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Research Article

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PSYCHOSOCIAL AND PSYCHIATRIC CHARACTERISTICS AMONG CROATIAN LESBIAN, GAY, AND BISEXUAL POPULATION

Abstract

Since there is scarcity of psychological research on lesbian, gay, and bisexual persons (LGB) in Croatia, we aimed to collect first information about the prevalence of psychiatric disorders, psychosocial characteristics and factors related to those issues in LGB adults living there. We focused on bulimia nervosa, binge eating, alcohol abuse, major depressive disorder, other depressive syndromes, panic syndrome, and other anxiety syndromes and somatoform syndrome. Psychosocial information was also gathered and included details about abuse, being out, sexually risky behavior, employment, education, socio-economic status, relationships status and socio-demographic characteristics. According to research, 39% of LGB persons were unemployed and 52.2% were abused. Alcohol abuse is high among all subgroups. Women are prone to somatoform symptoms and alcohol abuse. Since there is insufficient research on the problems of Croatian LGB persons, our results show that there is a real need for regular screening for psychopathology in Croatian homosexual and bisexual persons and for preventive interventions.

Keywords: LGBT, mental health, prevalence, psychopathology, assessment, psychiatric disorders, psychosocial problems

Introduction

Psychiatric Disorders in LGB Subgroups

There are significant differences between each of the lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) subgroups regarding psychiatric problems. Epidemiological studies in the LGB population are generally showing that they have a several times higher risk for developing various psychiatric problems (Bostwick et al., 2010; Cochran et al., 2003; Gilman et al., 2001). Results from the UK women health survey show that bisexual women (BW) have greater problems with psychosocial and psychiatric characteristics compared to lesbian women (LW; Colledge et al., 2015). Those include

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low socio-economic status, they are more likely to identify as trans, they have more problems with marijuana consumption, eating problems, self-harm, depression and anxiety. Authors believe that higher prevalence of those problems is contributed by double discrimination of homophobia and biphobia which are explained by minority stress (Meyer, 2007). Research shows that bisexuals have different minority stress factors that can contribute to their problems (Prell & Traeen, 2018).

Systemic review studies show us that bisexuals have higher prevalence of mood disorders and anxiety compared to lesbian, gay and heterosexual (King et al., 2008; Ross et al., 2017). One systemic study that compared heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual men and women shows interesting findings (King et al., 2008). Deliberate self-harm and suicidal attempts are more pronounced in gay men, then in bisexual ones, while there is cumulative incidence of suicide and suicidal ideation in lesbian women (LW) and bisexual women (BW). Psychoactive substance abuse disorder is more prevalent in LW and BW compared to heterosexual ones, but also compared to gay men (GM) and bisexual men (BM). Additionally, it looks like GM have stronger intention to die when they think about suicide, which is especially worrisome (Lee et al., 2017).

When we talk about other disorders, it looks like GM and BM have a higher risk for panic attacks and psychological distress, compared to heterosexual men (Cochran et al., 2003). LW and BW have more problems with generalized anxiety disorder compared to heterosexual ones. Also, BW and LW have more frequent tobacco and alcohol use than heterosexual ones (Burgard et al., 2005). There is a significant difference between homosexual and heterosexual men and women regarding drug abuse (Cochran et al., 2004). It looks like GM more often abuse marijuana, heroin, and cocaine, while LW abuse more marijuana and analgesics. One study suggests that LW have more problems with mental health, while BW have more problems with physical health when compared to heterosexual ones (Diamant & Wold, 2003). On the other hand, some other international studies failed to find any significant difference regarding psychiatric disorders between LGB subgroups (Bolton & Sareen, 2011; Jager & Davis-Kean, 2011; Kuyper, & Fokkema, 2011). Currently, there is no clinical or scientific research information to the author's knowledge regarding prevalence of psychiatric disorders and their differences in Croatian LGB population. Because of different mental health problems between each subgroup, it is recommended to investigate them separately (Warner et al., 2004). Regarding those results in our research study, we decided to treat bisexual and homosexual men and women as four separate categories.

Abuse and Maltreatment

The prevalence of discrimination, violence, harassment, and homophobia due to sexual orientation is one of the biggest problems of the LGB community which can influence its psychiatric status (Pelullo et al., 2013). Studies that compare LGB subgroups are sparse and results regarding abuse are inconclusive. Sexual abuse (SA) against LGB persons can be categorized into various subtypes. It is estimated

that different types have different prevalence and that there are significant differences between men and women. One systematic review showed that childhood SA against GM and BM goes from 4.1–49.2% vs 14.9–76% for LW/BW; adulthood SA goes from 10.8–44.7% for GM/BM vs 11.3–53.2% for LW/BW; and hate crime related SA from 3–19.8% GM/BM vs 2–12.3% for LW/BW (Rothman et al., 2011). Results suggest that GM and BM face more hate-related sexual crime, while LW/BW experience more general sexual assaults. Comparing those subgroups, results show that GM have the highest risk for SA, followed by LW and then bisexuals (Blondeel et al., 2018). There are some conflicting results which show that BW and BM have higher chances of rape, physical violence or stalking by intimate partners (NISVIS, n.d.). It is suggested that SA at a young age can have a significant impact on the formation of sexual identity (Brady, 2006), and that SA is also prevalent in work settings (Brassel et al., 2019; Schuyler et al., 2020). Additionally, SA is connected with poorer mental health outcomes (Oram, 2019). There are no known research results regarding sexual violence in Croatian LGB population.

Physical violence (PV) caused by perceived sexual orientation is a common problem in this minority group. One systematic review showed that the most common form of PV is a physical assault followed by throwing objects and an assault without a weapon (Blondeel et al., 2018). Regarding PV, it looks like BM have greater chances of being discriminated against and experiencing PV (Hueber et al., 2004). In Croatia, 84% of LGB persons know someone from the LGB community who suffered from more than one case of physical violence because of their sexual identity, and about 50% of respondents were personally abused because of their sexual orientation (Jugović et al., 2006; Pikić & Jugović, 2006). Those who know survivors of assaults caused by their sexual orientation have a higher level of depression and anxiety. PV is a complex problem that can be related to various psychological and physical symptoms and problems (Friborg et al., 2015; Nicolaidis et al., 2004). Formerly, there are no known results about different experiences with PV regarding each subgroup in Croatia.

Emotional abuse (EA) is a specific form of maltreatment where a person is isolated, manipulated and degraded and where an abuser targets emotional wellbeing of their victim, and despite some similarities, it can be differentiated from verbal abuse, in which only verbal insults and slurs are used (Karakurt & Silver, 2013). Studies of LGB persons and EA are usually focused on intimate partner violence (e.g., Woodyatt, & Stephenson, 2016) or isolation of LGB youth in schools (e.g., Almeida et al., 2009; Huebner et al., 2016). To the author's knowledge, there are no studies that explored EA caused by sexual orientation and specific differences among LGB members in everyday experiences. Some results suggest that the Croatian LGB community could experience high levels of EA. Restrictive laws and institutional framework deny gay individuals their rights and they support discrimination of non-heterosexual parents on the individual level (Vučković Juroš, 2019). Students at different universities in Croatia usually do not support marriage equality or adoption for gay couples, even if they are their biological children (Huić et al., 2015). Some of the medical students in Croatia think homosexuality is an illness, and that they

would refuse to draw blood from a LGBT person if they could choose (Grabovac et al., 2014). These results show that students in Croatia do not receive appropriate knowledge about LGBT topics. There is a strong need for educational activities about the health and rights of LGBT persons, especially at the university level, for health and social care students, at the least. These factors combined can lead to greater exclusion of LGB people from everyday life.

As with earlier forms of violence and abuse, verbal abuse (VA) has also predictive value toward more problems with mental health, prostitution, academic performance, and running away from home (McCabe et al., 2010; Savin-Williams, 1994). VA is more prevalent in GM compared to women and bisexuals (Huebner et al., 2004; Thurlow, 2001). Additionally, they receive more aggressive homophobic pejoratives. As with SA and EA, there is no known information about the prevalence of VA among Croatian LGB population, and subgroup differences. Since all four types of maltreatment and abuse are connected to poorer mental health outcomes, it is important to explore them further in the Croatian national sample.

Sexual Behavior

Risky sexual behavior can be defined as any behavior where a person has an increased risk for sexually transmitted infection (STI), including unprotected sexual intercourse, multiple sexual partners, sex with strangers, sex with intravenous drug users and the exclusion of preventative testing for STI (Chawla, & Sarkar, 2019; Derefinko et al., 2014; Woldeyohannes et al., 2017). Croatian studies show that there is inadequate medical knowledge about safe sex in LGB individuals. It is shown that 6.1% of gay men use condoms while giving oral sex, and 47.1% use condoms at each anal intercourse (Kolarić et al., 2008). This proves that homosexual men do not receive sufficient information about their healthcare risks, protection, and safer sex. Those results are further supported by Stulhofer et al. (2008).

Being Out of the Closet

Concealment of sexual orientation is an important predictor of mental and physical health in LGB persons (D'Augelli et al., 1998; Huebner, & Davis, 2005; Rosario et al., 2009; Rosario et al., 2001; Russell et al., 2014). Disclosing sexual orientation, or in popular culture being "*out of the closet*" or "*outed*", is connected to verbal and physical abuse in school, family or at work, and generally having more problems with abuse. In contrast, one research did not provide any positive or negative effect of disclosing sexual orientation (Balsam & Mohr, 2007), while other studies have found some positive effects (Frale et al., 1998; Frost et al., 2007). Those areas usually include less risk for STI, better self-esteem and mood. Since Croatian parents in only 1 out of 5 coming out cases respond with positive reaction, it is possible that it could impact LGB mental health (Božić & Almesberger, 2007). Additionally, it looks like those persons who have disclosed their sexual orientation are deemed unemployable since 66% of business managers would not employ them because of it (Hendal Agency, 2005 as cited in Jugović et al., 2006). All those results

suggest that the *being out* status could have an important role in the lives of LGB members.

Study Objective and Hypotheses

There is a lack of research results about the unemployment of Croatian LGB scene, their socio-economic status, education status, how and who they disclosed their sexual orientation to, who abused them and where, the prevalence of psychiatric disorders, sexual behaviors and other psychosocial characteristics. Because of it, the prevalence of psychiatric disorders and various psychosocial characteristics and problems among the Croatian LGB scene is worth exploring in depth. Based on earlier studies we hypothesize that:

1. Sexual, physical, emotional and verbal abuse is more prevalent in male homosexual population than in female homosexual or male and female bisexual population
2. There will be significant differences in the prevalence of various psychiatric disorders among LGB subgroups

Materials and Methods

Participants

Since online surveys are considered valuable and practical solutions for sampling, the well-known problems of gathering the LGB participants were solved using this sampling method (Goodman & Goodman, 2009; Meyer & Wilson, 2009).

The final sample consisted of 341 women and 400 men. In a statistical analysis, they were identified as four separate groups: bisexual men (13.8%), bisexual women (19.4%), gay men (40.2%) and lesbian women (26.6%). For detailed sample socio-demographic characteristics, see *Table 1*.

Materials and Procedure

The study sample was collected on Croatian LGBT dating platforms *crol.hr* and *haer.app*. Only registered members of those sites were able to have access to our study. We were advertised by the administrators of those sites on their homepage. The standard informed consent form was not available since research was done online, but participants received information regarding the research, authors, its purpose, benefits and risks, anonymity and that answering the questions was based on their free will. If respondents had any questions or if they wanted some explanation regarding the study, they had the contact address of the first author.

We included the question “*Do you currently have any physical illness or condition?*” and based on that we decided to exclude all those respondents who answered positively to ensure that positive symptoms were not a consequence of physical illness (especially when we talk about somatoform, anxiety, or depressive symptoms) or that they were not intensified by a physical condition or disease.

Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ screeners, n.d.). PHQ is a valuable and psychometrically reliable instrument for screening of psychiatric disorders in epidemiological studies. PHQ screeners are created based on criteria for different psychiatric diagnoses based on DSM-IV (PHQ manual, n.d.). PHQ screens for major depressive disorders, other depressive syndromes, somatoform disorders, panic attacks, other anxiety syndromes, bulimia nervosa, binge eating disorders, and alcohol abuse. There is a lack of psychometric information regarding the Croatian adaptation of PHQ but several works show that it can be used to differentiate between different patient population and to be used as a screening instrument in different medical settings (Lalić et al., 2018; Milić et al., 2019; Pibernik-Okanović et al., 2009; Školka, 2019; Vranješ et al., 2019). The answer format is variable and dependent on the psychopathological trait it focused on. For somatoform disorders, patients had to check how much their symptoms bothered them over the last 4 weeks (*not bothered, bothered a little, bothered a lot*). For depressive disorders, they had to check how often they were bothered by symptoms (*not at all, several days, more than half days, nearly every day*) during the last 2 weeks. Questions regarding panic attacks, bulimia nervosa, binge eating disorder, and alcohol abuse were answered depending on the present symptoms, and the answers were on the *Yes* and *No* principle. In other anxiety disorders, participants had to answer during the last 4 weeks whether they were bothered by symptoms (*not at all, several days, more than half days*). Scoring was done comparable to DSM-IV diagnosis criteria (e.g., for a major depression subscale patient had to answer “more than half days or nearly every day” on questions *2a* regarding depressive mood or *2b* regarding feeling pleasure, and at least 4 or more other symptoms from questions *2a-2i* like sleeping problems, tiredness, problems with appetite, feeling guilty, trouble concentrating, psychomotor slowness, and suicidal ideation). For more information about each scale look at the manual (PHQ manual, n.d.).

Psychosocial Characteristics

Information about psychosocial characteristics was collected with the help of a short survey which included questions about: LGB subgroup identification, gender, age, employment, socio-economic and educational status, being out status, participants who disclosed their sexual orientation and to whom they opened up about their sexuality, if they experienced specific type of abuse because of their sexual orientation and by whom/where, and their relationship status.

Sexual Behavior

In our study, we decided to focus on sexual behavior from several perspectives. We analyzed how many of the LGB members engage in sex with strangers, defined as hooking up at the bars while drunk, or intentionally meeting people online for the purpose of hooking up. Additionally, we explored how many of the respondents used condoms during intercourse with strangers, how well informed they were about STI, how often they got tested for STI and which type of relationship they preferred.

Information about sexual behavior was obtained from the particular survey questions (e.g., *Do you often hook up with strangers on dating sites or while drunk?*).

Statistical Analysis

We used the Chi-square test to (i.e., lesbian women, bisexual women, gay men, bisexual men) examine relationships between bisexual men, bisexual women, gay men, lesbian women and abuse, disclosed orientation and risky sexual behavior. Only statistically significant Chi-squares are reported. Binary logistic regression analyses were used to estimate ratios for abuse type and abuse location, as well as risky sexual behavior according to group membership in the above mentioned LGB groups. In text, only statistically significant odd ratios are reported. Furthermore, binary logistic regression (with age and social-economic status as covariates) allowed prediction of different psychiatric syndromes according to group membership.

Results

There were significant relationships between participant groups and age ($\chi^2 = 48.42$; $df = 12$; $p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .148$), employment status ($\chi^2 = 14.12$; $df = 3$; $p = .003$; Cramer's $V = .138$), relationship status ($\chi^2 = 16.76$; $df = 3$; $p = 0.001$; Cramer's $V = .15$), outing ($\chi^2 = 83.43$; $df = 3$; $p = .000$; Cramer's $V = .336$) and being abused ($\chi^2 = 10.78$; $df = 3$; $p = .013$; Cramer's $V = .121$).

The vast majority (90.1%) disclosed their sexual orientation. However, there was a significant relationship between participant groups and outing ($\chi^2 = 83.41$, $df = 3$, $p < .01$), with bisexual men having the least percentage (65.7%) of outings, while this percentage in other three groups was higher and ranged between 92.4% and 97.5%. While outing, 83.1% revealed their sexual orientation by themselves and in 6.3% of cases, their sexual orientation was revealed by others. Mostly, their friends (85.2%) knew their sexual orientation, followed by close family members (54%) and acquaintances (40.2%). A smaller percent of work colleagues (27.5%) and relatives (22.9%) knew their sexual orientation.

Table 1
Demographic and social-economic characteristics

	Lesbian women (n = 197)		Gay men (n = 298)		Bisexual men (n = 102)		Bisexual women (n = 144)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Age								
18-20	42	21.3	77	25.8	48	47.1	55	38.2
21-30	107	54.3	131	44.0	35	34.3	66	45.8
31-40	36	18.3	49	16.4	10	9.8	18	12.5
41-50	11	5.6	27	9.1	6	5.9	5	3.5
50<	1	0.5	14	4.7	3	2.9	0	0.0
Employed								
Yes	120	60.9	166	55.7	57	55.9	59	41.0
No	77	39.1	132	44.3	45	44.1	85	59.0
Education								
8 years of formal education	2	1.0	10	3.4	4	3.9	6	4.2
12 years of formal education	115	58.4	165	55.4	72	70.6	80	55.6
College	75	38.1	111	37.2	23	22.5	56	38.9
Post-graduate	5	2.5	12	4.0	3	2.9	2	1.4
SES								
Very low	8	4.1	6	2.0	2	2.0	5	3.5
Low	16	8.1	37	12.4	10	9.8	12	8.3
Middle	139	70.6	204	68.5	65	63.7	104	72.2
High	30	15.2	49	16.4	24	23.5	21	14.6
Very high	4	2.0	2	0.7	1	1.0	2	1.4
Came out								
Yes	192	97.5	276	92.6	67	65.7	133	92.4
No	5	2.5	22	7.4	35	34.3	11	7.6
In a Relationship								
Yes	73	37.1	73	24.5	19	18.6	50	34.7
No	124	62.9	225	75.5	83	81.4	94	65.3
Ever been abused								
Yes	104	52.8	175	58.7	44	43.1	66	45.8
No	93	47.2	123	41.3	58	56.9	78	54.2

Abuse

A high percentage of participants (52.5%) were abused sometimes during their life. Among gay men and gay women, prevalence rates for abuse were 58.7% and 52.8%, respectively. Bisexuals had slightly smaller prevalence for abuse, with 45.8% for bisexual women and 43.1% for bisexual men. Most often, participants were verbally (44.0%) and emotionally (32.0%) abused, 14.4% indicated physical abuse, while sexual abuse was the least often (6.1%). Gay men had 2.12 times (95% CI 1.34; 3.36) higher chance of being verbally abused than bisexual men and 2.23 times (95% CI 1.17; 4.24) higher chance of being physically abused than bisexual women. In total, 31.2% of all participants indicated being abused by their acquaintances while 28.2% indicated being abused by strangers, 12.4% by friends, and 10% by close family members. Compared to bisexual women, odds ratios for being abused by strangers for gay men and lesbian women were 2.22 (95% CI 1.36; 3.63) and 2.0 (95% CI 1.19; 3.38), respectively. Again, compared to bisexual women, the odds ratio for being abused by acquaintances for gay men was 2.04 (95% CI 1.3; 3.19). When asked for the location of abuse, 34.1% of all participants indicated being abused in school/college and 32.7% on the street. Percentages for abuse at home and work were 10.9 and 5.9, respectively. Compared to bisexual women, bisexual men had a 2.0 (95% CI 1.15; 3.5) higher probability of being abused at school/college, while gay men had a 2.5 (95% CI 1.6; 3.92) higher probability of being abused at the same place. Again, compared to bisexual women, gay men and lesbian women had a 1.82 (95% CI 1.17; 2.86) and a 1.73 (95% CI 1.07; 2.8) higher chances, respectively, of being abused on the street.

Sexual Behavior

According to the survey results, 21% of all participants usually have sex with strangers, and 90% of those who do, use protection. Compared to lesbian women, gay men have 6.93 times (95% CI 3.76; 12.79) higher likelihood of having sex with strangers, while odds ratio for bisexual men is 6.18 (95% CI 3.06; 12.48). 77.5% of all participants indicate being well informed about sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and 37.8% tested for STDs at least once a year, while others (62.2%) are not tested at all. There is a significant relationship between having sex with strangers and being tested for STDs ($\chi^2 = 33.73$; $df = 2$; $p = .000$), with a greater percentage (57.1) of those who do have sex with strangers and are tested at least once a year. Compared to lesbian women, gay and bisexual men have a 4.56 (95% CI 3.04; 6.87) and a 1.87 (95% CI 1.10; 3.18) times higher likelihood of being tested for STDs, respectively, at least once a year; 5.8% of all participants prefer open relationships, 77.1% prefer closed relationships, while 17.1% do not mind their relationship status. A significantly higher percentage of those who usually have sex with strangers prefer open relationships (34.9) or do not care about the relationship type (33.1), compared to those who usually do not have sex with strangers (17.3; $\chi^2 = 20.73$; $df = 2$; $p = .000$).

Prevalence of Psychiatric Disorders

Significant correlations were found between some social-demographic variables and disorder prevalence. Socio-economic status correlated significantly with somatoform syndrome ($r = -0.09$; $p = 0.016$), major depressive syndrome ($r = -0.24$, $p = 0.000$), panic syndrome ($r = -0.17$; $p = 0.000$) and anxious syndromes other than panic ($r = -0.09$; $p = 0.014$), while age correlated with somatoform syndromes ($r = -0.07$; $p = 0.047$), other depressive syndromes ($r = -0.11$; $p = 0.002$) and alcoholism ($r = -0.09$; $p = 0.018$). Therefore, socio-economic status and age were included as covariates in the binary logistic regression model to estimate the risk for different mental health problems in participant groups. Gay men had the lowest or among the lowest prevalence rates in four out of eight syndromes and were chosen as a reference group to compare with other groups. Results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2
Prevalences for all participants and specific non-heterosexual participant groups

	N	%	Wald	OR	[95% CI]	<i>p</i>
Somatoform syndrome						
Abused	60	15.4	30.33	13.91	[5.45, 35.51]	.000
Gay men ^a	10	3.4	22.93	1.00		
Bisexual men	8	7.8	4.87	3.02	[1.14, 8.42]	.027
Bisexual women	18	12.5	15.48	5.39	[2.33, 12.46]	.000
Lesbian women	29	14.7	20.74	5.91	[2.75, 12.70]	.000
Major Depressive syndrome						
Abused	106	27.2	25.24	2.99	[1.95, 4.58]	.000
Gay men ^a	52	17.4	9.27	1.00		
Bisexual men	18	17.6	0.31	1.20	[0.63, 2.26]	.580
Bisexual women	39	27.1	7.92	2.10	[1.25, 3.51]	.005
Lesbian women	34	17.3	0.00	1.01	[0.61, 1.67]	.967
Other depressive syndrome						
Abused	55	14.1	1.91	1.39	[0.87, 2.23]	.167
Gay men ^a	37	12.4	4.13	1.00		
Bisexual men	7	6.9	3.17	0.46	[0.20, 1.08]	.075
Bisexual women	17	11.8	0.30	0.84	[0.45, 1.57]	.582
Lesbian women	27	13.7	0.15	1.11	[0.65, 1.90]	.702
Panic						
Abused	83	21.3	18.23	2.73	[1.72, 4.33]	.000
Gay men ^a	39	13.1	6.21	1.00		
Bisexual men	12	11.8	0.00	1.02	[0.50, 2.10]	.949

Psychosocial and Psychiatric Characteristics among Croatian Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Pop.

Bisexual women	29	20.1	5.40	1.94	[1.11, 3.40]	.020
Lesbian women	33	16.8	1.63	1.40	[0.83, 2.36]	.202
Anxious syndrome other than panic						
Abused	36	9.3	11.13	3.48	[1.67, 7.25]	.001
Gay men ^a	12	4.0	6.58	1.00		
Bisexual men	8	7.8	2.80	2.26	[0.87, 5.89]	.095
Bisexual women	14	9.7	6.13	2.84	[1.24, 6.50]	.013
Lesbian women	12	6.1	1.20	1.59	[0.69, 3.67]	.273
Bulimia nervosa						
Abused	17	4.4	0.81	1.47	[0.63, 3.42]	.368
Gay men ^a	14	4.7	2.01	1.00		
Bisexual men	3	2.9	0.48	0.63	[0.17, 2.30]	.486
Bisexual women	4	2.8	0.88	0.58	[0.18, 1.82]	.348
Lesbian women	5	2.5	1.49	0.52	[1.18, 1.48]	.223
Binge eating						
Abused	50	12.9	1.08	1.29	[0.80, 2.07]	.300
Gay men ^a	40	13.4	8.59	1.00		
Bisexual men	10	9.8	0.77	0.71	[0.34, 1.50]	.379
Bisexual women	22	15.3	0.24	1.15	[0.65, 2.06]	.622
Lesbian women	12	6.1	6.47	0.41	[0.21, 0.89]	.011
Alcoholism						
Abused	143	36.8	3.63	1.36	[0.99, 1.87]	.057
Gay men ^a	83	27.9	10.08	1.00		
Bisexual men	31	30.4	0.17	1.11	[0.67, 1.84]	.684
Bisexual women	56	38.9	4.73	1.61	[1.05, 2.48]	.030
Lesbian women	79	40.1	8.03	1.74	[1.19, 2.56]	.005
Any syndrome						
Abused	270	69.4	23.30	2.17	[1.58, 2.97]	.000
Gay men ^a	162	54.4	15.41	1.00		
Bisexual men	54	52.9	0.00	1.00	[0.62, 1.62]	.989
Bisexual women	101	70.1	10.12	2.06	[1.32, 3.21]	.001
Lesbian women	130	60.0	7.63	1.73	[1.17, 2.54]	.006

Note. OR – odds ratio;^a comparison group

Discussion

Since there is a lack of research studies and explanations of problems of Croatian LGB members, we could only compare some of their problems with similar international studies. Our study shows the real need to further explore and explain problems of the national LGB scene in Croatia. When we talk about employment, we see that 39% of LGB persons are not employed. As the general unemployment rate in Croatia is around 5-9%, and youth unemployment is around 23%, this is rather problematic (Unemployment General, n.d.; Unemployment Youth, 2019). We see that even when we take into consideration that the majority of our study sample was aged 20-30, or otherwise classified as a youth working force, we see that the unemployment rate is still too high compared to the general youth population. A possible explanation is in the fact that in Croatia there are no mechanisms to protect LGB workers in their work settings or to efficiently protect them from discrimination when applying for jobs, despite having a law that prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation (LGBT job equality, 2017). What could further contribute to the LGB unemployment is negative attitudes of managers toward openness about sexual orientation (Hendal Agency, 2005 as cited in Jugović et al., 2006). It is important to note that discrimination, especially at the workplace, can lead to poorer mental health outcomes (Bostwick et al., 2014; Maulik, 2017).

Almost all of the LGB Croats in our sample disclosed their sexual orientation to at least one social group, most commonly their friends. That might be a consequence of having heightened awareness about the wider societal impact of how *being out* affects the position and social status of LGB individuals so these individuals prefer to *out* themselves only to people who are close to them, and they feel safe with. *Being out* is also a factor that could have affected high prevalence of psychiatric and psychosocial problems in our population study. It is shown that LGB individuals who are out are more likely to have a major depression and generalized anxiety disorder (Pachankis et al., 2015). It is believed that disclosing stigmatized identities, like those of LGB individuals, can lead to rejection and stress of having to find a new social network and new adaptations to the distress caused by the disclosure of sexual identity. Also, sex has a possible impact on the effect of disclosing sexual orientation. Beals et al. (2009) indicate that female disclosure of stigmatized identity can lead to better social functioning, which cannot be stated for men. We did not directly measure how being out affects the lives of LGB individuals. Almost all of our respondents were out and based on that fact we do not have results that support the thesis that women can prosper from disclosing their sexual orientation. In our study, women have more prevalence of somatoform syndrome, alcoholism, and panic syndrome compared to homosexual or bisexual men. It is important to consider the fact that bisexual men are least likely to be out. This can be related to the findings that bisexual men, when disclosing their identity, face increased discrimination: one from heterosexual peers and one from the homosexual ones (Friedman et al., 2014). So, it is possible that even within our sample, bisexual men fear discrimination that they could face from both sides.

Prevalence of maltreatment and different types of abuse is high in the Croatian LGB sample, but similar rates of widespread homophobic violence are reported in other countries, and it creates similar problems with the mental health of LGB individuals (Blondeel et al., 2018; Kussin-Shoptaw et al., 2017; Rothman et al., 2011; Weber & Gredig, 2018). Currently, Croatia does not have any plans to fight homophobia and mental health problems of LGB individuals at a national level. Gay men have a higher risk for verbal and physical abuse as compared to others, while gay and bisexual men receive a higher percentage of abuse in schools or colleges. Some earlier reports suggested that compared to women, homosexual and bisexual men suffered from more physical and sexual assaults which were related to hate crime (Hequembourg et al., 2015; Rothman et al., 2011). Our findings support those results. Since mostly homosexual men and women are abused, this could be a consequence of strangers or close people being able to recognize or guessing their sexual orientation more easily than that of bisexuals. Freeman et al. (2010) showed us that strangers can recognize and guess someone's homosexual orientation based only on their facial characteristics. The problem is that bisexual people were not included in this study so there are no firm results how good people are at recognizing bisexual faces. Consequently, gays and lesbians may be easier to spot in public or by family, and therefore, they become more vulnerable to discrimination and abuse.

Risky sexual behavior in the homosexual and bisexual male community is well documented and correlated to different factors like traditional morality, abuse, inhibition, substance use, stigma, knowledge of sexually transmitted diseases, and positive attitudes toward talking about sex with a partner (Hess et al., 2017; Stulhofer et al., 2009; Valencia et al., 2018). When disease density (like that of HIV/AIDS) is outside of an individuals' control, but widespread in some section of the community, the members of that community have a larger and more significant risk of acquiring sexually STI even when they do not engage in risky sexual behavior (Stevens et al., 2013). Even when members of the LGB community engage in typical sexual behavior, without adequate prevention and knowledge of STIs transmission, they have a higher risk of acquiring some sort of STI. Our sample is primarily composed of younger LGB members. It is worth noticing that in general Croatian population, there is well documented risky sexual behavior of younger adults that needs to be addressed with the help of education and different preventative interventions (Miskulin et al., 2009), and similar results are available for other countries (Hess et al., 2017; Valencia et al., 2018). Still, around 10% of those who engage in sex with strangers in our sample do not use condoms. It would be interesting to determine the reason and how we can prevent it. One possible explanation for not using condoms is that they are using pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) treatment for prevention of HIV infection but that type of information was not included in our study so we do not have precise information regarding why condoms are not used. In international literature, it is well known that homosexual and heterosexual men are usually more prone to hookups or having sex with strangers that they met at bars, parties, or some other social event (Anderson, & Dahlberg, 1992; Grabovac et al., 2014). No matter what sexual orientation they may have, men should be more educated in relation to possible side-effects of such behaviors.

