

In a groundbreaking exploration of the impostor phenomenon, Cokley's curated volume is nothing short of a scholarly triumph. Drawing on over 4 decades of research, Cokley's piercing analysis and collaboration with scholars redefine the landscape of research in this area, charting a compelling course that not only reviews but significantly expands our understanding. By delving into underexplored areas such as the context in which the impostor phenomenon develops, the conditions under which it manifests, and the practical implications of these findings, this collection becomes a must-read resource for psychologists, educators, and anyone intrigued by the science behind feeling like a fraud or adopting a "fake it until you make it" mentality. This work signals the future of impostor phenomenon research, providing a comprehensive road map for navigating the complexities of self-doubt and authenticity.

—**Helen A. Neville, PhD**, Professor, Educational Psychology and African American Studies, and President, Society of Counseling Psychology, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

Contents

<i>Contributors</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>xi</i>
Introduction: The Importance of Empirical Research on the Impostor Phenomenon	3
Kevin Cokley	
I. CONCEPTUAL, THEORETICAL, AND METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS	15
1. Impostor Phenomenon: Origins and Treatment	17
Pauline Clance and Suzann Lawry	
2. An Overview of the Impostor Phenomenon: Definitional and Theoretical Considerations	45
Kevin Cokley, Keoshia Harris, Shaina Hall, and Myya Singletary	
3. The Impostor Phenomenon and Mental Health	61
Ramya Garba, Carly Coleman, and Tia Kelley	
4. Impostor Phenomenon and Burnout	81
Lizette Ojeda	
5. The Impostor Phenomenon's Relation to Achievement at School and Work	111
Lauren A. Blondeau	
6. Measurement Issues Related to the Impostor Phenomenon	131
Hwa Young Lee, Cheryl B. Anderson, Kevin Cokley, and Shine Chang	
	<i>vii</i>

II. POPULATIONS AND CONTEXTS	159
7. Gender and the Impostor Phenomenon	161
Kadie R. Rackley, Taylor Payne, Ashley Bennett, and Germiné H. Awad	
8. Racism and the Impostor Phenomenon Among African American Students: A Socioecological Analysis	181
Donte Bernard	
9. A Mixed-Methods Study of Impostor Phenomenon in a Hispanic-Serving Institution	203
Olympia Caudillo and Rodolfo Rincones	
10. Impostor Phenomenon in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics	221
Devasmita Chakraverty	
11. Impostor Phenomenon in Medicine	245
Devasmita Chakraverty	
III. INTERVENTIONS AND TRENDS	267
12. Critical Issues of the Impostor Phenomenon and Interventions for Historically Marginalized People	269
Lisa Orbé-Austin and Richard Orbé-Austin	
13. An Evolving Analysis of Impostor Syndrome From 1983 to the Present: Implications for Clinicians and Researchers	285
Valerie Young	
14. Research-Based Strategies for Combating the Impostor Phenomenon in Higher Education	309
Danielle Rosenscruggs and Laura Schram	
15. Trends Within the Impostor Phenomenon Literature	341
Steven Stone-Sabali	
<i>Index</i>	363
<i>About the Editor</i>	385

INTRODUCTION

The Importance of Empirical Research on the Impostor Phenomenon

KEVIN COKLEY

In 1978, Pauline Clance and Suzanne Imes introduced the term “impostor phenomenon” in the academic literature. They defined the term as an internal experience of intellectual phoniness. In 1985, Pauline Clance followed this groundbreaking article by writing a book titled *The Impostor Phenomenon: Overcoming the Fear That Haunts Your Success*. Based on her clinical experiences, this book traces the origins of the impostor phenomenon, addresses its psychological impact, and provides suggestions about how to overcome impostor feelings. At the time that Clance wrote the book, according to PsycINFO only six published articles and five unpublished dissertations had examined the impostor phenomenon. By 2000, there were 41 published articles and 32 dissertations, for an average of approximately 1.9 published articles and 1.5 dissertations per year since 1978. Although this was evidence of increasing interest, overall, the scholarly interest in the impostor phenomenon was still modest.

