potential gender differences in perceived friendship quality. Significant differences between boys and girls were revealed for all friendship quality variables except the conflict variable; Companionship: t(72) = -2.48, p < .02; Closeness: t(125) = -5.44, p < .001; and Help: t(65) = -4.77, p < .001. As expected, girls reported greater amounts of companionship, closeness, and help in their best friendships than did boys. There were non-significant differences between boys and girls in terms of conflict. Means, standard deviations, and Cronbach's Alphas for the FQS subscales are reported in Table 9. Correlations between independent and dependent variables are presented in Table 10.

A series of hierarchical linear regression analyses was conducted with each of the friendship quality subscales (FQS; Companionship, Closeness, Conflict, Help) as possible moderating factors. According to the recommendations outlined by Aiken and West (1991), all variables were centered by subtracting the mean, and then standardized. Interaction terms were then formed with these centered, standardized variables. The gender variable was dummy-coded, with 0=boys and 1=girls. Dependent variables were the YSR subscales (Withdrawn Behaviors, Anxiety/Depression, Somatic Problems, Social Problems, Thought Problems, and total Internalizing Problem) and the CRSQ scale of Rejection-Sensitivity. Public and private self-consciousness were independent predictor variables. However, given the associations between public and private self-consciousness, public self consciousness was entered on Step 1 as a control variable for those analyses with private self-consciousness as a predictor, and private self-

consciousness was entered on Step 1 as a control variable for those analyses with public self-consciousness as a predictor. Gender was entered on Step 2, self-consciousness (public or private) on Step 3, and one of the four FQS subscales (companionship, conflict, closeness, help) on Step 4. Interaction terms involving gender, public or private self-consciousness, and a FQS subscale were entered in Steps 5-8. A total of 56 hierarchical linear regression analyses (28 focused on public self-consciousness and 28 focused on private self-consciousness) were conducted. Twelve interactions involving public or private self-consciousness, friendship quality, and/or gender were significant or approached significance. All of these interactions were interpreted according to the procedures outlined by Aiken and West (1991). Results are reported separately for each dependent variable; significant findings involving public self-consciousness are presented first, followed by those involving private self-consciousness.

Table 9. FQS subscale means and standard deviations (n=127).

Subscale	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
Companionship (alpha= .72): total sample	3.84	.80
Boys	3.59	.93
Girls	3.98	.68
Conflict (alpha= .68): total sample	2.03	.76
Boys	1.90	.52
Girls	2.10	.87
Closeness (alpha= .76): total sample	4.11	.64
Boys	3.74	.65
Girls	4.32	.53
Help (alpha= .81): total sample	4.25	.71
Boys	3.84	.82
Girls	4.48	.51

Table 10. Associations between YSR, FQS, SCS, and CRSQ (*n*=117).

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. YSR: With	.64**	.51**	.56**	.46**	.78**	15	.05	.01	.07	.20*	.27**	.27**
2. YSR: Anx/Dep		.64**	.68**	.54**	.92**	04	.11	.09	.06	.41**	.43**	.52**
3. YSR: Somatic			.58**	.64**	.85**	.09	.02	.03	.23*	.37**	.33**	.42**
4. YSR: Social				.62**	.69**	18*	05	03	.10	.19*	.32**	.40**
5. YSR: Thought					.65**	01	.04	01	.06	.31**	.46**	.30**
6. YSR: Total Intern						01	.10	.08	.15	.40**	.41**	.50**
7. FQS: Comp							.48*	* .41**	.13	.13	02	.14
8. FQS: Close								.71**	14	.12	.04	.03
9. FQS: Help									08	.11	.01	.02
10. FQS: Conflict										.08	.04	.19*
11. Public SCS											.57**	.37**
12. Private SCS												.39**
13. CRSQ: Rej/Sens												

^{**} *p* <.01*; *p* <.05

YSR: Withdrawn Behaviors

Significant changes were attributable to the *public*self -consciousness-x-gender-x-conflict interaction when predicting *Withdrawn Behaviors*, F (8,109) = 2.99, p < .01, $\beta = .25$. According to the recommendations outlined by Aiken and West (1991), the equation was restructured to express the regression of *Withdrawn Behaviors* on public self-consciousness at levels of conflict for boys and girls, controlling for private self-consciousness. The values of conflict were chosen to correspond to the mean, one standard deviation above the mean (high), and one standard deviation below the mean (low). These equations were plotted in Excel and displayed in Figures 2 & 3.

The strongest relation between withdrawn behaviors and public self-consciousness was obtained for *girls* who reported the highest levels of conflict. The simple slope for the high conflict group of girls neared in terms of its significance from zero (β = .32, p < .06), whereas the simple slopes for the medium and low conflict groups of girls were not significantly different from zero (β = .05, ns, and β = -.20, ns respectively). The simple slopes for the high, medium, and low conflict groups of *boys* were not significantly different from zero (β = .07, ns, β = -.09, ns, β = .10, ns, respectively). Thus, for girls with friendships that were high in terms of conflict, there was an association between their reports of withdrawn behaviors and public self-consciousness, whereas there was no relation between withdrawn behaviors and public self-consciousness for girls with medium and low conflict friendships, and boys with high, medium, or low conflict friendships.

Figure 2. Withdrawn Behaviors as a function of gender (female) and public self-consciousness at three levels of conflict; subscripts L, M, H refer to low, medium, and high levels of conflict.

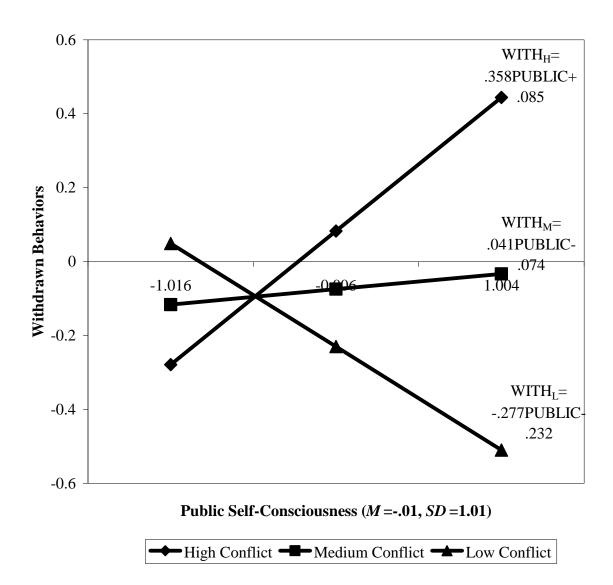
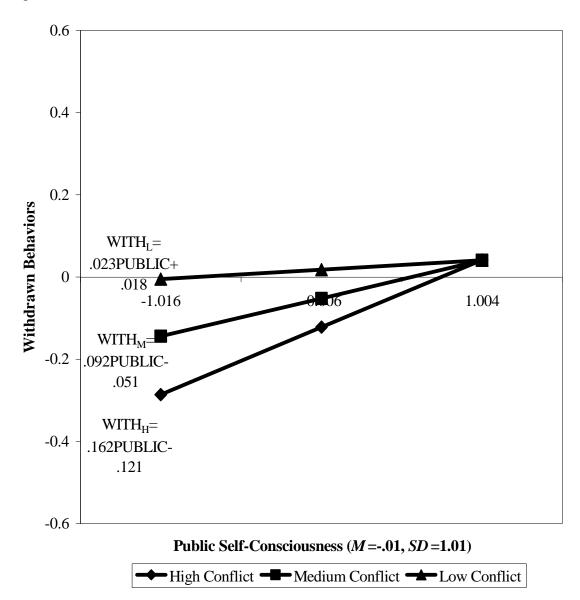


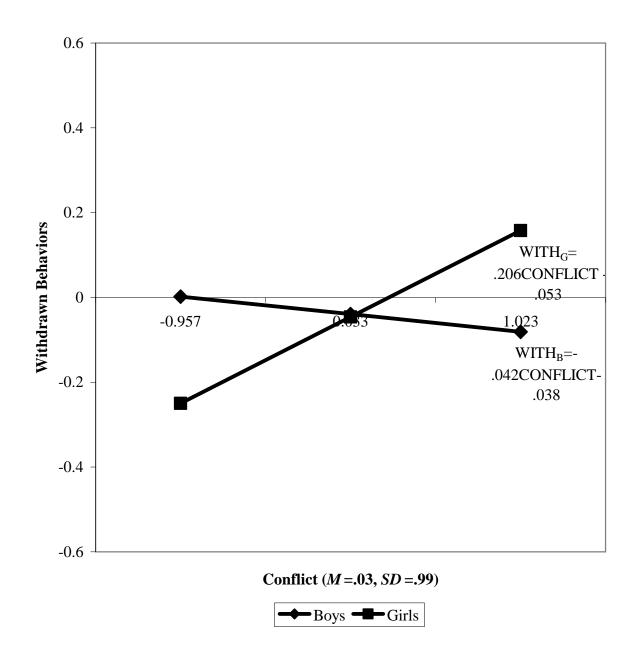
Figure 3. Withdrawn Behaviors as a function of gender (male) and public self-consciousness at three levels of conflict; subscripts L, M, H refer to low, medium, and high levels of conflict.



Significant changes were also attributable to the gender-x-conflict interaction when *Withdrawn Behaviors* F (6,111) = 2.38, p < .04, $\beta = .25$. The regression equation was restructured to express the regression of *Withdrawn Behaviors* on conflict for boys and girls. These equations were plotted in Excel, and are displayed in Figure 4.

The strongest relation between friendship conflict and withdrawn behaviors was obtained for boys, in the negative direction. The simple slope for the group of boys neared significance from zero (β = -.37, p < .10), whereas the simple slope for the group of girls was not significantly different from zero (β = .15, ns).

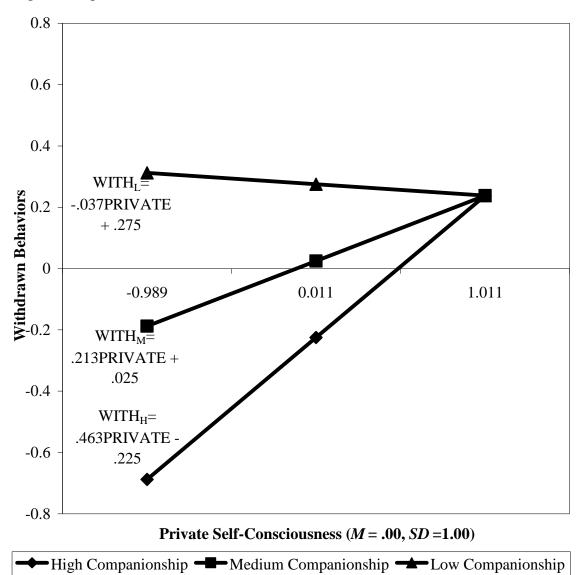
Figure 4. Withdrawn Behaviors as a function of conflict for girls and boys; subscripts G and B refer to levels of conflict for girls and boys.



Significant changes were also attributable to the *private* self-consciousness-x-companionship interaction for *Withdrawn Behaviors* F $(7,110) = 3.29, \ p < .01, \beta = .25$. To further probe this interaction, the equation was restructured to express the regression of *Withdrawn Behaviors* on private self-consciousness at levels of companionship, controlling for public self-consciousness. The values of companionship were chosen to correspond to the mean, one standard deviation above the mean (high), and one standard deviation below the mean (low). These equations were plotted in Excel and displayed in Figure 5.

The strongest relations were obtained for the high and medium companionship groups. The simple slopes for the high and medium companionship groups were significantly different from zero (β = .41, p < .001, β = .41, p < .001, respectively), whereas the simple slope for those early adolescents who reported low levels of companionship in their friendships did not differ significantly from zero (β = -.04, ns). Thus, for early adolescents with friendships that were high to moderate in terms of companionship, there was an association between withdrawn behaviors and private self-consciousness, whereas there was no relation between withdrawn behaviors and private self-consciousness for early adolescents with low companionship friendships.