Results and data regarding prevalence of psychiatric disorders in different LGB populations from earlier studies are scarce and inconclusive with some suggesting there is no significant difference, while some show us that bisexual people are at more risk (Chaudry & Reisner, 2019; Fish, 2019; Pitman et al., 2021; Sandfort et al., 2014; Wittgens et al., 2022 etc.). It is worth noting that the majority of those studies usually only focuses on depression, anxiety, and substance abuse. Currently, there is a lack of information regarding somatoform disorders in the LGB population, but some research suggests that in adolescent years those symptoms can be the sign of gender dysphoria (Morabito et al., 2021). In our sample, LW and BW had a higher chance of having somatoform symptoms which is in line with earlier findings that women have a higher risk for developing somatic symptoms compared to men (Barsky et al., 2001). Prevalence of major depressive disorders, panic attacks, and anxiety disorders in our data suggest the highest prevalence for BW which is in line with earlier studies, except that in our study, BM had fewer panic attacks compared to GM (Bostwick et al., 2010; Chaudhry & Reisner, 2019). Regarding alcohol abuse, our results show that GW and BW are at the greatest risk for abuse, with other studies showing that BW and GM are more prone to it (e.g., Chaudhry et al., 2019) or that GM and GW are more prone to it (e.g., Pitman et al., 2021). Differences in these results are probably caused by some cultural and socio-psychological factors specific to Croatia since they play an important role in alcohol misuse and abuse (e.g., Sudhinaraset et al., 2016). In line with other results, in our sample, BW had the highest prevalence of binge eating disorder followed by GM, which is in line with other studies that show us how eating disorders are more prevalent in those two subgroups (e.g., Parker & Harbinger, 2020). On the other hand, we did not confirm that BM had greater chance for eating disorders, since in binge eating and bulimia more GM had problems with it than BM. Furthermore, LW has smallest percentages with eating problems which confirms previous results that LW are less likely to be included in unhealthy eating behaviors (e.g., Parker & Harbinger, 2020) compared to the other LGB subgroups. There is a lot of missing information regarding prevalence of psychiatric disorders among LGB individuals in different cultures, factors influencing it, but also risks and protective factors for it, but none of them could completely explain the differences in these results. The most popular hypothesis is that from the Minority Stress Model which predicts that bisexual male and female individuals have a higher chance for psychiatric disorders because of possible two-sided exposure to stressors through rejection and discriminatory policies from both heterosexual, and homosexual population. This can lead to more internalized homophobia and negative self-worth (Persson & Pfaus, 2015).

The high prevalence of abused LGB individuals leads to a greater chance of undergoing a diagnosis of psychiatric illnesses and psychological distress (Cochran et al., 2003; Russell & Fish, 2016). Consequently, abuse is one of the main risk factors for poor mental health outcomes for LGB individuals. Generally speaking, homosexual and bisexual persons have a 40% chance to receive diagnosis of mental disorder, while heterosexual peers have 17%. The prevalence of mental health disturbances in Croatia is similar as in earlier reports outside of Croatia (Cochran et

al., 2003; Kid et al., 2016; Semlyen et al., 2016). What is especially worrisome is the high prevalence of alcohol abuse among the Croatian LGB population where nearly 27–40% of the population has alcohol abuse problems. That amount of alcohol abuse can be due to prolonged stress and homophobic violence that LGB persons may encounter daily (Parent et al., 2019). Considering all this, it can be concluded that there is a real need for public education about LGB topics and professional activation of mental-health professionals in order to devise a plan to fight mental health issues in the LGB population in Croatia. Similar plans are already brought by different medical and psychological societies in the world (DeLeon, 1998). All of this is needed because the stigmatization of sexual minorities is present in Croatia, and it can harm their physical and mental health.

This study has several limitations. The main limitation is the approach to the collection of the sample. We carried out online research on LGB dating sites, and because of that, the majority of our participants' relationship status was described as single, considering that people in relationships usually do not use dating sites. We cannot firmly say that this sample is representative to the whole Croatian LGB community because, in reality, the majority is probably not on online dating sites. These results are the most generalizing to the Croatian LGB community who use Croatian gay dating sites as a way of meeting potential friends and partners. Additionally, we did not have a heterosexual control group which would be limited for information regarding bullying because of sexual orientation or coming out, but it would help with information about differences in prevalence of mental disorders.

The other problem is related to the gathering of information about psychiatric conditions. We used the earlier mentioned PHQ screeners. PHQ screeners are based on DSM-IV categories for mental illnesses, but they are not a diagnostic tool, but rather a prognostic one. PHQ screeners are intended for use in general practice by primary physicians so they can make decisions based on the results on PHQ screeners (determine if a psychological or psychiatric evaluation is necessary). So, being categorized in our sample as a 'major depressive disorder', or any other disorder from PHQ screeners doesn't mean that an individual has that, but rather that results are suggestive for that and now psychological/psychiatric evaluation is necessary. Also, PHQ screeners are an instrument for categorical use, which means that they provide information inside a category if there are abnormalities or not. However, PHQ doesn't show what the intensity of those abnormalities is. Quite likely, some people might not have all the necessary symptoms for the diagnosis of a 'major depressive disorder', but still have significant problems with the intensity of depressive symptoms. It would be recommended to use a combination of categorical and intensity measures of psychopathology.

Potential factors like personal lifestyle, coping strategies and personality were not measured in this study. We believe that these factors, along with socio-demographic characteristics, might have played an important role in such high prevalence of mental health disturbances among the Croatian LGB members who use LGB dating sites. Those measures should be included in future studies.

Conclusion

Croatian LGB individuals who use online LGB dating sites have specific psychosocial characteristics and psychiatric disorders based on their category inside each subgroup membership. The majority of them are out, mostly to their friends, but it is most unlikely for them to be out to their work colleagues. When we talk about risky sexual behavior, both bisexual and homosexual men are more prone to it compared to homosexual or bisexual women. The most common disorder in women is somatoform, irrespective of abuse. Depressive and anxiety symptoms are highly prevalent and visible in LGB men and women, but bisexual women have a higher risk for them than gay men. Alcohol abuse is the most prevalent condition that deserves a more detailed and larger consideration and approach. There is a clear need for psychoeducation and preventive psychological treatments and plans to oppose abuse and discrimination of LGBT individuals living in Croatia, and to help them deal with their psychological distress and problems.

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PSIHOSOCIJALNE I PSIHIJATRIJSKE KARAKTERISTIKE HRVATSKE LEZBIJSKE, GAY I BISEKSUALNE POPULACIJE²

Apstrakt

S obzirom na nedostatak psiholoških istraživanja u Hrvatskoj na osobama koje su

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lezbijke, gay ili biseksualne (LGB), cilj rada je da prikupi početne informacije o prevalenciji psihičkih poremećaja, psihosocijalnim karakteristikama i faktorima povezanim s problemima odraslih LGBT osoba. Fokus je bio na bulimiji nervosi, kompulzivnom prejedanju, zloupotrebi alkohola, velikom depresivnom poremećaju, drugim depresivnim smetnjama, paničnom napadu, drugim anksioznim smetnjama i somatofornom poremećaju. Psihosocijalne karakteristike uključivale su detalje o zlostavljanju, outanju, seksualno riskantnom ponašanju, zaposlenosti, obrazovanju, socio-ekonomskom statusu, statusu veze i socio-demografskim karakteristikama. 39% LGB osoba su nezaposlene, a 52.2% zlostavljano. Zloupotreba alkohola je podjednako visoka u svim podgrupama. Žene su sklonije razvoju somatofornih simptoma i zloupotrebe alkohola. S obzirom na nedostatak istraživanja LGBT osoba iz Hrvatske, naši rezultati pokazuju da postoji stvarna potreba za trijažom psihopatologije u hrvatskim homoseksualnim i biseksualnim osobama te preventivnim intervencijama.

Ključne riječi: LGBT, mentalno zdravlje, prevalencija, psihopatologija, procjena, psihijatrijske bolesti, psihosocijalni problemi

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Jelena Lj. Minić**Research Article***University of Priština in Kosovska Mitrovica,* <https://doi.org/10.46630/gpsi.19.2022.02>*Faculty of Philosophy,**Department of Psychology, Serbia*

PERCEIVED ACADEMIC CONTROL AND ACHIEVEMENT: THE MEDIATING ROLE OF BOREDOM DURING ONLINE TEACHING²

Abstract

The transition to online teaching due to the pandemic provides optimal conditions for analyzing the complexity of cognitive assessments in the context of education. Perceived academic control (PAC) allows students to recognize their responsibilities in online learning and achieve better learning outcomes. This study aimed to examine whether the experience of boredom in online teaching can be a mediator in the relationship between PAC and academic achievement of pupils and university students. The sample consisted of 18 pupils and 111 university students, 30% male and 70% female, aged between 18 and 29 ($M = 21.41$; $SD = 2.45$), who attended online classes during the second year of the pandemic. The results of the study confirmed the hypothesis that the experience of boredom in online teaching is a statistically significant mediator in the relationship between academic control and average grade ($b = .192$, 95% CI [.073, .347]). Still, this mediation is partial, because the direct effect between academic control and grade point average remains significant ($b = .323$, 95% CI [.111, .536]). Also, PAC is associated with pupils' and university students' academic achievement, and this connection is mediated by emotions related to teaching. Boredom in the classroom is closely associated with low PAC, resulting in lower academic achievement. We can conclude that pupils and university students more often perceive learning as boring due to the inability to control teaching activities in the research conducted during the pandemic, which may be in correlation with poorer achievements. Given the probability that online teaching will continue, implications for research and practice as well as future research opportunities are discussed.

Keywords: online teaching, COVID-19, perceived academic control, boredom, achievement

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Introduction

Perceived Academic Control (PAC)

Perceived academic control (PAC hereinafter) refers to beliefs about personal influence over one's academic achievement outcomes (Perry, 1991). It is a person's general belief in his/her ability to affect and anticipate some aspects of the academic environment. PAC is associated with the attributions that students give for their achievement results (Perry et al., 2005). For example, students who attribute failure to internal, stable, and uncontrolled causes (e.g., low ability) have lower levels of PAC. In contrast, higher levels of PAC were observed in students who attributed the same failure to internal, unstable, and controlled causes (e.g., low effort; Hamm et al., 2017). Perceived control has also been found to lead to better personal adjustment after the occurrence of stressful events (Frazier et al., 2011; Perry et al., 2005).

High level of PAC is positively correlated with greater intrinsic motivation, effort, use of self-regulation strategies, and a sense of control over life in general (Cassidy & Eachus, 2000; Perry et al., 2001; Respondek et al., 2017). Student achievement expressed through GPA is a combination of students' academic skills and abilities, work habits, and content knowledge (Hamm et al., 2019). Numerous studies have confirmed a connection between PAC and achievement. PAC positively predicts achievement in the first year of study (Perry et al., 2001). Students who are insecure about their abilities and who have difficulty addressing the causes of their academic successes and failures had lower PACs and reduced overall well-being. (Tobin & Raymundo, 2010). The connection between PAC and coping with academic failure has also been confirmed. If a failure occurs due to insufficient effort, students with a higher level of PAC will try to develop ideas of competence and establish a plan for future responses to failure (Smiley et al., 2016). Also, students with high PAC who go through challenging academic situations tend to have enhanced coping skills (Perry et al., 2001). Lower scores in academic classes may be a consequence of high fluctuations in PAC (Stupinsky et al., 2012).

Boredom as an Emotion in the Context of Education

Boredom occurs as a consequence of a non-stimulating situation (Mikulas & Vodanovich, 1993), and is most often defined as an affective state of relatively low physiological arousal, a decreased desire to act and a tendency to escape a situation that causes boredom behaviourally or mentally (e.g., daydreaming; Goetz & Frenzel, 2006). Boredom refers to a feeling that is the opposite of feelings such as interest, enthusiasm, involvement and engagement. It refers to a state of fatigue or lack of motivation due to insufficient interest in the environment (Preckel et al., 2010). One of the most important characteristics of boredom is the experience that "time stands still". This profile of symptoms indicates that boredom consists of certain affective components (unpleasant, aversive feelings), cognitive components (altered perception of time), physiological components (reduced arousal), expressive components (facial expressions, vocal expression) and motivational components

(motivation to change activities or to leave the situation). Boredom experienced during a task reduces the cognitive capacity for completing that task and thus causes attention problems, which is reflected in achievement (Pekrun et al., 2010). Due to its negative effects on motivation, boredom will reduce the effort invested in the activity. Furthermore, boredom leads to shallow information processing and reduces the use of any task-related cognitive and metacognitive strategy. Boredom reduces self-regulation of achievement activities, which is defined by active goal setting, strategy selection, and outcome tracking. As a consequence of the negative effects of boredom on attention, motivation and the use of strategies, boredom has negative effects on accomplishing both simpler and more complex tasks, as opposed to activating negative emotions, such as anxiety, which have more variable effects (Pekrun, 2006). In general, boredom has negative effects on overall academic achievement.

The causes of boredom in school are numerous (Daschmann et al., 2014; Robinson, 1975). Although it is traditionally assumed that boredom is caused by a lack of challenges (e.g., already having good knowledge of the material; Csikszentmihalyi, 1975), it turned out that boredom is also caused by too much challenge (e.g., problems with understanding). Thus, an inadequate level of challenge leads to boredom. Boredom is best explained from the perspective of modern theories such as the control-value theory, which explains the role of emotions in the learning process (Pekrun & Perry, 2014).

The Control-Value Theory

Academic emotions in the control-value theory (Pekrun, 2006) were posited as mediators in the learning process. The evidence showed significant relationships between control and value appraisal and discrete academic emotions (Assor et al., 2005). The control-value theory (Pekrun, 2006) claims that the effects of emotions on achievement reflect through three different types of functional mechanisms: availability of cognitive resources, motivation underlying achievement activities, and strategies used to perform activities, including self-regulation of these activities. Achievement goals, that is, students' goal orientation (learning orientation, performance orientation and avoidance orientation) (Elliot & Church, 1997) and beliefs about control over one's own learning and academic achievement, as well as beliefs about their value, are an important set of individual antecedents that shape students' assessments of control and values and thus indirectly affecting students' emotions (Pekrun, 2006). Another set of antecedent emotions include learning environment and social environment (Pekrun, 2006; Pekrun et al., 2002). Assessments of control and values are seen as mediators of learning environment and individual antecedents (goal orientation and beliefs about control and values) and certain emotions. Learning environment antecedents include: (a) the qualitative dimension of learning (e.g., teacher enthusiasm and engagement in developing students' intrinsic values), (b) supporting student autonomy and not imposing control, (c) expectations of achievement and values passed on to students by important others, class structure

of goals and class interaction (e.g., competition versus cooperation), (d) feedback and consequences of achievement (educational and career outcomes) and (e) social cohesion and support (class cohesion, acceptance, support after failure by teachers and parents, etc.; Pekrun, 2006).

Numerous authors suggest that cognitive assessments are important and influence the onset of emotions (Beck & Beck, 2011; Lazarus, 1991; Schutz & Davis, 2000). Emotions include an assessment of how successful a person (student) is in achieving their goals, which in turn represents one's own desires regarding future (Schutz & DeCuir, 2002). In the learning context, perceived academic control is seen as an important predictor to academic emotions, motivation (Pekrun, 2006) and performance (Ruthig et al., 2008). The specific situation caused by the pandemic and the sudden transition to online instruction provides optimal conditions to observe the complexity of cognitive assessments in the context of education. The aim of this paper was to examine whether boredom in online lessons during the pandemic can be a mediator in the relationship between academic control and the outcome of educational achievement in high school and university students. Given that both high school and college students were affected by the pandemic, i.e., both of them found themselves in the specific situation related to online classes during the pandemic for the first time, the same mechanism was assumed for both.

Method

Sample and Procedure

The sample consisted of 129 participants, 18 pupils and 111 university students, 30% males and 70% females, aged between 18 and 29 ($M = 21.41$; $SD = 2.45$), who attended online classes during the second year of the pandemic. Data were collected through an online questionnaire. Participants previously confirmed that they were familiar with their rights and testing rules, and then moved on to the questions section. Moreover, they were given the opportunity to withdraw at any moment, meaning that the answers would be saved only after the participants entered all the necessary data and sent them to the database, and in case of withdrawal, no traces of participants' participation were recorded.

Instruments

Scale of Boredom in Class (SDN, Trogrlić & Sorić, 2013) contains 26 items. The instrument measures the level of boredom in class related to low physiological excitement, fatigue or lack of interest, as a result of a lack of sufficient interest in what is taking place and the experience that "time stands still". Participants assess the extent to which they experience the described conditions during classes ("Time passes slowly", "Sometimes I can barely keep my eyes open because I feel sleepy a lot") on a five-point Likert-type scale (from 1 = *I do not agree at all*, to 5 = *I completely agree*). The reliability of the scale on this sample is excellent and is $\alpha =$

.92. The scale has been used before as a one-dimensional scale (Dragoslavić & Bilić, 2021).

Perception of Academic Control (PAC) (Perry et al., 2001) contains 8 items. The instrument measures students' beliefs about whether they have the skills needed to manage their own academic achievement. Participants assess their beliefs about PAC by assessing the level to which they agree with the statements ("The more effort I put into learning, the better I'm at it") on a five-point Likert-type scale (from 1 = *I do not agree at all*, to 5 = *I completely agree*). The reliability of the scale on this sample is very good and amounts to $\alpha = .80$. Other studies have used this scale as a unidimensional one as well (You & Kang, 2014).

Achievement (GPA) - Grade Point Average, as students declared their current average grade.

Data Analysis

Data processing was done in the program package IBM SPSS 26. The FACTOR program was used to check the dimensionality of the used constructs. Using the procedure described by Preacher and Hayes (Preacher & Hayes, 2008), the multiple mediation statistical analysis calculated by the PROCESS macro, we tested our hypothesis. The bootstrap method (with 1000 repeated samples) was used in the analysis with the selected option of corrected accelerated confidence intervals of 95%, which means that the lower limit is the lowest value of the indirect effect (ab) in 95% random sampling, and the upper limit is the highest value of this product, i.e., its effect. If there is a mediator effect, zero must not be included in the confidence intervals.

Results

Table 1 shows the descriptive-statistical data of the variables used in the research. Moreover, correlations between variables are shown, as well as the level of reliability of the instruments used.

Table 1

Descriptive-statistical data of variables used in the research, reliability of scales and intercorrelations of used dimensions

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis	α
PAC	1.00	5.00	3.65	.84	-0.57	0.32	.80
Boredom	1.24	5.00	3.29	.99	-0.17	-0.77	.92
GPA*	-3.33	1.43	.00	1.00	-1.02	0.75	

Note. *z score; PAC = Perceived Academic Control, GPA = Standardized Grade Point Average

The results shown in Table 1 show that all three variables are normally distributed and that there are no large deviations that would be unacceptable. Since the high school and university students' GPAs were compared, a standardized GPA measure was used to make the scores comparable, so for this reason there are no results regarding directly comparable scores with other variables at minimum and maximum levels.

Table 2

Prediction of the mediator variable to the achievement

Model	Standardized Coefficients B	t	p	Model summary
1. PAC	.43	5.35	.000	R=.43 R ² =.18 F(1,126)=28.67
2. PAC	.27	3.01	.003	R=.51 R ² =.25
Boredom	-.31	-3.49	.001	R ² _{Change} =.07 F(2,125)=21.71 F _{Change} sig.=0.001

Note. PAC= Perceived Academic Control

Based on the conducted regression analysis (Table 2), we can see that the mediator remains a significant predictor of the criterion when the predictor variable is kept under control. The contribution that the predictor variable makes when predicting the criterion is significantly reduced, but does not lose its significance, which is why we can conclude that the mediation is partial.

Mediation Analysis

After we singled out the variables that we will include in the multiple mediation model, we applied the statistical mediation analysis using the PROCESS macro.

Table 3

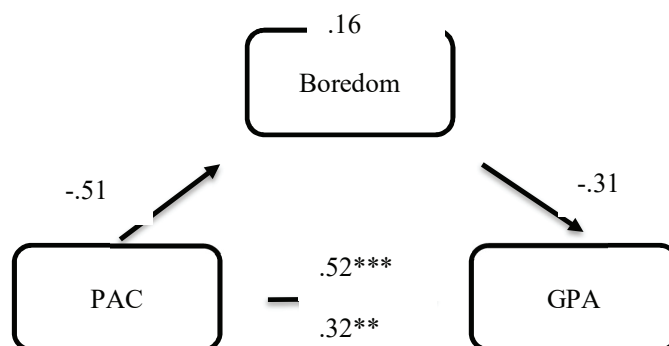
Total, direct and indirect effects on GPA when PAC is the predictor

Mediator	A	B	ab	CI (95%)
Boredom	-.51	-.31	.16	.06 -.27
c'	.32**			
C	.52***			

Note. a = the effect of the predictor on the mediator; b = the effect of the mediator on the criterion; ab =indirect effect of the mediator in the relationship between the predictor and the criterion (completely standardized); c ' = direct effect of the predictor on the criterion when the effect of the mediator is controlled; c = total effect; ** p < .01 ***p < .001.

The results of the mediation analysis confirmed the initial assumption that the Boredom dimension is a statistically significant mediator in the relationship between academic control and GPA. According to these results, low academic control is associated with higher levels of boredom, and higher levels of boredom with low academic achievement.

Figure 1
The results of the mediation analysis



Discussion

Research to date has confirmed the relationship between beliefs about control over one's learning and academic achievement. In this paper, we were interested in whether boredom in online lessons can be a mediator in the relationship between academic control and academic achievement.

PAC is considered an important predictor of academic achievement and motivation, and numerous studies support this (Pekrun, 2006; Perry et al., 2001; Ruthig et al., 2008). A meta-analysis that dealt with academic achievement and PAC showed a moderately positive correlation between these two variables (Richardson et al., 2012). A higher level of academic control is positively correlated with pleasant emotions, intrinsic motivation, engagement, and persistence in learning. In a study that dealt with online instruction (Joo et al., 2011), the authors concluded that the internal locus of control helps students recognize their responsibilities and persevere in online learning. The link between PAC and GPA was also confirmed in our study. The correlation between the internal locus of control and perseverance in learning obtained in the above-mentioned research is .35 (Joo et al., 2011), while in our research the correlation between PAC and GPA is slightly higher, and it amounts to .43.

Given that the association between PAC and GPA has been confirmed, we proceeded to a further analysis of mediation where we examined the mediation role of boredom. The results have shown that boredom in online lessons is a statistically significant partial mediator in the relationship between academic control and GPA. According to the results, it seems that students who are convinced that they

do not have the skills needed to control their academic achievement in an online environment may feel more tired or uninterested in learning or have a feeling that “time stands still”. The mediating role of boredom is partial because the direct connection between academic control and GPA remains significant. Bearing in mind that a lower perception of academic control can lead to non-engagement in learning activities, it is possible that boredom in class stems from non-engagement and lack of interest in the learning material. Although logical, confirming such a conclusion would require a different research design, so this conclusion is given only as an assumption about a somewhat more complex relationship between variables.

When it comes to academic control, numerous studies have shown the critical role of emotions that occur in response to various outcome events. It is known that students often experience boredom in class (Daschmann et al., 2011; Larson & Richards, 1991; Mann & Robinson, 2009; Tze et al., 2016), and that boredom can reduce academic achievement, which has been shown by meta-analysis (Tze et al., 2016). Boredom experienced while performing a task reduces cognitive capacity and thus causes attention problems, which is reflected in achievement (Pekrun et al., 2010).

According to the control-value theory of achievement emotions (Pekrun, 2006), assessments related to subjective control over activities and achievements are crucial for the emergence of academic emotions. Existing empirical findings suggest that academic emotions may arise from students’ perceived academic control.

We would like to put a strong emphasis on the fact that the previous data refer to the traditional school context and that there is probably a significant difference between traditional and online instruction. During online classes, students may feel less in control of their academic engagement and achievement due to the specific set of online classes, which can often be hampered by poor connection or other external factors. Previous studies have shown that academic control is especially important for freshmen who have to adapt to new learning circumstances at the university (Perry, 1991; Perry et al., 2005; Respondek et al., 2017). In our research, the sample consisted of students who found themselves in a new learning environment due to the sudden transition to online learning, so there is a possibility that the specific environment contributed to experience of lower levels of academic control. Moreover, students may place less value on the assignments they receive during online classes and thus avoid completing them, since they know that the teacher does not have a clear insight into their engagement. The teacher does not have the opportunity to make eye contact or to notice which student is feeling bored and take action, such as involving the student in the discussion by asking questions. It is known that nowadays students are used to being connected with their peers at all times (Felisoni & Godoi, 2018), which can be even more pronounced in moments of emergency when live contact with peers is forbidden, and therefore they remain in contact with friends via social media and messaging apps (Rabl et al., 2019). This is in line with the developmental period of the participants from our sample – late adolescence and the beginning of early adulthood, when loyalty to the group is most valued and the need for closeness is prominent. This may be related to a greater experience of the boredom of teaching itself in an online environment, given that there are no breaks and rest when interacting with peers.

Conclusion

The results have shown that boredom in online lessons is a statistically significant mediator in the relationship between PAC and GPA. The mediating role of boredom is partial because the direct connection between academic control and GPA remains significant. These findings are consistent with the control-value theory of achievement emotions. According to this theory, factors such as assignment requirements, support of autonomy, and assignment value affect the students' PAC, which further provokes certain academic emotions, and emotions in turn influence the use of learning strategies and student self-regulation. The theory suggests that boredom negatively affects motivation, cognitive activation, learning self-regulation, and academic outcomes.

The main drawback of this paper is that college and high school students are treated as one group, the group of those who attended online classes. From a developmental point of view, we are talking about young people, who, despite certain differences that are conditioned by development, have a whole series of common specificities and similarities. However, between these two populations there may be differences regarding the organization of teaching, but also other variables such as academic control and boredom that were used in this paper. Therefore, the differences between these two groups should be verified in future research. Due to the methodology used in this research, it cannot be stated with certainty whether students in online classes (do not) receive assignments worth the effort, and whether they perceive lessons as insufficiently stimulating or perceive their academic control over achievements as low. As the mediating role of boredom in our sample is partial, future studies should explore what other variables contribute to achievement in the context of online instruction in specific conditions such as the pandemic.

The results presented in this paper may be of use to teachers and school associates to take certain steps when it comes to reducing boredom in online classes, e.g., encouraging greater interaction through various activities such as quizzes or using platforms that offer the possibility of dividing students into smaller subgroups for work, which can also achieve a greater sense of connection with the group. Also, by setting clear rules and expectations for students regarding their success in a specific subject, they can help students feel more confident about academic success depending on them. This paper also opens up new questions for future researchers – how to help students feel safe and in control of their own success in a rapidly changing educational environment, how to structure time in online classes, and enable students to meet their interaction needs with peers.

In addition to the above, other possible sources of boredom in an online environment should be investigated, such as teachers' skills to teach such classes, the conditions in which students learn, the adaptation of the material used, etc. A recommendation for future studies may consider incorporating objective measures of student academic performance. In addition, longitudinal studies could provide better insight into the long-term consequences of online instruction, and using an

experimental design to compare the effects of online versus live instruction compared to live instruction would be very useful.

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AKADEMSKA KONTROLA I POSTIGNUĆE: POSREDUJUĆA ULOGA DOSADE TOKOM ONLAJN NASTAVE

Apstrakt

Specifičnost situacije izazvane pandemijom i prelazak na onlajn nastavu pruža optimalne uslove za posmatranje složenosti kognitivnih procena u kontekstu obrazovanja. Percepcija akademske kontrole (PAK) omogućava studentima da prepoznaju svoje odgovornosti u onlajn okruženju za učenje i ostvare bolje postignuće. Ova studija je imala za cilj da ispita da li iskustvo dosade u onlajn nastavi može biti medijator u odnosu između PAK-a i akademskog postignuća kod učenika i studenata. Uzorak je činilo 18 učenika i 111 studenata, 30% muškog i 70% ženskog pola, starosti između 18 i 29 godina ($M = 21,41$; $SD = 2,45$), koji su pohađali onlajn nastavu tokom druge godine pandemije. Rezultati studije potvrdili su hipotezu da je iskustvo dosade u onlajn nastavi statistički značajan medijator u odnosu između akademske kontrole i prosečne ocene ($b = .192$, 95% CI [.073, .347]). Ipak, medijacija je delimična, jer direktan efekat između akademske kontrole i prosečne ocene ostaje značajan ($b = .323$, 95% CI [.111, .536]). Dosada na nastavi je povezana sa niskom PAK, što rezultira nižim akademskim postignućem. Moguće je da učenici i studenti učenje češće doživljavaju kao dosadno zbog nemogućnosti kontrole nastavnih aktivnosti u istraživanju sprovedenom tokom pandemije, što može biti u korelaciji sa gorim postignućem. S obzirom na verovatnoću da će se onlajn nastava nastaviti, razmatrane su praktične implikacije i dati su predlozi za buduća istraživanja.

Ključne reči: onlajn nastava, COVID-19, percipirana akademska kontrola

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KVALITET PORODIČNIH INTERAKCIJA KAO PREDIKTOR SAMOEFIKASNOSTI I ŠKOLSKOG USPEHA ADOLESCENATA²³

Apstrakt

Glavni cilj istraživanja bio je da proverimo da li su dimenzije kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija statistički značajni prediktori samoeфикаsnosti i školskog uspeha adolescenata. Uzorak je bio prigodan i činilo ga je 187 punoletnih adolescenata (102 dečaka i 85 devojčica). Korišćena je Skala kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija i Upitnik samoeфикаsnosti za decu. Rezultati višestruke regresione analize ukazuju da kvalitet porodičnih interakcija predstavlja značajan prediktor socijalne samoeфикаsnosti adolescenata objašnjavajući 46% varijanse ove kriterijumske varijable ($R^2 = .46$; $F(5, 181) = 30.33$; $p < .001$), pri čemu statističku značajnost pokazuje dimenzija prihvatanja od oca sa pozitivnim smerom β koeficijenta ($\beta = .48$; $p < .001$). Model u kome dimenzije porodičnih interakcija predstavljaju prediktore emocionalne samoeфикаsnosti statistički je značajan i objašnjava 40% varijanse ove kriterijumske varijable ($R^2 = .40$; $F(5, 181) = 23.70$; $p < .001$). Značajnu prediktivnu moć pokazuju dimenzije prihvatanja od oca ($\beta = .45$; $p < .001$) i prihvatanja od majke ($\beta = .28$; $p < .05$), obe dimenzije sa pozitivnim smerom β koeficijenta. U odnosu na akademsku samoeфикаsnost model koji čine dimenzije porodičnih interakcija statistički je značajan i objašnjava 51% varijanse ove varijable ($R^2 = .51$; $F(5, 181) = 37.47$; $p < .001$), pri čemu je dimenzija prihvatanja od majke, sa pozitivnim smerom β koeficijenta, jedini značajan prediktor ($\beta = .42$; $p < .001$). Kada je u pitanju predikcija školskog uspeha, model dimenzija porodičnih interakcija statistički je značajan ($R^2 = .25$; $F(5, 181) = 12.09$; $p < .001$). Prediktivni potencijali pokazuju dimenzije prihvatanje od oca ($\beta = .43$; $p < .001$) i prihvatanje od majke ($\beta = .44$; $p < .001$), obe dimenzije sa pozitivnim smerom β koeficijenta. Značajnim prediktorom, ali sa negativnim smerom β koeficijenta, pokazala se dimenzija odbacivanje od oca ($\beta = -.43$; $p < .001$). Glavni zaključak istraživanja je da doživljaj prihvatanja od strane oba roditelja statistički značajno doprinosi samoeфикаsnosti i školskim postignućima adolescenata.

Ključne reči: porodični odnosi, samoeфикаsnost, školski uspeh, adolescencija

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Uvod

Uloga porodice u procesu socijalizacije deteta nesumnjivo je primarna. Odnos između roditelja i deteta predstavlja osnovu za uspešnu socijalizaciju i razvoj zdrave ličnosti pojedinca. U uslovima porodičnog života i ponašanju roditelja nalaze se objašnjenja za kasnije ponašanje deteta u životu, za njegove psihičke probleme i socijalne nesporazume, ali i neuspehe, kako životne tako i akademske (Trnavac, 2010). Stavovi i verovanja koja roditelji imaju o sposobnostima deteta glavni su izvor informacija za formiranje samoeфикаsnosti (Bandura, 1977). Takođe, u literaturi nailazimo na stav da je porodica važan faktor akademskih postignuća. Zbog svojih praktičnih implikacija i značaja kako za pojedinca tako i za društvo u celini, školski uspeh je permanentno u fokusu istraživača. Istraživanja potvrđuju da su vaspitni stilovi roditelja i kvalitet porodičnih interakcija faktori porodične sredine koji značajno doprinose školskom uspehu (Aunola et al., 2000; Aydin et al., 2014; Pelemiš, 2007; Talib et al., 2011).

Imajući u vidu da kvalitet porodičnih interakcija predstavlja važnu determinantu u procesu razvoja samoeфикаsnosti i školskih postignuća, jasno je zašto je ova tema važna u okviru psiholoških i pedagoških disciplina.