Fast-forward to 2022, and scholarly interest in the impostor phenomenon has grown tremendously. At the time of this writing there were 195 published articles, 147 dissertations, and 13 book chapters, for an average of approximately 4.4 articles and 3.3 dissertations per year. The increasing scholarly interest in the impostor phenomenon coincides with the rise of its popularity

<https://doi.org/10.1037/0000397-001>

The Impostor Phenomenon: Psychological Research, Theory, and Interventions,
K. Cokley (Editor)

Copyright © 2024 by the American Psychological Association. All rights reserved.

in popular culture. There has been a resurgence in attention paid to the impostor phenomenon, as evidenced by the market being flooded with self-help, pop psychology books on the impostor phenomenon (aka imposter syndrome in popular culture discourse). A number of famous people and celebrities (e.g., Michelle Obama, Tina Fey, Tom Hanks, Viola Davis, Maya Angelou, Lady Gaga, Jennifer Lopez) have publicly acknowledged their insecurities or that they feel like a fraud. A recent Google search for the terms “impostor phenomenon,” “imposter phenomenon,” “impostor syndrome,” and “imposter syndrome” yielded results of 1.26 million, 2.25 million, 4.29 million, and 9.46 million, respectively.

The popularity of the impostor phenomenon is due to it being an immensely relatable topic, with an estimated 70% of people feeling like an impostor as commonly referenced from an article published in the *International Journal of Behavioral Science* (Sakulku & Alexander, 2011). In this article, the 70% figure is attributed to an article written in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, not an actual empirical study (Gravois, 2007). In the Gravois article, the 70% reference is attributed to an unpublished survey by Pauline Clance and Gail Matthews. However, a recent synthesis of studies estimated that up to 82% of people experience impostor feelings (Bravata et al., 2020). The origins of the 70% figure in an unpublished source underscore the need for the empirical, evidence-based rationale of this book. Much of the conventional wisdom and popular culture discourse about the impostor phenomenon is driven by intuitive, common sense–based recommendations about how to cope with, and conquer, impostor feelings. There is no doubt a market for this type of pop psychology. However, similar to the 70% figure, much of the discourse about the impostor phenomenon is not rooted in, or informed by, empirical research.

MISINFORMATION IN POPULAR CULTURE

One of the challenges and frustrations of being a researcher and scholar on the impostor phenomenon is having to deal with misinformation and uninformed criticisms of the term. I do not characterize critiques of the term as necessarily challenging and frustrating because there are certainly legitimate critiques one can make. However, much of what is being said about the impostor phenomenon on social media and in popular culture is misleading and in some instances just wrong. Recently I was contacted by a fellow expert on the impostor phenomenon and contributor to this book, Dr. Lisa Orbé-Austin, regarding a TikTok video she had seen. The video, posted by @theconsciouslee, referenced a tweet posted on April 13, 2022, by @jewelsfromjuana, stating that she was

no longer using the term “imposter syndrome.” She made this decision because of a lecture she heard by @atachine, which informed her that the concept was created by two White women to explain why minoritized folks feel like outsiders or face self-doubt. @jewelsfromjuana continued by saying that this fraud feeling was a result of systemic bias and exclusion and that the academy created a term to cover up systemic bias and placed the blame on the person in minoritized communities rather than blaming the system. At the time this introduction was written, the TikTok video had been liked over 75,000 times and the tweet had been liked over 22,000 times, retweeted over 5,600 times, and quote tweeted 860 times. The claim that the term was created to explain why minoritized folks feel like outsiders or face self-doubt is simply not true as it pertains to people of color. If one carefully reads the Clance and Imes (1978) article, it clearly indicates that the focus was on mostly White women, not minoritized women or minoritized men. It is also not accurate to say that the academy (i.e., a reference to Pauline Clance’s faculty status) created the term to cover up systemic bias. In fact, as elaborated later in their article, Clance and Imes recognized that societal stereotypes about women’s intelligence exacerbated women’s feelings of self-doubt. A critique can be made that they could have spent more time explicitly addressing systemic bias, especially as it relates to minoritized people, which is a nod to the role of the environment. However, it cannot reasonably be concluded from carefully reading their body of work that their motivation was to blame minoritized individuals rather than the system. They were always clear about the role of the sociocultural context of the impostor phenomenon. This mischaracterization of their motivation contributes to criticisms of the impostor phenomenon.