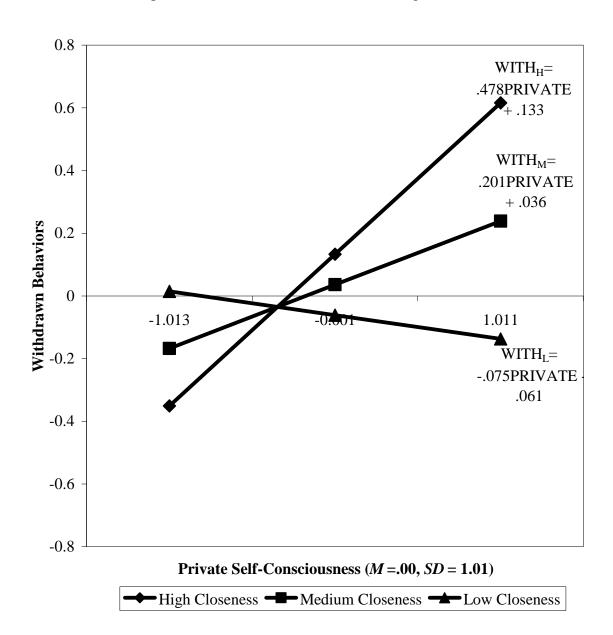
Figure 5. Withdrawn Behaviors as a function of private self-consciousness at three levels of companionship; subscripts L, M, H refer to low, medium, and high levels of companionship.



Changes attributable to the *private* self-consciousness-x-*closeness* interaction were significant for *Withdrawn Behavior* \mathfrak{F} (7,110) = 2.25, p < .03, β = .28. As with above analyses, this interaction was probed according to the recommendations outlined by Aiken and West (1991). The equation was restructured to express the regression of *Withdrawn Behaviors* on private self-consciousness at levels of closeness, controlling for public self-consciousness. The values of closeness were chosen to correspond to the mean, one standard deviation above the mean (high), and one standard deviation below the mean (low). These equations were plotted in Excel and displayed in Figure 6.

The strongest relations between withdrawn behaviors and private self-consciousness were obtained for early adolescents who reported high to moderate levels of closeness in their friendships. The simple slope for the high closeness group was significantly different from zero (β = .48, p < .001), and the simple slope for the medium closeness group was nearly significant from zero (β = .19, p < .09), whereas the simple slope for those early adolescents who reported low levels of closeness in their friendships did not differ significantly from zero (β = -.09, ns). Thus, for early adolescents with friendships that were high to moderate in terms of closeness, there was an association between withdrawn behaviors and private self-consciousness, whereas there was no relation between withdrawn behaviors and private self-consciousness for early adolescents with low closeness friendships.

Figure 6. Withdrawn Behaviors as a function of private self-consciousness at three levels of closeness; subscripts L, M, H refer to low, medium, and high levels of closeness.

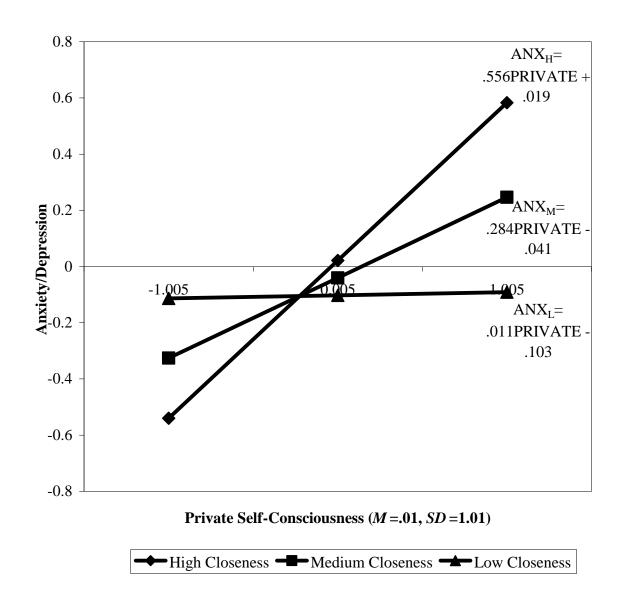


YSR: Anxiety/Depression

Changes attributable to the *private* self-consciousness-x-*closeness* interaction were significant for *Anxiety/Depression*, F (7,111) = 6.49, p < .02, $\beta = .27$. To probe this interaction, the equation was restructured to express the regression of Anxiety/Depression on private self-consciousness at levels of closeness, controlling for public self consciousness. The values of closeness were chosen to correspond to the mean, one standard deviation above the mean (high), and one standard deviation below the mean (low). These equations were plotted in Excel and displayed in Figure 7.

The strongest relations between anxiety/depression and private self-consciousness were obtained for early adolescents who reported high to moderate levels of closeness in their friendships. The simple slope for the high and moderate closeness groups were significantly different from zero (β = .55, p < .001, β = .28, p < .01, respectively), whereas the simple slope for those early adolescents who reported low levels of closeness in their friendships did not differ significantly from zero (β = .01, ns).

Figure 7. Anxiety/Depression as a function of private self-consciousness at three levels of closeness; subscripts L, M, H refer to low, medium, and high levels of closeness.



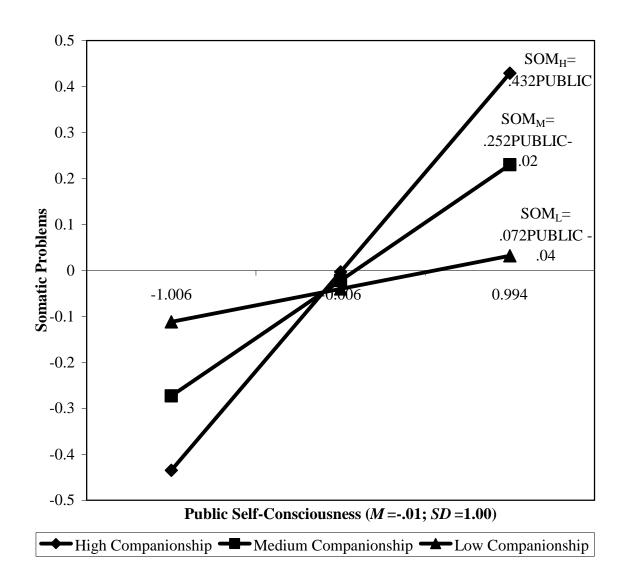
YSR: Somatic Problems

Significant changes were attributable to the *public*self -consciousness-x-companionship interaction for *Somatic Problems*, F (7,110) = 5.41, p < .05, $\beta = .18$. The regression equation was restructured to express the regression of Somatic Problems on public self-consciousness at levels of companionship, after controlling for private self-consciousness. The values of companionships were chosen to correspond to the mean, one standard deviation above the mean (high), and one standard deviation below the mean (low). These equations were plotted in Excel and displayed in Figure 8.

The strongest relation between self-reports of somatic problems and public self-consciousness was obtained for early adolescents who reported high to moderate levels of companionship in their friendships. The simple slopes for the high and medium companionship groups were significantly different from zero (β = .43, p< .001, β = .25, p< .02, respectively), whereas the simple slope for the low companionship group did not differ significantly from zero (β = .07, ns). Thus, for early adolescents who reported high to moderate levels of companionship within their friendships, there was a significant association between their reports of somatic problems and public self-consciousness, whereas there was no relation between somatic problems and public self-consciousness for those early adolescents who reported lower levels of companionship.

Conflict was a significant positive predictor of *Somatic Problems*, F (4, 113) = 8.54, p < .03. The predictive contribution of gender was significant and positive for the *Somatic Problems* variable, F (2, 115) = 10.85, p < .01.

Figure 8. Somatic Problems as a function of public self-consciousness at three levels of companionship; subscripts L, M, H refer to low, medium, and high levels of companionship.



YSR: Social Problems

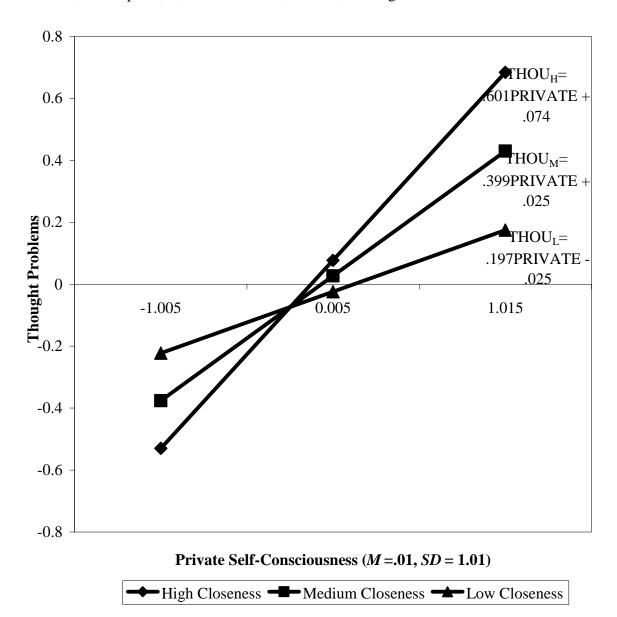
Companionship was also significant negative predictor of Social Problems (F (4, 114) = 4.51, p < .03).

YSR: Thought Problems

Changes attributable to the *private* self-consciousness-x-*closeness* interaction approached significance for *Thought Problems*, F (7,111) = 4.83, p < .09, $\beta = .20$. As with above analyses, this interaction was probed according to the recommendations outlined by Aiken and West (1991). The equation was restructured to express the regression of Thought Problems on private self-consciousness at levels of closeness, controlling for public self-consciousness. The values of closeness were chosen to correspond to the mean, one standard deviation above the mean (high), and one standard deviation below the mean (low). These equations were plotted in Excel and displayed in Figure 9.

The strongest relations between thought problems and private self-consciousness were obtained for early adolescents who reported high to moderate levels of closeness in their friendships. The simple slope for the high and moderate closeness groups were significantly different from zero (β = .60, p < .001, β = .40, p < .001, respectively), whereas the simple slope for those early adolescents who reported low levels of closeness in their friendships did not differ significantly from zero (β = .20, ns).

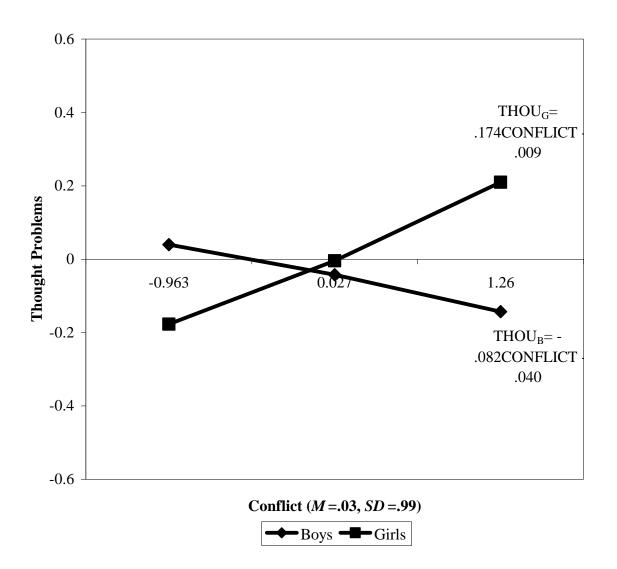
Figure 9. Thought Problems as a function of private self-consciousness at three levels of closeness; subscripts L, M, H refer to low, medium, and high levels of closeness.



Significant changes also were attributable to the gender-x-conflict interaction for the *Thought Problems* variable, F (6,112) = 6.29, p < .02, $\beta = .25$. To probe this interaction, the regression equation was restructured to express the regression of Thought Problems on conflict for boys and girls. These equations were plotted in Excel, and are displayed in Figure 10.

The strongest relation between the FQS conflict variable and Thought Problems was revealed for *boys* in the negative direction. The simple slope for the group of boys was significantly different from zero (β = -.42, p < .04), whereas the simple slope for the group of girls was not significantly different from zero (β = .11, ns).

Figure 10. Thought Problems as a function of conflict for girls and boys; subscripts G and B refer to levels of conflict for girls and boys.

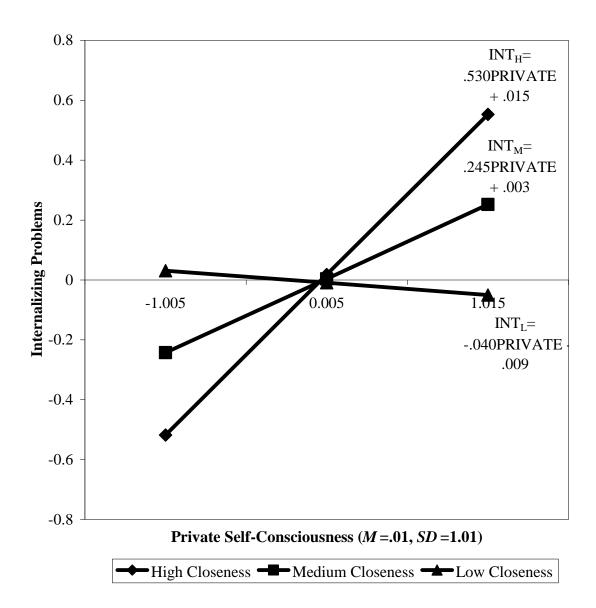


YSR: Internalizing Problems

Changes attributable to the *private* self-consciousness-x-*closeness* interaction were significant for *Internalizing Problems*, F (7,111) = 6.53, p < .01, $\beta = .28$. The equation was restructured to express the regression of Internalizing Problems on private self-consciousness at levels of closeness, controlling for public self-consciousness. The values of closeness were chosen to correspond to the mean, one standard deviation above the mean (high), and one standard deviation below the mean (low). These equations were plotted in Excel and displayed in Figure 11.