Uloga porodice u svetlu teorije Ronalda Ronera

Teorija roditeljskog prihvatanja/odbacivanja (eng. *Parental Acceptance/Rejection Theory - PART*; Rohner, 1999) delom je teorija socijalizacije koja pokušava da utvrdi uzroke, činioce i posledice roditeljskog prihvatanja/odbacivanja na emocionalni, kognitivni i bihevioralni razvoj deteta, ali i na opšte funkcionisanje i uspešnost pojedinca. Osnovni koncept PART teorije ukazuje da je psihološko prilagođavanje i funkcionisanje dece, kasnije mladih, direktna posledica doživljenih iskustava roditeljskog prihvatanja/odbacivanja (Rohner & Britner, 2002). Kvalitet odnosa između roditelja i deteta se, u okviru ove teorije, može predstaviti jednom od dveju dimenzija – prihvatanje i odbacivanje. Prihvatanje se odnosi na pozitivne emocionalne aspekte odnosa roditelj–dete u obliku međusobne bliskosti, pružanja podrške, razumevanja i poverenja, ali i relativne simetričnosti u međusobnim odnosima (Vulić-Prtorić, 2004). Odbacivanje se, s druge strane, odnosi na različite doživljaje postupanja roditelja koji se nalaze u rasponu od nerazumevanja i prevelike zahtevnosti, do zanemarivanja i kažnjavanja. Teorija se zasniva na pretpostavci da su ljudi tokom evolucije razvili trajnu biološki predisponiranu potrebu za pažnjom, brigom, negom, ljubavlju, pozitivnim odgovorom od strane drugih koji su im važni (Khaleque & Rohner, 2012). Prema Ronerovoj teoriji roditeljsko prihvatanje i odbacivanje oblikuje dimenziju topline roditelja (Rohner & Britner, 2002). Ova dimenzija se može posmatrati kao kontinuum, pri čemu na jednoj strani kontinuuma imamo toplinu, pažnju, brigu, negu, vaspitanje, zabrinutost, ljubav koju roditelji osećaju i pokazuju svojoj deci. Na drugoj strani kontinuuma imamo odsustvo osećanja i ponašanja koja su povezana sa prihvatanjem različitih povređujućih fizičkih i psihičkih ponašanja (Rohner et al., 2005). Emocionalno hladni roditelji zanemaruju dete, kri-

tikuju ga, neprijateljski su postavljeni prema njemu i u interakciji sa njim pokazuju vrlo malo pozitivnih emocija. Opažanje odbacivanja od strane figura privrženosti može dovesti do posledica kao što su agresivnost, pasivna agresivnost i nisko samopoštovanje. Osnovne pretpostavke Ronerove teorije potvrđene su u velikom broju istraživanja. Rezultati pokazuju da je doživljaj odbacivanja od roditelja povezan sa niskim samopoštovanjem, negativnim pogledom na svet i simptomima depresivnosti (Rohner, 2004). S druge strane, nalazi potvrđuju da su roditeljska podrška, toplina i prihvatanje blagotvorni za dobre razvojne rezultate i razvoj samostalnosti, komunikativnosti, samopoštovanja, radoznalosti i motivisanosti kod dece (Rohner, 2004). U skladu sa tim, pretpostavljamo da roditelji imaju značajnu ulogu u i razvoju dimenzija samoefikasnosti kod deteta.

Samoeffikasnost

Koncept samoefikasnosti je kreirao psiholog Albert Bandura 70-ih godina XX veka. Bandura određuje samoefikasnost kao uverenje osobe o sopstvenim sposobnostima organizovanja i izvršavanja određenih akcija potrebnih da bi ostvarila željeni cilj (Bandura, 1977). Teorija je zasnovana na ideji o važnosti subjektivnog doživljaja lične kompetencije u realizaciji različitih ciljeva i zadataka, a ne na realnim znanjima i veštinama (Maddux, 2002; Maddux & Gosselin, 2003; Snyder & Lopez, 2007). Emocionalni aspekt samoefikasnosti ogleda se u verovanju o sopstvenoj sposobnosti adekvatne regulacije emocija, u razumevanju sopstvenih i tuđih emocionalnih stanja i reakcija (Kirk et al., 2008). Socijalna samoefikasnost je važan aspekt socijalnih veština i predstavlja verovanje osobe da ima kapacitet da započne društveni kontakt i razvije nova prijateljstva (Gecas, 1989). Odnosi se na širenje poznanstava, razvijanje prijateljskih i romantičnih veza, održavanje interpersonalnih odnosa i uspešno rešavanje konflikata. Radna samoefikasnost predstavlja verovanje pojedinca da će umeti da se uspešno nosi sa radnim zadacima i postigne optimalni učinak na radnom mestu (Fida et al., 2015). Odnosi se ne samo na kompetentno izvođenje radnih aktivnosti, već i na uverenja pojedinca o sopstvenim veštinama empatije, asertivnosti na radnom mestu i saradnju sa kolektivom.

Uloga roditelja u razvoju samoefikasnosti

Teorija samoefikasnosti zagovara recipročni kauzalitet u kome se ponašanje i motivacija pojedinca holistički posmatraju kao rezultat dinamičke interakcije tri tipa faktora (eng. *Triadic Reciprocal Determinism Model-TRDM*; Wood & Bandura, 1989). To su: lični faktori (biološki, kognitivni i emocionalni), faktori okoline i faktori ponašanja, koji imaju međusobno interaktivni uticaj. Za ovaj rad je interesantan drugi faktor, uticaj socijalne sredine – konkretno uticaj roditelja. Samoefikasnost nije nasleđena osobina, već se razvija vremenom. U ranom razvoju samoefikasnosti glavnu ulogu ima porodica, odnosno roditelji (Maddux & Gosselin, 2003). Stimulativnim okruženjem i pružanjem podrške detetu, roditelji mogu doprineti razvoju samoefikasnosti i ključnih veština pri suočavanju sa izazovnim zadacima. Verbalne persuazije u vidu podsticajnih instrukcija za ulaganje dodatnog napora u ostvarivanju zadataka i ciljeva mogu uticati na unapre-

divanje veština i doživljaj lične efikasnosti (Bandura, 1995). Roditelji mogu stimulisati dete ohrabriranjem (*možeš ti to, veruj u sebe, pokušaj, uspećeš i sl.*). S obzirom da uspeh zavisi i od autoriteta koji predstavlja izvor stimulacije i poverenja koje osoba ima u njega (Bandura, 1995), adekvatan emocionalni odnos između roditelja i deteta suštinski je važan u podsticanju razvoja samoefikasnosti. Dobijanje verbalnog ohrabrenja od roditelja može pomoći adolescentima da prevaziđu sumnju u sebe i da se usredsrede na realizaciju zadataka. Takođe, važan aspekt u razvoju samoefikasnosti ima posredno iskustvo, odnosno modelovanje po uzoru (Bandura, 1986). Učenje po modelu odvija se posmatranjem, a Bandura smatra da nije neophodno da radnja bude izvedena, niti je nužno potkrepljivanje ponašanja, jer potkrepljenje ne utiče na sam proces učenja, već samo na ispoljavanje ponašanja u konkretnoj situaciji. Modelovanje po uzoru omogućava ne samo učenje, već i poređenje sopstvenih sposobnosti sa sposobnostima drugih (*ako mogu drugi, mogu i ja*). Osim toga, kada razmatramo ulogu roditelja u podsticanju percipirane efikasnosti adolescenata, prema nalazima pojedinih studija, dimenzija prihvatanja se može odraziti na socijalne veštine deteta koje doprinose doživljaju prihvatanja od strane vršnjaka u periodu adolescencije (Sentse et al., 2010), što predstavlja važan aspekt socijalne samoefikasnosti. S druge strane, doživljaj odbacivanja od roditelja povezan je sa iskrivljenim mentalnim reprezentacijama koje vode neadekvatnom interpretiranju socijalnih situacija i ponašanja drugih (Sents et al., 2010).

Prema rezultatima istraživanja autoritativni stil roditeljstva, koji odlikuje visoka emocionalna toplina i podrška roditelja (Baumrind, 1966), statistički značajano doprinosi samoefikasnosti adolescenata (Tam et al., 2012) i studenata (Tozandehjani et al., 2011). Nalazi pojedinih studija ukazuju da je samoefikasnost medijator varijabla između autoritativnog roditeljskog stila i akademskog uspeha (Masud et al., 2016). Na ulogu emocionalne topline roditelja u postizanju visokih skorova na dimenziji socijalne i emocionalne samoefikasnosti ukazuju i rezultati istraživanja Milenkovića i Stepanovića (2013). Istraživanje Gana i saradnika (Guan et al., 2016) ukazuje na značajnu povezanost između podrške roditelja i samoefikasnosti pri donošenju karijernih odluka. Interesantan nalaz dobijen je u istraživanju koje je sprovedeno na uzorku starijih adolescenata (Aktar & Nahar, 2014). Naime, rezultati regresione analize pokazali su da je doživljaj prihvatanja od majke jači prediktor mentalnog zdravlja nego doživljaj prihvatanja od oca, dok je, u slučaju samoefikasnosti, doprinos očinskog prihvatanja značajniji od doprinosa majčinog prihvatanja. Da doživljaj prihvatanja od strane oba roditelja statistički značajno doprinosi samopoštovanju, opštoj samoefikasnosti i zadovoljstvu životom pokazalo je i istraživanje Kana i saradnika (Khan et al., 2011).

U ovom radu glavni fokus će biti na ispitivanju doprinosa kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija predikciji različitih dimenzija samoefikasnosti (socijalne, akademske i emocionalne) na uzorku adolescenata, što ujedno predstavlja i prvi cilj sadašnjeg istraživanja.

Porodica kao faktor školskih postignuća

Osnovno načelo PART teorije jeste da je visok nivo roditeljskog prihvatanja povezan sa pozitivnim razvojnim ishodima deteta (Putnick et al., 2012). Bez obzira na

kulturno nasleđe i etničko poreklo, deca imaju izražene tendencije za ljubavljvu i podrškom (Rohner, 2004). Doživljaj prihvatanja od roditelja povezan je sa visokim samopoštovanjem i socijalnim kompetencijama (Rohner & Britner, 2002), dok je dimenzija odbacivanja povezana sa niskim samopoštovanjem i negativnim pogledom na svet (Rohner, 2004). Emocionalna toplina i prihvatanje od majke stvaraju odnos uzajamnog poverenja koji je pogodan za razvoj pozitivne i stabilne predstave o sebi (Todorović, 2004), dok odbacujući vaspitni stil majke doprinosi formiranju niskih samoprocena. Dvejri (Dwairy, 2010) smatra da se doživljaj odbacivanja od roditelja odražava i na self koncept deteta, te da može rezultirati alijenacijom od autentičnog selfa.

Kada je reč o uticaju vaspitnih stilova roditelja na akademska postignuća, u literaturi nailazimo na stav da su deca koja odrastaju u autoritativnom okruženju kooperativnija u odnosu sa roditeljima, istraživački usmerena, i orijentisana na visoka postignuća (Matejević i Todorović, 2012). Prema rezultatima istraživanja sprovedenih u svetu i kod nas autoritativno roditeljstvo predstavlja optimalan porodični milje za sveukupni razvoj ličnosti deteta. Studije sprovedene na uzorku adolescenata ukazuju da je autoritativni roditeljski stil povezan sa adaptivnijim strategijama postignuća (Aunola et al., 2000), kao i sa većim školskim postignućima (Pelemiš, 2017; Talib et al., 2011). Nalazi dobijeni na uzorku studenata (Hickman et al., 2000) takođe potvrđuju da je autoritativni stil roditeljstva povezan sa većim akademskim postignućima. Da su dimenzije roditeljskog prihvatanja značajno povezane sa većim samopoštovanjem i većim akademskim postignućima studenata pokazalo je i istraživanje sprovedeno u Turskoj (Aydin et al., 2014) i Bangladešu (Uddin, 2011). Međutim, druge studije dale su drugačije rezultate. Na primer, prema nalazima istraživanja koje je sprovedeno u SAD-u na uzorku od 362 učenika sedmog razreda, percipirano prihvatanje od majke značajno korelira sa prosečnom ocenom kada je reč o školskom uspehu dečaka, ali na poduzorku devojčica dimenzije roditeljskog prihvatanja i odbacivanja nisu statistički značajno povezane sa akademskim postignućem (Khan et al., 2010). Druga studija sprovedena u Estoniji na uzorku od 224 učenika šestog razreda dala je rezultate prema kojima dimenzije roditeljskog prihvatanja i odbacivanja nisu statistički značajno povezane sa akademskim postignućem ni kod dečaka ni kod devojčica (Tulviste & Rohner, 2010).

S obzirom na različitost nalaza, koja se prema Roneru može objasniti specifičnim kulturološkim razlikama (Rohner, 2010), drugi cilj sadašnjeg istraživanja jeste da proveri odnos između kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija i školskog uspeha adolescenata na uzorku adolescenata u Srbiji.

Metod

Uzorak i procedura

Uzorak je bio prigodan i činilo ga je 187 punoletnih adolescenata, učenika trećeg i četvrtog razreda Tehničke škole u Pirotu. Od ukupnog uzorka, 54.5% čine ispitanici muškog pola, a 45.5% ženski ispitanici, što doprinosi zadovoljavajućoj izbalansiranosti ovog uzorka kada je u pitanju pol ispitanika.

Istraživanje je sprovedeno online putem *Google Forms* upitnika tokom decembra meseca 2021. godine. Učenici su upitnike popunjavali u računarskim kabinetima škole u toku jednog školskog časa. U uputstvu su jasno bili istaknuti svrha istraživanja, način na koji treba da popunjavaju upitnike, odrednice vezane za anonimnost i privatnost podataka, kao i mogućnost da se učešće u istraživanju prekine u bilo kom trenutku ako ispitanik to želi.

Instrumenti

Skala kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija (*Skala kvaliteta obiteljskih interakcija – KOB*; Vulić-Prtorić, 2004). Skala meri interakcije deteta i roditelja na dve dimenzije – prihvatanje (emocionalna toplina, bliskost) i odbacivanje (kontrola, emocionalno zanemarivanje). Ove dve dimenzije su konceptualizovane u skladu sa PART teorijom roditeljskog prihvatanja i odbacivanja Ronalda Ronera (Rohner, 1999, prema Vulić-Prtorić, 2004). KOB skala se sastoji od 55 tvrdnji: 22 koje opisuju odnos deteta sa majkom (na primer: *Moja majka ima puno razumevanja za moje probleme*), 22 opisuju odnos deteta i oca (na primer: *Moj otac ulaže velike napore da bi meni bilo bolje*) i 11 tvrdnji se odnose na opštu atmosferu u porodici (na primer: *Za mene je moja porodica izvor utehe i zadovoljstva*). Ispitanici odgovaraju na petostepenoj skali Likertovog tipa u rasponu od 1 = *uopšte nije tačno* do 5 = *da, u potpunosti je tačno*. Upitnik sadrži pet subskala: *Zadovoljstvo sopstvenom porodicom*, *Prihvatanje od majke*, *Prihvatanje od oca*, *Odbacivanje od majke* i *Odbacivanje od oca*. Za svih 5 skala utvrđena je visoka unutrašnja pouzdanost – Kronbah alfa koeficijent je u rasponu od .85 do .89 (Vulić-Prtorić, 2004). Na ovom uzorku skala ima zadovoljavajuću pouzdanost merenja tipa interne konzistencije (*Zadovoljstvo sopstvenom porodicom*: $\alpha = .95$; *Prihvatanje od majke*: $\alpha = .95$; *Prihvatanje od oca*: $\alpha = .95$; *Odbacivanje od majke*: $\alpha = .94$; *Odbacivanje od oca*: $\alpha = .94$).

Upitnik samoeфикаsnosti za decu (*Self-efficacy Questionnaire for Children-SEQ-C*; Muris, 2001, prema Vulić-Prtorić, 2006). Ovaj upitnik ispituje osećaj samoeфикаsnosti kod dece u tri područja: akademskom, socijalnom i emocionalnom. Socijalna samoeфикаsnost se odnosi na doživljenu sposobnost za odnose s vršnjacima i asertivnost (8 ajtema; na primer: *Lako mogu da izrazim svoje mišljenje, čak i kada se druga deca ne slažu sa mnom*). Akademaska samoeфикаsnost podrazumeva percipiranu mogućnost snalaženja u učenju i školskom gradivu, i na ispunjavanje školskih obaveza (8 ajtema; na primer: *Svakog dana uspešno završim sve svoje domaće zadatke*). Emocionalna samoeфикаsnost se odnosi na doživljenu sposobnost suočavanja s negativnim emocijama (8 ajtema; na primer: *Mogu lako da kontrolišem svoja osećanja*). Upitnik se sastoji od 24 ajtema sa petostepenom skalom odgovora Likertovog tipa u kojoj je 1 = *uopšte ne*, dok je 5 = *u potpunosti da*. U dosadašnjim istraživanjima (Vulić-Prtorić, 2006) konstatovana je dobra pouzdanost na nivou cele skale ($\alpha = .87$), kao i na pojedinačnim subskalama: za subskalnu socijalne samoeфикаsnosti ($\alpha = .80$), skalnu emocionalne samoeфикаsnosti ($\alpha = .82$), kao i za subskalnu akademske samoeфикаsnosti ($\alpha = .78$). U ovom istraživanju alfa koeficijent pouzdanosti (α) iznosi: .84 za emocionalnu samoeфикаsnost; .89 za socijalnu samoeфикаsnost i .89 za akademsku samoeфикаsnost.

Upitnik osnovnih sociodemografskih varijabli sačinjen je za potrebe ovog istraživanja i sadrži pitanja o polu, redosledu rođenja, socioekonomskom statusu porodice i školskom uspehu koji je operacionalizovan prosečnom ocenom na kraju prethodne školske godine.

Rezultati

Povezanost dimenzija kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija i dimenzija samoefikasnosti proveravana je pomoću Pirsonovog koeficijenta korelacije s obzirom na to da mere normalnosti distribucije dozvoljavaju primenu parametrijskih metoda (vrednosti skjunisa i kurtozisa kreću se u rasponu od -1 do +1). U tabeli 1 dat je prikaz Pirsonovog koeficijenta korelacije između subskala porodičnih odnosa, dimenzija samoefikasnosti i školskog uspeha.

Tabela 1

Povezanost dimenzija kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija, dimenzija samoefikasnosti i školskog uspeha

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Zadovoljstvo porodicom								
2 Prihvatanje od majke	.848**							
3 Prihvatanje od oca	.800**	.724**						
4 Odbacivanje od majke	-.846**	-.830**	-.643**					
5 Odbacivanje od oca	-.769**	-.667**	-.761**	.772**				
6 Socijalna samoefikasnost	.597**	.587**	.650**	-.492**	-.490**			
7 Emocionalna samoefikasnost	.541**	.570**	.592**	-.499**	-.470**	.762**		
8 Akademska samoefikasnost	.670**	.694**	.565**	-.639**	-.555**	.595**	.652**	
9 Školski uspeh	.515**	.539**	.384**	-.542**	-.532**	.244**	.192**	.515**

** $p < 0.01$

Na osnovu podataka iz tabele 1 zaključujemo da su dimenzije kvaliteta porodičnih odnosa i dimenzije samoefikasnosti adolescenata (socijalne, emocionalne i akademske) statistički značajno povezane. Korelacije su umerenog do visokog intenziteta.

Kako bismo proverili da li postoje polne razlike u nivou opažene samoefikasnosti adolescenata i školskog uspeha, primenili smo *t*-test za nezavisne uzorke.

Rezultati su pokazali da ne postoje značajne razlike u opaženoj samoeфикаsnosti ($t(185) = 0.88, p > .05$) i školskom uspehu ($t(185) = 1.35, p > .05$) između dečaka i devojčica, te je dalja analiza sprovedena na celom uzorku.

Prediktivni potencijal pojedinih dimenzija kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija u odnosu na opaženu samoeфикаsnost i školski uspeh adolescenata ispitivan je postupkom višestruke regresione analize.

Tabela 2

Višestruka regresiona analiza – dimenzije kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija kao prediktori socijalne samoeфикаsnosti

	β	t	p
Zadovoljstvo porodicom	.12	0.86	.39
Prihvatanje od majke	.23	1.92	.06
Prihvatanje od oca	.48	4.51	.00
Odbacivanje od majke	.04	0.29	.77
Odbacivanje od oca	.09	0.89	.37

$R = .67; R^2 = .46; F(5, 181) = 30.326; p < .001$

Rezultati višestruke regresione analize ukazuju da kvalitet porodičnih interakcija predstavlja značajan prediktor socijalne samoeфикаsnosti adolescenata objašnjavajući 46% varijanse ove kriterijumske varijable ($R = .67; R^2 = .46; F(5, 181) = 30.33; p < .001$). U modelu izdvojenog skupa prediktorskih varijabli pokazalo se da dimenziji opažene socijalne samoeфикаsnosti adolescenata značajno doprinosi dimenzija prihvatanja od oca ($\beta = .48; p < .001$), pri čemu smer odnosa ukazuje da je prihvatanje od oca povezano sa višim nivoom opažene socijalne samoeфикаsnosti adolescenata (Tabela 2).

Tabela 3

Višestruka regresiona analiza – dimenzije kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija kao prediktori emocionalne samoeфикаsnosti

	β	t	p
Zadovoljstvo porodicom	.09	-0.66	.51
Prihvatanje od majke	.28	2.22	.03
Prihvatanje od oca	.45	3.95	.00
Odbacivanje od majke	.12	-0.87	.39
Odbacivanje od oca	.07	0.65	.51

$R = .63; R^2 = .40; F(5, 181) = 23.70; p < .001$

Model u kome dimenzije porodičnih interakcija predstavljaju prediktore emocionalne samoeфикаsnosti statistički je značajan i objašnjava 40% varijanse ove kriterijumske varijable ($R = .63; R^2 = .40; F(5, 181) = 23.70; p < .001$). Značajnu prediktivnu moć pokazuju dimenzije prihvatanja od oca ($\beta = .45, p < .001$) i prihvatanja od majke ($\beta = .28; p < .05$), pri čemu smer regresionog koeficijenta ukazuje da su

dimenzije prihvatanja od strane oba roditelja značajno povezane sa većim nivoom opažene emocionalne samoefikasnosti (Tabela 3).

Tabela 4

Višestruka regresiona analiza – dimenzije kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija kao prediktori akademske samoefikasnosti

	β	t	p
Zadovoljstvo porodicom	.21	1.59	.11
Prihvatanje od majke	.42	3.69	.00
Prihvatanje od oca	.01	0.09	.93
Odbacivanje od majke	-.06	-0.51	.61
Odbacivanje od oca	-.06	-0.59	.56
$R = .71; R^2 = .51; F(5, 181) = 37.47; p < .001$			

Rezultati višestruke regresione analize pokazuju da je model koji čine dimenzije porodičnih interakcija u odnosu na akademsku samoefikasnost statistički značajan i da objašnjava 51% varijanse ove varijable ($R=.71; R^2=.51; F(5, 181)=37.47; p < .001$). Dimenzija prihvatanja od majke jedini je značajan prediktor ($\beta = .42; p < .001$), pri čemu smer odnosa ukazuje da je prihvatanje od majke povezano sa višim nivoom opažene akademske samoefikasnosti adolescenata (Tabela 4).

Tabela 5

Višestruka regresiona analiza – dimenzije kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija kao prediktori školskog uspeha

	β	t	p
Zadovoljstvo porodicom	.07	0.44	.66
Prihvatanje od majke	.44	3.17	.00
Prihvatanje od oca	.43	-3.42	.00
Odbacivanje od majke	.07	0.49	.63
Odbacivanje od oca	-.43	-0.34	.00
$R = .50; R^2 = .25; F(5, 181) = 12.09; p < .001$			

Model u kome dimenzije porodičnih interakcija predstavljaju prediktore školskog uspeha statistički je značajan i objašnjava 25% varijanse ove kriterijumske varijable ($R = .50; R^2 = .25; F(5, 181) = 12.09; p < .001$). Značajnu prediktivnu moć pokazuju dimenzije prihvatanja od oca ($\beta = .43; p < .001$) i prihvatanja od majke ($\beta = .44; p < .001$), pri čemu smer regresionog koeficijenta ukazuje da je dimenzija prihvatanja od strane oba roditelja značajno povezana sa većim školskim postignućima. Značajnim prediktorom, ali sa negativnim smerom regresionog koeficijenta, pokazala se i dimenzija odbacivanje od oca ($\beta = -.43; p < .001$), što ukazuje da je dimenzija odbacivanja od strane oca povezana sa nižim školskim postignućima (Tabela 5).

Diskusija

U različitim razvojnim teorijama adolescencija je prepoznata kao period tranzicije tokom kojeg se dešavaju značajne promene u kogniciji, afektima, socijalnim odnosima i ponašanju (Kapor-Stanulović, 2007). Na uspešnost suočavanja sa burnim promenama tokom adolescencije utiče, između ostalog, i kvalitet odnosa na relaciji roditelj–dete. Specifična ponašanja roditelja u vidu pružanja emocionalne topline, sigurnosti i podrške, s jedne strane, do nerazumevanja, prevelike zahtevnosti, zanemarivanja i kažnjavanja s druge strane, predstavljaju značajne razvojne faktore prilikom formiranja slike o sebi (Todorović, 2005) i uverenja o sopstvenim sposobnostima (Baumrind, 1973). U skladu sa tim, osnovna ideja od koje smo krenuli u ovom radu jeste da su zadovoljstvo porodicom i doživljaj prihvatanja od strane roditelja povezani sa većim nivoom opažene samoeфикаsnosti i većim školskim postignućima na adolescentnom uzrastu.

Sumirajući rezultate dobijene istraživanjem možemo zaključiti da dimenzije kvaliteta porodičnih odnosa značajno doprinose razvoju samoeфикаsnosti mladih i školskim postignućima. Nalazi su u skladu sa očekivanjima i teorijskom osnovom od koje smo krenuli. Pojedini autori naglašavaju da kvalitet porodičnih odnosa ima jednu od važnijih uloga kada je socioemocionalno zdravlje adolescenata u pitanju (Akhlaq et al., 2013). Porodični milje koji se karakteriše bliskim vezama doprinosi formiranju atmosfere prihvatanja i podrške koji predstavlja okvir za pozitivan socioemocionalni razvoj (Thompson & Meyer, 2007). Slični rezultati dobijeni su i u pojedinim prethodnim istraživanjima. Nalazi pokazuju da dečje i adolescentovo viđenje roditeljske podrške i prihvatanja pozitivno korelira sa osećanjem sopstvene vrednosti i socijalne eфикаsnosti (Slicker et al., 2005). Mladi koji osećaju bliskost sa svojim roditeljima u većoj meri cene njihovo mišljenje i traže vođstvo u teškim situacijama (Ackard et al., 2006), što može doprinositi i razvoju samoeфикаsnosti, pre svega socijalne i akademske. Interesantno je uočiti da u našem istraživanju socijalna i emocionalna samoeфикаsnost najveću pozitivnu vrednost korelacije imaju sa prihvatanjem od strane oca, dok akademska eфикаsnost adolescenata najveću vrednost korelacije ima sa prihvatanjem od strane majke. Slični rezultati dobijeni su i u istraživanju koje su sproveli Milenković i Stepanović (2013) – dimenzija *Emocionalna toplina majke* značajno korelira sa akademskom samoeфикаsnošću, dok dimenzije vaspitnog stila oca (*Emocionalna toplina oca* i *Prezaštićivanje*) statistički značajno koreliraju sa socijalnom samoeфикаsnošću.

Kada je reč o ulozi pojedinih dimenzija roditeljskog ponašanja u predikciji opažene samoeфикаsnosti mladih, možemo zaključiti da dimenzija prihvatanja od strane oba roditelja ima ključnu ulogu. Dakle, adolescenti koji svoje roditelje procenjuju kao emocionalno tople i prihvatajuće, kao osobe koje uvažavaju njihovu ličnost, pokazuju ljubav, brigu i razumevanje, postižu više skorove na skali socijalne, akademske i emocionalne samoeфикаsnosti. Preciznije, doživljaj prihvatanja od strane oca značajan je prediktor socijalne samoeфикаsnosti adolescenata, dok je doživljaj prihvatanja od strane majke značajan prediktor akademske samoeфикаsnosti. Kada je

u pitanju emocionalna samoefikasnost, značajnu prediktivnu ulogu ima doživljaj prihvatanja od strane oba roditelja. Roditelji koji su doživljeni kao emocionalno topli i prihvatajući podižu decu koja su emotivno stabilnija, društvenija i saosećajnija (Aluja et al., 2005). U skladu sa tim možemo pretpostaviti da takva deca ujedno mogu imati i veći nivo doživljene lične emocionalne efikasnosti, veštija su u razumevanju sopstvenih i tuđih emocionalnih stanja i reakcija. Takva deca imaju više poverenja u sopstvenu sposobnost regulacije emocija.

Na temelju postojeće teorijske građe, rezultati našeg istraživanja su očekivani. Pregledom literature nailazimo na stav da su roditelji važan faktor formiranja uverenja o sopstvenim kompetencijama (Jacobs & Eccles, 1992; Jacobs et al., 2002) i da interakcija između roditelja i deteta igra značajnu ulogu u razvoju samoefikasnosti kod adolescenata (Lord et al., 1994). I nalazi drugih istraživanja pokazuju da je kvalitet odnosa adolescenata sa roditeljima značajno povezan sa samoefikasnošću (Aktar & Nahar, 2014; Khan et al., 2011), posebno roditeljska podrška i otvorena komunikacija (Adedokun & Balschweid, 2008; Baharudin & Zulkefly, 2009). Generalno, u literaturi dominira stav da je autoritativni vaspitni stil, koji podrazumeva visoku emocionalnu toplinu i podršku roditelja, povezan sa višim stepenom samoefikasnosti dece (Tam et al., 2012), da roditeljske aspiracije mogu uticati na dečiju profesionalnu samoefikasnost i školski uspeh (Bandura et al., 2001), i da deca autoritativnih roditelja imaju jača uverenja u sopstvenu efikasnost pri suočavanju sa izazovnim zadacima (Baumrind, 1973).

Takođe, rezultati ukazuju da postoji statistički značajna pozitivna povezanost između kvaliteta porodičnih odnosa i školskih postignuća adolescenata. Adolescenti koji odrastaju u podsticajnim porodičnim sredinama, u kojima postoji bliskost, emocionalna toplina i razumevanje na relaciji roditelj–dete, ostvaruju bolja školska postignuća. Kada posmatramo dimenzije porodičnih relacija u predviđanju školskih postignuća učenika, značajan prediktivni potencijal pokazuju dimenzije prihvatanja od strane oba roditelja – učenici koji svoje roditelje opažaju kao prihvatajuće i emocionalno tople ostvaruju bolja školska postignuća. Doživljaj odbacivanja od strane oca povezan je sa nižim nalazima školskim postignućima – adolescenti koji svoje očeve opažaju kao emocionalno hladne i distancirane imaju slabiji uspeh u školi. Rezultati našeg istraživanja u skladu su sa rezultatima prethodnih studija koje su se bavile vezom između kvaliteta porodičnih odnosa i školskog uspeha (Aydin et al., 2014; Pelemiš, 2007; Talib et al., 2011; Uddin, 2011).

Na kraju, osvrnućemo se i na ograničenja istraživanja. To su pre svega prigodan uzorak i tendencija davanja socijalno poželjnih odgovora. Predlog budućim istraživačima u ovoj oblasti jeste uključivanje roditelja u istraživanje čime bi se verovatno dobila validnija procena kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija i potpunija slika dinamike porodičnih odnosa, kao i sprovođenje istraživanja sa istim ili sličnim ciljevima na većem uzorku adolescenata.