One of the more thoughtful popular culture critiques was made in an article published in the *Harvard Business Review* (Tulshyan & Burey, 2021). This article created quite the buzz on social media (e.g., it was shared over 67,000 times on Facebook). In the article, the authors argued that the original concept excluded the effects of systemic racism, classism, and xenophobia and that the answer to overcoming “imposter syndrome” is to fix the environment rather than to fix individuals. The authors criticized use of the word “imposter” for essentially being too heavy-handed (they describe the word as having undertones of “criminal fraudulence”) when individuals were simply unsure or anxious. It should be remembered that Clance and Imes (1978) used this term to describe their clinical observations. The term “impostor” literally refers to a person who pretends to be someone else in order to deceive others, and the women Clance and Imes were working with often reported that they believed they had fooled people into thinking they were intelligent. Considered in this context, use of the word “impostor” is not unreasonable. In fact, the women

they worked with used the term “impostor” to describe their feelings. Tulshyan and Burey (2021) were also critical of the term “syndrome” after acknowledging that Clance and Imes originally used the term “impostor phenomenon.” It would be helpful if critiques of the concept of impostorism would not use the term “impostor syndrome,” as the word “syndrome” can serve to reify the criticism of pathologizing normal, warranted feelings.

INDIVIDUAL VERSUS ENVIRONMENT

The critique of the impostor phenomenon focusing on the individual rather than the environment has been extended by McGee et al. (2022), who argued that it is really racism and oppression, camouflaged as impostor syndrome, that negatively harms minoritized individuals. McGee is particularly critical of the impostor phenomenon/syndrome construct, as she derisively believes it has been used to peddle interventions that focus on individuals thinking or breathing their way out of impostor feelings (McGee et al., 2022). McGee’s critique has some merit, and the impact of racism and oppression on impostor feelings is addressed throughout this book. In fact, every talk that I give on the impostor phenomenon among BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, People of Color) individuals addresses the challenges of overcoming lack of representation, racially hostile environments, discrimination, and marginalization. That said, I also believe there are problems with reducing the impostor phenomenon to only bias, racism, and oppression. I disagree that impostor feelings would no longer exist among Black students if structural, institutional, and everyday racism were eradicated, as suggested by McGee et al. (2022). For example, some empirical research indicates that Black students attending historically Black colleges and universities also experience impostor feelings (Bernard et al., 2020). Reducing the impostor phenomenon to only racism is a *cultural misattribution bias*, which limits our scientific understanding of human nature among BIPOC individuals by only focusing on how the cultural context shapes human behavior and psychological functioning while ignoring or dismissing how individual-level processes also shape human behavior and psychological functioning (Causadias et al., 2018). In other words, as powerful as the cultural context of racism is in influencing or causing the impostor phenomenon, BIPOC individuals are not immune from being shaped by psychological processes. The problem with this cultural misattribution is that it (unwittingly) stereotypes the behavior of BIPOC individuals as homogenous and *only* being influenced by race and culture, while (unwittingly) privileging the behavior of White people as normative. Stated another way, reducing the impostor phenomenon to racism

suggests that BIPOC individuals can only have thoughts and feelings in reaction to racism, whereas the thoughts and feelings of White people are viewed within the context of being unique individuals. This critique of the impostor phenomenon has created a false dichotomy in a focus on the individual versus the environment. Human behavior is complex, and interventions should never be reduced to either the individual level or the environmental level. The focus should always be both—and, which is consistent with a diunital logic and worldview promoted by Afrocentric psychologists (Myers, 1988).

A UBIQUITOUS EXPERIENCE?

As this book was close to completion, I was contacted by another fellow expert on the impostor phenomenon and contributor to this book, Dr. Valerie Young, regarding a recently published article on the impostor syndrome in *The New Yorker*. The title of the article is “Why Everyone Feels Like They’re Faking It.” The teaser description summarizes the article as follows: “The concept of Impostor Syndrome has become ubiquitous. Critics, and even the idea’s originators, question its value.” The article immediately caught my attention because the subtitle suggested that Pauline Clance and Suzanne Imes were now questioning its value (Jamison, 2023). This was confusing to me because nowhere have I seen Clance or Imes make any statements suggesting that they were starting to question its value (they do have feelings about using the term “impostor syndrome,” but to my knowledge they have never questioned the utility of the impostor phenomenon). The article is an interesting exploration of the ubiquity of the impostor syndrome concept and how Clance and Imes never imagined how popular the concept would become. Some interesting and not well-known historical facts are shared (e.g., the original impostor phenomenon paper kept getting rejected before being accepted into the journal *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, and Practice*). The article identifies clinical interventions utilized by Clance and Imes (e.g., gestalt therapy’s empty-chair technique).