The strongest relations between internalizing problems and private self-consciousness were obtained for early adolescents who reported high to moderate levels of closeness in their friendships. The simple slope for the high and moderate closeness groups were significantly different from zero (β = .53, p < .001, β = .24, p < .02, respectively), whereas the simple slope for those early adolescents who reported low levels of closeness in their friendships did not differ significantly from zero (β = -.04, ns).

Figure 11. Internalizing Problems as a function of private self-consciousness at three levels of closeness; subscripts L, M, H refer to low, medium, and high levels of closeness.

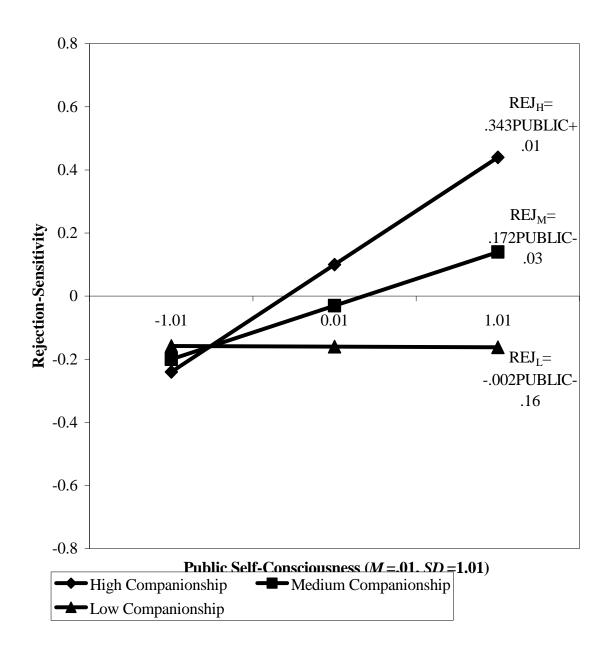


Rejection-Sensitivity

Changes attributable to the *public*self -consciousness-x-companionship interaction were significant for *Rejection-Sensitivity*, F (7,116) = 5.44, p < .05, β = .17. As with the above analyses, this interaction was probed according to the recommendations outlined by Aiken and West (1991). The regression equations were restructured to express the regression of Rejection-Sensitivity on public self-consciousness at levels of companionship, after controlling for private self-consciousness. The values of companionships were chosen to correspond to the mean, one standard deviation above the mean (high), and one standard deviation below the mean (low). These equations were plotted in Excel and displayed in Figure 12.

The strongest relation rejection-sensitivity and public self consciousness was obtained for the early adolescents who reported the highest levels of companionship in their friendships. The simple slope for the high companionship group was significantly different from zero (β = .33, p < .01), whereas the simple slopes for the moderate and low companionship groups were not significantly different from zero (β = .15, ns, β = -.03, ns, respectively). Thus, for early adolescents who report high levels of companionship in their friendships, there was a significant association between their reports of rejection-sensitivity and public self-consciousness, whereas there was no relation between these variables for early adolescents who reported moderate to low levels of companionship.

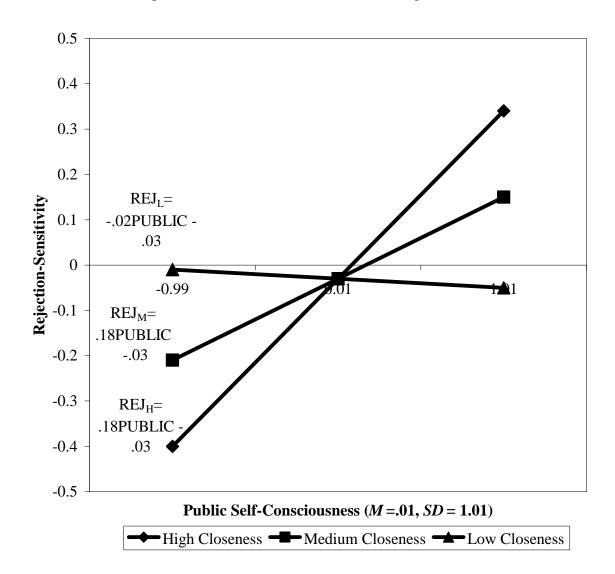
Figure 12. Rejection-Sensitivity as a function of public self-consciousness at three levels of companionship; subscripts L, M, H refer to low, medium, and high levels of companionship.



Changes attributable to the *public*self -consciousness-x-*closeness* interaction approached significance for *Rejection-Sensitivity*, F(7,116) = 4.65, p < .07, $\beta = .19$. The regression equation was restructured to express the regression of Rejection-Sensitivity on public self-consciousness at levels of closeness, after controlling for private self-consciousness. The values of closeness were chosen to correspond with the mean, one standard deviation above the mean (high), and one standard deviation below the mean (low). These equations were plotted in Excel and displayed in Figure 13.

The strongest association between rejection-sensitivity and public self-consciousness was revealed for early adolescents who reported high to moderate levels of closeness within their friendships. The simple slopes for the high and medium closeness groups were significantly different from zero (β = .39, p < .01; β = .20, p < .05), whereas the simple slope for the low closeness group was not significantly different from zero (β = .02, ns). Thus, for early adolescents who report high to moderate levels of closeness in their friendships, there was a significant association between their reports of rejection-sensitivity and public self-consciousness, whereas there was no relation between rejection-sensitivity and public self-consciousness for early adolescents who reported low levels of closeness in their friendships.

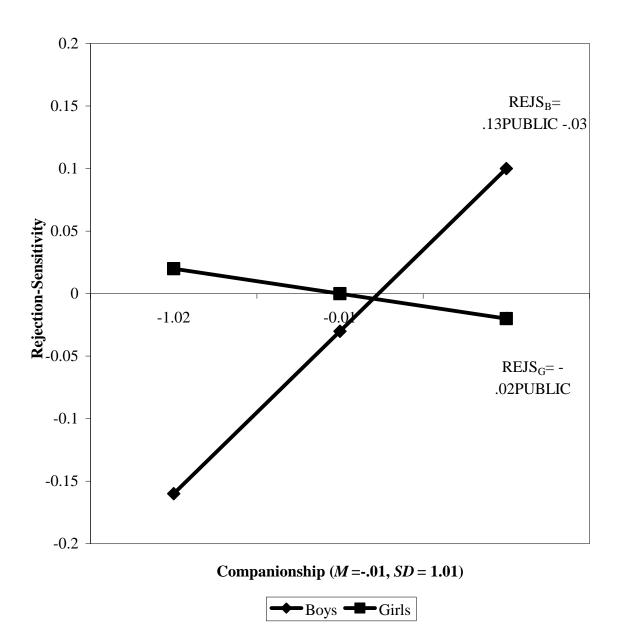
Figure 13. Rejection-Sasitivity as a function of public self -consciousness at three levels of closeness; subscripts L, M, H refer to low, medium, and high levels of closeness.



The interaction involving gender and companionship was significant when predicting *Rejection-Sensitivity*, F (6,116) = 5.52, p < .05, $\beta = -.15$. To further probe this interaction, the equation was restructured to express the regression of Rejection-Sensitivity on companionship for boys and girls. These equations were plotted in Excel and displayed in Figure 14.

The strongest relation between FQS companionship and rejection-sensitivity was revealed for *boys* in the positive direction. The simple slope for the group of boys was significantly different from zero (β = .29, p< .01), whereas the simple slope for the group of girls was not significantly different from zero (β = -.04, ns).

Figure 14. Rejection-Sensitivity as a function of companionship for girls and boys; subscripts G and B refer to levels of companionship for girls and boys.



Part III: Fearful shyness compared to Self-Conscious Shyness

T-tests were conducted to examine for potential gender differences in shyness and fearfulness (see Table 11 for means and standard deviations). Non-significant differences were revealed in terms of shyness, however, girls reported significantly more fearfulness than did boys (t (116) =- 2.81, p < .01).

Procedures outlined by Buss (1986) were used to identify fearfully shy and self-consciously shy adolescents. According to these procedures, the fearfully shy group would comprise those whose Shyness scores (as per the Cheek and Buss shyness scale described above) and Fearful scores (Buss & Plomin, 1984) fall in the top 40%, and whose public self-consciousness scores (assessed by the Self-Consciousness Scales; Fenigstein et al., 1975) are in the bottom 40%. A self-consciously shy group would comprise individuals whose Shyness scores and Public Self-consciousness scores (Buss & Plomin, 1984) fall in the top 40%, and whose Fearful scores are in the bottom 40%. Groups were identified separately by gender. A control comparison group would comprise all remaining participants. According to these procedures, a total of two adolescents (1 boy, 1 girl) were identified as self-consciously shy, and nine adolescents (2 boys, 7 girls) were identified as fearfully shy.

Table 11. Shyness and Fear subscale means and standard deviations (n=118; 41 boys).

<u>Subscale</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
Shyness (alpha=.73); total sample	12.70	6.41
Boys	13.39	6.02
Girls	12.34	6.62
Fearfulness (alpha= .72); total sample	5.06	3.22
Boys	3.93	3.13
Girls	5.66	3.22

Associations between Shyness, Fearfulness, and Self-Consciousness

To better understand why Buss' criteria for self-conscious and fearful shy identified so few adolescents, a series of correlational analyses involving shyness, fearfulness, public self-consciousness and private self-consciousness was conducted (see Table 12). For the entire sample, public self-consciousness was positively associated with fearfulness (r = .39, p < .001). Unexpectedly however, the associations between public self-consciousness and shyness were non-significant (r = .08, ns). Private selfconsciousness was significantly and positively related to shyness (r = .26, p < .001) and fearfulness (r = .33, p < .001). The correlation between shyness and fearfulness was .38, p < .001. Fisher's r to Z transformations revealed that the correlation between public self-consciousness and fearfulness was significantly greater than the correlation between public self-consciousness and shyness (Z=2.51, p<.01). Fisher's r to Z transformations comparing the strength of the correlation between public self-consciousness and shyness with the correlation between private self-consciousness and shyness (Z = 1.41, ns) was non-significant. There were also non-significant differences between the public selfconsciousness and fearfulness and private self-consciousness and fearfulness correlations (Z = .09, ns), and private self-consciousness and shyness and private self-consciousness and fearfulness associations (Z = 1.02, ns).

Similar findings emerged when data were examined separately by gender. For *boys*, public self-consciousness was significantly associated with fearfulness (r = .39, p < .01), but not with shyness (r = .17, ns). Further, boys' private self-consciousness was significantly related to reports of shyness (r = .31, p < .05), and fearfulness (r = .35, p < .07). Significant associations were also revealed between boys' shyness and fearfulness

ratings (r = .41, p < .05). There were no significant differences in the strength of these correlations (*Public Self-consciousness* and *Shyness*, *Private Self-Consciousness* and *Shyness*: Z = .65, ns; *Public Self-Consciousness* and *Fearfulness*, *Private Self-Consciousness* and *Shyness*; Z = .20, ns; *Public Self-Consciousness* and *Shyness*, *Public Self-Consciousness* and *Fearfulness*: Z = 1.05, ns; *Private Self-Consciousness* and *Shyness*, *Private Self-Consciousness* and *Fearfulness*: Z = .20, ns).

For *girls*, public self-consciousness was significantly associated with fearfulness (r = .37, p < .001), but not with shyness (r = .06, ns). Girls' private self-consciousness was significantly related to their reports of shyness (r = .26, p < .02), and fearfulness (r = .37, p < .001). Significant associations were also revealed between girls' shyness and fearfulness ratings (r = .39, p < .001). Fisher's r to z transformations revealed that the correlations between girls' public self-consciousness and fearfulness was significantly greater than the correlation between girls' public self-consciousness and shyness (Z = 2.00, p < .05). There were no significant differences in the strength of all other correlations for girls (*Public Self-Consciousness* and *Shyness*, *Private Self-Consciousness* and Shyness: Z = 1.25, ns; *Public Self-Consciousness* and *Fearfulness Private Self - Consciousness* and *Fearfulness*: Z = .01, ns; *Private Self Consciousness* and *Shyness*, *Private Self-Consciousness* and *Fearfulness*: Z = .74, ns).