I pored navedenih ograničenja, istraživanje može biti od značaja za razumevanje suštine odnosa između kvaliteta porodičnih interakcija i samoefikasnosti kod dece. Podsticanje pozitivnih stilova roditeljstva putem seminara i edukacija doprineo bi upoznavanju roditelja sa vaspitnim postupcima koji pospešuju kvalitetan odnos

sa detetom čime bi se potpomogao sveukupni detetov razvoj, te i razvoj samoefikasnosti.

Zaključak

Da sumiramo, rezultati istraživanja ukazuju da doživljaj prihvatanja od strane oba roditelja ima važnu ulogu u razvoju samoefikasnosti i školskim postignućima adolescenata. Dimenzija prihvatanja od strane majke značajan je prediktor doživljaja lične akademske efikasnosti, dok dimenzija prihvatanja od oca značajno doprinosi doživljaju socijalne samoefikasnosti adolescenata. Za doživljaj emocionalne samoefikasnosti i školski uspeh značajnim su se pokazale obe dimenzije (prihvatanje od majke i prihvatanje od oca). Slični rezultati dobijeni su i u prethodnim istraživanjima koja su se bavila ovom temom (Aktar & Nahar, 2014; Aydin et al., 2014; Khan et al., 2011; Talib et al., 2011; Tam et al., 2012).

Imajući u vidu da je adolescencija specifičan razvojni period praćen burnim promenama u kogniciji i afektima, samoefikasnost može biti važna veština u socijalnom, emocionalnom i akademskom funkcionisanju mladih. S obzirom na značaj uloge roditeljskog ponašanja za formiranje uverenja o sopstvenim sposobnostima i školska postignuća, osnivanje škole za roditelje jedan je od načina edukacije roditelja o pozitivnim vaspitnim stilovima koji bi doprineli razvoju samoefikasnosti mladih.

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THE QUALITY OF FAMILY INTERACTIONS AS A PREDICTOR OF ADOLESCENTS' SELF-EFFICACY AND SCHOOL SUCCESS

Abstract

The main goal of the research was to check whether the dimensions of the quality of family interactions are statistically significant predictors of adolescents' self-efficacy and school success. The sample was convenient and consisted of 187 adult adolescents (102 boys and 85 girls). *The Quality of Family Interactions Scale* and *Self-efficacy Questionnaire for Children* were used. The results of the multiple regression analysis indicate that the quality of family interactions is a significant predictor of adolescents' social self-efficacy, explaining 46% of the variance of this criterion variable ($R^2 = .46$; $F(5, 181) = 30.33$; $p < .001$), with the dimension of paternal acceptance showing statistical significance with a positive direction of the β coefficient ($\beta = .48$; $p < .001$). The model in which dimensions of family interactions are predictors of emotional self-efficacy is statistically significant and explains 40% of the variance of this criterion variable ($R^2 = .40$; $F(5, 181) = 23.70$; $p < .001$). Significant predictive power is shown by the dimensions of paternal acceptance ($\beta = .45$; $p = .00$) and maternal acceptance ($\beta = .28$; $p < .05$), both dimensions with a positive direction of the β coefficient. In relation to academic self-efficacy, the model made up of dimensions of family interactions is statistically significant and explains 51% of the variance of this variable ($R^2 = .51$; $F(5, 181) = 37.47$; $p < .001$), with the dimension of maternal acceptance being the only significant predictor with positive direction of the β coefficient ($\beta = .42$; $p < .001$). When it comes to predicting school success, the family interaction dimensions model is statistically significant ($R^2 = .25$; $F(5, 181) = 12.09$; $p < .001$). Predictive potential is shown by the dimensions of paternal acceptance ($\beta = .43$; $p < .001$) and maternal acceptance ($\beta = .44$; $p < .001$), both dimensions with a positive direction of the β coefficient. The

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dimension of paternal rejection proved to be a significant predictor, but with a negative direction of the β coefficient ($\beta = -.43; p < .001$). The main conclusion of the research is that the experience of parental acceptance significantly contributes to adolescents' self-efficacy and school achievements.

Keywords: family relationships, self-efficacy, school success, adolescence

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Research Article

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DIFFERENTIATION OF SELF AS A PREDICTOR OF CAPACITY FOR MENTALIZATION

Abstract

The purpose of this research was to explore if the differentiation of self has a role in predicting capacity for mentalization in female samples. The data was collected using The Reflective Functioning Questionnaire (RFQ) and The Differentiation of Self Inventory (DSI) on a sample of 105 female participants, aged 18-50 years ($M = 30.61$, $SD = 8.09$). Both models containing self-differentiation as predictors were significant. The first model that predicted certainty about mental states explains 32.1% of the variance ($R^2 = .32$, $F(6,98) = 7.732$, $p = .000$), with I position ($\beta = .459$, $p = .000$) and emotional cutoff ($\beta = -.245$, $p = .024$) as significant predictors. The second model that predicted uncertainty about mental states explains 40.4% of the variance ($R^2 = .40$, $F(6,98) = 11.086$, $p = .000$), with age ($\beta = .233$, $p = .007$), education ($\beta = -.208$, $p = .024$), and emotional reactivity ($\beta = .323$, $p = .005$) as significant predictors. The obtained results indicate that different aspects of the differentiation of self can predict certainty and uncertainty about mental states in the female sample, but also that when it comes to phenomenon such as capacity for mentalization, certain sociodemographic variables (e.g., age, education) might play more important role than it was previously thought. Further research on this matter, with a bigger and more diverse sample, is strongly advised.

Keywords: mentalization, self-differentiation, emotional reactivity, emotional cutoff

Introduction

This research aimed to explore the relationship between the capacity for mentalization and the level of self-differentiation. These two concepts are similar in the way that they both refer to both internal, psychological processes and the interpersonal level of functioning of an individual. Both concepts refer to successful control of certain internal states and maintenance of adequate relationships with others, so it is assumed that these phenomena could be related.

The concept of **self-differentiation** is defined as a degree to which a person can balance emotional and intellectual functioning, but also intimacy and autonomy in relationships with others (Bowen, 1993). On an internal, psychological level,

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self-differentiation includes the (intrapersonal) capacity to distinguish thoughts from feelings (the choice of being driven by emotions or intellect) and includes the (interpersonal) ability to preserve autonomy in the context of deep intimacy with significant others (Bowen, 1976). Self-differentiation refers to the ability to experience intimacy with others, but also to be able to maintain a clearly defined feeling of self and independence from the person with whom the intimate relationship is formed. Hence, differentiation enables flexible boundaries that allow intimacy and physical unity, and connection with others, without the fear of merging with them (Kerr, 1988, as cited in Skowron & Friedlander, 1998; Bowen, 1993). This concept resembles the capacity to maintain autonomous thinking and achieve a clear, coherent sense of self in the context of emotional relationships with significant others (Bowen, 1976).

People with low self-differentiation stay emotionally stuck in the positions that they used to take in their families of origin, have few firm beliefs, and seek acceptance and approval above all, whilst conforming to the environment and basing their self-confidence on acceptance from others (Bowen, 1976). Also, people with low differentiation can be extremely emotionally distant, and isolated from others, denying the importance of the family while often bragging about their emancipation and independence from their parents (Nichols & Schwartz, 1984). In both cases, whether the person experiences separation as terrifying and overwhelming or intimacy as threatening, it describes a person with low self-differentiation. Low differentiation involves higher emotional reactivity and greater difficulty in maintaining a stable sense of self in close relationships, in remaining calm and thinking clearly in stressful situations, therefore the more pronounced psychological and physical symptoms (e.g., anxiety, somatization, depression, alcoholism, psychoticism) (Kerr & Bowen, 1988, as cited in Skowron & Dendy, 2004; Bowen, 1993).

Higher differentiation includes the ability to meaningfully consider various situations, the ability to maintain awareness of one's emotions, to experience and regulate strong emotions, or to easily "switch" to calm, logical reasoning during stressful situations. More differentiated people are more flexible, adjustable, and better at handling stress and they operate with equal success on both emotional and rational levels maintaining autonomy in intimate relationships. They are more capable of reflecting on, experiencing, and modulating their own emotions, dealing with uncertainty and ambiguity, and maintaining calmness in close relationships (Kerr & Bowen, 1988, as cited in Skowron & Dendy, 2004; Bowen, 1993). People with higher self-differentiation are better at problem-solving, demonstrate better psychological adjustment, more often maintain a good relationship with their family of origin, and form more satisfying marriages (Bowen, 1976).

One of the aspects of self-differentiation is emotional reactivity which is often conceptualized as a dimension of temperament and refers to an individual's characteristic threshold, intensity, and duration of affective arousal (Rothbart & Derryberry, 1981, as cited in Calkins et al., 2001). This dimension reflects the degree to which a person responds to environmental stimuli with emotional flooding, emotional lability, or hypersensitivity. The second aspect is the "I" position, which reflects a clearly defined sense of self and the ability to thoughtfully adhere to one's

own convictions when pressured to do otherwise (Skowron & Friedlander, 1998). This dimension indicates the ability to take the “I” position in different situations, indicates greater differentiation of self (Skowron & Schmitt, 2003), and implies expressing the individual’s emotions and thoughts responsibly and encouraging others to do the same. Both emotional reactivity and “I” position are considered intrapsychic dimensions (Yusuf et al., 2018).

The interpersonal dimensions of the relationship between the person and others are the following dimensions: Fusion with others and Emotional cutoff. Poorly differentiated individuals tend to engage in Fusion or Emotional cutoff, when overwhelmed by emotionality in their relationships (Kerr & Bowen, 1988, as cited in Skowron & Friedlander, 1998). The emotional cutoff reflects feeling threatened by intimacy and feeling excessive vulnerability in relations with others, hence the preference to stay away from others and deny the importance of closeness (Bowen, 1976). These items reflect fears of engulfment and behavioral defenses like distancing, denial, or over-functioning. Fusion with others is the last aspect of self-differentiation and reflects emotional over-involvement with others, which includes triangulation and over-identification with parents, i.e., accepting parents’ values, beliefs, and expectations without any questions (Skowron & Friedlander, 1998). These individuals perceive distancing themselves from others as a threatening element (Bowen, 1976).

When it comes to **capacity for mentalization**, it resembles the ability to form mental states as explanations for our own and others’ behavior. This term is defined as an aspect of preconscious imaginative mental activity and interpretation of human behavior in terms of intentional mental states (e.g., needs, wishes, feelings, beliefs, goals, purposes, and reasons). This concept is defined as “imaginative” because it requires thinking (imagination) of what other people might be thinking or feeling (Fonagy, 2006). This ability to understand one’s own mental states and the mental states of others arises from interpersonal experience, primarily from the relationship with primary objects and it is developed from infancy through childhood, crucially depending upon interaction with more mature minds (Fonagy, 2003, 2006). It contains self-reflective and interpersonal components and enables a person to interpret implicitly or explicitly their own or someone else’s actions as meaningful based on intentional mental states, such as wishes, needs, beliefs, or feelings (Bateman et al., 2007). Therefore, mentalization represents the base of our relationship with self and others. It allows us to understand our own and others’ behavior, to clearly distinguish outer from inner reality, internal mental and emotional states from interpersonal events, and allows us to hypothesize about the future behavior of others, based on specific cognitive skills (Fonagy, 2006).

Mentalization is a “meta-cognitive” activity because it implies the interpretation of thoughts and actions (thinking about thinking), allows us to give meaning to actions and thoughts (thinking about reasons why someone is thinking and acting in a specific manner), and is a key attribute of a person, opposed to the inanimate world. It relates to the “intentional stance” which is defined as a capacity to have projects, desires, and wishes (Dennet, 1987). Lastly, it is not a fixed element

of the mind, but perhaps a process, capacity, or ability that can be more or less present (Holmes, 2005).

Mentalization represents a fundamental psychological process that allows individuals to have a developed self and is necessary for establishing complex interpersonal interactions (Fonagy et al., 2005). This is the reason why more and more authors agree that processes of mentalization have a significant role in many mental disorders, especially personality disorders (e.g., borderline; Fonagy, 1989, as cited in Fonagy, 2006). Important indicators of high-quality mentalization are understanding that we cannot absolutely know what is happening in different minds and treating others as “objects” whose behaviors are under influence of their wishes and beliefs (Dennett, 1987).

The term “reflective functioning” is often used synonymously with the term mentalizing because the notion of mentalizing refers to the capacity to reflect on internal mental states about both the self and others (e.g., feelings, goals, attitudes, wishes; Fonagy et al., 2016). Different self-report measures have been used to assess constructs related to mentalizing (e.g., mindfulness, empathy, theory of mind, alexithymia, etc.), but reflective functioning has only been observed through certainty and uncertainty about mental states (Fonagy et al., 2016).

Certainty about mental states is one of the aspects of mentalization and has been positively correlated with empathy (Morandotti et al., 2018), measures of mindfulness and perspective-taking, and negatively with borderline personality disorder (BDP) features (Fonagy et al., 2016), alexithymia, and symptoms of autistic spectrum disorder (Morandotti et al., 2018). On the other hand, uncertainty about mental states includes poor imaginative, communication, and social skills and is correlated positively with BDP, eating disorder features, depression and impulsivity (Fonagy et al., 2016), alexithymia, and symptoms of autistic spectrum disorder (Morandotti et al., 2018), while it correlated negatively with mindfulness and perspective-taking (Fonagy et al., 2016). Besides certainty and uncertainty about mental states, borderline personality disorder features were also associated negatively with certain aspects of self-differentiation (Bagheri & Khodai, 2021).

Relationship with Sociodemographic Variables

In some studies, males reported greater difficulties in the separation-individuation process when compared to females (Lapsley et al., 2001). In the adolescent sample, males also showed lower scores on the mentalizing task and made more hypermentalizing errors than females (Poznyak et al., 2019). The levels of mentalization and other related constructs, such as the theory of mind, empathy, and emotional intelligence were higher in women than in men (Dimitrijević et al., 2017; Proverbio, 2016), except for the Self-Related Mentalization scale, where men scored higher or there were no significant differences between men and women (Jańczak, 2021). These results suggest that women may have a better ability to identify mental states that concern their orientation towards other people and higher motivation to think about mental states in general, but not necessarily focus on their

own emotions and thoughts. Authors suggest that this could possibly be the result of socialization, where women develop a belief in the importance of being empathic in social interactions rather than focusing on themselves, which is reflected in self-report questionnaires (Jańczak, 2021). Therefore, this research is focusing on women, so the relationship between the differentiation of self and mentalization could be explored in this sample and in a manner where the ability to be reflective, modulate one's own emotions, and maintain calm and autonomous in intimate relationships is set to predict capacity for mentalization. The goal is to examine the role of self-differentiation aspects in predicting reflective functioning in women.

When it comes to age differences, Bowen (1976) proposed that the levels of differentiation are absolute and that differentiation levels achieved in adulthood remain essentially similar to those experienced in childhood with the family of origin, but there still isn't enough data to support this statement. It was found that differences related to age emerged only on the emotional cutoff when differentiation of self was measured (Sadeghi et al., 2020). When it comes to mentalization, some research shows that mentalizing performance improves with age (Poznyak et al., 2019). Both studies were conducted on the adolescent samples and the research on the adult samples are lacking.

The educational level was not significantly associated with any of the aspects of self-differentiation, but these results were found in the sample of people with substance abuse disorder (Thorberg & Lyvers, 2006). In the sample of people who recently became parents, the results showed that a higher level of education was significantly associated with a higher level of mentalization, in both men and women (Pajulo et al., 2018). Additionally, significantly higher mentalization, empathy, and emotional intelligence were reported by participants with higher educational levels (Dimitrijević et al., 2017).

The Aim of The Research

This research aimed to examine the role of self-differentiation in predicting the capacity for mentalization and the relation among different aspects of the differentiation of self and certainty and uncertainty about mental states in women samples. Also, the aim is to explore associations of age and level of education with the two constructs, since there is not much research engaged in exploring this matter. Previous research regarding these differences is conducted on very specific samples, such as people with a substance disorder, schizophrenia, and adolescents. The results are often inconclusive and sometimes differ from theoretical expectations.

Method

Sample and Procedure

The convenience sampling method was used to recruit participants, who filled out an online survey. The sample consisted of 105 female participants, aged 18-50 years ($M=30.61$, $SD=8.09$). Participants had different levels of education: 27.6% of them finished high school ($N=29$), 48.6% of them finished college ($N=51$) and 22.9%

of them finished master's studies ($N=24$). Lastly, 1% of participants did not finish primary school ($N=1$).

Instruments

The Differentiation of Self Inventory (DSI; Skowron & Friedlander, 1998) was used to measure different aspects of self-differentiation. This 6-point Likert type scale consists of 43 items organized into 4 subscales, representing the operationalization of self-differentiation that the authors suggested, which are: Emotional Reactivity – it reflects the degree to which a person responds to environmental stimuli with emotional flooding, emotional lability, or hypersensitivity and includes items like: *“When someone close to me disappoints me, I withdraw from him or her for a time”*; I Position – this subscale reflects a clearly defined sense of self and the ability to thoughtfully adhere to one's own convictions when pressured to do otherwise and includes items like: *“I tend to remain pretty calm even under stress”*; Emotional Cutoff – it reflects fears of engulfment and behavioral defenses like distancing, denial, or over-functioning and includes items like: *“Our relationship might be better if my spouse or partner would give me the space I need”* and Fusion with Others – this dimension reflects emotional over-involvement with others and includes items like: *“I worry about people close to me getting sick, hurt, or upset”*. Reliability indicators (Cronbach alpha coefficients) that the authors of the inventory reported were 0.88 for Emotional Reactivity, 0.85 for I Position, 0.79 for Emotional Cutoff and 0.70 for Fusion with Others, while in this research Cronbach alpha coefficients are 0.83 for Emotional Reactivity, 0.68 for I Position, 0.87 for Emotional Cutoff and 0.64 for Fusion with Others.

The Reflective Functioning Questionnaire (RFQ; Fonagy et al., 2016) was used to measure capacity for mentalization. It is a 46-item inventory, where participants answered on a 6-point Likert scale. Polar-scored items were prone to bias in assessing reflective functioning because they confound hypermentalizing and hypomentalizing, so the authors focused on the 26 central response items and recoded them to assess the two subscales: Certainty about Mental States where these 26 items are recoded to 2, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, and Uncertainty about Mental States where the same 26 items are recoded to 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 2. Certainty about Mental States focused on the extent to which participants disagree with statements like *“I don't always know why I do what I do”* while recoding these items so that low agreement reflected hypermentalizing and high agreement reflected more genuine mentalizing. Uncertainty about Mental States in extreme assessed hypomentalizing and very high scores on items like *“Sometimes I do things without really knowing why”* reflected an almost complete lack of knowledge about mental states, while lower scores reflected more genuine mentalizing. Reliability indicators (Cronbach alpha coefficients) that the authors of the inventory reported were 0.63 for Uncertainty about Mental States and 0.67 for Certainty about Mental States, while in this research Cronbach alpha coefficients

are 0.80 for Uncertainty about Mental States and 0.76 for Certainty about Mental States.

Results

The results of the descriptive statistics for certainty and uncertainty about mental states and all the aspects of self-differentiation are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Descriptive statistics for mentalization and self-differentiation

Research variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Skewness</i>	<i>Kurtosis</i>
RFC	9.78	5.59	0.45	-0.78
RFU	5.33	5.08	1.05	0.38
Emotional reactivity	4.35	0.92	-0.20	-0.64
I position	4.13	0.71	-0.42	0.03
Emotional cutoff	2.98	1.11	0.49	-0.33
Fusion with others	4.23	0.75	-0.13	-0.51

Note. RFC = Certainty about mental states; RFU = Uncertainty about mental states.

Correlations between all the aspects of mentalization, self-differentiation, and age are presented in table 2.

Table 2
Correlation among variables

	FWO	EC	IP	ER	RFU	RFC	Age
Age	-.130	.141	.120	.047	.198*	.158	
RFC	.009	-.272**	.494**	-.229*	-.336**		
RFU	.310**	.452**	-.152	.554**			
ER	.506**	.548**	-.238*				
IP	.070	-.076					
EC	.202*						
FWO							

Note. FWO=Fusion with others, EC=Emotional cutoff, IP=I position, ER=Emotional reactivity, RFC=Certainty about mental states, RFU=Uncertainty about mental states.
* < 0.05, ** < 0.01.

The results indicate that there are some significant correlations between mentalization and self-differentiation. Certainty about mental states is significantly associated with all the aspects of self-differentiation, except for Fusion with others. It negatively correlates with Emotional cutoff and Emotional reactivity (respectively $r = -.272$; $r = -.229$) and it correlates positively with the I position ($r = .494$). On the other hand, uncertainty about mental states correlates significantly with all the aspects of self-differentiation, except for the I position. It correlates moderately and positively with all other subscales of the differentiation of self. Certainty and uncertainty about mental states are significantly negatively correlated ($r = -.336$), which is very similar to the results found in the paper of the development and validation of the reflective functioning questionnaire ($r = -.349$; Fonagy et al., 2016).

Certain self-differentiation aspects are also significantly correlated. Emotional reactivity is moderately positively correlated with Fusion with others and Emotional cutoff (respectively $r = .506$; $r = .548$) and negatively with the I position ($r = -.238$). Also, Emotional cutoff is positively correlated with Fusion with others ($r = .202$). When it comes to age, it only correlates significantly and positively with Uncertainty about mental states ($r = .198$).

Linear regression analysis was used to explore the association between mentalization and self-differentiation.

Table 3

A predictive model of certainty about mental states

Block	Predictors	β	p	Model Summary
1	Age	.147	.143	$R = .16$, $R^2 = .02$, $R^2_{adj} = .01$, $F(2,102) = 1.75$, $p = .229$
	Education	.062	.536	
2	Age	.137	.134	$R = .56$, $R^2 = .32$, $R^2_{adj} = .28$, $F(6,98) = 7.73$, $p = .000$, $F_{change}(4,98) = 10.57$, $p = .000$
	Education	.045	.642	
	Emotional reactivity	-.009	.943	
	I position	.459	.000	
	Emotional cutoff	-.245	.024	
	Fusion with others	.057	.576	

The first model ($F(2,102) = 1.75$, $p = .229$) is not statistically significant, but the model contribution and the second model are ($F(6,98) = 7.73$, $p = .000$). The second model explains 32.1% of the variance of the certainty about mental states, with the I position ($\beta = .459$, $p = .000$) and Emotional cutoff ($\beta = -.245$, $p = .024$) as significant predictors.

Table 4*A predictive model of uncertainty about mental states*

Block	Predictors	β	p	Model Summary
1	Age	.261	.006	$R=.40, R^2=.16, R^2_{adj}=.14,$ $F(2,102)=9.71, p=.000$
	Education	-.353	.000	
2	Age	.233	.007	$R=.63, R^2=.40, R^2_{adj}=.36,$ $F(6,98)=11.09, p=.000,$ $F_{change}(4,98)=10.05, p=.000$
	Education	-.208	.024	
	Emotional reactivity	.323	.005	
	I position	-.132	.131	
	Emotional cutoff	.128	.205	
	Fusion with others	.121	.209	

The first model ($F(2,102) = 9.71, p = .000$) that is tested for prediction of the uncertainty about mental states is statistically significant and explains 16% of the variance of the uncertainty about mental states, with Age ($\beta = .261, p = .006$) and Education ($\beta = -.353, p = .000$) as significant predictors. The model contribution is also statistically significant, and the second model explains 40.4% of the variance of the uncertainty about mental states ($F(6,98) = 11.086, p = .000$), with Age ($\beta = .233, p = .007$), Education ($\beta = -.208, p = .024$), and Emotional reactivity ($\beta = .323, p = .005$) as significant predictors.

Discussion

The concepts of mentalization and self-differentiation seem to be close and have a lot of common correlates, but previous research didn't study the connection between them directly. The aim of this research was to examine the connection between these early formed concepts, and to examine if this reflective functioning can be predicted with different aspects of self-differentiation, specifically in a female sample.

Some previous research noted that females demonstrate fewer difficulties in the separation-individuation process, and score higher not only on the mentalizing tasks with fewer hypermentalizing errors than males but also score higher in emotional intelligence, empathy, and theory of mind (Dimitrijević et al., 2017; Lapsley et al., 2001; Poznyak et al., 2019; Proverbio, 2016). The only aspect of mentalization where females scored less or the same as males is a self-related aspect of mentalization (Jańczak, 2021), which consists of items such as: "When I get upset, I am not sure whether I am sad, afraid, or angry" and "I am often confused about my exact feelings", which represents general confusion, not understanding and not focusing on one's own emotions and thoughts. On the other hand, self-differentiation includes the capacity to distinguish thoughts from feelings, to maintain awareness of one's own emotions, and to experience and regulate strong ones, so self-related mentalization and self-differentiation seem focused on similar subjects. It is hypothesized that

women develop a belief in the importance of empathy and being empathetic in their interactions with others rather than focusing on themselves (Jańczak, 2021), so this research is focused on female differentiation of self as a predictor of capacity for mentalization.

When predicting certainty about mental states, the model that contains self-differentiation measures explains 32.1% of the variance. The I position, which represents a clearly defined sense of self (Skowron & Friedlander, 1998) and the ability to express emotions and thoughts responsibly and to encourage other individuals to do the same (Yusuf et al., 2018), is positively connected to certainty about mental states. This supports the assumption that the capacity for mentalization is closely related to the organization of self (Fonagy, 2006).

Emotional cutoff, which reflects experiencing intimacy as a threat and vulnerability in relations with others, and it manifests as distancing, denial of the importance of close relationships, and staying away from others, is negatively correlated with certainty about mental states (Bowen, 1976). Certainty about mental states and self-differentiation have shown to have certain mutual correlates. Certainty about mental states has been negatively correlated with borderline personality disorder (BDP) features (Fonagy et al., 2016), the same as self-differentiation, specifically negatively correlated with defense mechanisms and fear of intimacy (Bagheri & Khodai, 2021). This dimension of mentalization is also negatively correlated with alexithymia and symptoms of autistic spectrum disorder (Morandotti et al., 2018). Alexithymia impairs the ability to perceive, organize, and use emotions, causes emotional malfunctioning (Ammerman et al., 2015) and impairs understanding of social and interpersonal situations and lowers the emotional capacity (Shahgholian et al., 2007, as cited in Bagheri & Khodai, 2021). This can undermine the base of our relationship with self and others, whilst making it harder to understand our and others' behavior (Fonagy, 2006), therefore creating greater vulnerability in relationships and perception of intimacy as threatening. The preference to stay away from others and to deny the importance of closeness, along with fears of engulfment and denial, could explain the difficulties in distinguishing outer and inner reality and internal from interpersonal events (Fonagy, 2006). This is in accordance with theoretical assumptions and the results of having the negative connection between emotional cutoff and certainty about mental states. These results show that a clearly defined sense of self, less perceiving of intimacy as threatening and relations with others as something that makes us vulnerable, less distancing from others, and less denial of the importance of closeness are necessary for greater certainty about mental states and capacity for mentalization.

When it comes to predicting uncertainty about mental states, the model explains 40.4% of the variance and contains one intrapsychic dimension (emotional reactivity) and two sociodemographic variables (age and education) as significant predictors. Age, but also emotional reactivity, is positively correlated with the criterion, which means that with *age* women express the tendency to score higher on uncertainty about mental states, which indicates lower mentalization. Education is negatively correlated with uncertainty about mental states, which suggests that uncertainty

decreases with a higher educational level, suggesting better mentalization skills. This result is consistent with previous research, which reported significantly higher mentalization, empathy, and emotional intelligence by participants with higher education (Dimitrijević et al., 2017).

Some other previous research has been conducted on the adolescent sample and the results suggested that mentalization improved with age, but since this wasn't a longitudinal study and the adolescent sample wasn't tracked throughout the time, it is not certain that these findings are accurate (Poznyak et al., 2019). When it comes to some related constructs, such as emotional intelligence or empathy, previous results are conflicted. Some studies found that older individuals score better on all dimensions of the Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (Extremera et al., 2006; Mayer et al., 1999), some failed to find any significant correlations (Farrelly & Austin, 2007), while some found negative correlations that suggest that emotional intelligence decrease with age (Day & Carroll, 2004; Palmer et al., 2005) which is in accordance to meta-analysis reporting that older individuals have problems with recognizing emotions (Ruffman et al., 2008). When it comes to empathy, women expressed the tendency to score higher in the youngest age groups (Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983), but the gap becomes successively smaller in older age groups (Schieman & Gundy, 2000). There are certain gender differences in emotionality (Umberson et al., 1996) and age may influence these differences (Helson et al., 1997), which is confirming the convergence hypothesis that, later in life, men and women have tendency to relax the emotional roles learned in the earlier years (Helson et al., 1997) and become more alike in emotionality (Neugarten, 1996, as cited in Schieman & Gundy, 2000). These results could explain the noted increase in uncertainty about mental states or decrease in overall mentalization in this sample. Women could express the tendency to relax the emotional roles and roles regarding others with age, which could be also connected with general problems in older individuals when it comes to recognizing emotions.

Emotional reactivity has also shown to be a positive significant predictor for uncertainty about mental states. Emotional reactivity reflects the degree of emotional lability, and hypersensitivity (Skowron & Friedlander, 1998), and represents emotionally-driven reactions to some real or perceived environmental threat that can lead to inappropriate responses (Fehrer, 2002). Uncertainty about mental states correlates positively with impulsivity and negatively with perspective-taking (Fonagy et al., 2016) and includes poor imaginative and social skills. These findings are in accordance with the results of this research, connecting the hypersensitivity and inappropriate emotionally-driven reactions of emotional reactivity and impulsivity and poor social skills of uncertainty about mental states.

The main limitation of this study is the small sample, so for any certain conclusions, the sample should be expanded and more participants from different categories should be included (e.g., profession, gender). It could be interesting to examine the differences between men and women when it comes to capacity for mentalization, while including the knowledge of age as a mediator to certain phenomena close to mentalization, but also some other sociodemographic variables that could be connected. Regarding the implications of this research, this data could

be used in the area of education and counseling. These concepts are formed in early childhood and it could be useful to educate future parents about certain elements in children raising, but also to educate adults and help them become aware of specific parts of their upbringing and how they could upgrade their everyday functioning.

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SELF DIFERENCIJACIJA KAO PREDIKTOR KAPACITETA ZA MENTALIZACIJU³

Apstrakt

Cilj ovog istraživanja bio je da se ispita potencijalna uloga self-diferencijacije u predikciji mentalizacije na ženskom uzorku. Podaci su prikupljeni korišćenjem Upitnika za procenu reflektivne funkcije (RFQ) i Upitnika za procenu self-diferencijacije (DSI) na uzorku od 105 ženskih ispitanika, uzrasta 18–50 godina ($M = 30,61$, $SD = 8,09$). Oba modela koja sadrže self-diferencijaciju kao prediktore su statistički značajna. Prvi model koji predviđa sigurnost u pogledu mentalnih stanja objašnjava 32,1% varijanse ($R^2 = 0,32$, $F(6,98) = 7,732$, $p = 0,000$), gde su se Ja pozicija ($\beta = 0,459$, $p = 0,000$) i emocionalni cutoff ($\beta = -0,245$, $p = 0,024$) izdvojili kao statistički značajni prediktori. Drugi model koji predviđa nesigurnost u pogledu mentalnih stanja objašnjava 40,4% varijanse ($R^2 = 0,40$, $F(6,98) = 11,086$, $p = 0,000$), a značajni prediktori u ovom modelu su uzrast ($\beta = 0,233$, $p = 0,007$), stepen obrazovanja ($\beta = -0,208$, $p = 0,024$) i emocionalna reaktivnost ($\beta = 0,323$, $p = 0,005$). Prikupljeni rezultati ukazuju na to da različiti aspekti self-diferencijacije mogu da predvide sigurnost i nesigurnost u pogledu mentalnih stanja na ženskom uzorku, ali i na to da kada se radi o konceptima kao što je kapacitet za mentalizaciju, određene sociodemografske karakteristike (npr. uzrast, stepen obrazovanja) mogu igrati značajniju ulogu nego što se to prvenstveno pretpostavljalo. Preporučuju se dalja istraživanja, koja bi uključila veći i različitiji uzorak.