However, the most provocative part of the article was the discussion about the Whiteness of the impostor syndrome and how many women of color did not identify with the construct and questioned why White women were experiencing impostorism when essentially there were many examples of successful White women for them to see. Jamison (2023) cited a Black physician who talked about how she had been “misdiagnosed” with impostor syndrome when the reality was that she was just recognizing the impact of having connections and privilege (which she did not have). The Black physician read Clance and Imes’s (1978) paper and said that, as a Black woman, she could not find herself

in the paper. Jamison went on to say that Clance and Imes agree with many of the critiques of Tulshyan and Burey (2021) but believe that using the term “syndrome” pathologizes and distorts their original idea. Jamison offered an additional critique of the impostor syndrome from her mother, for whom the concept did not resonate and who suspected that women of her generation actually felt underestimated rather than struggled with proving themselves.

Jamison (2023) stated that although most of the critics of impostor syndrome are women of color, many people of color still identify with the experience. At the end of the article, she reverted back to using the term “impostor phenomenon” and concluded that it is “an inescapable part of being alive” (Jamison, 2023, para. 49). Although generally a thoughtfully written article, curiously Jamison did not present any specific details about Clance and Imes supposedly questioning the value of the impostor phenomenon. Although Jamison understands the problems and challenges of the word “syndrome,” her continued use of the word “syndrome” throughout the article underscores the concerns that Clance and Imes have about distorting their original idea. The question of whether the impostor phenomenon is relevant to people of color is a question best addressed through careful empirical research rather than personal anecdotes.

UNRESOLVED ISSUES

Although much of the popular culture debate about the impostor phenomenon focuses on its applicability to people of color and whether it is racialized, there are many other important theoretical, empirical, and methodological questions about the impostor phenomenon that have not been satisfactorily answered or have equivocal answers. For example, is the impostor phenomenon part of one’s identity, as suggested by Matthews and Clance (1985)? Is the impostor phenomenon a stable personality trait or predisposition, or is it an affective experience created by circumstances (state) of being evaluated too highly (McElwee & Yurak, 2010)? The contributors in this book either explicitly or implicitly endorse belief in the ubiquity of the impostor phenomenon, yet there are theoretical questions about the impostor phenomenon’s utility as a distinct psychological entity. In other words, if the impostor phenomenon is everywhere and experienced by nearly everyone, is it really a useful and distinct psychological construct? In this book we take the position that the impostor phenomenon is commonly experienced by many people but the sociocultural context is important to consider. The impostor phenomenon is experienced differently and has different implications depending on the individual, group, and social context.

Some scholars have raised questions about the theoretical assumptions of the impostor phenomenon and suggested that behaviors attributed to impostors have a self-presentational element (i.e., impostors believe there are interpersonal benefits from presenting as an impostor; e.g., Leary et al., 2000). It is often stated that women are more susceptible to impostor feelings, yet research is equivocal on this. More recently it has been suggested that members of ethnic minorities are more susceptible to impostor feelings, but it is not clear if all empirical studies support this. There are also concerns about the quality of the measurement of the impostor phenomenon, with questions raised about its dimensionality and whether existing measures are inadequate to capture a racialized form of impostor feelings among racial and ethnic minorities. Increasingly questions are being asked about how the impostor phenomenon impacts participation in science, technology, engineering, mathematics, and medicine. One of the most commonly asked questions about the impostor phenomenon is what can be done about it. However, relatively little empirical work has been done on interventions specific to impostor phenomenon. Finally, given the resurgence of interest in the impostor phenomenon, what is the state of the field and where is it going? This brings us to the importance of this book.

The debates, misunderstandings, mischaracterizations, and unanswered questions surrounding the impostor phenomenon underscore the need for a book that addresses the aforementioned theoretical, empirical, and methodological issues and critiques. Currently there is no such book in existence for researchers and practitioners to reference. This book is envisioned as filling that gap. The goals of this book include the following:

- to provide a critical review of empirical studies on the impostor phenomenon,
- to provide a review of the major issues involved with researching the impostor phenomenon,
- to highlight areas of agreement along with tensions and disagreement among scholars and practitioners, and
- to be a research-based resource for individuals who are engaged in impostor phenomenon research and interventions.