A series of Fisher's r to Z transformations was conducted to examine potential gender differences in the strength of the associations between self-consciousness, shyness, and fearfulness. All comparisons between genders yielded non-significant differences ($Public\ Self$ - $Consciousness\$ and Shyness: Z=.56, ns; $Public\ Self$ - $Consciousness\$ and Shyness: Z=.12, ns; $Private\ Self$ - $Consciousness\$ and Shyness: Z=.12

.27, ns; $Private\ Self$ -Consciousness and Fearfulness: Z=.12, ns; Shyness and Fearfulness: Z=.12, ns).

Table 12. Associations between Shyness, Fearfulness, and Public and Private Self-Consciousness, for the entire sample, and separately by gender.

	Public SCS	Private SCS
Subscale	r	r
Shyness: total sample	.08	.26**
Boys	.17	.31*
Girls	.06	.26*
Fearfulness: total sample	.39**	.38**
Boys	.39**	.35*
Girls	.37**	.37**

^{**}*p*<.001; * *p*< .05

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

Self-consciousness describes the consistent tendency to direct attention at the self (Fenigstein et al., 1975). In the study of adult personality, self-consciousness is thought to comprise two distinct, but related types of self-consciousness, specifically public and private self-consciousness. Researchers argue that publicself -consciousness comprises concerns about the self as a social object, whereas *private* self-consciousness involves concerns about one's thoughts, feelings, and emotions. A great deal of research has focused on this distinction; investigators have revealed that the psychosocial effects of focusing on publicaspects of the self differ from the effects of focusing on private aspects of the self (e.g., Fenigstein et al., 1975). More specifically, utilizing the Self-Consciousness Scales (SCS; Fenigstein et al., 1975), investigators have revealed strong relations between public selfc onsciousness and rejection-sensitivity (Fenigstein, 1974), and between private self-consciousness and anxiety and depression (e.g., Smith & Greenberg, 1981). The majority of research on self-consciousness, however, has involved adult and undergraduate populations. Few investigators have examined selfconsciousness during early adolescence, a developmental period during which feelings of self-consciousness are believed to peak in intensity and may strongly influence adjustment. Further, only one known study has confirmed the two-factor model of selfconsciousness during adolescence (Rankin et al., 2004). The current study systematically examined the distinction between public and private self-consciousness during early adolescence. Support for the two-factor model of self-consciousness was expected, and it

was predicted that the psychosocial correlates of public and private self-consciousness would differ.

Specifically, the purpose of the present study was to examine the distinction between the two types of self-consciousness, and the influence of these types of selfdirected attention on internalizing problems during early adolescence. To accomplish these goals, the data fit of the proposed two-factor model of self-consciousness was compared to the fit of a one-factor (no distinction between public and private selfconsciousness) model. A two-factor model of private self-consciousness was also examined. It was predicted that the two-factor model of self-consciousness would represent the best fit to the data. Reports of public self-consciousness and private selfconsciousness were related to indices of internalizing problems and rejection-sensitivity to test the hypothesis that the "costs" of directing attention outward, at more public aspects of the self differ from the "costs" of directing attention inward, at more private aspects of the self. Consistent with findings in the adult personality literature (e.g., Anderson et al., 1996; Fenigstein, 1984), it was predicted that public self-consciousness would be more strongly related to rejection-sensitivity whereas private self-consciousness would have stronger relations with anxiety and depression. Other types of internalizing problems were also examined in relation to public and private self-consciousness, specifically reports of social withdrawal, somatic problems, social problems, and thought problems. An overall or total score of internalizing problems was also examined in relation to self-consciousness. In keeping with the conceptualization of these different types of self-directed attention, significant associations were expected between public self-consciousness and reports of social problems. Private self-consciousness was

expected to be more strongly related to reports of thought problems and somatic problems. Given the few studies focused on self-consciousness during early adolescence, no hypotheses were offered in regard to reports of social withdrawal and overall internalizing problems.

Individual differences in self-directed attention

As expected, results from confirmatory factor analyses supported the two-factor model of self-consciousness during early adolescence. These results are consistent with previous reports within the adult personality literature, and with a recent study conducted with adolescents aged 13-17 years (Rankin et al., 2004). Reliability analyses also revealed adequate internal consistency of the two self-consciousness subscales. Thus, the present study provides additional support for the existence of two different types of selfdirected attention during adolescence (Rankin et al., 2004). However, indices for the best fitting model of self-consciousness, the two-factor model, were below those values typically considered acceptable for good data fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999), suggesting unexplained relations in the data. The fit of the data in the only other study comparing different models of self-consciousness during adolescence was also below the recommended values for "good fit" (Rankin et al., 2004). Given that the development of the Self-Consciousness Scales involved undergraduate men and women, it may be that a self-consciousness measure designed specifically for use with adolescents is required to better assess different types of self-directed attention. Indeed, in the present study, participants expressed difficulty understanding the meaning and wording of certain items on the Self Consciousness Scales (SCS), such as I sometimes have the feeling that I'm off

somewhere watching myself. For this reason, four of the original private self-consciousness *SCS* items were excluded from the final private self-consciousness factor.

Although the two-factor model represented the best fit to the data, correlational analyses revealed a relatively strong degree of association between the public and private self-consciousness factors (r = .57, p < .001). This degree of association was stronger than values typically reported by adult personality researchers (e.g., r = .23; Fenigstein et al., 1975), but similar to results from studies involving adolescents (e.g., r = .58, p < .05; Frankenberger, 2000). Contrary to expectation, findings also indicated that reports of public and private self-consciousness were similarly related to all indices of psychosocial distress. That is, the magnitude of the correlations between public and private selfconsciousness and both the narrow-band composites and the broad-band assessment of internalizing problems, and the composite of rejection-sensitivity were significant; however, differences in the strength of these correlations were non-significant. Although some young adolescents may tend to direct self-attention inward, and others may direct attention outward, the psychosocial effects of these types of self-directed attention appear to be the same during this developmental period. Taken together, these findings strongly suggest that private and public self-consciousness, as distinct entities, may still be developing during early adolescence. Furthermore, these findings may imply that selfconsciousness during early adolescence is better explained as a response to the developmental period than reflective of individual personality differences. Most young adolescents feel some degree of self-consciousness; indeed, Elkind (1987) posited that it may be more normal to feel self-conscious during this developmental period than it is not to feel self-conscious. As such, it may be that these self-conscious feelings and thoughts

during adolescence stem primarily from the many physical, social, and cognitive changes that occur during this developmental period (Rankin et al., 2004). Specifically, adolescents must learn to negotiate changes in their appearance, cognitive abilities (e.g., increasing abilities to think abstractly), and also in their social worlds. It is during adolescence that the peer group takes on central importance, friendships become more intimate, and romantic relationships begin to develop (Rubin, et al., in press). As these changes begin to occur, some adolescents may become more concerned with the *public* aspects of the self, whereas others may become more concerned with aspects that are *private* in nature. Striking personality differences in self-consciousness may not emerge until *after* these adolescent changes have occurred.

It is likely though that the *processes underlying* the relations between private and public self-consciousness, and internalizing problems differ, even during early adolescence. For example, in the case of somatic problems, thinking and worrying about how one will be received by others may lead to nausea and other psychosomatic difficulties. Specific to adolescence, strong psychosomatic symptoms may result from thinking about the up-coming school dance, participation in class discussions, or concern about Friday night's date or slumber party. However, for young adolescents who are privately self-conscious, reports of somatic problems may stem from increased awareness of bodily changes, and changes in ways of thinking and feeling about issues significant to the self. For example, the privately self-conscious adolescent may notice that certain thoughts, such as those about one's future or about an opposite-sex peer, cause 'butterflies' in the stomach. In this regard, the adolescent attends to and is intimately aware of his or her somatic problems. Taken together, public self-consciousness may be

associated with internalizing problems in relation to *self-presentation* concerns; private self-consciousness may be related visà- vis *self-awareness*. An important direction for future research would be to examine the specific thought processes involved in private and public self-consciousness, and the associations between these specific thought processes and problems of an internalizing ilk.

Although there were non-significant differences between the analyses involving public self-consciousness and private self-consciousness, noteworthy are all the significant associations between both indices of self-consciousness and assessments of psychosocial distress. The fact that each type of self-consciousness was significantly related to each type of YSR internalizing problems, specifically Withdrawn Behaviors, Anxiety/Depression, Social Problems, Somatic Problems, Thought Problems, and the total score of *Internalizing Problems*, as well as CRSQ *Rejection-Sensitivity*, strongly suggests that high levels of any type of self-consciousness may be problematic during early adolescence, in much the same way as is the case for adults. Thus, the present study substantially furthers our knowledge regarding self-consciousness by demonstrating that the problematic nature of self-consciousness is not limited to adulthood. When considering the relation between individual risk factors and adjustment during childhood and adolescence, researchers often consider behavioral tendencies to move against (e.g., aggression) or away from the social world (e.g., shyness/social withdrawal; Gazelle & Rudolph, 2004; Ladd & Burgess, 1999). Findings from the present study strongly suggest that self-consciousness may also be an important individual risk factor during childhood and adolescence, one that is *cognitive* in nature. Unlike aggression and social withdrawal, additional studies may not reveal significant

associations between self-consciousness and peer rejection (e.g., Newcomb et al., 1993). However, studies may show that self-consciousness is related to other types of psychosocial difficulties, such as eating disorders and difficulties with romantic relationships.

Some evidence supported the notion that *publicself* -consciousness may be less problematic than *private* self-consciousness during early adolescence. Although differences in the magnitude of relations were non-significant, all indices of internalizing problems (with the exception of somatic problems) and rejection-sensitivity were *less* strongly related to public self-consciousness than to private self-consciousness. These differences were more pronounced in the computation of partial correlations. The relations between public self-consciousness and internalizing problems were reduced when controlling for private self-consciousness, suggesting that private selfconsciousness may explain findings of significant correlations between public selfconsciousness and psychosocial maladjustment. At the same time, adolescents reported more publithan private self -consciousness. Given the above noted changes in peer relationships during adolescence, public self-consciousness may be somewhat more normative than private self-consciousness during early adolescence. More specifically, increased time may be spent thinking about the self as a social object as young adolescents' social worlds change. For example, the increased intimacy of young adolescents' friendships and the development of romantic relationships may enhance most adolescents' concerns and worries about the self in relation to others, especially worries and concerns pertaining to appearance and social behaviors. It seems likely

though that the psychological "costs" of public self-consciousness may become more problematic as public self-conscious concerns become less common and typical with age.

The hypothesis that self-consciousness would be greater and more problematic for *girls* than for boys was partially supported. Inconsistent with previous studies focused on gender differences in self-consciousness in adults and adolescents (e.g., Schonert-Reichl, 1994), there were non-significant differences in the levels of public and private self-consciousness reported by boys and girls in the present study. Yet, results from the correlational analyses indicated that both types of self-directed attention were more strongly associated with the *YSR* subscales for *girls* than for boys. For instance, girls' reports of public and private self-consciousness were significantly and positively related to their reports of anxiety and depression; however the relations were non-significant for boys. Girls also reported more overall internalizing problems than did boys, suggesting that the "costs" of self-directed attention may be greater for girls than for boys. Longitudinal studies are needed to determine whether these gender differences in internalizing problems are correlates or consequences of self-directed attention.

In summary, findings supported the two-factor model of self-consciousness during early adolescence. While public and private self-consciousness were similarly related to indices of internalizing problems and rejection-sensitivity, some evidence was revealed to support the idea that private self-consciousness is more problematic than public self-consciousness during early adolescence. Importantly, findings demonstrated that *any* type of self-consciousness may place adolescents at-risk for adjustment difficulties. Although most adolescents experience some self-consciousness, findings suggest that *high* levels of self-consciousness may lead to pathological consequences.