Ključne reči: mentalizacija, self-diferencijacija, emocionalna reaktivnost, emocionalni cutoff

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POVEZANOST STRATEGIJA PREVLAĐAVANJA STRESA SA PSIHOLOŠKIM BLAGOSTANJEM U KASNOJ ADOLESCENCIJI

Apstrakt

Cilj istraživanja je bio ispitivanje relacija strategija prevladavanja stresa i dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja u periodu adolescencije. U okviru transakcionistačkih teorija stresa, strategije prevladavanja su svi naponi koje osoba poduzima kako bi izašla na kraj sa unutrašnjim i spoljašnjim zahtevima koji prevazilaze kapacitete i resurse osobe. U radu je korišćena klasifikacija Endlera i Parkera koja izdvaja strategije usmerene na problem, emocije i na izbegavanje i model Kerol Rif, koji izdvaja sledeće dimenzije psihološkog blagostanja: autonomija, samoprihvatanje, svrha u životu, kompetentnost, pozitivni odnosi sa drugima, lični razvoj. Uzorak se sastojao od 216 ispitanika starosti od 18 do 25 godina, uz prosečnu starost od 22 godine. Većina ispitanika je ženskog pola, njih 81.40%. Sprovedena kanonička korelaciona analiza ukazuje na postojanje pozitivne povezanosti strategija usmerenih na problem sa svim dimenzijama blagostanja, kao i negativne povezanosti strategija usmerenih na emocije sa dimenzijama blagostanja. Izbegavanje je bilo pozitivno povezano sa dimenzijom pozitivnih odnosa sa drugima. Rezultati upućuju na to da je za blagostanje adolescenta značajno uspešno suočavanje sa kontrolabilnim razvojnim stresorima putem strategija usmerenih na problem. Adolescenti grade ključne razvojne kapacitete i sposobnosti poput pozitivnih odnosa sa drugima, autonomije, osećaja smislaonosti i svrhe upravo kroz suočavanje sa problemima i ovladavanje novim sposobnostima i iskustvima. Ekscesivno korišćenje strategija usmerenih na emocije verovatno donosi kratkoročno olakšanje, ali po cenu dugoročnog blagostanja i zrelosti ličnosti. Kao nužan smer intervencija ističe se preventivni rad sa mladima kako bi razvili dobre strategije suočavanja sa stresom, kao što je analiza situacije, traganje za alternativama, pažljivo planiranje, itd.

Ključne reči: strategije prevladavanja, psihološko blagostanje, adolescencija, razvojne krize

Uvod

Transakcionistačka teorija stresa i mehanizmi prevladavanja

Pojam stresa u psihologiju je uveden još sredinom XX veka, isprva u fiziološkim istraživanjima Hansa Selye (Selye, 1956), a kasnije putem teorija o uticajima različitih životnih događaja na psihofizičko zdravlje osobe, da bi danas najuticajniji model

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stresa bilo shvatanje o interakciji između osobe i sredine (Lazarus, 2000). Unutar transakcionističkog modela stres predstavlja činilac koji pokreće prevladavajuća ponašanja, a ona su u vezi sa ishodima stresa, a ne stres sam po sebi, tj. prevladavanje prestavlja medijator stresa (Zotović, 2004). Lazarus (1993) stres opisuje kao proces u kome se javljaju četiri bitna elementa: unutrašnji i spoljašnji stresori, procena, koping i posledice koje stres ima na osobu. Lazarusova transakcionistička teorija stresa identifikuje dva kognitivna procesa koja određuju prirodu stresa kao reakcije (i da li će do nje uopšte doći). Ta dva procesa predstavljaju kognitivnu procenu i prevladavanje, odnosno mehanizme prevladavanja. S obzirom na to da procena oblikuje proces prevladavanja koji kasnije ima uticaj na ishode stresne situacije, ova dva faktora imaju značajnog uticaja i na kratkoročne i dugoročne efekte stresa, kao i adaptacione ishode stres procesa (Folkman et al., 1986).

Kognitivna procena je proces kroz koji osoba procenjuje da li je određeni stresor relevantan za njeno blagostanje, i ako jeste na koji način (Zotović i Petrović, 2011). U teoriji Lazarusa i Folkmanove kognitivna procena se deli na primarnu i sekundarnu. Kroz proces primarne procene osoba sagledava određene uslove njene spoljašnje sredine, tačnije, da li su i u kojoj meri (i na koji način) oni relevantni za njeno blagostanje (Folkman et al., 1986).

Nakon primarne, dolazi do procesa sekundarne procene u kojoj osoba nastoji da formuliše postupke koje može preduzeti da bi minimalizovala, izbegla ili uklonila neželjene posledice situacije. Pri procesu sekundarne procene osoba analizira sopstvene resurse i mogućnosti. Na osnovu analize sopstvenih sposobnosti i resursa kao i značenja koje pridodaje situaciji osoba formuliše tj. pravi plan akcije za suočavanje sa stresom. Razmatrane opcije mogu biti promena situacije, pasivno mirenje sa istom, traženje dodatnih informacija, suzdržavanje od impulsivnih radnji, itd. (Folkman et al., 1986).

Lazarus i Folkman (1984, str. 141) definišu prevladavanje kao „stalne kognitivne i bihevioralne napore osobe da izađe na kraj sa specifičnim spoljašnjim i/ili unutrašnjim zahtevima, a čiji su zahtevi procenjeni kao previše teški za resurse i kapacitete kojima osoba trenutno raspolaže“. Prevladavanje je, stoga, lični napor osobe da *upravlja* ovim zahtevima, tj. da obezbedi kapacitete ili sprovede akcije koji će ih učiniti podnošljivim (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

U stručnoj literaturi ćemo naići na veliki broj teorijskih i empirijskih radova, kao i instrumenata namenjenih proceni pojedinačnih mehanizama prevladavanja ili širih stilova prevladavanja, a koji na drugačije, iako donekle slične načine, klasifikuju i izdvajaju stilove prevladavanja. Prvobitno Folkman i Lazarus (1988) razlikuju dva osnovna stila prevladavanja, a distinkcija je na osnovu funkcije koju obavljaju u kontekstu osobe koja se suočava sa stresnom situacijom. Prva funkcija jeste kontrola ili suočavanje sa situacijom i samim problemom pred kojim se osoba nalazi. Problem se ne negira, fokus nije toliko na saniranju njegovih negativnih posledica po psihofizičko zdravlje osobe, već na njegovom rešavanju u korenu, direktno. Stoga se ovi oblici prevladavanja nazivaju *usmerenim na problem*. Druga grupa strategija prevladavanja je usmerena prvenstveno na sanaciju negativnih emocionalnih reakcija i stanja osobe nastalih kao posledica izloženosti stresu, tj. oni

nastoje da očuvaju psihofizičko zdravlje osobe, a ne da direktno modifikuju samu situaciju. Stoga se nazivaju mehanizmima prevladavanja *usmerenim na emocije* (Zotović i Petrović, 2011).

Izvornoj klasifikaciji strategija prevladavanja dodate su mnogobrojne kasnije modifikacije, kako od strane prvobitnih autora Folkmana i Lazarusa, tako i od strane kasnijih. Folkman i Lazarus (1980, prema Endler & Parker, 1990) tako osnovnoj dimenziji *usmerenosti* mehanizama prevladavanja dodaju i dimenziju *aktivnosti*, u vidu bipolarnog kontinuuma aktivno–pasivno. Ova dimenzija prožima i prevladavanje usmereno na problem i usmereno na emocije: i problem i njegove posledice po zdravlje osobe, tj. distres, mogu se aktivno shvatiti, u smislu suočavanja i napora ka sanaciji, ili im se pasivno prepustiti, uz izbegavanje, minimiziranje ili ignorisanje teškoća. Stoga se proširena klasifikacija javlja u vidu aktivnog/pasivnog prevladavanja usmerenog na problem i aktivnog/pasivnog prevladavanja usmerenog na emocije.

Nešto drugačiju klasifikaciju nude Endler i Parker: oni smatraju da su strategije usmerene na problem i na emocije po svojoj prirodi nužno *aktivne*, tj. uvek sadrže pokušaj rada bilo na samom problemu, bilo na negativnim emocijama i stresu koje izaziva. Posebna grupa strategija prevladavanja obeležena je pasivnošću osobe pred negativnim emocijama i stresnim situacijama, te se one nazivaju *izbegavajućim* strategijama, jer je njihov fokus upravo na begu, negaciji neprijatne i bolne situacije stresa (Endler & Parker, 1990; Seiffge-Krenke & Klessinger, 2000).

Psihološko blagostanje u adolescenciji

Zbog raznolikosti adolescentnih ponašanja, kao i razlika u kulturnim i socijalnim normama ponašanja, veoma je teško odrediti šta je normalno, a šta je patološko u adolescenciji. Ponašanja koja ispoljavaju adolescenti su tako raznolika, sa tako naglim i neočekivanim prelazima između zdravlja i patologije, poput emocionalne razdražljivosti, čestih promena raspoloženja, sukoba sa autoritetima, da je često više stvar društvenih konvencija nego objektivnih merila da li će neko ponašanje biti označeno kao „bolesno”, „asocijalno” i slično (Kapor-Stanulović, 2007). U sredinama različitih sistema vrednosti, vaspitnih ciljeva, stepena senzibilnosti za adolescentnu problematiku, naizgled ista ponašanja adolescenata će biti tumačena sa radikalno drugačijih pozicija (npr. striktna očekivanja o poslušnosti prema roditeljima i radu na imanju u zemljoradničkim društvima i sredinama spram individualizma modernog Zapada; Graovac, 2010).

S obzirom na brojne razvojne zadatke ovog perioda uspešnu psihosocijalnu adaptaciju adolescenta možemo posmatrati kroz odsustvo psihičkih poremećaja i problema kao što su depresivnost, anksioznost, emocionalna nestabilnost kao i prisustvo pozitivnih aspekata kao što je psihičko blagostanje (Greenglass & Fiksenbaum, 2009; Jerković i Zotović, 2010; Seymour, 2015). Stoga je kao pozitivan indikator psihosocijalne adaptiranosti u periodu adolescencije u ovom istraživanju iskorišćeno *psihičko/subjektivno blagostanje*, tj. njegova operacionalizacija u modelu Kerol Rif (Ryff, 1989). Međutim, pre detaljnijeg objašnjenja dimenzija ovog modela neophodno je odrediti pojam subjektivnog blagostanja.

Vorner Vilson 1967 (prema Diener et al., 1999) na osnovu pregleda istraživanja na temu subjektivnog blagostanja (*subjective well-being*), zaključuje da je, statistički gledano, srećna osoba „mlada, zdrava, obrazovana, visoko plaćena, ekstrovertna, optimistična, nezabrinuta, religiozna osoba u braku, visokog samopouzdanja, radnog elana, umerenih ambicija, kakve srećemo među oba pola i na širokom rasponu intelektualnih sposobnosti”. On navodi da je neophodno usmeriti napore ka proučavanju procesa koji dovode do sreće i održavaju je. Ovaj istraživački smer predstavlja korak ka većem uvažavanju značaja i centralne uloge ličnih ciljeva, napora ka prevladavanju, ličnih dispozicija. Subjektivno blagostanje je široka kategorija fenomena koja uključuje ljudske emocionalne odgovore, zadovoljstvo pojedinim domenima života, kao i globalni sud o zadovoljstvu životom (Stanić, 2019).

Model Kerol Rif izdvaja sledeće dimenzije psihološkog blagostanja:

Pozitivni odnosi sa drugima. Mnoge ranije teorije naglašavaju značaj toplih interpersonalnih odnosa obeleženih poverenjem. Sposobnost da se voli se vidi kao centralna komponenta mentalnog zdravlja. Samo-aktualizovane osobe se opisuju kao ispunjene snažnim osećanjima empatije i afekcije za sva ljudska bića, te kao sposobne za intenzivniju ljubav, dublje prijateljstvo i potpuniju identifikaciju sa drugim. Osobe koje postižu visoke skorove na ovoj dimenziji imaju tople, zadovoljavajuće, poverenjem ispunjene odnose sa drugima, zabrinute su za dobrobit drugih, sposobne su za snažnu empatiju, osećanja i intimnost, razumeju recipročnost ljudskih odnosa (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). Sa druge strane, osoba kod koje je ovaj kapacitet nerazvijen ima malo bliskih, poverljivih odnosa sa drugima, teško joj je da bude topla, otvorena i zabrinuta za druge, izolovana je i frustrirana u interpersonalnim odnosima, nije spremna da pravi kompromise kako bi sačuvala odnose sa drugima (Ryff & Singer, 2006).

Autonomija. Ranija literatura često govori o kvalitetima poput samoostvarenja, nezavisnosti, unutrašnjoj regulaciji ponašanja. Samoaktualizovane osobe se često opisuju kao visoko autonomne u svom funkcionisanju i otporne na procese i stavove koje im nameće kultura. U potpunosti funkcionalna osoba bi takođe trebalo da ima interni fokus evaluacije, tj. da ne traži odobravanje od drugih, već ocenjuje sama sebe prema ličnim standardima. Proces „okretanja ka unutra” u kasnijim godinama teoretičari životnog razvoja označavaju kao faktor koji doprinosi ličnom osećanju slobode od normi koje upravljaju svakodnevicom (Ryff, 1989). Visok skor na ovoj dimenziji podrazumeva nezavisnost, težnju ka samoodređenju, sposobnost da se odoli socijalnim pritiscima, da se ponaša i dela na određene načine, unutrašnju regulaciju ponašanja, samoevaluaciju po unutrašnjim ličnim standardima. Nerazvijena autonomija podrazumeva zabrinutost u vezi očekivanja i evaluacija drugih, oslanjanje na tuđe sudove u donošenju značajnih odluka, konformiranje socijalnim pritiscima ka određenim načinima mišljenja i ponašanja (Ryff & Singer, 2006).

Kompetentnost. Individualna sposobnost da se odabere ili kreira okruženje odgovarajuće za njegovo ili njeno stanje i potrebe se smatra još jednom odlikom mentalnog zdravlja. Zrelost podrazumeva uključenost u značajne sfere aktivnosti van selfa. Celoživotni razvoj, prema opisima zrelosti, takođe zahteva sposobnost

da se manipuliše i kontrolišu kompleksna okruženja (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). Upoređivanje ovih teorijskih perspektiva sugerise da aktivno učešće i vladanje nad svojim okruženjem jesu značajni elementi integrisane teorije pozitivnog psihološkog funkcionisanja (Ryff, 1989). Osoba koja je dostigla ovaj razvojni kvalitet ima osećaj kontrole i kompetentnosti u upravljanju okruženjem, kontroliše složen skup spoljašnjih aktivnosti, efikasno koristi pružene prilike, u stanju je da izabere ili kreira kontekst pogodan za njegove lične potrebe i vrednosti. I obrnuto, osoba koja nije integrisala ovaj zadatak u svoj repertoar ponašanja ima teškoća u upravljanju svakodnevnim poslovima, oseća se nesposobnim da promeni ili unapredi okruženje, nije svesna pruženih prilika, ima umanjen ili odsutan osećaj kontrole nad spoljašnjim svetom (Ryff & Singer, 2006).

Svrha u životu. Mentalno zdravlje uključuje uverenja na kojima počiva naš osećaj da život ima svoju svrhu i smisao. Definicija zrelosti takođe sadrži jasno shvatanje životne svrhe, osećaj usmerenosti i namernosti (intencionalnosti). Teoretičari celoživotnog razvoja takođe govore o različitim „svrhama” ili ciljevima u životu, poput produktivnosti, kreativnosti, ili postizanja emocionalne integracije u kasnijem životu (Ryff, 2014). Osoba sa visokim skorovima na ovoj subskali funkcionise pozitivno, ima ciljeve, namere i osećaj usmerenosti, a sve to doprinosi osećanju da je život smisaon. Osobi kod koje je ovaj kvalitet nerazvijen nedostaje osećaj smisaonosti života, ima malo ciljeva i stremljenja, nedostaje joj osećaj usmerenosti, ne vidi smisaonost svoje sadašnjice i prošlosti, nema verovanja ili stavova koji daju njenom životu značenje (Ryff & Singer, 2006).

Lični rast. Optimalno psihološko funkcionisanje zahteva ne samo da osoba ostvari sve prethodno nabrojane odlike, već i da nastavi da razvija svoj potencijal, da raste i razvija se kao osoba. Potreba da se ostvarimo i realizujemo svoj potencijal je ključna u kliničkim gledištima ličnog rasta. Otvorenost ka iskustvu, na primer, ključna je karakteristika potpuno funkcionalne osobe. Takva osoba je u konstantnom procesu razvijanja i postajanja, a ne u fiksnom stanju u kome su svi problemi “rešeni” (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). Teoretičari celoživotnog razvoja takođe naglašavaju kontinuiran rast i suočavanje sa novim izazovima ili zadacima u različitim životnim periodima. Tako je kontinuirani lični rast i samo-realizacija značajna tema u već navedenim teorijama. Ova dimenzija blagostanja je po svojoj prirodi najbliža Aristotelovom konceptu *eudamonije* (Ryff, 1989).

Samoprihvatanje. Najčešće prisutni kriterijum blagostanja koji je očit u svim prethodnim teorijama i perspektivama je lični osećaj samoprihvatanja. Ovo je centralni koncept mentalnog zdravlja i karakteristika samo-ostvarenosti, optimalnog funkcionisanja i zrelosti. Teoretičari celoživotnog razvoja takođe naglašavaju značaj prihvatanja sebe i svog prethodnog života. Stoga, pozitivni stav prema sebi izranja kao ključna i centralna karakteristika pozitivnog psihološkog funkcionisanja (Ryff, 1989).

Bitno je napomenuti da model Kerol Rif ima i svoju razvojnu dimenziju. Do najintenzivnijeg razvoja gore nabrojanih kvaliteta dolazi upravo u adolescenciji kao periodu koji je kulminacija ranijih razvojnih postignuća i njihovog integrisanja sa novim kapacitetima osobe i povećanim zahtevima društva (Ryff i Singer, 2006). U

tom smislu, adolescencija se može tumačiti kao specifična *razvojna kriza* koja je istovremeno i šansa za napredovanje, tj. prvi ozbiljniji razvoj ovih kapaciteta na osnovu emocionalne kontrole, kognitivne zrelosti, sve dubljih i autentičnijih odnosa sa svetom oko sebe, ali i period povišenog rizika jer je mlada osoba pod povećanim pritiskom da realizuje ove kvalitete i može doći do regresije, dekompenzacije, patoloških epizoda i oblika ponašanja, itd. Svakako, ovo ne znači da se kapaciteti i kvalitete uspostavljeni u adolescenciji ne menjaju u kasnijem životnom toku; može se reći da svaka razvojna kriza i životna tranzicija preispituju kvalitet uspostavljenih dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja i traže njihovo osmišljavanje na novom, višem nivou (Ryff & Keyes, 1995).

Pregled ranijih istraživanja

I pored velikog broja istraživanja na temu mehanizama prevladavanja, ali i na temu psihološkog blagostanja, opaža se osetan nedostatak studija koje ove dve grupe varijabli povezuju na teorijski utemeljen i empirijski opsežan način. Čini se da se u istraživanjima koja se tiču mehanizama prevladavanja ishodi ovog procesa i dalje definišu prvenstveno u kratkoročnoj vremenskoj perspektivi, te kroz odsustvo ili prisustvo negativnih simptoma i znakova lošeg mentalnog zdravlja (anksioznost, depresivnost, kompulsivna ponašanja, itd.). Sa druge strane, model Kerol Rif podrazumeva dugoročnu vremensku perspektivu i postepeni razvoj složenih i pozitivnih psihosocijalnih kvaliteta kroz različite razvojne krize i životne izazove, koji jačaju kapacitete osobe i njenu veru u sopstvene sposobnosti.

Doktorska disertacija Seymorove (2015) jedan je od ambicioznijih pokušaja utvrđivanja prirode i stepena psihološkog blagostanja na uzorku engleskih adolescenata, a koristeći terminologiju modela Kerol Rif. U istraživanje su uključeni adolescenti različitih sociodemografskih odlika, odnosno adolescenti iz siromašnijih i imigrantskih kvartova engleskih gradova, ali i oni iz bogatijih i stabilnijih delova grada. Dimenzije psihološkog blagostanja samoprihvatanje, lični rast i svrha u životu su visoko i pozitivno korelirale sa pozitivnim afektivitetom adolescenata. Ovo su pitanja koja su naročito snažno aktivirana za vreme adolescentske krize koju karakteriše preispitivanje identiteta, autonomije i realizacije života kakav želimo, izbora profesije, itd. Uistinu, adolescenti kod kojih su ovi kvaliteti bili izraženiji su imali konkretnije planove u pogledu izbora buduće profesije, ali i pozitivnije viđenje budućnosti u celini.

Studija de Carvalho, Vale-Diasa i da Luza (de Carvalho et al., 2013) bavila se povezanošću velikog broja strategija prevladavanja sa dimenzijama modela Kerol Rif, ali u uzorku daleko većeg starosnog raspona, tj. od 18 do 84 godine. Dobijeni obrasci korelacija pokazuju da je aktivno prevladavanje (usmereno na problem) pozitivno povezano sa svim aspektima psihološkog blagostanja izuzev sa pozitivnim odnosima sa drugima. Ovo ukazuje na to da je u mnogim slučajevima aktivno prevladavanje optimalna strategija rešavanja problema, jer je većina problema sa kojima se srećemo u svakodnevnom životu kontrolabilna i zahtevaju naš napor da bi bili uspešno rešeni. Bitno je istaći i da je strategija rifejminga

(promena značenja ili viđenja situacije) takođe ispoljila sličan obrazac korelacija i da se može ubrojati u grupu aktivnih strategija, jer se radi o aktivnoj promeni svojih reakcija i misli (a ne samih odlika problemske situacije), te da se može označiti kao najoptimalnija strategija u situacijama koje su pod manjim stepenom naše lične kontrole (kontrolabilne). Na osnovu ovih iskustava uspeha i kompetencije postepeno se formiraju i psihosocijalni kvaliteti osobe koje opisuje model psihološkog blagostanja. Sa druge strane, strategije prevladavanja poput izbegavanja problema, zloupotrebe supstanci, emocionalnih izliva su negativno korelirali sa dimenzijama psihološkog blagostanja. Čini se da strategije koje odgađaju rešavanje problema ili teže distanciranju od istog na duže staze smanjuju osećaj kompetentnosti i uspešnosti osobe, odnosno, da predstavljaju beg od trenutne patnje i izazova po „cenu” ličnog rasta, razvoja i sazrevanja.

U istraživanju Gringlasa i Fiksenbauma (Greenglass & Fiksenbaum, 2009), proaktivne strategije prevladavanja su putem strukturalnog modeliranja izdvojene kao značajan medijator između socijalne podrške i opšteg psihološkog blagostanja poznih adolescenata – studenata. Karol Rif, autorka modela psihološkog blagostanja, u svom članku (Ryff, 2014) navodi proaktivne strategije prevladavanja kao deo spektra osobina ličnosti koji doprinosi jačanju mentalnog zdravlja, sazrevanju ličnosti i ostvarenju značajnih razvojnih zadataka, uz implikaciju da druge strategije prevladavanja mogu imati maladaptivnu ulogu, gledano dugoročno.

Još jedno interesantno istraživanje jeste ono sprovedeno od strane Karademasa (2007) u kome se pravila razlika negativnih dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja (pod čim se podrazumeva prisustvo različitih negativnih kognicija i emocija – anksioznosti, hipersenzitivnosti, itd.) u odnosu na pozitivne (prisustvo pozitivnih i zrelih psiholoških kvaliteta). Data studija je pokušala da utvrdi koje varijable su pozitivni ili negativni prediktori *oba* ova kvaliteta ili samo jednog od njih. Od obuhvaćenih strategija prevladavanja, one usmerene na problem su bile pozitivan i značajan prediktor pozitivnog blagostanja, ne i negativnog, dok je izbegavanje bilo negativan prediktor pozitivnog blagostanja, te pozitivan negativnog blagostanja. Drugačije rečeno, u ovome istraživanju se izbegavanje kao strategija prevladavanja izdvojilo u smislu izuzetno negativnog obrasca ponašanja koji dovodi do intenziviranja negativnih emocionalnih stanja osobe na duže vremenske staze, kao i do nedovoljno intenzivnog razvoja ključnih razvojnih kvaliteta koji se koriste prilikom suočavanja sa kasnijim životnim izazovima.

U studiji Mayordomo-Rodriguezove i saradnika (Mayordomo-Rodríguez et al., 2015) se, slično prethodnoj studiji, istraživao odnos između vrsta strategija prevladavanja i dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja, ali putem strukturalnog modeliranja, na uzorku mlađih odraslih osoba starosti od 18 do 30 godina. Konačni model je ukazivao na to da je prevladavanje usmereno na problem pozitivan prediktor opšte dimenzije psihološkog blagostanja, a usmereno na emocije negativan. Prevladavanje usmereno na problem je u studiji obuhvatalo oblike ponašanja kao što su planiranje redosleda daljih akcija, pozitivna ponovna procena situacije, traženje socijalne podrške, a usmereno na emocije otvoreno ispoljavanje emocija, fokus na sopstvena negativna stanja, potiskivanja ili minimalizovanje negativnih emocija,

itd. Međutim, autori napominju da se, i pored postojanja pozitivne povezanosti sa blagostanjem, prevladavanje usmereno na problem ne može izjednačavati sa *uspešnim* prevladavanjem, odnosno da je prevladavanje usmereno na emocije pogodnije u nekontrolabilnim situacijama. Ipak, većina razvojnih izazova i kriza sa kojima se mlade odrasle osobe suočavaju *jesu* kontrolabilne, budući da se radi o normalnim razvojnim iskustvima kroz koje prolazi većina mladih osoba. Ishodi situacija kao što su nalaženje partnera, izbor profesije i daljeg obrazovanja, građenja identiteta, osamostaljivanja od primarne porodice, u velikoj meri zavise od kapaciteta i sposobnosti mlade osobe, istovremeno ih i testirajući i podstičući njihov intenzivni razvoj. Normativne razvojne krize su šansa za napredovanje i rast osobe, razvoj kapaciteta koji joj omogućavaju da uđe u novo životno doba (Vlajković, 1992).

Problem istraživanja

Problem ovog istraživanja jesu relacije između strategija prevladavanja stresa i dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja u periodu adolescencije. Pod strategijama prevladavanja podrazumevaju se svi naponi usmereni ka kontroli i promeni stresne situacije, ali i sopstvenih emocija i reakcija na istu, koje osoba poduzima. Izdvojene su tri grupe strategija prevladavanja: prevladavanje usmereno na problem, usmereno na emocije (dva aktivna oblika prevladavanja), te izbegavanje (pasivni oblik nošenja sa stresom i izazovima). Dimenzije psihološkog blagostanja proističu iz modela Kerof Rif, koji se zasniva na eudamoničkoj koncepciji mentalnog zdravlja kao stanja razvijanja i diferenciranja osobe, ostvarenja novih postignuća. Izdvajaju se sledeće dimenzije: pozitivni odnosi sa drugima, autonomija, kompetentnost, svrha u životu, lični rast i samoprihvatanje. U radu su dimenzije tretirane kao zasebne varijable, a ne kao opšti skor zato što, iako jesu povezane i čine deo šireg konstrukta psihološkog blagostanja, u teorijskom smislu radi se o distinktivnim konstruktima, za koje se očekuje da imaju različite odnose sa ispitivanim varijablama.

Metod

Uzorak i procedura prikupljanja podataka

Uzorak ovog istraživanja je bio prigodan i činilo ga je ukupno 216 ispitanika, pretežno studenata Univerziteta u Istočnom Sarajevu, Novom Sadu i Beogradu. Podaci su prikupljeni putem onlajn ankete u aplikaciji „Google Forms“ i putem anketiranja uživo u periodu maja i juna 2019. godine. Ispitanici su pre početka ispitivanja potpisali dokument kojim potvrđuju da su informisani o ciljevima i svrsi istraživanja, tj. da je istraživanje anonimno i da će se dobijeni podaci koristiti isključivo u naučnoistraživačke svrhe.

Ispitanice čine 81.40% uzorka, te se može reći da uzorak nije polno uravnotežen. Raspon godina ispitanika se kreće od 18 do 25, sa prosečnom starošću 22 godine. Prikupljeni su i podaci o trenutnom bračnom statusu roditelja i emotivnom statusu samih ispitanika (da li se trenutno nalaze u romantičnoj vezi ili ne). Roditelji 79%

ispitanika su u braku, njih 12.45% dolazi iz porodica razvedenih roditelja, a 8.47% iz porodica u kojima je jedan od supružnika preminuo. U pogledu romantičnog statusa, 45.55% ispitanika navodi da su trenutno u romantičnoj vezi, 50.52% da trenutno nije u vezi, a 4% da su u braku.

Instrumenti istraživanja

U istraživanju su korišćeni sledeći instrumenti:

Upitnik strategija prevladavanja u stresnim situacijama (Coping Inventory for Stressful Situations/CISS-21, Endler & Parker, 1990, za domaću adaptaciju vidjeti Sorić i Proroković, 2002), skraćena verzija CISS skale. Instrument se sastoji od 3 skale: prevladavanje usmereno na problem („Analiziram problem pre nego što reagujem”, „Usmerim se na problem da vidim kako bih ga rešio”), prevladavanje usmereno na emocije („Pokušavam da se smirim i opustim”, „Pokušavam da smanjim strepnju zbog suočavanja sa problemom”) i izbegavajuće strategije („Isključujem se i izbegavam situaciju”, „Izlazim na piće i jelo”). Svaka skala obuhvata 7 ajtema, tj. instrument se sastoji od ukupno 21 stavke. Skale su Likertovog tipa, odnosno ispitanici označavaju u kojoj meri su upotrebljavali određene strategije prilikom susreta sa stresnom situacijom putem broјčane ocene od jedan do pet. Dobijeni alfa kronbah koeficijenti pouzdanosti u ovom istraživanju su: prevladavanje usmereno na problem (0.82), prevladavanje usmereno na emocije (0.74) i izbegavanje (0.80).

Skala psihološkog blagostanja (Psychological Well-Being Scale, Ryff, 1989) namenjena merenju različitih aspekata psihosocijalne zrelosti i blagostanja. Sastoji se od šest skala: autonomija („O sebi sudim na osnovu onoga što ja smatram važnim a ne na osnovu mišljenja drugih”), lični rast („Smatram da sam se značajno razvio kao osoba”), pozitivni odnosi sa drugima („Znam da mogu verovati svojim prijateljima, a i oni meni”), svrha u životu („Znam šta su svrha i cilj mog života”), samoprihvatanje („U globalu se osećam samopouzđano i zadovoljno samim sobom”), kompetentnost („Osećam da imam kontrolu nad svojim životom”). Svaka od navedenih skala se sastoji od 7 stavki (čitav instrument se sastoji od 42 stavke). Skala je Likertovog tipa, a ispitanici ocenjuju u kojoj meri se svaka od tvrdnji odnosi na njih putem broјčane ocene od jedan do sedam (teorijski minimalni skor na subskali je 7, a maksimalni 49). Dobijeni alfa kronbah koeficijenti pouzdanosti u ovom istraživanju su bili sledeći: autonomija (0.71), lični rast (0.73), pozitivni odnosi sa drugima (0.74), svrha u životu (0.70), samoprihvatanje (0.80) i kompetentnost (0.78). Za potrebe istraživanja skala je prevedena sa engleskog jezika. Da bi se obezbedio kvalitetan prevod ajtema, dvoje anglista je nezavisno jedno od drugog prevodilo sadržaj svake stavke testa. Zatim su njihovi prevodi upoređeni međusobno i sa originalom kako bi se identifikovala eventualna neslaganja i odstupanja. Nakon ove faze prevođenja testa, dvoje bilingvalnih psihologa je pregledalo sadržaj prevedenih i izvornih stavki i za svaku od njih davalo sud da li je predmet merenja isti.