Many of the contributors to this book are among the leading scholars and thought leaders on the impostor phenomenon. Many of the contributors conduct empirical research on the impostor phenomenon, and others engage in interventions that are informed by empirical research and years of clinical work and educational outreach. Some of the contributors have included personal narratives that describe how they became involved in work on the impostor phenomenon. The contributors agree on many issues. Perhaps most importantly, there is consensus that the impostor phenomenon is *not* a psychiatric disorder (and

therefore should not be considered for inclusion in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*), unlike some researchers who advance the position that the impostor phenomenon is a psychiatric disorder (e.g., Bravata et al., 2020).¹ However, there are some tensions and places of disagreement that are worthy of continued discussion (e.g., use of the term “impostor syndrome”). Ultimately, I believe that healthy debate is good for the field.

OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

This book is divided into three sections. Part I: Conceptual, Theoretical, and Methodological Foundations includes six chapters. In Chapter 1, Clance and Lawry discuss the origins of the impostor phenomenon. They address issues of terminology, express concerns around the mislabeling of the originating work, and provide an overview of the state of impostor phenomenon intervention. They also directly address the sociocultural context of the impostor phenomenon and provide an example of a sociocultural-level intervention. In Chapter 2, Cokley et al. provide an overview of definitional and theoretical considerations of the impostor phenomenon, address misconceptions and limitations of the impostor phenomenon construct, and introduce the idea of a racialized impostor phenomenon. In Chapter 3, Garba et al. provide a broad overview of the extant literature on the mental health correlates of the impostor phenomenon and specifically discuss anxiety, depression, perfectionism, and self-esteem. In Chapter 4, Ojeda reviews the few empirical studies linking the impostor syndrome to burnout syndrome, provides an overview of the common factors that may affect both, and offers recommendations for further research and implications for practice. In Chapter 5, Blondeau reviews findings linking the impostor phenomenon with school and work achievement and proposes mediating roles of mental health, personality, self-efficacy, and self-regulation. In Chapter 6, Lee et al. provide a general description of the psychometric properties of impostor phenomenon measurement scales, discuss the methodological limitations and controversies of the most well-known impostor phenomenon instruments, and propose new directions for improving assessment of the impostor phenomenon.

Part II: Populations and Contexts includes five chapters. In Chapter 7, Rackley et al. review the literature on impostorism and gender. They focus on studies examining gender differences, discuss moderators that may help

¹I was an author on this paper, but I do not agree with the position that the impostor phenomenon is a psychiatric disorder.

explain gender differences, and conclude by suggesting future directions in impostorism and gender research. In Chapter 8, Bernard examines the impostor phenomenon among African American students and interrogates how racism may inform the development and maintenance of impostor feelings. In Chapter 9, Caudillo and Rincones present a mixed-methods study of the impostor phenomenon in a Hispanic-serving institution and note that impostor phenomenon research at these institutions is lacking. In Chapter 10, Chakraverty reviews the impostor phenomenon in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics fields, with an emphasis on BIPOC individuals and underrepresented groups such as first-generation students. She also discusses the personality trait nature versus the environmental influence of the impostor phenomenon, strategies to overcome impostor feelings, and suggestions for future research. In Chapter 11, Chakraverty reviews research on the impostor phenomenon in medicine, focusing on graduate students, MD-PhD students, residents, physicians, physician assistants, and veterinarians. She proposes strategies to overcome impostor feelings along with suggestions for future research.

Part III: Interventions and Trends has four chapters. In Chapter 12, Orbé-Austin and Orbé-Austin discuss critical issues and concerns related to the impostor phenomenon when it is experienced by marginalized groups. They explore how the impostor phenomenon may be experienced differently by distinct marginalized groups and discuss interventions they have found to be particularly useful for historically marginalized people. In Chapter 13, Young discusses the origins and evolution of an established educational intervention for the impostor “syndrome,” which she proposes can offer areas of future research and future considerations for clinicians, coaches, and others who work with clients. In Chapter 14, Rosenscruggs and Schram discuss the impostor phenomenon within higher education contexts. Informed by the literature and their work designing and facilitating impostor phenomenon workshops, they share strategies regarding how higher education institutions can effectively and efficiently deliver student-facing impostor phenomenon interventions. In Chapter 15, Stone-Sabali provides an overview of the publication and topical trends within the impostor phenomenon literature. He summarizes a bibliometric investigation of the impostor phenomenon literature (e.g., identifying most cited authors and most cited articles) and concludes with implications for future directions.