Self-Consciousness and Intimacy

The second goal of the present study was to examine specific friendship qualities as moderators of the relation between self-consciousness and internalizing problems. Adolescents' reported on the qualities of their best friendships because researchers have demonstrated that the influence of best friendships is greater than the influence of good friendships on adolescents' emotional and social adjustment (Urberg, 1992). Researchers have shown that high quality friendships can be supportive and helpful for children/adolescents, particularly during potentially stressful school transitions (Berndt, Hawkins, & Jiao, 1999; Ladd, 1990). Thus, I hypothesized that having a caring confidant with whom one feels safe and secure would diminish the internalizing problems associated with self-consciousness. It was surprising therefore, when results revealed that internalizing problems were augmented by high quality friendships. Moreover, relations seemed particularly pronounced in analyses focused on qualities reflective of intimacy, specifically closeness (e.g., Sometimes my friend does things for me, or makes me feel special) and companionship (e.g., Sometimes my friend and I just sit around and talk about things like school, sports, and things we like).

Although these findings are inconsistent with aforementioned friendship quality studies (Berndt et al., 1999; Ladd, 1990), the findings fit nicely with results from recent research focused on the "dark side" of friendship. For instance, researchers have demonstrated that certain features of friendship may be positively related to overall friendship quality, but at the same time, related to psychosocial difficulties. One recent example concerns the role of *co-rumination* in children's friendships (Rose, 2002). Co-

rumination, or intimate self-disclosure done in a "ruminative" fashion (e.g., negative dwelling on emotionally charged and intimate everyday occurrences and feelings), was related to positive self-reported friendship quality and problematic emotional adjustment, namely depression and anxiety. Girls reported more co-rumination within their friendships than did boys, and the relations between co-rumination, friendship quality, and internalizing problems were significant for adolescents (7th and 9th graders), but not for children (3rd and 5th graders). Rose (2002) suggested that the relations between corumination, positive friendship quality, and internalizing problems might be explained by self-disclosure and ruminative processes. Put simply, sharing thoughts and secrets with friends in a co-ruminative fashion may promote the overall quality of the relationship and yet may also promote personal maladjustment. In Rose's study, co-rumination pertaining to general problems and worries was assessed. However, using Rose's interpretation (2002), it may be that sharing and discussing self-conscious problems and worries with a friend, particularly in a co-ruminative fashion, also impairs emotional functioning.

It is important to note that all significant interactions involving the friendship quality of *closeness* interacted with adolescents' reports of *private* self-consciousness (but not public self-consciousness). Specifically, results indicated that *close* best friendships strengthened the relations between adolescents' private self-consciousness and their reports of anxiety and depression, thought problems, and overall internalizing difficulties. Investigators have demonstrated that many privately self-conscious individuals tend to ruminate (Trapnell & Campbell, 1999). If this ruminative tendency becomes shared with a close friend, it seems likely that co-rumination might explain why

closeness appears to increase internalizing problems for privately self-conscious adolescents. Repeated or consistent discussion with a close friend about self-conscious worries, without any resolution or coping, may cause these worries to take on a "larger-than-life" quality, and in turn, contribute to internalizing problems.

Additionally, findings may suggest that emotional closeness is difficult for privately self-conscious adolescents. I hypothesized that a *low* quality friendship would cause privately self-conscious adolescents to feel "exposed" as *private* qualities and features became more "public" in an unsupportive fashion. However, findings suggested that the opposite was true; feelings of "exposure" for a privately self-conscious adolescent may be *greater* in a highly personal relationship than a less personal relationship. As two individuals grow closer, more private, and previously unshared aspects of the self become shared. It seems possible that this self-disclosure could cause discomfort for privately self-conscious adolescents. In this regard, closeness may elevate concerns and worries associated with the once private aspects of the self, leading to increases in internalizing problems. It would behoove researchers to more carefully consider rumination, co-rumination, and intimacy in future studies focused on private self-consciousness and emotional adjustment.

Findings also indicated that, for adolescents who reported high to moderate levels of *companionship* in their friendships, reports of public self-consciousness were significantly associated with ratings of somatic problems and rejection-sensitivity, and both public and private self-consciousness were significantly associated with reports of social withdrawal. Non-significant associations between these variables were revealed for adolescents with low companionship friendships. These findings regarding

companionship might be explained by research revealing a "dark side" of delinquent children/adolescents' friendships. Dishion and colleagues (Dishion, McCord, & Poulin, 1999) have demonstrated that "deviancy training," which involves praise, encouragement, and imitation of deviant talk and behavior, predicts increases in the aggression and delinquency of delinquent children. The authors hypothesize that the praise and encouragement of these behaviors positively reinforces the display of delinquent and aggressive behavior (Dishion et al., 1999). The same may be true for selfconscious adolescents, particularly those who spend considerable time with their best friends. Receiving attention and interest from a friend when expressing self-conscious worries may positively reinforce these cognitions and emotions, and in turn, lead to increased internalizing difficulties. Future observational studies could determine whether "deviancy training" also occurs within the friendships of self-conscious adolescents. Taken together, findings provide information about self-conscious adolescents' internalizing problems under varying levels of *intimacy*. Intimacy is typically considered a positive feature or quality of adolescents' friendships (Berndt, 2004). Results from the present study however strongly suggest that the influence of these qualities may be negative for self-conscious young adolescents.

Findings revealed non-significant main and interaction effects involving the friendship quality of *help*. These findings are not too surprising given the *nature* of the difficulties associated with self-consciousness. It is difficult to imagine any type of *instrumental aid* that would be beneficial (or harmful) for a self-conscious adolescent. The Help scale on the *FQS* contains items descriptive of actual *aid*, e.g., *If I forgot my lunch or needed a little money, my friend would loan it to me*, and descriptive of

protection, e.g., If other kids were bothering me, my friend would help me Help may be particularly important for children experiencing social difficulties with peers. For example, a child who is victimized by his or her peers may find it extremely helpful to have a friend willing to "stand-up" for him or her (Hodges et al., 1999). However, given the fact that the difficulties of self-conscious adolescents are more cognitive and less social in nature, a helpful friend may be less important to these adolescents.

While intimacy is an important aspect of close relationships, *conflict* has also been identified as a salient, *negative* feature of friendships (e.g., Laursen, Hartup, & Koplas, 1996). Accordingly, it was predicted that highly conflicted friendships would not serve a buffering role for self-conscious adolescents, and may in fact exacerbate internalizing difficulties. Indeed, evidence supporting this hypothesis was evinced, in the case of social withdrawal. Interestingly, findings wherein conflict was a significant moderator of the relation between public self-consciousness and reports of social withdrawal were revealed for girls only. Investigators studying gender differences in children's friendships have demonstrated that conflict within a friendship may be more stressful and problematic for girls than for boys (Demir & Urberg, 2004). In the present study, friendship conflict was significantly and *negatively* related to reports of social withdrawal and thought problems for boys. The opposite was true for girls; results showed that girls' reports of conflict were positively related to their reports of social withdrawal and thought problems. Thus, it could be that when the stress associated with self-consciousness is combined with the stress associated with friendship conflict, girls become overwhelmed, and withdraw from the peer group at-large.

Lastly, it is important to note that all significant interactions predicting rejectionsensitivity involved indices of friendship quality and *public*self -consciousness. Indeed, these findings were not too surprising given the social nature of all constructs involved public self-consciousness, rejection-sensitivity, and friendship. Importantly, findings from the present study sugest that the *qualities* of adolescents' friendships, specifically those pertaining to closeness and companionship, may influence the ways in which they think about themselves and their social experiences. Specifically, an intimate friendship may foster a strong sense of "togetherness," but also create a perceived "us versus them" scenario. In this scenario, two adolescents may jointly become overly concerned with the positive approval from peers, and together, expect the worst. This interpretation is consistent with studies revealing a strong self-as-target bias in publicly self-conscious individuals (Fenigstein, 1984). It seems likely that this bias may become heightened within the context of a close personal friendship. Furthermore, although researchers have not explored the ways in which friendship *qualities* influence how children think about their social worlds, this construal is consistent with a recent study demonstrating that children/adolescents interpret hypothetical negative social situations involving good friends differently than those involving unfamiliar peers (Burgess, Rubin, Wojslawowicz, Rose-Krasnor, & Booth, 2005).

In summary, findings from the present study demonstrated that the friendship qualities of intimacy and conflict augmented internalizing difficulties associated with self-consciousness during early adolescence. As noted previously, the present study was the first to examine the influence of relationship factors on self-consciousness during this developmental period. Few researchers have examined the friendships of self-conscious

adults; results have shown that friendships do not *lessen* the anxieties and concerns associated with self-consciousness (Froming et al., 1990; Monfries & Kafer, 1984). At the same time, the friendships of self-conscious adults do not appear to *enhance* internalizing problems (Froming et al., 1990; Monfries & Kafer, 1984). The friendships of self-conscious *adolescents* may have a stronger (and more negative) influence on adjustment during early adolescence because of the central role that friendships and peer relationship play during this developmental period (Hartup & Stevens, 1996). Present results concur with the literature on the "dark side" of friendships (Dishion et al., 1999; Rose, 2002).

Self-conscious and Fearful Shyness

The third goal of the present study was to examine the proposed distinction between two types of problematic shyness, self-conscious shyness and fearful shyness (Buss, 1986). In this distinction, self-consciousness is theorized to be of the public ilk; therefore, the research goal was considered important in the attempt to better understand the correlates of *public self-consciousness* during early adolescence. Consistent with procedures outlined by Buss (1986), young adolescents' reports of *publicself* - consciousness, shyness, and fearfulness were used to identify groups of self-consciously shy (whose fearfulness scores were low), and fearfully shy early adolescents (whose public self-consciousness scores were low). Of particular interest was how these two types of problematic shyness would be related to internalizing problems. Following Buss's ideas regarding these two types of shyness in *adults*, it was hypothesized that

internalizing difficulties would be more strongly associated with *fearful* shyness than self-conscious shyness (Buss, 1986).

Surprisingly, Buss's procedure for identifying self-consciously and fearfully shy individuals failed to identify sizable subgroups of shy young adolescents. Due to the close to zero-order correlation between public self-consciousness and shyness (r = .08, ns), only eleven adolescents were identified in these two groups (two self-consciously shy, nine fearfully shy). Follow-up correlational analyses indicated that private self-consciousness was more strongly related to shyness (r = .26, p < .001) than was public self-consciousness. Thus, group identification procedures were repeated involving adolescents' private self-consciousness scores in place of public self-consciousness scores. However, these analyses also identified a small number of early adolescents as privately self-consciously shy (N=2, 1 boys) and as fearfully shy (N=10, 2 boys). It was therefore impossible to examine shy group differences in internalizing problems.

The present study extends prior research by its investigation of the distinction between self-conscious and fearful shyness during adolescence. Although researchers have long hypothesized the existence of these two types of problematic shyness, few investigators have empirically tested Buss's hypotheses, and no researchers have focused on the distinction during adolescence. The failure to identify sizable subgroups of shy adolescents call into question the meaningfulness of Buss's distinction between self-conscious and fearful shyness, particularly as it pertains to early adolescence. Self-consciousness and fearfulness may be important correlates of shyness during early adolescence; however it appears that they are not distinguishing characteristics of different *types* of problematic shyness. This interpretation is consistent with Ingram's

(1990) contention that *self-consciousness* may not be a defining feature of any one type of psychopathology. Moreover, findings raise the possibility that it may not be meaningful to subdivide shyness into *any* subtypes. The heterogeneous nature of the shy experience may be better explained by factors in the social world, such as peer relationships and friendships (Gazelle & Rudolph, 2004).

As previously noted, the present study was the first to jointly examine selfconsciousness, shyness, and fearfulness during early adolescence. Thus, to further explore the significance of self-consciousness and fearfulness in the shy experience, two groups of adolescents were identified, those who were high in shyness (shyness scores above the median), and those who were low in shyness (shyness scores below the median). The self-consciousness and fearfulness of these two groups were compared, using a series of t –tests. Significant group differences were revealed. Specifically, adolescents who reported greater levels of shyness also indicated significantly greater private self-consciousness (t(116) = -2.63, p < .001), and fearfulness (t(116) = -4.94, p < .001) <.001) than did adolescents who were lower in terms of shyness. In contrast, public selfconsciousness did not distinguish between these two groups of adolescents, t(112) = -.17, ns). Thus, although the distinction between self-conscious and fearful shyness did not prove to be meaningful, follow-up correlational and group analyses demonstrated differential relations between shyness, public self-consciousness, and private selfconsciousness. Taken together, it appears that shyness may be a much more private phenomenon than typically portrayed in the shyness literature.