Rezultati

Prvi korak statističke analize dobijenih podataka sastojao se od računanja osnovnih deskriptivnih vrednosti korišćenih skala i njihovih subskala. Dobijeni rezultati prikazani su u Tabeli 1.

Tabela 1

Deskriptivne vrednosti korišćenih skala

Skale	Min	Max	M	SD	Sk	Ku
Skala strategija prevladavanja						
usmereno na problem	12.00	35.00	26.61	4.83	-0.60	0.22
usmereno na emocije	7.00	35.00	20.62	5.31	-0.01	-0.26
Izbegavanje	7.00	35.00	22.91	6.24	-0.30	-0.64
Skala psihološkog blagostanja						
Autonomija	12.00	49.00	35.95	7.56	-0.49	0.27
Kompetentnost	13.00	49.00	34.16	7.39	-0.42	-0.16
Lični razvoj	9.00	49.00	39.02	6.49	-1.48	3.76
Pozitivni odnosi sa drugima	10.00	49.00	37.73	7.25	-0.77	0.56
Svrha u životu	15.00	49.00	36.19	7.09	-0.67	0.19
Samoprihvatanje	10.00	49.00	35.58	8.03	-0.66	-0.07

Pregledom vrednosti skjunisa i kurtozisa uočava se da praktično ni u jednom slučaju ne prelaze vrednost od +/-2, što označava da nijedno odstupanje distribucije skorova ispitanika od oblika normalne krive nije značajno u tolikoj meri da zahteva korišćenje neparametrijskih postupaka.

U Tabeli 2 prikazane su interkorelacije varijabli istraživanja.

Tabela 2

Interkorelacije varijabli istraživanja

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Problem		-.26**	.13*	.22**	.46**	.38**	.29**	.36**	.42**
2. Emocije			-.01	-.27**	-.63**	-.34**	-.32**	-.33**	-.54**
3. Izbegavanje				.02	.09	.04	.21**	.03	.14*
4. Autonomija					.35**	.47**	.24**	.37**	.40**
5. Kompetentnost						.51**	.56**	.55**	.74**
6. Lični rast							.49**	.56**	.52**
7. Pozitivni odnosi sa drugima								.38**	.58**
8. Viđenje života kao smisaonog									.55**
9. Samoprihvatanje									

** <0.01, * < 0.05.

Kao što je prikazano u Tabeli 2, sve dimenzije modela Kerol Rif međusobno koreliraju statistički značajno i pozitivno. I strategije prevladavanja usmerene na problem i usmerene na emocije statistički značajno koreliraju sa svim dimenzijama modela psihološkog blagostanja, dok izbegavanje korelira značajno samo sa dve dimenzije (pozitivnim odnosima sa drugima i samoprihvatanjem).

Kao tehnika analize podataka u ovom istraživanju odabrana je kanonička korelaciona analiza, tehnika koja se tradicionalno koristi u analizama međudnosa između velikih setova varijabli, odnosno kako bi se izdvojili značajni obrasci iz tabela interkorelacija varijabli istraživanja. Kako u slučaju ovog istraživanja sa jedne strane imamo tri vrste strategija prevladavanja, različite po vrsti aktivnosti koja se koristi kako bi se savladao nastali distres, a sa druge šest dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja konceptualizovanih u modelu Kerof Rif, kanonička korelaciona analiza je primenjena zarad sticanja uvida u prirodu povezanosti ovih varijabli.

Tabela 3

Prikaz izdvojenih kanoničkih funkcija

Funkcija	Karakteristični koren	% varijanse	R_c	R_c^2	Λ	F	df	p
1	1.09	92.82	.72	.52	.44	10.94	18	.00
2	0.06	4.70	.23	.05	.87	1.75	10	.04
3	0.03	2.47	.17	.03	.97	1.52	4	.20

Napomena. R_c = kanonička korelacija para funkcija, R_c^2 = kvadrirana kanonička korelacija, Λ = vrednost lambda koeficijenta, df = broj stepeni slobode, p = statistička značajnost kanoničke funkcije

Na osnovu kanoničke korelacione analize izdvojena su tri para kanoničkih varijabli, odnosno tri kanoničke funkcije. Rezultati sprovedenog Vilksovog lambda testa statističke značajnosti ukazuju na to da su statistički značajne prva ($\lambda = .44$, $F(18, 585) = 10.94$, $p = .00$) i druga ($\lambda = .87$, $F(10, 416) = 1.75$, $p = .04$) izdvojena kanonička funkcija, ali ne i treća ($\lambda = .97$, $F(4, 209) = 1.52$, $p = .20$). Prva kanonička funkcija obuhvata visok procenat zajedničke varijanse svih varijabli uključenih u analizu, čak 93%, a druga 4.70%.

Vrednosti koeficijenata korelacije varijabli prve kanoničke funkcije iznosi $R_c = .72$, odnosno procenat varijanse koju dve kanoničke varijable dijele je 52% ($R_c^2 = .52$). Sa druge strane, koeficijent korelacije varijabli druge kanoničke funkcije iznosi $R_c = .23$, što znači da je procenat varijanse koju ove kanoničke varijable dele 5% ($R_c^2 = .05$).

Zarad tumačenja strukture dobijenih parova kanoničkih varijabli izvršen je pregled vrednosti koeficijenata strukture, odnosno korelacija izvornih varijabli sa kanoničkim varijablama, kao i vrednosti koeficijenta redundandnosti:

Tabela 4
Koeficijenti strukture kanoničkih varijabli

Set 1	Prva kanonička varijabla (r_s)	Druga kanonička varijabla (r_s)
Emocije	<u>.89</u>	-.04
Izbegavanje	-.12	<u>.93</u>
Problem	<u>-.66</u>	-.20
R_d	21.80%	1.59%
Set 2		
Kompetentnost	<u>-.94</u>	.02
Autonomija	<u>-.42</u>	-.09
Lični rast	<u>-.60</u>	-.25
Pozitivni odnosi sa drugima	<u>-.54</u>	<u>.63</u>
Viđenje života kao smisaonog	<u>-.58</u>	-.25
Samoprihvatanje	<u>-.85</u>	.25
R_d	47.63%	10.22%

Napomena. r_s = koeficijenti strukture, R_d = koeficijent redundantnosti

Prilikom tumačenja vrednosti koeficijenata strukture, kao značajni u praktičnom smislu (dovoljno da zavređuju interpretaciju) uzeti su samo oni koeficijenti iznad 0.3 (podvučeni u tabeli), na osnovu smernica za sprovođenje kanoničke korelacione analize koje daju Šeri i Henson (Sherry & Henson, 2005), kao i Datalo (Dattalo, 2014).

Kao što je prikazano u Tabeli 3, sa kanoničkim faktorom prve funkcije visoko koreliraju strategije prevladavanja usmerene na emocije (.89) i usmerene na problem (-.66), a u drugom setu varijabli svih šest dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja negativno korelira sa izdvojenim kanoničkim faktorom. Ovakvi smerovi korelacija upućuju na postojanje negativne povezanosti strategija prevladavanja usmerenih na emocije sa *svim* dimenzijama psihološkog blagostanja, odnosno pozitivne povezanosti strategija usmerenih na problem sa takođe svim dimenzijama blagostanja.

U slučaju kanoničkih faktora druge izdvojene funkcije, sa njima pozitivno i visoko koreliraju strategije prevladavanja usmerene na izbegavanje iz prvog seta varijabli, a imamo pozitivnu korelaciju dimenzije pozitivni odnosi sa drugima iz drugog seta varijabli. Dakle, druga izdvojena kanonička funkcija ukazuje na postojanje pozitivne i specifične povezanosti između izbegavanja i pozitivnih odnosa sa drugima, što, uprkos niskom procentu obuhvaćene varijanse, zaslužuje dalju interpretaciju.

Koeficijenti redundantnosti pokazuju da kanonička komponenta sastavljena od dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja objašnjava 21.80% varijanse strategija prevladavanja, odnosno 1.59% varijanse u slučaju druge kanoničke funkcije. Sa druge strane, kanonička komponenta formirana na osnovu dimenzija strategija prevladavanja objašnjava 47.63% varijanse psihološkog blagostanja u slučaju prve, odnosno 10.22% u slučaju druge izdvojene kanoničke funkcije.

Diskusija i zaključak

Osnovni cilj ovog istraživanja bio je ispitivanje postojanja i prirode relacija između strategije prevladavanja, sa jedne strane, i dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja modela Kerol Rif, sa druge strane, u periodu pozne adolescencije. Budući da je istraživanjem obuhvaćen veliki broj varijabli, odnosno tri vrste strategija prevladavanja i šest dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja, korišćena je kanonička korelaciona analiza kao tehnika koja se preporučuje za utvrđivanje relacija između velikih setova varijabli, a na osnovu matrice interkorelacija. Psihološko blagostanje je operacionalizovano putem modela i skale autorke Kerol Rif koja izdvaja šest dimenzija pozitivne psihološke adaptacije i blagostanja koje srećemo kroz celoživotni razvoj.

U okviru mnogih teorija, poput Eriksonove teorije celoživotnog razvoja, naglašava se značaj adaptacije u periodu adolescencije na dalji razvoj osobe. Adolescencija se smatra periodom u kojem dolazi do konačne prerade i integracije problema svih ranijih razvojnih kriza i usvajanja uloge odrasle osobe (Erikson, 2008). Sam period adolescencije sa svim razvojnim zadacima koje jedna mlada osoba ima pred sobom proizvodi stres, te je stoga od velikog značaja koje će mehanizme prevladavanja osoba koristiti. Kvalitet tih mehanizama će uticati i na razrešenje samih razvojnih zadataka, ali i na kasnije obrasce suočavanja sa stresom i izazovima u odrasлом dobu.

Na osnovu sprovedene kanoničke analize izdvojene su dve statistički značajne kanoničke funkcije, pri čemu prva od njih obuhvata 92% zajedničke varijanse, a druga 4.7%. U prvoj izdvojenoj funkciji dve kanoničke varijable dele 52% zajedničke varijanse, a u drugoj 5%. Odlučeno je da se, i pored malo procenata obuhvaćene varijanse, i druga kanonička funkcija zadrži i interpretira, a odluka je donesena na osnovu testa značajnosti i nakon pregleda strukture faktora druge kanoničke funkcije, a koja rasvetljava specifičan odnos između jedne strategije prevladavanja (izbegavanje) i dimenzije psihološkog blagostanja (pozitivni odnosi sa drugima).

Na osnovu koeficijenata strukture izdvojenih kanoničkih funkcija, mogu se uočiti dva opšta trenda. U okviru prve kanoničke funkcije uočava se snažna pozitivna povezanost prevladavanja usmerenog na problem sa svim dimenzijama psihološkog blagostanja, kao i negativna povezanost prevladavanja usmerenog na emocije sa datim dimenzijama. Unutar drugog kanoničkog faktora prisutna je pozitivna povezanost između izbegavanja i pozitivnih odnosa sa drugima kao dimenzije blagostanja.

Još jedan zanimljiv podatak je da koeficijenti redundantnosti ukazuju na to da se daleko veći procenat varijanse dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja može objasniti putem strategija prevladavanja nego u obrnutom smeru (varijansa strategija predviđena na osnovu dimenzija blagostanja). Ovo bi moglo upućivati na to da bi u narednim istraživanjima bilo opravdano tretirati strategije prevladavanja kao prediktorske, a dimenzije blagostanja kao kriterijumske varijable. Rezultati sugerišu da kvalitet psihološkog blagostanja nastaje, makar delimično, na osnovu uspešnosti izbora i primene strategije prevladavanja i iskustva uspešnog rešavanja stresnih

situacija i razvojnih izazova. Ovo iskustvo uspeha, uspešnog prevladavanja, jeste osnova za nastanak osećanja lične kompetentnosti, autonomije, vrednosti, itd.

Dakle, na osnovu analize strukture faktora prve kanoničke funkcije nameće se zaključak o postojanju pozitivne povezanosti između strategija prevladavanja usmerenih na problem i dimenzija psihološkog blagostanja adolescenata. Strategije usmerene na problem podrazumevaju efikasno korišćenje naših intelektualnih resursa, unutrašnjih i spoljašnjih resursa kako bi osoba analizirala problem, odredila kurs akcije, te ga uspešno i sprovela. Osoba nije u pasivnoj ulozi nekoga ko trpi određenu situaciju, ili je čak žrtva iste, već aktivno pokušava da se suoči sa njom, što u njoj stvara osećaj kompetentnosti, slobode, smisla života i sopstvenih napora. Dobijeni rezultati su u velikoj meri u skladu sa rezultatima ranijih istraživanja. U studiji de Carvalha i saradnika (de Carvalho et al., 2013) sprovedenoj na uzorku ispitanika šireg starosnog raspona (od 18 do 84 godine), strategije usmerene na problem su takođe bile pozitivni prediktori svih aspekata psihološkog blagostanja. U studiji Mayordomo-Rodríguezove i saradnika (Mayordomo-Rodríguez et al., 2015) takođe se potvrđuje da je prevladavanje usmereno na problem bilo pozitivan prediktor blagostanja, a prevladavanje usmereno na emocije negativan. Međutim, značajno je napomenuti da u radovima Lazarusa i Folkmanove (1984) strategije usmerene na problem nisu shvaćene kao univerzalno adaptivne i pozitivne reakcije na situaciju koje bi *uvek* vodile ka mentalnom blagostanju. Adaptivnost konkretne strategije prevladavanja zavisi od prirode problema (Lazarus & Smith, 1988). U opisanim studijama se od ispitanika tražilo da opišu svoje *tipično ponašanje*, bez osvrta na to da li su ispitanici u stanju da pravilno protumače probleme (primarna procena) i u skladu sa tim odaberu najbolji smer akcije. Recimo, u situacijama bespovratne štete i gubitka (smrt bliskih osoba, raskid, itd.), adaptivnije je koristiti strategije usmerene na emocije jer osoba ne može da promeni suštinu događaja koji se već odigrao (Clarke-Stewart & Brentano, 2006; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Strategije prevladanja stresa usmerene na problem su adaptivne u kontrolabilnim situacijama i pozitivno su povezane sa indikatorima psihološkog blagostanja u različitim studijama (Zotović i Petrović, 2011). Sa druge strane, strategije usmerene na emocije pokazuju složeniji obrazac povezanosti sa psihološkim blagostanjem. One koje su prvenstveno usmerene na emocionalne izlive i prepuštanje emocijama negativno koreliraju sa adaptiranošću i blagostanjem, dok one koje su usmerene na kontrolu emocionalne ekspresije i promenu emocije drugačijom interpretacijom situacije (recimo, kao izazova, a ne kao pretnje) pozitivno koreliraju sa indikatorima mentalnog blagostanja (Compas et al., 2001). Prema Lazarusu i Folkmanovoj (1984), strategije usmerene na emocije su adaptivne u nekontrolabilnim situacijama, tj. onim situacijama u kojima osoba ne može da menja svoje okruženje, ali može sopstvene reakcije i ponašanje.

U poznoj adolescenciji osobe se suočavaju sa nizom razvojnih stresora – izbor daljeg smera obrazovanja i profesije, zasnivanje prijateljskih i partnerskih odnosa, definitivna separacija od porodice, građenje prve zrele strukture identiteta – koji u velikoj meri *jesu* kontrolabilni, odnosno pod kontrolom osobe (Erikson, 2008; Kapor-Stanulović, 2007). Stoga se u skladu sa osnovnim postavkama transakcionističke

teorije stresa može zaključiti da su strategije usmerene na problem najadaptivniji izbor u nošenju sa razvojno tipičnim stresorima adolescencije i razrešenju razvojnih izazova. Međutim, mnogi adolescenti se susreću i sa akcidentnim odnosno nerazvojnim krizama, a koje često podrazumevaju situacije koje jesu van njihove kontrole, pa je moguće da bi u takvim situacijama strategije usmerene na regulaciju sopstvenih emocionalnih stanja bile adaptivnije. Recimo, u situaciji razvoda roditelja adolescent ne može da promeni prirodu samog događaja, a adaptivno ponašanje je ono koje mu omogućava da razradi osećanja besa, napuštenosti, tuge i gubitka, itd., dakle ona ponašanja koja bi se mogla označiti kao prevladavanje usmereno na emocije (Clarke-Stewart & Brentano, 2006; Lazarus, 1993).

Sa druge strane, vrednosti koeficijentata strukture faktora prve kanoničke funkcije ukazuju na negativnu povezanost strategija prevladavanja usmerenih na emocije sa svim dimenzijama psihološkog blagostanja. Osobe koje dominantno koriste mehanizme prevladavanja usmerene na emocije su gore uklopljene u sopstvenu sredinu, imaju slabije razvijene odnose sa drugima, te nisu postigle optimalan balans između zavisnosti od drugih i lične autonomije. One takođe imaju oskudne i nerealistične planove za budućnost, nisu zadovoljne svojim ličnim rastom i napretkom, nesigurne su u sebe i svoje ciljeve i ne prihvataju same sebe.

Lazarus i Folkmanova (1984) u svom razmatranju različitih strategija prevladavanja navode da se one ne mogu unapred označiti kao adaptivne ili neadaptivne, već da stepen njihove uspešnosti zavisi od toga u kolikoj meri odgovaraju prirodi situacije. U tom smislu, strategije prevladavanja usmerene na emocije *jesu* konstruktivne kada se primenjuju u nekontrolabilnim situacijama – poput bespovratnog gubitka – gde problem nije moguće rešiti našim naporima, te se regulacija svog emocionalnog stanja i duševne ravnoteže nameće kao osnovni cilj. Drugi primer konstruktivne upotrebe ovih strategija jeste *kombinovano* sa usmerenim na problem, odnosno osoba može prvo regulisati svoje emocije, a zatim, kada se vrati u dovoljno stabilno stanje, početi da analizira i rešava problem (Folkman et al., 1986; Lazarus, 2000).

Primer istraživanja koji potvrđuje ova razmišljanja o odnosu strategija prevladavanja i stresora jeste studija čiji su autori Zotović, Petrović i Majstorović (2012), takođe sprovedena na uzorku adolescenata. Dobijeni rezultati pokazuju da adolescenti koji su izloženi intenzivnim i nerazvojnim stresorima, poput razvoda roditelja, smrti člana porodice, saobraćajnim nesrećama (rečeno razvojnim rečnikom, akcidentnim krizama) u većoj meri koriste strategije usmerene na emocije. Iako navedena studija ne obuhvata *ishode prevladavanja*, a ova studija nije uključila *vrste stresora* kojima su izloženi adolescenti u spisak merenih varijabli, čini se da poređenjem rezultata ovih studija možemo doneti određeni zaključak. Moguće je da su strategije prevladavanja usmerene na problem ključne u *tipičnim stresorima* adolescencije, odnosno da su daleko adaptivnije u odnosu na strategije usmerene na emocije, jer podstiču aktivno rešavanje problema, veru u sopstvene kompetencije, sposobnost analize i adekvatnog reagovanja, itd. Sa druge strane, u susretu sa kontrolabilnim razvojnim stresorima dominantno korišćenje strategija usmerenih na emocije pruža emocionalno rasterećenje, ali ne olakšava rešavanja samog problema i suočavanje sa njim.

Analiza koeficijenata strukture faktora druge kanoničke funkcije ukazuje na značajnu i pozitivnu povezanost izbegavanja i pozitivnih odnosa sa drugima, što nije iznenađujuće i može se interpretirati.

Osobe koje često koriste izbegavanje kao mehanizam prevladavanja su pasivne naspram problema, teže da ga minimalizuju ili u potpunosti negiraju (Endler & Parker, 1990). Da bi ovo postigle, često pribegavaju različitim distraktorima, odnosno aktivnostima čiji je cilj da privremeno skrenu pažnju osobe sa osnovnog problema, kao što su kupovina, prejedanje, druženje sa drugima, itd. Stoga ovakvi oblici ponašanja mogu dovesti do široke mreže poznanika i prijatelja koja se tumači u smislu pozitivnih odnosa sa drugima (Endler & Parker, 1990; Ryff, 2014). Moguće je da se navedena povezanost javlja usled bega od osnovnog problema i negativnih emocija u socijalnu aktivnost, a u svrski skretanja pažnje osobe od dubljih pitanja. Dakle, iako na površini osoba deluje adaptirano i u kvalitetnim odnosima sa drugima, ne treba zaboraviti da je u srži izbegavanja svojevrsno bežanje od problema, koje na duže staze neretko stvara još veće komplikacije usled intenziviranja problema, ili sama ponašanja koja su deo izbegavanja postaju problem (na primer, ekscesivna kupovina, prejedanje, konzumacija alkohola i nikotina, itd.). U studiji Kustera i saradnika (Kuster et al., 2017), sprovedenoj na uzorku mladih bračnih parova, korišćenje izbegavajućih obrazaca ponašanja bio je pozitivan prediktor stresa i problema u komunikaciji unutar partnerskog odnosa. Dakle, izbegavanje kao oblik ponašanja može u dužem vremenskom okviru dovesti do problema i disfunkcija unutar intimnih odnosa zbog sklonosti da se rešavanje problema odgađa, izbegava, da se oni minimiziraju.

Konačni zaključak koji se može izneti jeste da rezultati sugerišu snažnu pozitivnu povezanost prevladavanja usmerenog na problem sa dimenzijama blagostanja, odnosno snažnu negativnu povezanost strategija usmerenih na emocije sa datim dimenzijama. Ovo sugeriše da je značajno da adolescent, srećući se sa mnogobrojnim izazovima, koji zahtevaju od njega razvoj novih kapaciteta i koji su kontrolabilni, zna da adekvatno primeni strategije usmerene na problem. Ekscesivna usmerenost isključivo na emocije, do tačke zanemarivanja mogućnosti rešavanja problema i onih aspekata situacije koji jesu pod ličnom kontrolom, može dovesti do nižeg psihološkog blagostanja, osećaja bespomoćnosti, nekompetentnosti.

Naspram sekundarne prevencije, koja počiva na principu reagovanja i tretiranja emocionalnog problema tek kada do njega dođe i traje određeno vreme, u radu sa adolescentima neophodno je usvojiti pristup primarne prevencije, koja se zasniva na jačanju snaga i kapaciteta ličnosti i pre pojave razvojnih kriza i izazova (Vlajković, 1992). Dublje proučavanje maladaptivnih strategija prevladavanja bi otvorilo priliku za identifikovanje *rizičnih profila adolescenata*, sa kojima bi se moglo raditi na psihoedukaciji i učenju boljih strategija nošenja sa stresom i rešavanja problema. Edukativnim i savetodavnim radom sa ovakvim adolescentima ne samo da bi se unapredilo njihovo mentalno zdravlje, već bi se podstakao razvoj kapaciteta koji omogućavaju uspešnije razrešenje razvojnih kriza autonomije, identiteta i lične odgovornosti. U tom smislu, potencijalne intervencije usmerene ka očuvanju i promociji mentalnog zdravlja omladine mogle bi biti usmerene na razvoj strategija

prevladavanja kao što su prepoznavanje problema, identifikacija dostupnih opcija i sopstvenih snaga.

Kao jedno od ograničenja istraživanja može se navesti relativno uzak raspon starosti ispitanika, od 18 do 25 godina. Istraživanje koje bi obuhvatilo i mlađe adolescente dalo bi bogatije podatke u pogledu njihovih osnovnih preokupacija, razvojnih kvaliteta i postojanja eventualnih razlika u prirodi korištenih mehanizama prevladavanja (npr. mogla bi se postaviti hipoteza da usled niže kognitivne i emocionalne zrelosti mlađi ispitanici češće pribegavaju strategijama prevladavanja usmerenim na emocije). Dodatno ograničenje istraživanja jeste polna neujednačenost uzorka, budući da su devojke činile 80% uzorka. Na osnovu takve strukture uzorka nije moguće generalizovati dobijene zaključke na opštu populaciju adolescenata, odnosno nameće se potreba za detaljnijim ispitivanjem ovih procesa u uzorku muških adolescenata. Još jedno značajno pitanje koje nije dotaknuto ovim istraživanjem tiče se *porekla* razlika u stepenu preferencije određenih mehanizama prevladavanja. Na primer, da li određene osobine ličnosti, poput ekstraverzije i emocionalne stabilnosti, utiču na veći stepen korišćenja određene grupe strategija prevladavanja? Ili, sa druge strane, osnovnu determinantu treba tražiti u izloženosti različitim stresnim događajima, poput intenzivnih nerazvojnih stresora i akcidentnih kriza? Koliki je uticaj različitih socijalizacijskih modela, poput npr. ponašanja roditelja prilikom suočavanja sa određenim problemima? Ovo su samo neka od pitanja koja bi mogla biti istražena u budućim istraživanjima.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COPING STRATEGIES AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING IN LATE ADOLESCENCE²

Abstract

The goal of this research was to examine possible connections between coping strategies and dimensions of psychological well-being in the period of adolescence. In transactional stress theories, coping is defined as all effort that a person undertakes to cope with the external and internal demands of a stressful situation. This research used the Endler and Parker classification of coping strategies: problem-focused, emotion-focused coping strategies, and avoidance. The dimensions of psychological well-being were included from the Carol Ryff model: autonomy, self-acceptance, purpose in life, environmental mastery, positive relations with others, and personal development. The sample of the research consisted of 216 participants, aged from 18 to 25 years, with the average age being 21.73 years. Most participants were female, 81.40%. The results of the canonical correlation analysis point to a positive relationship between problem-focused coping and all dimensions of well-being, as well as a negative relationship between emotion-focused coping and all dimensions. Avoidance was positively connected with positive relationships with others. These analyses suggest that experiences in which adolescents successfully face controllable developmental stressors via problem-focused coping are essential for a healthy sense of well-being. Adolescents build key developmental capacities such as positive relations with others, autonomy, feelings of meaning, and purpose exactly through facing problems and mastering new capabilities and experiences. Excessive use of emotion-focused coping may bring short-term relief, but at the price of long-term well-being and maturity. One area of possible interventions is preventive adviser work with young people for them to develop optimal problem-focused strategies, such as situation analysis, searching for possible alternatives, careful preparation of actions, etc.

Keywords: coping strategies, psychological well-being, adolescence, developmental crises

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Luka Borović**Research Article**

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PERSONALITY TRAITS AND IDENTITY STATUS OF ADOLESCENTS: A PERSON-CENTERED APPROACH

Abstract

This research aimed to clarify the relationship between adolescent personality traits as measured by “Big Five Plus Two” inventory based on psycholexical studies of Serbian language, and identity status as defined in the theoretical and empirical works of Erik Erikson and James Marcia. The sample of the research consisted of $N = 201$ adolescents, aged 16 to 21, with an average age of $M = 18.32$, $SD = 1.12$. The instruments used were The Ego Identity Process Questionnaire and Big Five Plus Two - short version, an instrument based on lexical studies of Serbian language. Cluster analysis was used to classify adolescents according to identity maturity with an implicit goal of identifying adolescents who are predisposed towards successful or unsuccessful adaptation to identity tasks by their personality traits. The result showed that two clusters could be identified. The first cluster consisted of $N = 125$ adolescents who scored low on both commitment and exploration and this group was therefore named “undifferentiated identity status adolescents”. Regarding the personality traits, the typical pattern in this cluster was low openness to experience, as well as marked negative valence. The second cluster consisted of $N = 76$ adolescents which scored high on both commitment and exploration dimensions of identity; the cluster was named “mature identity status adolescents”. Their personality traits patterns were almost the opposite of the first group: high openness to experience and low negative valence were typical of this group. Therefore two conclusions are made from the results: (1) personality dimension openness to experience seems to be especially important in resolving identity tasks in adolescence, and it is possible to suggest that it corresponds to exploration based on their correlation; (2) identity maturity seems to be an important correlate of psychological well-being in adolescence, given that two groups differed sharply on the negative valence dimension and that less mature identity status adolescents typically scored higher scores on this trait.

Keywords: identity status, personality traits, adolescence, person-centered approach

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Introduction

Erikson's theory of lifelong development, besides being one of the most influential developmental paradigms in psychology, offers us valuable insights in practical work with persons who are currently undergoing various life difficulties and crises (Hammack, 2015). First, it allows us to mark *those* periods that are especially prone to vulnerabilities, or, psychologically speaking, important regarding the balance between developmental risks and opportunities to grow and progress (although *every* life period carries its challenges). Second, it allows us an easier understanding of *the basic conflict* which a person faces in a specific life period, its core nature (Sokol, 2009).

Adolescence, recognized by other development theoreticians as a very turbulent period of physical, psychological and social development, is conceptualized in Erikson's theory as a phase of significant developmental crisis of *identity formation*, which represents a culmination of tasks started in earlier developmental phases during childhood (Marcia, 1980). Simply said, the basic goal of adolescence is to form a clear and coherent picture of yourself, which includes both consciousness about one's inner states, characteristics and attributes, and knowledge about relevant social roles which are salient for the person, that is which are significantly emotionally invested (as a member of your family, professional role, religious and political opinion, etc.; Erikson, 1956). The basic element of identity according to Erikson is the feeling of *space-time continuity of a person*, the fact that most persons still *feel* as same people during passage of time and various social situations and spaces, despite the multitude of changes they go through (Croger & Marcia, 2011).

First serious attempts at identity formation occur in adolescence because of the culmination of multiple seemingly "parallel" developmental streams which in reality are strongly intertwined (Erikson, 1963). The growth of cognitive abilities, in the sense of developing Piagetian formal operations, enables better insight into your own inner states, characteristics, and abilities, and also an exploration of different life alternatives, albeit often only in adolescent phantasy. The parallel weakening of emotional dependence on primary family and questioning primary identification with parents and their intrapsychic images creates a strong need to *independently* achieve a sense of personal identity, one which will not be a simple sum of identifications with close persons and relevant social groups, but actively constructed (Ćeranić, 2005; Marcia, 1980).

Achieved sense of identity in adolescence implies a feeling of *loyalty* towards choices that were made regarding friends, romantic partners, plans for the future, career choice, political ideology, etc., and a clear picture of one's strengths and weaknesses (Croger & Marcia, 2011). On the other hand, formed or achieved identity in adolescence should not be interpreted as a rigid construct which is not liable to change; every significant life change or event, as well as next developmental crises, can lead to a new exploration and modification of seemingly unchangeable identity (Stephen et al., 1992). The fact that is undeniably significant is the *motivational* role

of achieved identity in life development after adolescence: identity choices help a person to determine *what* he/she wants to achieve (for example, a student who continues his education in order to be able to work in the desired profession someday; Kroger & Marcia, 2011).

Marcia's subsequent modification of Erikson's original teaching conceptualizes the process of identity formation and its outcomes through two processes: *exploration*, in the sense of trying out and "experimenting" with possible alternatives, and also *commitment*, basically the level of person's loyalty towards once made choices, and its determination to achieve them (Marcia, 1980). Based on the combined development and phases of these two processes, Marcia discriminates four *identity statuses*: achieved (loyalty to choices made after a period of extensive research), foreclosure (loyalty to choices which weren't made on the basis of research and trying alternatives, but passive acceptance of social or family expectations and values), moratorium (those who are in the *current* exploration and search for identity) and diffusion (lack of clear self-concept, no long-term effort directed towards exploration and identity formation; Kroger & Marcia, 2001). Marcia's operationalization of the identity formation process inspired much research and also the construction of various identity measures and scales in order to classify participants (Cote & Levine, 1988).