It would be nearly impossible to comprehensively cover every important issue pertaining to the state of empirical research on the impostor phenomenon. As this book is being written, new issues (e.g., Is the impostor phenomenon actually beneficial?; Tewfik, 2022), scales (e.g., Impostor Phenomenon

Assessment; Walker & Saklofske, 2023), and researchers (e.g., Tewfik, 2022) have emerged. That said, this book will serve as a primer on the state of impostor phenomenon research. It is hoped that this book will be a foundational resource for scholars, researchers, clinicians, and practitioners and will inspire new research questions and future research agendas.

REFERENCES

- Bernard, D. L., Jones, S. C. T., & Volpe, V. V. (2020). Impostor phenomenon and psychological well-being: The moderating roles of John Henryism and school racial composition among Black college students. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 46(2–3), 195–227. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798420924529>
- Bravata, D., Watts, S., Keefer, A., Madhusudhan, D., Taylor, K., Clark, D., Nelson, R., Cokley, K., & Hagg, H. (2020). Prevalence, predictors, and treatment of impostor syndrome: A systematic review. *Journal of General Medicine*, 35(4), 1252–1275. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11606-019-05364-1>
- Causadias, J. M., Vitriol, J. A., & Atkin, A. L. (2018). Do we overemphasize the role of culture in the behavior of racial/ethnic minorities? Evidence of a cultural (mis)attribution bias in American psychology. *American Psychologist*, 73(3), 243–255. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000099>
- Clance, P. R., & Imes, S. A. (1978). The imposter phenomenon in high achieving women: Dynamics and therapeutic intervention. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research & Practice*, 15(3), 241–247. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0086006>
- Gravois, J. (2007, November 9). You're not fooling anyone. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. <https://www.chronicle.com/article/youre-not-fooling-anyone/>
- Jamison, L. (2023, February 6). Why everyone feels like they're faking it. *The New Yorker*. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2023/02/13/the-dubious-rise-of-impostor-syndrome>
- Leary, M. R., Patton, K. M., Orlando, A. E., & Wagoner Funk, W. (2000). The impostor phenomenon: Self-perceptions, reflected appraisals, and interpersonal strategies. *Journal of Personality*, 68(4), 725–756. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6494.00114>
- Matthews, G., & Clance, P. R. (1985). Treatment of the impostor phenomenon in psychotherapy clients. *Psychotherapy in Private Practice*, 3(1), 71–81. https://doi.org/10.1300/J294v03n01_09
- McElwee, R. O., & Yurak, T. J. (2010). The phenomenology of the impostor phenomenon. *Individual Differences Research*, 8(3), 184–197.
- McGee, E. O., Botchway, P. K., Naphan-Kingery, D. E., Brockman, A. J., Houston, I. I., & White, D. T. (2022). Racism camouflaged as impostorism and the impact on Black STEM doctoral students. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 25(4), 487–507. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2021.1924137>
- Myers, L. J. (1988). *Understanding an Afrocentric world view: Introduction to an optimal psychology*. Kendall/Hunt.
- Sakulku, J., & Alexander, J. (2011). The impostor phenomenon. *International Journal of Behavioral Science*, 6(1), 75–97.

- Tewfik, B. (2022). The impostor phenomenon revisited: Examining the relationship between workplace impostor thoughts and interpersonal effectiveness at work. *Academy of Management Journal*, 65(3), 988–1018. <https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2020.1627>
- Tulshyan, R., & Burey, J.-A. (2021, February 11). Stop telling women they have impostor syndrome. *Harvard Business Review*. <https://hbr.org/2021/02/stop-telling-women-they-have-imposter-syndrome>
- Walker, D. L., & Saklofske, D. H. (2023). Development, factor structure, and psychometric validation of the impostor phenomenon assessment: A novel assessment of impostor phenomenon. *Assessment*, 30(7), 2162–2183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10731911221141870>