It is well-known that shy individuals feel nervous, uncertain, and timid in social situations. However, shy adolescents may attend *more* to their own feelings than the

reactions of and the feedback received by others in these situations. For instance, a shy adolescent who walks into a school dance may focus *more* on his or her own thoughts and emotions, such as whether he or she is feeling confidant, secure, and safe, and less on the opinions and reactions of his or her peers. Alternatively, the shy adolescent may cope with his or her anxiety by avoiding school dances, and other social events all together. In either case, the shy adolescent may have more *private* than public concerns. Given that many adolescents appear to experience thoughts and emotions reflective of public selfconsciousness, findings from the present study suggest that *private* self-consciousness may better reflect the *unique* ways in which shy adolescents direct attention at the self. It may also be that these private self-conscious tendencies of shy adolescents contribute to their internalizing difficulties (Hymel et al., 1990). It is important to note that these findings are inconsistent with prior studies demonstrating a significant association between *publics*elf -consciousness and reports of shyness in *adults* (e.g., Pilkonis, 1977). However, as public self-consciousness becomes less typical with age, public and private self-consciousness may together reflect the cognitive characteristics of shyness. While public self-conscious feelings and thoughts may decline with age for non-shy adolescents, it seems likely that concerns about the self in relation to others may remain elevated for *shy* adolescents as they transition into adulthood.

An applied application of these findings should be noted. It may be important to specifically consider *private* self-consciousness when designing interventions for shy adolescents. Private self-consciousness may represent a correlate of shyness that could be targeted when promoting emotional well-being. That is, shy adolescents may benefit from less *inward* self-directed attention.

In summary, findings failed to reveal a distinction between (public) self-conscious and fearful shyness during early adolescence. Yet, results revealed significant associations between private self-consciousness and shyness (and not between public self-consciousness and shyness), suggesting that the shy adolescents may spend more time than their non-shy peers attending to private, inward aspects of the self. Given findings that indicate private self-consciousness may be more problematic than public self-consciousness during early adolescence, the private self-conscious tendencies of shy adolescents may enhance their risk for internalizing problems (Hymel et al., 1990).

Considerations and Directions for Future Research

Self-Consciousness during Early Adolescence

The overarching goal of the present study was to examine self-consciousness during early adolescence. To do so, young adolescents completed the oft-utilized self-consciousness measure from the adult personality literature, the *Self-Consciousness Scales* (Fenigstein et al., 1975). However, many participants experienced problems answering particular items on the scale. For example, participants had difficulty understanding the meanings of some items (e.g., *I am aware of the way my mind works when I work through a problem*), and some of the vocabulary (e.g., *scrutinize*) and the *negative* wording of the items (e.g., *Generally, I'm not very aware of myself*) proved problematic. As noted previously, given these difficulties, researchers may wish to develop a new measure of self-consciousness, one which is derived from *adolescents' reports* of what is means to feel self-conscious or to direct attention at the self. In the

current study, *SCS* items were based on *behaviors* that Fenigstein, Scheier, and Buss believed represented the following categories or features of self-consciousness: "(a) preoccupation with past, present, and future behavior; (b) sensitivity to inner feelings; (c) recognition of one's positive and negative attributes; (d) introspective behavior; (e) a tendency to picture or imagine oneself; (f) awareness of one's physical appearance or presentation; and (g) concern over the appraisal of others" (Fenigstein et al., 1975). The private self-consciousness items seemed more problematic for the adolescents in the present study than were the public self-consciousness items. Thus, when considering one of the more *private* self-consciousness categories, 'a tendency to imagine oneself', one can imagine behaviors that may be more adolescent-typical, such as *day-dreaming*, than being 'the subject of one's fantasies.' Interviews of adolescents may also reveal other behaviors that better reflect self-directed attention during adolescence.

The Influence of Friendship

The second goal of the present study was to examine the influence of friendship on the correlates of self-consciousness during early adolescence. Findings suggested that intimate friendships may *exacerbate* the internalizing difficulties that highly self-conscious adolescents experience. In general, for adolescents who reported moderate to high levels of closeness and companionship in their friendships, stronger associations were revealed between their reports of self-consciousness and indices of psychosocial distress than for adolescents who reported lower levels of closeness and companionship.

Friendships during adolescence are characterized by intimacy and self-disclosure (Rubin et al., in press). As adolescents' exchange personal information with their friends,

the self-disclosure process may foster greater self-awareness. In this regard, intimate friendships may simply increase *awareness* of intrapersonal difficulties. For example, intimate adolescent friendships are likely to encourage the dyadic sharing of self-conscious emotions and thoughts, along with other possible "symptoms" descriptive of internalizing problems (as assessed by the *Youth Self-Report*). The instructions on the *Youth Self-Report* measure direct adolescents to think about how each item describes him or her, "now or within the past 6 months." It seems possible that adolescents with close and intimate friendships have been more *aware* these different "symp toms" of psychopathology, and that this increased awareness promotes the reporting of higher levels of internalizing difficulties. Indeed, during the administration, one participant turned to her friend to ask if it was "somewhat true" or "very true" that she was fearful or anxious. Additional studies are needed to disentangle the possible relations between self-consciousness, self-awareness, and friendship.

Friendship was considered in the present study in an attempt to examine the possible influence of *relationship* factors on self-consciousness during early adolescence. However, asking adolescents about their self-consciousness and then about the qualities of their friendship may not accurately assess the ways in which friendship could benefit self-conscious adolescents. For example, adolescents in the present study were asked questions about their general self-consciousness (e.g., *I am self-conscious about the way I look*). These reports of self-consciousness did not specifically probe whether feelings of self-consciousness were more or less frequent/intense when in the *presence* of a good friend. Buss (1980) posited that public self-consciousness rarely occurs in the presence of family and friends. It seems likely that many adolescents would feel less self-

conscious when in the company of their best friends—friendship should function as a "safe haven." Comfort and decreased concern about the self is not captured in the *Friendship Quality Scales*; Bukowski et al., 1994. However, if it were, findings may reveal that this quality is not linked to decreases in overall internalizing problems, but is important to emotional and social functioning in other ways. For example, it may be the case that decreased self-consciousness within the context of a friendship is important for identity development and formation (Harter, 1998; Sullivan, 1953). With friends, adolescents often explore new ideas and new personas. That is, with friends, adolescents try on many different "hats," and explore who are they and who they would like to become. Yet, if an adolescent feels self-conscious with his or her friends, then he or she may feel less secure and comfortable with experimentation and discovery of the self.

Shyness during early adolescence

The third goal of the present study was to examine the correlates associated with self-conscious and fearful shyness during early adolescence. The findings suggested that varying levels of self-consciousness and fearfulness do not help to identify different types of problematic shyness. Rather, results highlight the importance of considering self-consciousness, particularly *private* self-consciousness, and fearfulness as concomitants of shyness.

In terms of the role of self-consciousness and fearfulness in the *development* of shyness, it may be most helpful to think of the relations between self-consciousness, fearfulness, and shyness as transactional in nature. Specifically, early social fears, coupled with social withdrawal, may cause some shy children to experienced increased

self-consciousness. Without positive interactions with peers, the shy child's social fears may persist (Gazelle & Rudolph, 2004), and concerns about one's standing in the peer group and about the opinions of the others may grow. Once self-conscious, social fears may become more enhanced for the shy child as he or she becomes increasingly aware of difficulties with peers and also of affective symptoms of shyness, such as butterflies in the stomach and nausea. Consequently, the shy child may become increasingly fearful of negative evaluations from his or her peers, and may cope by further withdrawing from the peer group. An examination of these proposed transactional relations could advance our understanding of the interplay between affective and cognitive characteristics of shyness.

Limitations

Several limitations of the current study should be noted. First, adolescents' self-consciousness, internalizing problems, and psychosocial functioning were assessed exclusively by self-reports. Adolescents are most likely the best informants of their inner thoughts, feelings, and emotions; however, it may be worthwhile to determine whether others can accurately report on the self-consciousness of an adolescent. For example, it is not known how *visible* or *noticeable* the self-consciousness of highly or extremely self-conscious individuals is to others. Yet, when thinking about self-consciousness in relation to social difficulties, it seems important to determine whether adolescents can sense or accurately gauge the self-consciousness of their peers. Drawing from studies conducted by Zimbardo (e.g., 1977, 1990) on the discrepancy between self- and other-reports of shyness, it may be the case that the self-consciousness of many individuals

goes unnoticed. However, high levels of noticeable self-consciousness may be unfavorably viewed by peers, and may lead to problematic peer relations.

The present study focused on 8th graders in attempt to assess self-consciousness at the age at which it peaks in intensity. Data were gathered at only one time point, however, which excluded the possibility of examining the direction of influence between self-consciousness and internalizing problems. Additional longitudinal research will be needed to better understand not only the direction of influence between self-consciousness and psychosocial functioning, but also to better understand the developing distinction between private and public self-consciousness (Rankin et al., 2004). It would also behoove researchers to include a measure of *rumination* in future studies on self-consciousness. Although there was some evidence suggesting that *private* self-consciousness may be more problematic than *public* self-consciousness during early adolescence, this pattern of findings may change after ruminative tendencies are controlled (Trapnell & Campbell, 1999).

In the present study, self-consciousness was conceptualized in a "negative" light; however, it may also be the case that self-consciousness is related to positive qualities or abilities. For example, individuals high on private self-consciousness are rated as more thoughtful than individuals low on private self-consciousness. It might also be true that these privately self-conscious individuals are also thoughtful about and thoughtful toward their partners. And, these individuals may not only possess more accurate knowledge about themselves than individuals lower in private self-consciousness do, but perhaps they also possess more accurate knowledge about their partners.

Additionally, it has been proposed that public self-consciousness reflects an individual's willingness to be responsive to the needs of others (Gollwitzer & Wicklund, 1987). Empirically, Davis and Franzoi (1991) found public self-consciousness, but not private self-consciousness, to be positively related to empathetic concern during adolescence. These findings are not too surprising. The construct of empathy is characterized by the matching of one's own emotions with the emotions of another. If my friend is feeling sad, then I would also feel sad. Likewise, empathy requires an awareness of other's emotions and feelings; in other words, to be able to feel and experience empathy requires the awareness of social others. Individuals high on public self-consciousness are acutely aware of others. Furthermore, most research focused on public self-consciousness demonstrate linkages between the awareness of social others in relation to the *self* (e.g., concerns for how others perceive the self; rejection-sensitivity), however, it seems logical that such awareness of others would also be related to interest in and concerns for others. These findings suggest that publicly self-consciousness individuals may also be *intra*personally sensitive with their close friends. The Davis and Franzoi study is the only known study focused on the relation between self-consciousness and interest in or concern for others. Thus, additional studies are clearly needed to better understand the possible *positive* correlates of public and private self-consciousness during early adolescence.

Lastly, in recent years peer relationship researchers have argued that the mutuality or reciprocity of a friendship is important to determine when examining the influence of friendship on adjustment (e.g., Rubin et al., in press). In the present study it was not possible to focus solely on those children with a mutual best friendship. Given the

relatively low participation rate, the percentage of boys who completed the *FQS* regarding a *mutual* best friend was only 27% (the portion of girls with a mutual best friendship was 57%). When considering friendship intimacy in relation to emotional adjustment, it seems likely that the *perception* of intimacy may as important as *actual* intimacy. However, future researchers may discover the influence of friendship qualities on self-consciousness during early adolescence is greater when focusing exclusively on mutual, reciprocated best friendships.

Conclusions and Contributions

The distinction between public and private self-consciousness, and their associated correlates, was examined in this study. Based on models in the adult personality literature, it was hypothesized that private and public self-consciousness would represent related, but distinct types of self-directed attention, and would be differentially related to indices of psychosocial distress. It was also hypothesized that intimate friendships would diminish the associated internalizing difficulties, and that shyness characterized by public self-consciousness would be less problematic than shyness characterized by fearfulness. The results of the study suggest that the differences between private and public self-consciousness may still be developing during early adolescence. That is, although the two-factor model of self-consciousness represented the best fit to the data, the two types of self-directed attention were moderately related, and similarly associated with adjustment difficulties. Findings also indicated that intimate friendships did not buffer or protect the self-conscious adolescent from

internalizing problems; instead, evidence was revealed to support the notion that intimate friendships may actually exacerbate internalizing problems. Lastly, non-significant associations between public self-consciousness and shyness made it impossible to identify publicly self-conscious adolescents. However, these findings suggested that the distinction between self-conscious and fearful shyness may not be meaningful during early adolescence, and that the self-consciousness typically associated with shyness may in fact be more private than public in nature.