During his initial descriptions of the many factors which influence the identity formation process, Erikson highlighted the significance of social and cultural/historical factors, such as the availability of different alternatives, the authoritarianism of native culture, etc. (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001). Subsequent research was mostly pointed towards various personality factors and characteristics of the immediate social environment, for example, the closeness of the parent-child relationship, structure and functioning of the family, etc. The available research on the relationship between personality traits and identity dimensions suggests a strong correlation. In a study by Lonzbury et al. (2007), conducted on over 2,000 adolescents, personality traits of The Big Five Inventory predicted over 34% of the variance in identity maturity. Dimensions such as agreeableness, conscientiousness, openness to experience, extraversion and emotional stability correlated positively and significantly with a mature/stable sense of identity. Klimstre et al.'s (2012) study addressed the correlations between different facets of the Big Five personality dimensions and identity dimensions. However, a similar trend can be observed in this study: conscientiousness and agreeableness manifested the highest positive association with identity maturity, and neuroticism had a strong positive association with certain negative processes in search of identity, such as obsessive rumination. However, most of these studies examine relationships between variables, neglecting the practical possibilities of classifying respondents into broader groups or clusters based on combinations of different personality traits and identity maturity, which would give us the ability to isolate different "profiles" in counseling practice. In this research we decided to use *Big Five Plus Two* (VP+2) model, a personality model based on the psycholexical studies of Serbian language (Čolović et al., 2014).

One research which attempted to explore adolescent identity and personality in a form of a person-centered approach is a study by Morsunbul et al. (2016).

Using cluster analysis on identity dimension exploration in depth, commitment and reconsideration of commitment, five groups of participants were identified. The groups mainly corresponded with Marcia's four identity statuses (achievement, closure, diffusion and moratorium), with the exception of a *searching moratorium* cluster that consisted of individuals who first achieved mature identity and then proceeded to question it and explore further options. More mature identity statuses (searching moratorium, moratorium and achieved identity) scored higher on personality dimensions openness to experience, conscientiousness and agreeableness than less mature identity statuses. Authors interpret this in light of dual processes of exploration and commitment, which require both curiosity and willingness to experience new roles and sensations as well as the diligence in fulfilling personal goals and obligations.

The Big Five Plus Two inventory (VP+2) was constructed by Smederevac, Mitrović and Čolović, (2010) and it consists of the basic dimensions of personality: neuroticism, extraversion, conscientiousness, aggressiveness, openness to experience, positive valence and negative valence. Neuroticism refers to the tendency to experience negative emotions, including higher levels of anxiety and depressiveness than population average. This dimension is made of three narrower traits: depressiveness, anxiety, and negative affect (Smederevac et al., 2010). Extraversion refers to a personality dimension in which the level of reactivity of a person to the environment is observed, in terms of involvement, tendency to express positive emotions, optimism and suchlike. This dimension consists of three narrow traits: cordiality, positive affect, and sociability. Conscientiousness implies an individual's attitude towards obligations. It consists of three narrow traits: self-discipline, perseverance, and thoughtfulness. Aggressiveness refers to the expression of aggressive impulses that differ in terms of control and intensity. The narrower traits are anger, intransigence, and a difficult temper. Openness to experience is a dimension that relates to intellectual curiosity, that is, the pursuit and acceptance of new ideas and experiences, and includes narrow traits: intellect and novelty seeking. Positive valence refers to a positive attitude toward oneself. This dimension includes narrow traits: superiority and a positive self-image. Negative valence implies a negative attitude towards oneself and a negative evaluation of oneself and includes the traits: manipulativeness and a negative self-image (Smederevac et al., 2010).

Adolescence is an especially important period for identity formation (Marcia, 1980). A strong increase in cognitive, emotional and moral maturity enables a critical re-examining of childhood identifications and goals, and also of wider societal issues and life questions, such as the meaning of life, what does it mean to live a fulfilling life, how to be accepted and loved by others for who we are and also how to find a place for ourselves in society (Cote & Levine, 1988). These processes are supported by strong external changes, such as choosing education and future profession, first experiences of long-term separation from family for many adolescents (usually in the form of going to college), and expanding social world beyond the circle of primary family by forming first mature friendships and long-term relationships (Kroger & Marcia, 2011). The most intensive period for these changes is the last few years of high

school and first years in university, and therefore the sample of this study consisted mainly of third and fourth grade high school students, as well as first-year university students. It is also important to remember that many previous developmental factors, successes and failures, determine the adolescent behavior and long-term strategies when facing this developmental crisis. Therefore, the focus of this study was to explore whether adolescents of different identity maturity, classified in different clusters, also differ on various personality traits. These traits can be seen as a result of complex interaction of early experiences, individual activity and interpretation as well as various hereditary dispositions. In order to differentiate between adolescents of various degrees of identity maturity a series of cluster analysis was conducted with commitment and exploration - key components of identity building - as input variables.

There is a growing acceptance of a holistic, interactionist view in which the individual is seen as an organized whole, which functions and develops as a totality, and which is formed by the interaction of elements: behavior, plans, values, goals, biocognitive system, environment, etc. (Bergman & Magnusson, 1997). A holistic dynamic approach is taken as relevant in all studies dealing with individual development. (person-centered approach) and is often cited as distinctive in relation to the variable-centered approach. In the person-centered approach, most often the variable itself is not important, but the combination. This variable-oriented approach, which deals with the relationship between variables, can be useful in studying complex systems in a developmental perspective. The variable-oriented approach is also based on the study of linear relationships, studied among individuals, relationships that in linear models are usually assumed to be equal for each subject in the sample (Bergman et al., 2006).

The meaning attached to a personality characteristic refers to a series of characteristics that represent a combination or pattern of characteristics that is the essence of the type. The properties of a type are often indicated by a profile of values in the studied variables that define the type. For example, cluster centroids for a set of natural clusters would be one way of representing types. For example, the entire cluster solution can be called a typology (Bergman et al., 2006). A similar approach was used in this study: instead of examining the relationship between identity dimensions and personality traits via a set of isolated correlations and/or regression coefficients, a cluster analysis method was used in order to differentiate between different "identity types" found in our sample and examine whether they differ in personality traits. In this way a person - or a class of similar persons who share similar traits and developmental trajectories - becomes the main unit of analysis instead of classic variables.

On the basis of previous empirical research and theoretical considerations, several research hypotheses were formed. First hypothesis was that it would be possible to differentiate several clusters of adolescents on the basis of identity formation dimensions (commitment and exploration) as measured by The Ego Identity Process Questionnaire which roughly correspond to identity statuses as described by Marcia (1980). Second hypothesis was that these adolescents who

belong to different identity maturity clusters would achieve significantly different scores on Big Five Plus Two model dimensions. On the basis of previous research by Lonzbury et al. (2007), as well as by Klimstre et al. (2012), it was hypothesized that adolescents who belong to more mature identity clusters (characterized by higher exploration and commitment) would achieve higher scores on conscientiousness and openness to experience, and lower scores on aggressiveness and neuroticism.

Method

Sample

The research sample consisted of 201 adolescents, third and fourth-year high-school students from the Sarajevo-Romanija region (63.68%), as well as psychology students from the University of Eastern Sarajevo (36.3%). Male adolescents compose 34.30% sample versus 65.70% females. Adolescent age was between 16 and 21 years, and the average age was $M=18.32$, $SD=1.12$.

Instruments

Two instruments were used in this research. **The Ego Identity Process Questionnaire** (Balistreri et al., 1995) is based on Marcia's identity status model and it is used to assess ego-identity in four ideological areas (politics, religion, values, career) and four interpersonal areas (friendships, partner relationships, family, gender roles). It consists of two subscales: exploration and commitment. The instrument was translated into Serbian in a graduate thesis by Borović (2017), with the help of bilingual speakers. The instruments were first translated into Serbian by one bilingual speaker, and then back into English by another bilingual speaker in order to ascertain whether the meaning of items remained the same. Exploratory factor analysis confirmed the two-factor structure of the instrument. The decision about the number of factors that were used and interpreted was made on the basis of parallel analysis. Some examples of items from the commitment subscale are "I am unlikely to alter my vocational goals", "I am very confident about what kind of friends are best for me", and the following examples for the exploration subscale "I have evaluated many ways in which I fit into my family structure", "I have discussed religious matters with a number of people who believe differently than I do". Items refer to exploration and commitment in the field of political and religious beliefs, choice of occupation, friends and partners, as well as identification with family values. The alpha Cronbach coefficients we calculated in this research were $\alpha = .72$ for exploration and $\alpha = .83$ for commitment.

For measuring adolescent personality characteristics, we used **Big Five Plus Two – short version** (VP+2-70), an instrument based on psycholexical studies of Serbian language terms that describe personality traits, made by Čolović, Smederevac & Mitrović (2014). The questionnaire consists of seven subscales, each ten items long: extraversion, neuroticism, conscientiousness, aggressiveness,

openness, positive and negative valence. The Serbian version of this personality model is specific because it integrates two new dimensions – positive and negative valence – which describe positive and negative social and moral evaluation of self, both by the person itself and in the eyes of significant others (or, to be precise, how we *think and feel* significant others perceive and value us). All calculated reliability coefficients were satisfying and their range is from 0.78 to 0.91.

Data Analysis

The method of cluster analysis used in the first stage of data analysis was a two-step cluster analysis in order to achieve a decision regarding the number of formed clusters. Erikson (1956) mainly spoke about immature and mature identity in his writings, whereas Marcia (1980) developed four identity status categories on the basis of commitment and exploration dimensions. The conducted two-step cluster analysis which used identity commitment and exploration as input variables confirmed the optimality of the two-cluster solution on the basis of silhouette measure of cohesion and separation (0.60). The clustering criterion used in this analysis was the Schwarz's Bayesian Criterion (BIC). The first cluster consisted of 122, and the second consisted of 79 participants. Then a k-means cluster analysis was conducted with the command to calculate two clusters. The results were almost identical to the results of the two-cluster analysis. The first cluster consisted of 125, and the second consisted of 76 participants. In both cluster analyses members of the second cluster were characterized by higher scores on identity commitment and exploration when compared to the members of first clusters. Since the results of two cluster analyses were extremely similar, the results from k-means cluster analyses were used in further testing of hypotheses. A series of t-tests was conducted in order to examine whether members of two clusters differed significantly from the Big Five Plus Two model dimensions.

Results

The theory of Erikson and Marcia postulates that identity development occurs via different “development trajectories”. These trajectories are shaped by, among other things, adolescent dispositions that certainly include personality traits as permanent dispositions shaped by genetic background and upbringing. Identity formation is a fluid and dynamic process, and therefore, in light of the transversal nature of research, it should be noted that the results obtained are a rough cross-section of a process, based on which it is only possible to indicate the “favorable” and “unfavorable” combinations of personality traits that facilitate this process.

The first step of data processing was to calculate the basic descriptive indicators of personality dimensions of the Big Five Plus Two, as well as two dimensions of identity - commitment and research - and to calculate the normality of distribution to determine their representation/expression in the sample of respondents.

Table 1*Descriptive values and normality of distribution of the instruments*

Scale	Min	Max	M	SD	Sk	Ku
EIPQ						
Commitment	40.00	90.00	66.56	9.44	0.03	0.10
Exploration	41.00	91.00	62.99	9.59	0.70	0.69
BF+2						
Aggressiveness	10.00	47.00	28.56	7.15	-0.11	0.01
Extraversion	10.00	50.00	35.53	6.59	-0.24	1.04
Neuroticism	10.00	50.00	24.18	8.30	0.47	0.02
Negative valence	10.00	49.00	27.47	10.64	-0.24	-1.09
Openness	10.00	50.00	37.32	6.91	-0.36	0.20
Positive valence	16.00	49.00	33.33	6.70	0.22	0.07
Conscientiousness	18.00	45.00	38.12	7.28	0.04	-1.12

As shown in Table 1, none of the variable skewness values were higher than +/- 2, so these deviations from the normal curve shape were not extreme and therefore parametric statistical measures were used in further analysis.

In Table 2, the correlation coefficients between research variables are shown.

Table 2*Intercorrelations of research variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.commitment		.12	-.21**	.29**	-.35**	-.14	.23**	.39**	.41**
2.exploration			-.04	-.03	.01	-.08	.24**	.01	.09
3.aggressiveness				-.12	.35**	.44**	-.11	-.04	-.33**
4.extraversion					-.08	-.09	.46**	.32**	.32**
5.neuroticism						.20**	.06	-.33**	-.40**
6. negative valence							-.25**	-.05	-.37**
7. openness								.27**	.36**
8. positive valence									.57**
9. conscientiousness									

** < 0.01 (2-tailed).

It is interesting to note that commitment correlates significantly with most dimensions from the Big Five Plus Two model. This represents a strong argument for the interdependence of personality traits and identity formation process. The highest correlation is with conscientiousness, which is not surprising if we consider similarities between those two constructs, which are both described in terms of persistence and strong desire to achieve personal goals and choices, and the strength to tolerate various obstacles and frustrations on this path. Exploration correlates significantly and positively only with openness to experience, which also points to the similarities between these two dimensions. In Marcia's (1980) model, exploration is described as a tendency to explore new roles, relationships and

experiences in order to reach important identity conclusions. Openness to experience is a disposition towards seeking these new experiences, having wide intellectual and aesthetic sensibilities, strong curiosity, etc.

As the next step in the analysis of the obtained data, a classification of the examined adolescents was conducted according to the dimensions of identity, to separate groups of different identity maturity. Cluster analysis was used for this purpose since the EIPQ identity status questionnaire never went through extensive validation in our area, that is, we do not have elaborated norms that would allow individual respondents to be automatically classified into one of the four identity statuses postulated by the theory.

First, a two-stage cluster analysis was conducted to extract the optimal number of clusters that could be formed based on the set of data obtained. The silhouette measure of cohesion and separation indicated the optimality of the two-cluster solution, which is inconsistent with the theory of Marcia on the four identity statuses. However, it is possible that the instrument is not discriminatory enough in our population to make such fine distinctions, or that, due to the age of the respondents (average age 18 years), it is more correct to use a rougher distinction with a more mature - immature identity. Two clusters formed by the two-step cluster analysis corresponded to the two clusters formed by similar k-means cluster analysis. In both cases, the first cluster ($N = 122$ in two-step cluster and $N=125$ in k-means cluster analysis) consisted of adolescents who scored lower scores on commitment and explorations when compared to adolescents in the second cluster ($N = 79$ in two-step cluster analysis and $N =76$ in k-means cluster analysis). The Chi-square test showed no statistically significant difference in membership between these two classifications ($\chi^2 = 7.32, df = 1, p = .65$).

Cluster centers formed by the two-cluster analysis are shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Cluster centers

Dimensions	Cluster	
	1	2
Commitment	64.80	69.45
Exploration	57.16	72.75
<i>N</i>	125	76

As shown in Table 2, the participants from the first cluster score lower scores on dimensions commitment and exploration than the second cluster members. This cluster consists of $N = 125$ adolescents and, in light of its structure and score composition it was named “*undifferentiated identity status*”.

The Chi-square test showed that there are no significant gender differences in cluster membership ($\chi^2 = 2.43, df = 1, p = .13$). On the other hand, t-test showed that there are significant differences in age ($t(199)=-4.53, p = .00$). Members of the second cluster are on average ($M=18.8$) older than the members of the first cluster (M

= 18.06). The next step was to calculate several t-tests in order to explore differences between groups, with the goal of establishing whether given clusters *are significantly different* in personality dimensions. The results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

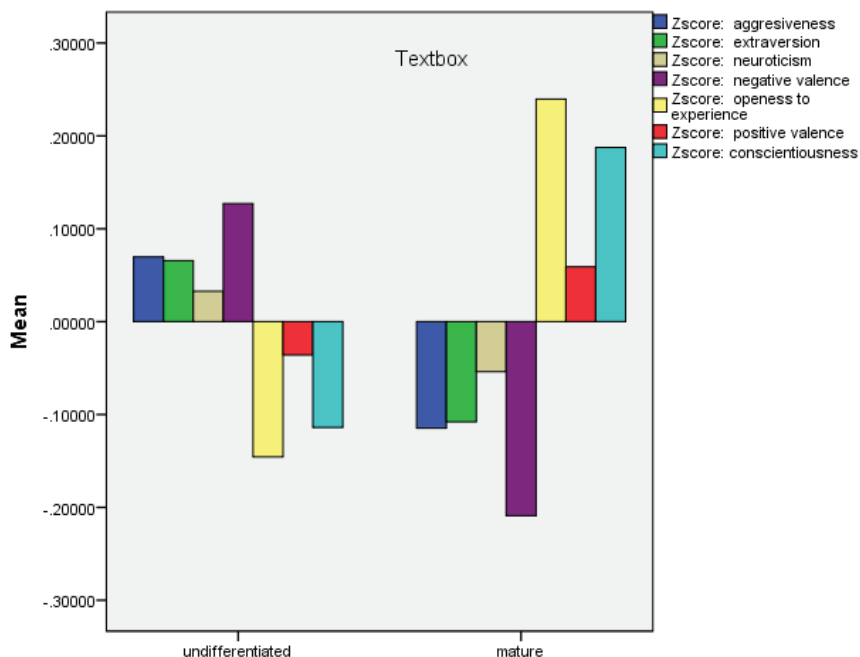
Significance of differences in personality dimensions between mature and undifferentiated participants

Identity status	Aggressiveness	Extraversion	Neuroticism	Negative valence	Openness	Positive valence	Conscientiousness
Undifferentiated(M)	29.06	35.96	24.46	28.82	36.32	33.09	38.24
Mature (M)	27.74	34.82	23.74	25.25	38.97	33.72	38.04
<i>t</i>	1.27	1.19	0.60	2.34	-2.69	-0.65	0.12
<i>p</i>	.21	.23	.55	.02	.01	.52	.90

The results of the t-test show that participants – members of two clusters – differ significantly by scores on the dimensions openness to experience and negative valence. Members of the second cluster, which was marked as “*mature identity*”, score higher scores on openness and lower scores on negative valence in comparison to the first cluster members – “*undifferentiated identity adolescents*”.

Figure 1

Average values of cluster members on Big Five Plus Two dimensions (values given in z-scores)



Members of the second cluster, who score higher scores on both commitment and exploration, also achieve higher scores on openness to experience, positive valence and conscientiousness, and lower scores on aggressiveness, negative valence, but also extraversion. Members of the first cluster reveal a profile with higher negative valence and lowered openness to experience and conscientiousness. However, t-test values show that only differences on negative valence and openness to experience are statistically significant.

Discussion

Two clusters were formed from the studied sample of adolescents on the basis of identity dimensions, commitment and exploration. Subjects from the second cluster achieved moderately elevated scores on commitment and exploration, indicating an intertwining of these processes and adequate steps toward the development of mature identity. The resulting cluster reveals to us a picture of a curious adolescent who is ready to explore and experiment, but also to be loyal to the choices already made. Therefore, this cluster has been referred to as a “mature identity” - with the deliberate avoidance of the term “achieved” identity, since these are adolescent high school and university students who have certainly not yet fully formed their identities, as they are yet to make many significant life choices (such as the choice to further choose their possible education and profession). The term “mature” should not be interpreted in absolute terms, as Erikson’s theory considers that it is not possible to form a completely mature and adult identity in adolescent age. Hence this category should be seen as composed of adolescents who show *greater maturity* regarding identity questions *compared to* their peers, not maturity equal to persons who successfully resolved this developmental crisis and moved to adulthood.

The first cluster reveals a different picture and by most characteristics represents the opposite of the second. Adolescents classified in this cluster have low scores on both commitment and exploration, which indicates either apathy towards questions of identity and near future, or unreadiness to face them. Therefore, the members of this cluster are marked as “*undifferentiated*”. We used this term in order to suggest that their identity is merely *immature* at the moment, not that they experienced a permanent failure to construct identity, a state which Erikson (1956) calls *identity diffusion*. Adolescents classified in the first cluster cannot be equated with persons in permanent identity diffusion, who didn’t solve the adolescent crisis, because in this case, we are speaking about adolescents who didn’t achieve this developmental achievement yet, it is completely possible and expected that they shall do so in the future.

These two clusters differ significantly on personality dimensions, openness to experience and negative valence. Members of the second cluster achieve lower scores on negative valence and higher scores on openness to experience. Low scores on negative valence are related to a positive self-image that, together with the need to

search for new experiences and openness to new ideas and attitudes, points to a secure attachment style (Bolbi, 2011). It is possible that positive self-concept is a necessary prerequisite for a successful entry into the process of identity formation (Vukčević, 2014). High openness to experience also seems to be an especially significant trait, possibly because it leads to an increased willingness to explore new social roles and choices in adolescence, as well as a degree of intellectual curiosity that is necessary in the process of building a complex view of self and the world.

Higher negative valence scores found in the second cluster probably play their role as a factor that both *contributes* to the maladaptive realization of developmental tasks and is at the same time a *consequence* of the insufficient resolution of identity questions. We can also mark lower openness to experience as personal disposition that contributes to worse identity integration: lack of intellectual curiosity, and of desire to experience and try new things is a significant risk factor because it deprives adolescents of key developmental experiences and opportunities to explore themselves and the world in different ways.

It should be noted that negative valence consists of two subdimensions: manipulativeness and a negative self-image, and that both dimensions are to a certain degree intertwined. Several studies typically conducted on a sample of students have shown a correlation between negative valence and negative mental health. For example, in the study of Sakač and Marić (2018), conducted on a sample of 418 students, both subdimensions of negative valence were significant and negative predictors of their subjective well-being. In a study by Vukić (2018) conducted on a sample of 100 elementary and 100 high-school students, negative valence correlated positively with social anxiety and negatively with assertiveness. These results point out that a negative view of oneself in the sense of moral defectiveness as well as incompetence could lead to negative mental health in adolescence through avoidance of developmental challenges, feelings of helplessness and vulnerability, fear of rejection from others, etc. In light of our results this could suggest that negative self-image makes successful resolution of key adolescent experiences and challenges less likely, which leads to a less coherent self-image and further mental health problems arising from a lack of clear goals, values and convictions.

It is interesting to note that members of the first cluster (“undifferentiated”) are more numerous than members of the second cluster (“mature”). The Chi-square test shows no gender differences in cluster membership, although the t-test showed significant difference in age. However, the difference is not drastic: average age for the first cluster is 18 years, and for the second cluster 18.8. One explanation that can be offered is that moving to university, which often includes first long-term separation from primary family and a larger degree of autonomy and self-sufficiency in everyday life, is a powerful catalyst of identity development and especially exploration at this age.

Klimstre et al (2012) in their study found the correlations between different facets of the Big Five personality dimensions and identity dimensions. Lounsbury et al. (2007) in a study based on a sample of 2,092 college students, Sense of Identity was found to be significantly related to the Big Five traits (agreeableness,

conscientiousness, emotional stability, extraversion, and openness) as well as four narrow personality traits (aggression, optimism, tough-mindedness, and work drive).

The results found in this study bear many similarities to the ones found in a study by Morsunbul et al. (2016), but there are also some differences. The main difference is the number of formed clusters. Morsunbul et al. (2016) formed five clusters that roughly correspond to Marcia's identity statuses, but in this research a two-cluster solution was found to be optimal. The main source of these differences could be in the structure of the sample - this research had a smaller sample and a narrower age span than the cited study (in which participants were aged 12 to 24) - that could lead to lesser sensitivity in differentiating between different identity statuses. Furthermore, there were differences in measured dimensions of identity formation. This study measured commitment and exploration, but Morsunbul et al. (2016) study also measured an additional identity dimension, reconsideration of commitment, that refers to the subsequent examination of made choices in fields such as occupation, ideology and relationships. In our study there were significant differences between members on clusters on dimensions of negative valence and openness to experience. In the cited study higher openness to experience was noted in more mature identity statuses, but also conscientiousness. However, one possible explanation could be that conscientiousness becomes especially important element of identity formation only in subsequent stages of adolescence when there is a strong societal pressure to realize choices that were made (for example, find a job in chosen occupation, form a stable relationship with a chosen type of partner, have a firm ideological stance of societal problems, etc.). Morsunbul et al. (2016) study also covered participants aged from 22 to 24, whereas this study only covered participants up to the age of 21. So, it could be possible that openness to experience is a key component of early identity building and experimenting, but conscientiousness becomes more important near the end of adolescence when it is expected to realize made choices and show a larger measure of self-discipline and diligence.

Conclusion

The primary aim of this research was to examine whether adolescent groups of different identity maturity differ significantly on personality dimensions of the Big Five Plus Two model. It may be possible to separate the "at-risk" and "adequate" profiles of adolescents who are at an increased risk of psychological distress and inadequate resolution of the identity development crisis, or who are adequately "prepared" to go through this significant developmental crisis and life milestone.

Another interesting result is that *two* clusters were formed, not four as described in Marcia's (1980) theory of identity formation. One of the possible reasons may be the relatively small number of participants, but also insufficient discriminability of the instrument used for measuring dimensions of identity (EIPQ), which did not pass through standardization in Serbian culture. However, the real reason may also be connected with the developmental characteristics of participants: maybe we can only

differentiate between more and less mature identity in middle adolescence, but in late adolescence (for example during college) there is a clear differentiation between four identity statuses as described by Marcia.

The practical implications of the results suggest the possibility of creating treatment in working with adolescents, which would be focused on recording the situation and monitoring the development of identity statuses, and the possibility of predicting crises in identity development. Recommendations for future research would be to increase the sample and longitudinally monitor the development of adolescent identities.

This study also faced several limitations. First of all, the age span of participants (16 to 21) should be considerably widened in future studies in order to include both younger adolescents as well as older ones which could be considered to be in “emerging adulthood”. A more detailed analysis of identity domains is also needed in order to identify key identity themes in separate phases of adolescence. For example, it seems appropriate to assume that relationship identity themes (friendship and romance) are more prominent in younger adolescents who form their first intimate friendships and partner relationships, and that vocational themes become more prominent in older adolescents who are facing the choice of future profession or further continuance of education. It is also necessary to measure identity processes in a more detailed way. This study measured only global commitment and exploration, but more modern studies (for example, the study of Morsunbul et al.) also differentiate between different types of exploration, such as in-depth and in-width exploration, which gives us a more detailed picture of these processes in adolescence.

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OSOBINE LIČNOSTI ADOLESCENATA RAZLIČITOG STATUSA IDENTITETA: PRISTUP USMJEREN NA OSOBU²

Apstrakt

Cilj ovog istraživanja bio je pojašnjenje odnosa između osobina ličnosti adolescenata onako kako ih definiše model „Velikih pet plus dva“ razvijen na osnovu psiholeksičkih studija srpskog jezika, te statusa identiteta onako kako ga definišu Erikson i Marsija u svojim teorijskim i empirijskim radovima. Uzorak se sastojao od $N = 201$ adolescenata, starosti od 16 do 21 godine, sa prosječnom starošću $M = 18.32$, $SD = 1.12$. Korišćeni su instrumenti Uпитnik procesa razvoja identiteta i Velikih pet plus dva – skraćena verzija, nastala putem leksičkih studija srpskog jezika. Za klasifikaciju adolescenata prema zrelosti identiteta korišćena je klaster analiza, sa implicitnim ciljem identifikovanja adolescenata koji su po svojim osobinama ličnosti predisponirani ka uspješnoj ili neuspješnoj adaptaciji na zadatak formiranja identiteta. Na osnovu dobijenih podataka bilo je moguće izdvojiti dva klastera. Prvi klaster se sastojao od $N = 125$ adolescenata koji su postigli niske skorove i na posvećenosti i na istraživanju, te je ovaj klaster imenovan kao „adolescenti nediferenciranog statusa identiteta“. U pogledu osobina ličnosti, tipičan obrazac koji su ispoljili pripadnici klastera se odlikuje niskom otvorenošću ka iskustvu i visokom negativnom valencom. Drugi klaster sastojao se od $N = 76$ adolescenata koji su postigli visoke skorove i na posvećenosti i na istraživanju; pripadnici ovog klastera su nazvani „adolescenti zrelijeg statusa identiteta“. Obrasci njihovih osobina ličnosti su bili u oštroj suprotnosti spram pripadnika prvog klastera, tj. ispoljili su visoku otvorenost ka iskustvu i nisku negativnu valencu. Stoga je na osnovu dobijenih rezultata moguće donijeti dva zaključka: 1) dimenzija ličnosti otvorenost prema iskustvu je izuzetno važna u rješavanju zadataka u vezi sa identitetom za vrijeme adolescencije, te je moguće sugerisati da korespondiraju procesu istraživanja na osnovu njihove međusobne korelacije, 2) zrelost identiteta je značajan korelat psihološkog blagostanja u adolescenciji, s obzirom da su se dvije grupe izraženo razlikovale u pogledu dimenzije negativna valenca, a adolescenti nezrelijeg statusa identiteta su tipično postizali više skorove na ovoj osobini.

Ključne riječi: status identiteta, osobine ličnosti, adolescencija, pristup usmjeren na osobu

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„SUJETA” – OD KONSTRUKTA DO KORELATA

Apstrakt

U okviru rada nastojali smo da što detaljnije opišemo dosadašnje saznanje vezano za koncept sujete. Prvi deo rada odnosi se na prikaz definisanja sujete iz ugla raznih istraživača, kao i prikaz načina na koji je ovaj koncept operacionalno definisan. Drugi deo je usmeren na prikaz istraživanja vezano za postojanje polnih razlika u pogledu ispoljavanja određenih dimenzija sujete. Treći deo se odnosi na pokušaj da se odredi priroda sujete, adaptivna ili maladaptivna, kroz prikaz dosadašnjih rezultata istraživanja povezanosti ovog konstrukta sa drugim iz domena psihologije ličnosti, mentalnog zdravlja, socijalne psihologije i sl. Pošto je sujeta najviše istraživana u domenu psihologije marketinga, poslednji deo rada predstavlja osvrt na dosadašnja saznanja o važnosti sujete za psihologiju marketinga. Prema LeBelu sujeta predstavlja dvodimenzionalni konstrukt koji se opisuje preko preteranog ispoljavanja zadovoljstva fizičkim izgledom i preteranog ispoljavanja zadovoljstva vezanog za vlastite sposobnosti i postignuća. Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na postojanje razlika između osoba muškog i ženskog pola u pogledu ispoljavanja određenih dimenzija sujete. Imajući u vidu dosadašnje rezultate studija, možemo izvesti zaključak da je sujeta maladaptivni konstrukt koji se posebno zloupotrebljava u marketingu gde su čak i osmišljeni termini potrošačka i konfekcijska sujeta.

Ključne reči: sujeta, preterano zadovoljstvo fizičkim izgledom, preterano poverenje u vlastite sposobnosti, konfekcijska sujeta, potrošačka sujeta

Uvod

Iako je sujeta termin koji se često koristi u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji, malo je naučnih radova koji se bave opisom ovog pojma. Detaljnim pretraživanjem literature koja je dostupna na engleskom i srpskom jeziku (pretraženo je i jezicima koji su slični srpskom jeziku, kao što su bosanski, hrvatski, crnogorski) naišli smo na mali broj radova, od čega je većina radova iz oblasti marketinga, a jako mali broj

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onih koji se sujetom bave iz ugla psihologije ličnosti. Kako je sujeta pojam koji se veoma često koristi u svakodnevnom govoru, a sa druge strane je ljudima jako teško da jasno definišu šta tačno ovaj pojam znači, osnovni cilj rada usmeren je na bliži opis pojma sujete, kako je ona definisana, preko kojih teorija je moguće objasniti sujetno ponašanje i na koji način je operacionalizovana. Zatim ćemo pokušati da, analizirajući i opisujući nalaze drugih istraživača, odgovorimo na sledeća pitanja: 1) da li su osobe muškog i ženskog pola podjednako sujete? 2) da li je sujeta adaptivni ili maladaptivni konstrukt? I na kraju, 3) koja je pozicija sujete u marketingu?