The study is unique in its consideration of self-consciousness during early adolescence in relation to adjustment difficulties, friendship, and also shyness. Few researchers have empirically considered self-consciousness during this developmental period, and no investigators have examined self-consciousness in relation to friendship. There are also no known studies that relate self-consciousness to shyness during this developmental period. In turn, this study contributes to our understanding of selfconsciousness during early adolescence. Although the distinction between private and public self-consciousness at this age may not be great, findings are important because they strongly suggest that any type of self-consciousness during this period may place adolescents at-risk for internalizing problems. Furthermore, this study advances our understanding regarding the "dark side" of friendship; self-disclosure may not be positive for adolescents when sharing self-conscious worries and concerns. Finally, results from the present study extend prior research focused on shyness; private self-conscious concerns may distinguish the social-cognitions worries of shy and non-shy adolescents. Taken together, these results may be used to better identify adolescents at-risk for internalizing problems due to their self-consciousness, and could inform researchers

designing interventions. Self-conscious adolescents may not be helped if paired with a good friend, and shy individuals may need more aid dealing with privately directed concerns than with concerns regarding relations with social others.

Appendix A: Recruitment Letter

Dear Parent:	2004
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We are writing to request participation in an important project regarding adolescents' *self-consciousness* and *friendship*. We are studying the many different ways that adolescents might feel self-conscious, and how children's friendships might help them to feel less *self-conscious* about themselves and the decisions that they make. This project has been officially approved by the School Board, approved by the Principal of your child's school, and approved by the Institutional Review Board (ethics committee) at the University of Maryland.

For our project, 8th grade students will complete a packet of questionnaires in their classrooms one day in April. The questionnaires involve questions about adolescents' self-consciousness, their friendships, and their general feelings about themselves. This group session will take about one hour of class time during regular school hours.

As you well know, most adolescents feel self-conscious. In fact, more young adolescents report self-conscious feelings than do not. And in some cases, young adolescents who are self conscious choose to avoid social interaction with age-mates at school. This places them at a disadvantage insofar as making and keeping friends is concerned. Importantly, we know very little about what makes some young adolescents feel more self-conscious than others, and very little about how young adolescents' friendships might help them become less self-conscious. Consequently, your child's participation in this project would be helpful and much appreciated. Participation is voluntary and all information will be kept strictly confidential.

Please sign and return 1 of the attached Parental Consent forms indicating whether you give permission for your child to be included in our project; and then have your child return it to his or her homeroom teacher **tomorrow**. The other consent form is for you to keep. We will then hold a raffle for \$20 "Best Buy" gift certificates. All those children who return their consent forms will be entered into this raffle, and 10 students will be selected to receive the gift certificates.

Sincerely,

Julie C Wojslawowicz Graduate Student Kenneth H. Rubin, Ph.D. Professor

Appendix B: Consent Form

Consent for Child Questionnaires

Identification of Project/Title: Public and private self-consciousness during early adolescence

Statement of Consent: I give consent for participation in a program of research being conducted by a graduate student and her advisor in the Human Development Department at the University of Maryland, College Park. Participation in this research will involve one session. Here I give consent for the researchers to administer to my child questionnaires pertaining to feelings and emotions about him/herself, identification of his/her best friends in school, and relationship qualities of his/her friendships.

Purpose: The purpose of this research is to examine different types of self-consciousness during early adolescence, and to explore how friendship can influence adolescents' thoughts and feelings about themselves.

Procedure: I understand that researchers from the University of Maryland, College Park will administer the questionnaires to my child in his/her classroom. The questionnaire session will last approximately 1 hour. A total of 6 questionnaires willbe administered to my child. Two of these questionnaires will ask my child to identify his/her best friends and to answer questions about the qualities of the friendship (e.g. *My friend and I spend a lot of time together*). The other 4 questionnaires will ask my child questions about self-conscious feelings (e.g., *How often do you think about your appearance?*), shy and fearful emotions (e.g., *Do you often feel shy?*; *Do you often feel nervous?*), and about experiences with their classmates and with peers (e.g., *If you get into a fight with a friend, do you think he or she would want to talk to you about it?*).

Confidentiality: I understand that all information collected during the course of this project will remain confidential and will be identified only by a number. I understand that the information my child provides will be grouped with data other children provide for reporting and presentation and that my child's name will not be used.

Risks: I understand that there are no known risks associated with the procedures and questionnaires used in this study.

Benefits, freedom to withdraw, & ability to ask questions: I understand that the experiment is not designed to help us personally, but to help the researchers learn more about friendship and self-consciousness during early adolescence. If my child should have any questions, I understand that he or she may ask them any time during the session. If there are any questions that make my child feel uncomfortable, then he/she is free not to answer. Participation in this project is purely voluntary and my child may choose to withdraw at any time without penalty.

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact: Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (e-mail) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-4212

Contact information of investigators:	
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College Park, MD 20742	College Park, MD 20742
(301)405-0458	(301) 405-5194
I do give permission for participation I don't give permission for participation.	
Parent's or Guardian's Name (please print)	
Parent's or Guardian's Signature	
Child's name (please print)	
Child's Signature	
Today's Date:	

Appendix C: Friendship Nominations

FRIENDSHIPS

NAME	BC	Y or	GIRL
GRADEDATE OF BIRTH:			
DATE:			
Please indicate your ethnicity (check one):			
White Black			
Hispanic			
Native American			
South Asian (e.g., Indian, Pakastani)			
North-East Asian (e.g., Japanese, Chinese, Ko			
Other: (please specify)			
Instructions: In the spaces below, write the negrade 8 at your school. Please write their firs		riends	who are in
Very Best Friend			
Second Best Friend			
Third Rost Friand			

Appendix D: Friendship Qualities Scale

Friendship Questionnaire

With this questionnaire, we are going to ask you to circle the choice which describes you best. These questions are about you and your friend. Please answer all of these questions about the person that you wrote in as your "very best" friend on the first questionnaire.

I am completing this questionnaire about									
	(Plea	se fill in your frien	d's first and la	st name)					
1. My f	1. My friend and I spend all our free time together.								
ľ	Not at all true A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true					
	12	3	4	5					
2. I can	get into fights with my frie	nd.							
1	Not at all true A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true					
	12	3	4	5					
3. If I fo	orgot my lunch or needed a	little money, my f	riend would lo	an it to me.					
ľ	Not at all true A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true					
	12	3	4	5					
4. If I h	ave a problem at school or	at home, I can talk	to my friend a	bout it.					
1	Not at all true A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true					
	12	3	4	5					
5. If my friend had to move away, I would miss him/her.									
ľ	Not at all true A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true					
	12	3	4	5					

6. My	friend thinks o	f fun things fo	r us to do together	•	
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true
	1	2	3	4	5
7 Mx	friend can bug	me or annoy n	ne even though I as	sk him/her not	to
7. IVI y	mena can bug	ine of annoy n	ic even though I a	sk mm/ner not	to.
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true
	1	2	3	4	5
8. My	friend helps me	e when I am h	aving trouble with	something.	
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true
	1	2	3	4	5
	here is somethin annot tell to oth	-	ne, I can tell my fri	end about it ev	ven if it is something
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true
	1	2	3	4	5
10. I i	feel happy wher	I am with my	friend.		
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true
	1	2	3	4	5
11. M	ly friend and I g	o to each othe	r's houses after scl	hool and on w	eekends.
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true
	1	2	3	4	5
12. M	ly friend and I c	an argue a lot.			
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true

	1	2	3	4	5	
13. M	y friend would	help me if I no	eeded it.			
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true	
	1	2	3	4	5	
14. If me.	I said I was sor	ry after I had a	a fight with my frie	end, he/she wo	ould still stay mad at	
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true	
	1	2	3	4	5	
15. I tl	nink about my	friend even wh	nen my friend is no	ot around.		
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true	
	1	2	3	4	5	
16. So	metimes my fri and things we	•	sit around and tall	k about things	like school, sports,	
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty tr	ue Really true	
	1	2	3	. 4	5	
17. M	y friend and I d	isagree about	many things.			
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true	
	1	2	3	4	5	
18. If	other kids were	bothering me	, my friend would	help me.		
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true	
	1	2	3	4	5	
19. If my friend or I do something that bothers the other one of us, we can make up easily.						
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true	

	1	2	3	4	5
20.	When I do a good	job at someth	ing, my friend is h	nappy for me.	
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true
	1	2	3	4	5
21.	My friend would s	tick up for me	e if another kid wa	s causing me t	rouble.
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true
	1	2	3	4	5
22.	If my friend and I will be alright.	have a fight of	or argument, we ca	an say "I'm soi	rry" and everything
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true
	1	2	3	4	5
23.	Sometimes my frie	end does thing	gs for me, or make	s me feel spec	ial.
	Not at all true	A little true	Somewhat true	Pretty true	Really true
	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix E: Youth Self-Report

Below is a list of items that describe kids. For each item that describes **you now or within the past 6 months,** please circle the **2** if the item is very true or often true of you. Circle the **1** if the item is somewhat true or sometimes true of you. If the item is not true of you, circle the **0**.

0= Not True 1=Somewhat or Sometimes True	2=V	ery Tru	ie or Often True
(1.) I act too young for my age.	0	1	2
(2.) I have an allergy	0	1	2
(describe):			
(3.) I have asthma.	0	1	2
(4.) I act like the opposite sex.	0	1	2
(5.) I like animals.	0	1	2
(6.) I have trouble concentrating or paying attention.	0	1	2
(7.) I can't get my mind off certain thoughts			
(describe):	0	1	2
(8.) I'm too dependent on adults.	0	1	2
(9.) I feel lonely.	0	1	2
(10.) I feel confused or in a fog.	0	1	2
(11.) I cry a lot.	0	1	2
(12.) I am pretty honest.	0	1	2
(13.) I daydream a lot.	0	1	2
(14.) I don't eat as well as I should.	0	1	2
(15.) I don't get along with other kids.	0	1	2
(16.) I don't feel guilty after doing something I shouldn't.	0	1	2
(17.) I am jealous of others.	0	1	2
(18.) I am willing to help others when they need help.	0	1	2
(19.) I am afraid of certain animals, situations, or places,	0	1	2
other than school (describe):			
(20.) I am afraid of going to school.	0	1	2
(21.) I am afraid I might think or do something bad.	0	1	2
(22.) I feel that I have to be perfect.	0	1	2
(23.) I feel that no one loves me.	0	1	2
(24.) I feel that others are out to get me.	0	1	2
(25.) I feel worthless or inferior.	0	1	2
(26.) I accidentally get hurt a lot.	0	1	2
(27.) I get teased a lot.	0	1	2
(28.) I hear sounds or voices that other people think	0	1	2
aren't there (describe):	_		
(29.) I would rather be alone than with others.	0	1	2
(30.) I bite my fingernails.	0	1	2
(31.) I am nervous or tense.	0	1	2
(32.) Parts of my body twitch or make nervous			
movements (describe):	0	1	2
(33.) I have nightmares.	0	1	2

(34.) I am not well liked by other kids.	0	1	2
(35.) I can do certain things better than most kids.	0	1	2
(36.) I am too fearful or anxious.	0	1	2
(37.) I feel dizzy.	0	1	
(38.) I feel too guilty.	0	1	2 2
(39.) I eat too much.	0	1	2
(40.) I feel overtired.	0	1	2
(41.) I am overweight.	0	1	2
(42.) Physical problems without known medical cause:			
a. Aches or pains (not headaches).	0	1	2
b. Headaches.	0	1	2
c. Nausea, feel sick.	0	1	2
d. Problems with eyes (describe):	0	1	2
	_		
e. Rashes or other skin problems.	0	1	2
f. Stomachaches or cramps.	0	1	2
g. Vomiting, throwing up.	0	1	2
h. Other (describe):	0	1	2
(43.) I pick my skin or other parts of my body			
(describe):	0	1	2
(44.) I can be pretty friendly.	0	1	2
(45.) I like to try new things.	0	1	2
(46.) My school work is poor.	0	1	2
(47.) I am poorly coordinated or clumsy.	0	1	2
(48.) I would rather be with older kids than with kids			
my own age.	0	1	2
(49.) I would rather be with younger kids than with			
kids my own age.	0	1	2
(50.) I refuse to talk.	0	1	2
(51.) I repeat certain actions over and over (describe):			
	0	1	2
(52.) I am secretive or keep things to myself.	0	1	2
(53.) I see things that other people think aren't there	0	1	2
(describe):	_		
(54.) I am self-conscious or easily embarrassed.	0	1	2
(55.) I can work well with my hands.	0	1	2
(56.) I am shy.	0	1	2 2 2
(57.) I sleep less than most kids.	0	1	2
(58.) I sleep more than most kids during day and/or night	0	1	2
(describe):			
(59.) I have a good imagination.	0	1	2
(60.) I have a speech problem (describe):			
	0	1	2

(61.) I stand up for my rights.	0	1	2
(62.) I store up things that I don't need (describe):			
	0	1	2
(63.) I do things other people think are strange	0	1	2
(describe):			
(64.) I have thoughts that other people would think are	strange		
(describe):	0	1	2
(65.) My moods or feelings change suddenly.	0	1	2
(66.) I enjoy being with other people.	0	1	2
(67.) I am suspicious.	0	1	2
(68.) I like to make others laugh.	0	1	2
(69.) I like to help others.	0	1	2
(70.) I am too concerned about being neat or clean.	0	1	2
(71.) I have trouble sleeping (describe):	0	1	2
(72.) I don't have much energy.	0	1	2
(73.) I am unhappy, sad, or depressed.	0	1	2
(74.) I try to be fair with others.	0	1	2
(75.) I enjoy a good joke.	0	1	2
(76.) I like to take life easy.	0	1	2
(77.) I try to help other people when I can.	0	1	2
(78.) I wish I were of the opposite sex.	0	1	2
(79.) I keep from getting involved with others.	0	1	2
(80) I worry a lot.	0	1	2

Appendix F: Self-Consciousness Scales

How I think about myself

Some adolescents think about themselves often, but other adolescents do not. Please circle the number that best describes you.

	0	1	2		3		4
	Not at all true	Hardly ever true	Sometimes true	Tr	ue most the time		Always true
1. I'm alwa	ys trying to fig	ure myself out.	0	1	2	3	4
2. I'm conc	erned about my	y style of doing	things.	1	2	3	4
3. Generally	y, I'm not very	aware of mysel	lf.	1	2	3	4
4. I reflect a	about myself a	lot.	0	1	2	3	4
5. I'm conc	erned about the	e way I present	myself. 0	1	2	3	4
6. I'm often	the subject of	my own fantasi	ies.	1	2	3	4
7. I never so	crutinize mysel	f.	0	1	2	3	4
0 11 10	. 1			1	_	3	·
8. I'm self-o	conscious abou	t the way I look	0	1	2	3	4
9. I'm gene	rally attentive t	to my inner feel	lings.	1	2	3	4
10. I usually	worry about m	aking a good in	mpression.	1	2	3	4
11. I'm cons	tantly examinin	ng my motives.	0	1	2	3	4

	0 Not at all	1 Hardly ever	2 Sometimes	True	3 most o	f	4 Always		
	true	true	true		e time	L	true		
12. One of the last things I do before I leave my house is look in the mirror.									
			0	1	2	3	4		
13. I sometim	nes have the fe	eling that I'm o	off somewhere	e watch	ing my	self.			
			0	1	2	3	4		
14. I'm conce	erned about wh	at other people	think of me.						
			0	1	2	3	4		
15. I'm alert	to changes in n	my mood.							
			0	1	2	3	4		
16. I'm usual	ly aware of my	appearance.	0	1	2	3	4		
			U	1	۷	3	4		
17. I'm aware	e of the way m	y mind works v	when I work t	hrough	a prob	lem.			
			0	1	2	3	4		

Appendix G: Children's Rejection-Sensitivity Questionnaire

Things that happen

PART I

1. Imagine you want to buy a present for someone who is really important to you, but you don't have enough money. So, you ask a kid in your class if you could please borrow some money. The kid says, "Okay, wait for me outside the front door after school. I'll bring the money." As you stand outside waiting, you wonder if the kid will really come.										
,	a) How NERVOUS would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not the kid will show up?									
No	ot nervou	ıs 1	2	3	4	5	6	very, very nervous		
,	b) How MAD would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not the kid will show up?									
No	ot mad	1	2	3	4	5	very, v	very mad		
c)	Do you	think t	the kid v	will sho	w up to	give yo	ou the m	noney?		

YES!!! NO!!!!
1 2 3 4 5 6

- 2. Imagine you are the last to leave your classroom for lunch one day. As you're running down the stairs to get to the cafeteria, you hear some kids whispering on the stairs below you. You wonder if they are talking about YOU.
 - a) How NERVOUS would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not those kids were badmouthing you?

Not nervous $1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6$ very, very nervous

	Not mad	1	2	3	4	5	very, very mad 6				
	c) Do you think they were saying bad things about you?										
	YES!!!	1	2	3	4	5	NO!!! 6				
say	3. Imagine that a kid in your class tells the teacher that you were picking on him/her. You say you didn't do it. The teacher tells you to wait in the hallway and she will speak to you. You wonder if the teacher will believe you.										
			OUS wo	•			ΓHEN, about whether or not the				
	Not nervo		2	3	4		very, very nervous 6				
	,		would you			THEN	, about whether or not the teacher will				
	Not mad	1	2	3	4	5	very, very mad 6				
	c) Do you YES!!!	ı think	she will	believe	your si	de of th	ne story? NO!!!				
	ILS	1	2	3	4	5	6				
ser frie	4. Imagine you had a really bad fight the other day with a friend. Now you have a serious problem and you wish you had your friend to talk to. You decide to wait for your friend after class and talk with him/her. You wonder if your friend will want to talk to you.										
	a) How NERVOUS would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not your friend will want to talk to you and listen to your problem?										
	Not nervo	us 1	2	3	4	5	very, very nervous 6				
	want to ta		-				about whether or not your friend will				
	Not mad	1	2	3	4	5	very, very mad 6				

b) How MAD would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not those kids were

badmouthing you?

	YES!!!	1	2	3	4	5	NO!!! 6				
	5. Imagine that a famous person is coming to visit your school. Your teacher is going to pick five kids to meet this person. You wonder if she will choose you.										
a) How NERVOUS would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not the teacher will choose you?											
	Not no	ervous 1	2	3	4	5	very, very nervous 6				
	choose y	ou?	would y	ou feel,	RIGHT	THEN	I, about whether or not the teacher will				
	Not m			_		_	very, very mad				
		1	2	3	4	5	6				
	c) Do y YES!!		k the tea	acher w	ill choo	se YOU	J to meet the special guest? NO!!!				
		1	2	3	4	5	6				
hac cla	6. Imagine you have just moved and you are walking home from school. You wish you had someone to walk home with. You look up and see in front of you another kid from class, and you decide to walk up to this kid and start talking. As you rush to catch up, you wonder if he/she will want to talk to you.a) How NERVOUS would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not he/she will want to talk to you?										
	Not nervo		2	2	4	5	very, very nervous				
b) How MAD would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not he/she will wa to talk to you? Not mad very, very mad 1 2 3 4 5 6 c) Do you think he/she will want to talk to you? YES!!! NO!!! 1 2 3 4 5 6											

c) Do you think he/she will want to talk to you and listen to your problem?

	our class.	•				acher asks for a volunteer to help plan a so you wonder if the teacher will				
a) How NERVOUS would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not the teacher will choose you?										
Not ner	rvous 1	2	3	4	5	very, very nervous 6				
	ow MAD veryou to re	-	ou feel,	RIGHT	THEN	N, about whether or not the teacher will				
Not m	•				very,	very mad				
	1	2	3		5	6				
	•	you think the teacher will choose YOU?								
YES!!						NO!!!				
	1	2	3	4	5	6				
All your for class walking a) How	hard and you want to get home FAST. Suddenly, the paper bag you are carrying rips. All your food tumbles to the ground. You look up and see a couple of kids from your class walking quickly. You wonder if they will stop and help you. a) How NERVOUS would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not those kids will want to stop and help you?									
Not ner	vous					very, very nervous				
	1	2	3	4	5	6				
b) How MAD would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not those kids will want to stop and help you? Not mad 1 2 3 4 5 6 c) Do you think they will offer to help you? YES!!! NO!!!										
1 2 3 4 5 6										

tead Eve tead	cher lets thery week s	ne kids in o far, you	the cla u have v	ss take l watched	home a someo	video ne else	different school. In this school, the game to play with on the weekend. It take it home. You decide to ask the time. You wonder if she will let you		
		NERVO the video		•			ether or not the teacher will let you		
	Not nerve	ous 1	2	3	4	5	very, very nervous 6		
b) How MAD would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not the teacher let you take the video game home this time?									
	Not mad	1	2	3	4	5	very, very mad 6		
	c) Do yo	ou think	the teac	her is g	oing to	let you	take home the video game this time?		
		1	2	3	4	5	6		
WO	rk on a spe ked. As y	ecial proj ou wait, <u>y</u>	ect toge you wo	ether. Yender if t	ou sit th he kids	ere an will w	eryone is splitting up into six groups to d watch lots of other kids getting ant you for their group. THEN, about whether or not they will		
	choos	se you?	CB WOL	na you	1001, 101		THE TY, about whether of not they will		
	Not nerv	ous 1	2	3	4	5	very, very nervous 6		
	choos	MAD wo	ould yo	u feel, F	RIGHT	THEN	, about whether or not they will		
	Not mad	1	2	3	4	5	very, very mad		
							oose you for their group?		
	125	1	2	3	4	5	6		

a ne	11. Imagine that your family has moved to a different neighborhood, and you're going to a new school. Tomorrow is a big math test, and you are really worried because you don't understand this math at all! You decide to wait after class and speak to your teacher. You wonder if she will offer to help you.										
	a) How NERVOUS would you feel, RIGHT THEN, about whether or not the teacher will offer to help you?										
	Not ner		s 1	2	3	4	5	very, very nervous 6			
			AD woo		feel, RI	GHT T	HEN,	about whether or not the teacher will			
	Not ma		1	2	3	4	5	very, very mad 6			
	c) Do YES!!!	•	think th	e teach	er will o	offer to	help yo	ou? NO!!!			
			1	2	3	4	5	6			
outs	side talk sn't like	king	about a	student	with ar	other to	eacher.	u hear your teacher in the hallway You hear her say that she really der if she could be talking about			
					d you fe out YOU		НТ ТІ	HEN, about whether or not the			
	Not ner		s 1	2	3	4		very, very nervous 6			
	talk	ing a	AD woo	•	feel, RI	GHT T	HEN,	about whether or not the teacher was			
	Not ma		1	2	3	4	5	very, very mad 6			
		•		e teach	-	ably me	ant YC	OU when she said there was a kid she			
	YES!!!							NO!!!			
			1	2	3	4	5	6			

Appendix H: Shyness Scale

Social situations: Part 1

Some adolescents sometimes feel nervous or shy, whereas other adolescents do not. Please circle the number of the item that describes you best. There are no right or wrong answers. Just circle the number that is like you most of the time.

	0	1	2		3		4
	Not at all	Hardly ever	Sometimes		e most o	f A	lways
	true	true	true	tl	he time		true
1.	I am socially somewhat a	awkward.					
	Tuni socium j somio minuo		0	1	2	3	4
2	I don't find it hard to tall	z to strongors					
2.	I don't find it hard to tall	to strangers.	0	1	2	3	4
			· ·	•	-	J	•
3.	I feel tense when I'm wit	th people I don			2	2	4
			0	1	2	3	4
4.	When talking with other	people I worry	about saying	g some	thing d	umb.	
	C						
			0	1	2	3	4
5	I feel nervous when spea	king to someo	ne in authorit	V			
٦.	Tieer hervous when spea	iking to someo.	0	1	2	3	4
6.	I am often uncomfortable	e at parties and	_				
			0	1	2	3	4
7.	I feel shy in social situati	ions.	0	1	2	3	4
0	I hava traubla laaking sa	maana right in	the eve				
٥.	I have trouble looking so	ineone right in		1	2	3	4
			J	-	-	٥	•
9.	I am more shy with mem	bers of the opp	-	1	2	2	4
			0	1	2	3	4

Appendix I: Fear Scale

Social situations: Part 2

Some adolescents sometimes feel fearful or scared, whereas other adolescents do not. Please circle the number of the item that describes you best. There are no right or wrong answers. Just circle the number that is like you most of the time.

	0 Not at all true	Not at all Hardly ever		3 True mo	4 Always true	
1.	I am easily frightened.		true 0	1 2		
2.	I often feel insecure.		0	1 2	3	4
3.	I tend to be nervous in n	ew situations.				
4.	I have fewer fears than n	nost people my		1 2	3	4
			0	1 2	3	4
5.	When I get scared, I pan	ic.	0	1 2	3	4

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