Pojam sujete

“Lepota osobe je veća preporuka nego li bilo koje pismo preporuke.”²
Aristotel

U literaturi su dostupne oprečne pretpostavke o tome kako bi trebalo definisati sujetu. Prema jednom stanovištu sujeta predstavlja crtu ličnosti (Sztulman, 1976) koja se razvija procesom rane socijalizacije (Durvasula et al., 2001). Nasuprot ovom, postoji stanovište koje na sujetu gleda kao na ponašanje koje je usvojeno pod dejstvom uticaja okruženja (Mason, 1981).

Prema Websteru (Webster, 1990) sujeta podrazumeva ispoljavanje preteranog ponosa na sopstveni izgled i dostignuće. Visoko sujetne osobe ispoljavaju znake „uzaludnog ponašanja” koje se ogleda u spremnosti da se preduzme rizik, bilo finansijski ili zdravstveni, kako bi osoba poboljšala javni utisak u društvu (Webster et al., 2014) i na taj način uspešnije promovisala samu sebe (Pham, 2015).

Prema leksikonu stranih izraza sujeta je „osobina nekoga da ističe svoju ličnost, da se otima za slavom i počastima, taština, slavaljublje“ (Vujaklija, 1991, str. 854).

Operacionalizacija sujete

U domenu psihologije sujeta je prvo operacionalno definisana kao dimenzija instrumenta NPI kojim se meri grandiozni narcizam (Raskin & Terry, 1988). Skoro dve decenije kasnije LeBel (2003) konstruiše skalu sujete koja meri generalno sujetno ponašanje. Prema njegovom stanovištu sujeta se određuje kroz dve dimenzije: *preterano zadovoljstvo fizičkim izgledom* (excessive physical view) i *preterano poverenje u vlastite sposobnosti* (excessive abilities view). Instrument je adaptiran na uzorku ispitanika iz Kanade (LeBel, 2003), sa Novog Zelanda (Egan & McCorkindale, 2007), iz Japana (Nakagawa & Park, 2014) i Iraka (Musa, 2018).

Međutim, sujeta je puno više istraživana u domenu psihologije marketinga. Najpoznatija skala za merenje sujete jeste *The Vanity Scales* (Netemeyer et al., 1995). Ova skala izdvaja četiri dimenzije sujete: *zabrinutost za fizički izgled, pozitivna (i donekle ‘naduvana’) slika sopstvenog fizičkog izgleda, zabrinutost za dostignuće, pozitivna (i donekle ‘naduvana’) slika sopstvenog dostignuća*. Zabrinutost za fizički izgled je dimenzija sujete koja se odnosi na potrebu osobe da uvek izgleda dobro, da drugi ljudi primete da je ona zgodna, lepa, da se ljudi okreću za njom na ulici. Pozitivna

² Citat na engleskom: Personal beauty is a greater recommendation than any letter of reference.

(i donekle ‘naduvana’) slika sopstvenog fizičkog izgleda podrazumeva sigurnost u sopstvenu fizičku poželjnost (ostali mi zavide zbog mog dobrog izgleda, ja sam jako zgodna osoba). Zabrinutost za dostignuće podrazumeva potrebu osobe da bude korisna, da bude drugima potrebna, takmičarski nastrojena (želim da postignem više od svojih vršnjaka). Pozitivna (i donekle ‘naduvana’) slika sopstvenog dostignuća se meri ajtemima kao što su „ja sam jako uspešna osoba”, “mogu biti uspešan u čemu god poželim”. Instrument je adaptiran na uzorcima iz više različitih zemalja kao što su: Litvanija (Petravičiūtė et al., 2021), Dubai (Mady et al., 2011), Indija (Tewari & Pathak, 2015), Tajvan (Hung et al., 2011), Pakistan (Khalil et al., 2020), Malezija (Chui & Sidin, 2011).

Pomenuti instrumenti koji mere sujetu nisu adaptirani na srpski jezik. Jedini instrument kojim je moguće izmeriti sujetu (kao dimenziju grandioznog narcizma), a koji je dostupan i na srpskom jeziku jeste Inventar narcističke ličnosti (NPI inventar). Na srpski jezik su ga adaptirali Popov i Sekulić-Bartoš (2016).

Teorije koje su povezane sa sujetom

Teorija sopstva u ogledalu³

Prema ovoj teoriji mi oblikujemo naš doživljaj sebe u odnosu na to kako zamišljamo da nas drugi opažaju (Cooley, 1902). Proces formiranja ideje kako nas drugi vide prolazi kroz tri faze. U prvoj fazi pojedinac zamišlja kako ga vide/doživljavaju druge osobe. Nakon što zamislimo kako nas drugi vide, neophodno je da zamislimo i kakav je sud o nama tih drugih osoba. Posle, prethodnim redosledom navedenih zamišljanja, možemo doživeti emociju stida, krivice, kajanja, ali i ponosa (Cooley, 1902). Ovo zamišljanje kako nas drugi vide može dovesti i do razvoja sujete kao odgovora na zamišljene interpretacije. Pored identifikovanja sa onim što mislimo da drugi opažaju kod nas i kako nas doživljavaju, refleksija sopstva zavisi i od toga ko je osoba za koju zamišljamo da nas procenjuje (obrazovanje te osobe, status i sl.; Yeung & Martin, 2003). Za razvijanje pozitivne slike sopstva bitne su interakcije osobe iz detinjstva u odnosu na ljude koji su joj bliski. Na primer, rezultati istraživanja koje je provedeno na uzorku dece koja pohađaju muzičku školu ukazuju na važnost odnosa roditelja prema toj deci za razvijanje akademske i socijalne samoefikasnosti (Kostić i sar., 2020). Naime, rezultati ukazuju da je za razvijanje efikasnosti kod ove dece najbitnije da roditelji, posebno majka, imaju razvijen autoritativni stil roditeljstva (odnosno, postavljanje visokih očekivanja od deteta, sprovođenje nadzora, ali istovremeno pružanje nežnosti, podrške i ljubavi). Kros-kulturalna istraživanja sujete ukazuju na veći skor na dimenziji zabrinutosti za vlastito postignuće kod mladih iz Kine u odnosu na njihove vršnjake iz SAD (Wang & Waller, 2006); pri čemu autori smatraju da je u osnovi ovakvih razlika tradicionalni pritisak na kinesku decu da moraju biti uspešni kako bi na taj način pomogli celoj porodici (ove osobe osećaju visok pritisak u vidu očekivanja svoje porodice).

³ Looking- Glass Self Theory

Teorija self-prezentacije

U osnovi ove teorije jeste ideja da osobe teže ka tome da se u društvenim interakcijama prikažu u što boljem svetlu kako bi postigle neku nagradu (npr., konkurs za posao, ljubavni sastanak) ili pak kako bi svoj javni self (javni imidž) što bliže izjednačili sa idealnim selfom (kakav bih zaista želeo da budem; Baumeister, 1982; Schlenker & Pontari, 2000). U domenu sujete, sklonost self-prezentaciji ispoljava se kroz preduzimanje niza akcija kako bi se ostavio što bolji utisak na druge. To se može ispoljiti kroz pažljivo biranje garderobe prilikom nekog sastanka, kod osoba ženskog pola potreba da uvek budu našminkane itd. Ova ponašanja mogu biti i zdravstveno rizična, kao što je sklonost preteranom ispoljavanju sunčevim zracima kako bi se postigao što lepši ten čime se poboljšava javni utisak privlačnosti; zatim sklonost konzumiranju steroida kako bi se u što kraćem roku postigao napredak u doživljaju zadovoljstva sopstvenim telesnim izgledom i sl. (Leary et al., 1994). Npr., visoko sujetne osobe su sklone self-promociji na društvenim mrežama (Carpenter, 2012).

Self-šema teorija

Predstavlja proširenje kognitivne šema-teorije (Axelrod, 1973) i na druga područja života (Markus, 1977). Self-šema je kognitivna i mentalna predstava koju osoba ima o sebi, a koja raste i razvija se kroz proces asimilacije informacija koje su u skladu sa dosadašnjom šemom, pri čemu je osoba sklona da odbaci ili ignoriše one informacije koje nisu u skladu sa njenom self-šemom (Markus, 1977). Kao što smo naveli, ove šeme se mogu razvijati za različite aspekte života, u zavisnosti od toga šta nam je bitno. Pa tako, osoba može razviti telesnu self-šemu (body image – subjektivni doživljaj sopstvenog telesnog izgleda; Garner & Garfinkel, 1981). Pošto je tom pojedincu izgled bitan aspekt za procenu sopstvene vrednosti, on će težiti tome da dostigne ideal lepote telesnog izgleda koji je obično delom kulturološki uslovljen. Ukoliko mu je približavanje idealnoj lepoti nedostižno, osoba može razviti negativnu sliku sopstvenog telesnog izgleda (Jung, 2006).

Da li je sujeta podjednako izražena kod osoba različitog pola?

Naredni cilj ovog rada usmeren je na proučavanje rezultata istraživanja koja su se bavila ispitivanjem razlika između polova u pogledu ispoljenosti sujete. Nekoliko studija koje su se bavile ovim problemom ukazuju na postojanje razlika između osoba muškog i ženskog pola u pogledu ispoljenosti različitih dimenzija sujete (Chui & Sidin, 2011; Durvasula & Lysonski, 2008; Morris et al., 1995; Musa, 2018; Wang & Waller, 2006; Workman & Lee, 2011).

Rezultati istraživanja Morisa i saradnika (Morris et al., 1995) ukazuju da osobe ženskog pola ispoljavaju veću sujetu vezano za zadovoljstvo fizičkim izgledom (zainteresovanost za modu, kozmetičke proizvode i sl.), dok su osobe muškog pola ispoljile veći nivo sujete vezano za vlastito postignuće i uspešnost (osobe muškog pola su ispoljile veću sklonost i potrebu za upoznavanjem i druženjem sa poznatim ličnostima, odnosno sa statusno uspešnim ljudima). Rezultati se mogu upotpuniti i nalazom da je materijalna situiranost jako bitna, odnosno, ženske osobe koje su materijalno situirane ispoljavaju veći nivo fizičke sujete u odnosu na ženske

osobe nižeg socijalnog statusa (Ogden & Thomas, 1999; Thiyagarajan & Shanthi, 2012). Sa druge strane, nalazi nekih studija ukazuju da osobe ženskog pola koje su nižeg materijalnog statusa osećaju veći pritisak za postizanjem idealne lepote jer lepotu doživljavaju kao značajan resurs prilikom traženja posla i napretka u karijeri (Edmonds, 2007; Laaksonen et al., 2005). Rezultati Morisa su delimično potvrđeni kroz neke naredne studije (Thiyagarajan & Shanthi, 2012; Wang & Waller, 2006; Workman & Lee, 2011). Vang i Veler (Wang & Waller, 2006) su u kroskulturalnom istraživanju koje je sprovedeno na ispitanicima iz SAD i Kine dobili da osobe ženskog pola ispoljavaju veći nivo zabrinutosti za fizički izgled u odnosu na osobe muškog pola na uzorcima iz obe kulture. Slične nalaze, da veću zabrinutost za fizički izgled ispoljavaju osobe ženskog pola, dobili su i Vorkman i Li u svom radu (Workman & Lee, 2011). Durvasula i Lisonski (2008) nisu dobili razlike među polovima u kontekstu zabrinutosti za fizički izgled i za postignuće, ali jesu u pogledu zadovoljstva fizičkim izgledom. Naime, osobe ženskog pola u proseku ispoljavaju veći nivo sujete koja se odnosi na zadovoljstvo vezano za fizički izgled u odnosu na ispitanike muškog pola (Durvasula & Lysonski, 2008). Sa druge strane, nalazi Čerira i saradnika upućuju na veći stepen ispoljenosti fizičke i intelektualne sujete kod osoba muškog pola (Cherrier et al., 2009).

Dakle, dosadašnje studije sugerišu postojanje razlika između osoba muškog i ženskog pola u pogledu onih dimenzija sujete koje se odnose na zabrinutost, bilo za fizički izgled (više su zabrinute osobe ženskog pola), bilo za intelektualno postignuće (više skorove ispoljavaju osobe muškog pola). Vorkman i Li (Workman & Lee, 2011) dobijene razlike objašnjavaju kulturološkim standardima koji su nametnuti ženama i muškarcima; odnosno, veći je pritisak na osobama ženskog pola u pogledu zahteva da budu negovane, mršave, atraktivne. Sa druge strane, od muškaraca se očekuje da budu uspešni, stambeno situirani, bogati.

Ovi nalazi se mogu upotpuniti, ili bolje razumeti, ukoliko se uzmu u obzir i nalazi koji upućuju na polne razlike u domenu onih konstrukata koji su povezani sa sujetom. Neki dosadašnji nalazi ukazuju da muškarci ispoljavaju veći nivo patološkog narcizma u odnosu na žene (Anwar et al., 2016; Grijalva et al., 2015). Jedan od konstrukata koji se može izdvojiti kao značajan za razumevanje ovih polnih razlika jeste samookupiranost⁴. Rezultati studija ukazuju na visoku povezanost između javne samookupiranosti i narcizma (Barnett & Sharp, 2017; Kostić & Stanojević, 2022). Naime, McKenzie i Holi (McKenzie & Hoyle, 2008) navode da osobe ženskog pola ispoljavaju visok skor javne samookupiranosti. Barnett i Šarp (Barnett & Sharp, 2017) smatraju da je u osnovi ovih razlika način socijalizacije osoba muškog i ženskog pola; odnosno, oni smatraju da su osobe ženskog pola

⁴ Self-absorption – kod nas prevedeno kao samookupiranost (Kostić & Stanojević, 2022) predstavlja patološku formu samosvesti. Ispoljava se kroz dve dimenzije, privatnu i javnu samookupiranost. Privatna samookupiranost se ispoljava kroz preterane misli o sebi koje ometaju svakodnevno funkcionisanje osobe (primer ajtema: teško mi je da mislim o bilo čemu drugom osim o sebi). Javna samookupiranost se odnosi na preterane i okupirane misli o tome kako nas drugi opažaju, ali u toj meri da nam te misli otežavaju svakodnevno funkcionisanje (primer ajtema: osećam se kao da me drugi neprestano ocenjuju kada sam sa njima).

odgajene tako da su zabrinutije za to da se dopadnu drugima (po ponašanju očekuje se da žena bude smerna, fina i sl., ali i po izgledu, negovana, zgodna, mršava), dok je muškarcima bitnije da ih drugi opažaju kao uspešne (status, poslovna karijera, poznavanje ljudi koji su na važnim položajima u društvu). Pošto se smatra da je samookupiranost važna pri razumevanju polnih razlika u pogledu narcizma, a kako je sujeta izdvojena kao dimenzija narcizma, postoji mogućnost da je ovaj koncept i u osnovi polnih razlika vezan za određene dimenzije sujete. Međutim, nedostaju nam empirijski podaci koji bi ovu pretpostavku potkrepili.

Trebalo bi napomenuti da navedeni nalazi ne upućuju na zaključak da ženama nije bitno intelektualno postignuće, već samo na, u proseku, veću zabrinutost i okupaciju vezano za fizički izgled kod žena. Rezultati rada Čuji i Sidni (2011) pokazuju da ženske osobe u Maleziji ispoljavaju visok skor na dimenziji intelektualne sujete. Autorke ovaj nalaz objašnjavaju kroz važnost koju žene sve više pridaju razvoju sopstvene karijere. Odnosno, osobama ženskog pola postaje sve bitnije da ih drugi opažaju kao moćne i uspešne (Chui & Sidin, 2011). Istraživanje koje je sprovedeno u Srbiji ukazuje na umeren pozitivan stav samohranih majki prema jednoroditeljstvu (Kostić i Radović, 2018). Međutim, iako su ove osobe navele da svaka žena treba da se ostvari kao majka bez obzira na to da li ima ili nema stalnog partnera, one takođe navode da nisu sve osobe sposobne da budu majke, kao i da su očevi važne roditeljske figure pri gajenju dece. Ovakav disbalans između stavova autori pripisuju kulturološkom aspektu u kome se žena danas nalazi. Sa jedne strane, žena oseća potrebu da se ostvari kao supruga i kao majka (ideal moralne veličine: biti verna i odana supruga, domaćica i dobra majka), a sa druge strane žena oseća potrebu da se ostvari kao individua (obrazovanje, karijera). Pored obrazaca afektivne vezanosti koji su bitni prediktori ostvarenja dijadnih odnosa, ovakav ambivalentan stav prema reprodukciji može se objasniti i preko sujete. Naime, sujeta je i determinanta koja, u korelaciji sa narcizmom, a preko osobina ličnosti, negativnim predznakom doprinosi predviđanju spremnosti da se uloži energija kako bi se pronašao partner i zasnovala porodica (Egan & McCorkindale, 2007). Odnosno, rezultati pokazuju da ženske osobe koje nisu motivisane pronalaskom dugotrajne partnerske veze imaju izraženiju sujetu vezano za fizički izgled i dosta ulažu u poboljšanje fizičkog izgleda (poseta salonima lepote, kupovina skupe garderobe i sl.) u odnosu na osobe koje su motivisane da pronađu partnera.

Da li je sujeta adaptivni ili maladaptivni konstrukt?

Iako je sujeta uglavnom opisana kao prekomerno ispoljavanje ponosa (Webster, 1990) ili uzaludnih oblika ponašanja (Webster et al., 2014) postavlja se pitanje da li to znači da je sujeta maladaptivni konstrukt?

Prema rezultatima nekih dosadašnjih istraživanja, postoji pozitivna povezanost između sujete i neuroticizma (Egan & McCorkindale, 2007; Natividade et al., 2020), depresivnosti (Workman & Lee, 2011), preteranog oholog ponosa (Workman & Lee, 2011), poremećaja ishrane (Hall & O'Mahony, 2007; Workman & Lee, 2011), zabrinutosti za fizički izgled (Wang & Waller, 2006; Workman & Lee, 2011).

Zatim, sujeta je negativno povezana sa saradljivošću (Egan & McCorkindale, 2007; Natividade et al., 2020), savesnošću (Egan & McCorkindale, 2007), samopoštovanjem (Khalil et al., 2020), zadovoljstvom telesnim izgledom (Jackson et al., 1992). Rezultati nekih studija ukazuju na udeo sujete u objašnjenju devijantnog ponašanja pojedinaca (Netemeyer et al., 1995; Tao & Chen, 2017).

Posmatrano iz ugla psihologije marketinga rezultati nekih studija ukazuju na povezanost sujete sa modnom anksioznošću⁵ (Chang et al., 2011), zatim sa sklonošću ka kompulsivnoj kupovini (Awais et al., 2014); kupovini skupe, markirane garderobe, nakita, kozmetičkih preparata (Chui & Sidin, 2011; Khalil et al., 2020; Loureiro et al., 2017; Sharda & Bhat, 2019; Workman & Lee, 2013), kao i sklonost poseti luksuznim restoranima (Chui & Sidin, 2011). Visoko sujetne osobe su sklone self-promociji na društvenim mrežama (Carpenter, 2012), mogu biti opsednute praćenjem (informisanje o njima preko društvenih mreža) slavni ličnosti (Martin et al., 2019).

Sa druge strane, sujeta je pozitivno povezana sa ekstraverzijom i otvorenošću ka iskustvu (Egan & McCorkindale, 2007; Natividade et al., 2020). Neki nalazi upućuju da visoko sujetne osobe pokazuju visok nivo zadovoljstva sopstvenim fizičkim izgledom (Jackson et al., 1992; Strehlau et al., 2015). Studija u Litvaniji pokazuje da sujeta nije medijator odnosa procene luksuzne vrednosti brenda automobila i namere da se isti automobil poseduje (Petračiūtė et al., 2021). Intelektualna sujeta je pozitivno povezana sa stepenom obrazovanja (Concatto, 2016; Natividade et al., 2020). Studija koja je sprovedena u Velikoj Britaniji ukazuje na negativnu korelaciju između sujete i sklonosti posećivanju luksuznih restorana (Peng et al., 2017). U nastavku ćemo ponuditi rezultate i analize par istraživača koji nude rasvetljenje za neke dvojake nalaze istraživanja vezanih za sujetu.

Kao što smo naveli, visoko sujetne osobe imaju nizak nivo samopouzdanja i samopoštovanja (Khalil et al., 2020). Međutim, ovi nalazi nisu dosledni (Walraevens, 2019). Rezultati nekih istraživanja ukazuju na potrebu razlikovanja dve vrste samopoštovanja (eksplicitno i implicitno) i otvaraju pitanje udela sujete u eksplicitnom samopoštovanju (Walraevens, 2019). Eksplicitno samopoštovanje predstavlja naš svesni doživljaj vlastite vrednosti (Jordan et al., 2003). Ovaj svesni doživljaj ne mora biti u skladu sa nesvesnim doživljajem sebe (implicitno samopoštovanje). Odnosno, smatra se da osobe koje pokazuje u javnosti visoko samopoštovanje, a sa druge strane su jako ‘ranjive’, krhke i burno reaguju na svaku vrstu kritike i neodobranja, zapravo imaju visok nivo eksplicitnog (u čijoj osnovi

⁵ Modna anksioznost predstavlja osećanje zabrinutosti i nelagodnosti koje je prouzrokovano nestabilnim modnim okruženjem. Nestabilno modno okruženje ogleda se u brzini razvoja modne industrije. Veliki je protok informacija vezan za „savremene modne trendove“ koje je teško ispratiti ukoliko niste samo tome posvećeni. Sa druge strane, osobe se takođe susreću i sa materijalnim poteškoćama vezanim za mogućnost da sebi priušte najnovije modne artikle. Ovaj raskorak između želje (da budem informisan i u toku sa najnovijim informacijama vezanih za modu, ali i da imam sredstava da to sebi i priuštim) i stvarnih mogućnosti (vreme da se posvetimo najnovijim informacijama i stvarno posedovanje materijalnih sredstva radi kupovine da priuštimo sebi svega što želimo) dovodi do nastanka modne anksioznosti.

je sujeta), ali ne i implicitnog samopoštovanja (Jordan et. al., 2003). Valravens (2019) veruje da je razlog tome što je u osnovi eksplicitnog samopoštovanja sujeta, a ne osećaj autentičnog ponosa. Ovi nalazi su u skladu sa rezultatima koji ukazuju na važnost sujete za razvoj profesionalne karijere (Concatto, 2016). Naime, autor navodi da sa godinama radnog iskustva kod osobe sve više dolazi do izražaja sujeta koja doprinosi da se poveća i osećaj sopstvene vrednosti kod radnika (eksplicitno samopoštovanje), a samim tim i veće karijerno zadovoljstvo (Concatto, 2016)⁶. Slični nalazi su dobijeni i pri testiranju stava prema evaluaciji od strane nastavnika na fakultetu (Davidović-Rakić i Kostić, 2019). Naime, rezultati ukazuju da što osoba ima duži radni staž ima i negativniji stav prema evaluaciji od strane studenata⁷ (pri čemu razlog za ispoljavanje ovako negativnog stava može biti sujeta nastavnika). Odnosno, visoko sujetne osobe verovatno ispoljavaju visok nivo eksplicitnog samopoštovanja, ali ne i implicitnog, pa je to razlog zašto se u nekim istraživanjima dobija pozitivna povezanost između ovih konstrukata.

Navedeni rezultati se mogu jasnije razumeti ukoliko se napravi razlika između autentičnog i oholog ponosa. Autentični ponos se ogleda u stvarnom osećaju vlastitog postignuća i vlastite uspešnosti, praćen je intrinzičkom motivacijom i osećajem radosti zbog onoga što smo postigli. Oholi ponos se ogleda u osećanju nadmoćnosti, superiornosti u odnosu na druge, praćen je konstantnom potrebom za priznanjem u društvu. Webster i saradnici (2014) navode da je sujeta visoko povezana sa oholim ponosom, ali ne i sa autentičnim. Osnovna razlika između ova dva konstrukta ogleda se u spremnosti za ispoljavanjem „uzaludnih“ oblika ponašanja. Iako postoji pozitivna povezanost sujete i oholog ponosa sa zabrinutošću za imidž, ipak je sujeta zaslužna za spremnost na „uzaludne oblike ponašanja“. Odnosno, prema Websteru i saradnicima u osnovi spremnosti da se ide na estetsku hirurgiju, da se kupuje markirana garderoba, posećuju luksuzni restorani i sl. nije oholi ponos, već sujeta (Webster et al., 2014).

Peng i saradnici (Peng et al., 2017) nalaz da su osobe koje imaju niži skor na skali sujete sklonije poseti luksuznih lokala objašnjavaju ekonomskim standardom te zemlje. Naime, oni smatraju da luksuzni restorani u Velikoj Britaniji nemaju sami po sebi neku simboličku ekspresivnu vrednost jer je poseta ovakvim restoranima dostupna većem broju stanovništva.

Prema shvatanjima nekih autora, osnovni cilj sujetnog ponašanja jeste postizanja određenog prestiža u društvu (Chang et al., 2008; Netemeyer et al., 1995) bez obzira na cenu koštanja takvog oblika ponašanja (Webster et al., 2014). Posmatrajući sveobuhvatno nalaze, možemo izvesti zaključak da rezultati istraživanja više govore u prilog shvatanju da je sujeta maladaptivni konstrukt.

⁶ Autor smatra da osobe na početku karijere, usled nedovoljnog poslovnog iskustva, imaju niži nivo samopouzdanja jer one tek treba da se dokazuju (osetljive su na društveni pritisak). Ovo osećanje se menja sa povećanjem radnog iskustva, a prema njegovom mišljenju u osnovi ove izmene jeste sujeta. Sa povećanjem radnog iskustva, povećava se nivo sujete kod osobe, ta osoba ispoljava visoko eksplicitno samopouzdanje, što doprinosi da istovremeno oseća zadovoljstvo svojom karijerom.

⁷ Neki od ajtema za procenu stava su: „Ja znam koliko dobro radim, i ako nekoga zanima može slobodno da pita mene, a ne studente“; „Studenti treba da su samo slušaoci nastave, a ne njeni ocenjivači“; „Neću se obazirati na rezultate studentske evaluacije“.

Jer vi to zaslužujete! Marketinška zloupotreba naših slabosti ili ohrabri- vanje na usvajanje adaptivnih formi ponašanja?

Poslednji cilj ovog preglednog rada odnosi se na prikaz nekoliko istraživanja koja ukazuju na odnos sujete i marketinga. Rezultati nekih studija ukazuju da je sujeta korisna za marketinške strategije posebno u oblastima prodaje garderobe, kozmetičkih preparata, usluga u salonima lepote i sl. Koliko su ovi pojmovi povezani postaje jasnije kada se uzme u obzir da su u okviru istraživanja iz domena marketinga osmišljena dva termina: potrošačka sujeta (consumer vanity) i konfekcijska sujeta (vanity size).

Potrošačka sujeta predstavlja sklonost ka kupovini skupih preparata, brendirane odeće i obuće, a sve sa ciljem postizanja prestiža (Chang et al., 2008; Khalil et al., 2020). Istraživanje potrošačke sujete povezano je sa razvojem globalne potrošačke kulture koju karakteriše materijalizam i ekspresivna kupovina. Materijalizam se najšire definiše kao potreba pojedinca da sopstvenu vrednost identifikuje sa posedovanjem materijalnih dobara koje su u društvu prepoznate kao „statusno vredne“ – vredim koliko posedujem (Clammer, 1997). U osnovi težnje ka statusu jeste potreba da impresioniramo druge, da nam se dive i da nam zavide (Ball & Eckel, 1996).

Dubai je jedan od gradova koji se smatra svetlim primerom globalizacije. Jedna grupa autora je nastojala da ispita da li je modernizacija u vidu razvijanja potrošački orijentisanog društva dovela do povećanja materijalizma i sujete kod stanovnika u Dubajju (Mady et al., 2011). Rezultati njihovog istraživanja ukazuju da ispitanici u Dubajju ispoljavaju pozitivan stav prema reklamama, visok nivo materijalizma i visok nivo sujete. Pored toga, rezultati ukazuju na postojanje pozitivne povezanosti između sujete i materijalizma.

Konfekcijska sujeta (Vanity sizing) predstavlja trend proizvođača odeće i obuće da namerno menjanju konfekcijske brojeve odeće kako bi se potrošači osećali zadovoljnije. Rezultati nekih studija pokazuju da je ovo dobra taktika za zadovoljenje kupaca. U obimnoj studiji koja je obuhvatila različite veličine muških i ženskih komada odeće različitih brendova, Frenc (Franz, 2017) je ustanovio sklonost brendova da naznačuju veličine garderobe manjim u odnosu na dosad naučena značenja veličina (npr. dimenzije koje su do sada bile poznate kao L, navode se kao M), a sve sa ciljem da se potrošači identifikuju sa veličinom odeće, a kako taj brend potencira da oni nose manji broj, samim tim bi trebalo da se potrošači i osećaju bolje. Ovi nalazi su podržani i od strane nekih empirijskih studija na potrošačima; rezultati ukazuju na postojanje direktnog efekta konfekcijskog broja koji odgovara određenoj ženskoj osobi i pozitivnog stava prema tom brendu (Aydinoğlu & Krishna, 2012, 2014; Busman et al., 2018; Franz, 2017). Odnosno, ukoliko postoje dva proizvođača odeće, pri čemu jedan proizvođač za određene dimenzije garderobe stavi oznaku „S“ veličine, a drugi proizvođač za iste dimenzije oznaku „M“ veličine, veća je verovatnoća da će ženska osoba kupiti stvar od prvog brenda jer će se osećati lepše i uspešnije sa idejom da nosi veličinu „S“. Ketron i saradnik smatraju da je ono što određuje društvenu poželjnost određenih veličina upravo sujeta (Ketron & Naletelich, 2017). Ketron i Vilijams (2018) navode da je predviđanje sklonosti ka

kupovini odeće koja je naznačena sa manjim konfekcijskim brojem povezana sa telesnim self-konceptom (Size-Related Self-Concept) i da je karakteristična samo za osobe ženskog pola, jer društvo propagira mršavost kao ideal ženske lepote (Ketron & Williams, 2018).

Ukoliko uzmemo u obzir da je sujeta pozitivno povezana sa pozitivnim odgovorom na marketinške strategije (Ketron & Naletelich, 2017; Ketron & Williams, 2018; Mady et al., 2011); da neki autori ukazuju da je sujeta medijator odnosa između materijalizma⁸ i modne anksioznosti (Chang et al., 2011); zatim, da je sujeta i medijator odnosa između osobina ličnosti (neuroticizma, ekstraverzije i saradljivosti) sa jedne strane, i sklonosti ka kompulzivnoj kupovini, sa druge strane (Awais et al., 2014), možemo izvesti zaključak da se marketinške strategije baziraju na zloupotrebi naših slabosti, pa floskula „Jer Vi to zaslužujete“ u kontekstu ovih saznanja dobija sasvim novo značenje.

Zaključak

U domenu psihologije sujetu možemo predstaviti kao višedimenzionalni konstrukt koji se karakteriše ispoljavanjem preteranog zadovoljstva ili preteranom zabrinutošću za fizički izgled i intelektualne sposobnosti i postignuće (LeBel, 2003). Ono što razlikuje sujetu od narcizma i oholog ponosa jeste spremnost da se preduzme određeni rizik (najčešće zdravstveni) ili da se plati visoka cena (bilo kupovina brendirane garderobe, poseta luksuznim restoranima i sl.) kako bi se postigao i očuvao pozitivan javni utisak i stekao određeni statusni simbol. Dosadašnja istraživanja ukazuju na postojanje razlika između muškaraca i žena u pogledu ispoljenosti sujete. Naime, više je rezultata istraživanja koji ukazuju da su osobe ženskog pola zabrinutije za svoj fizički izgled (sujeta vezana za fizički izgled), dok su osobe muškog pola zabrinutije za intelektualno postignuće (intelektualna sujetu). Sujeta je dosta zloupotrebljena u sferi marketinga. Naime, većina reklama je kreirana tako da potakne sujetu kod osobe kako bi se na taj način obezbedila kupovina proizvoda (smanjenje konfekcijskog broja garderobe, izrazi “Jer Vi to zaslužujete”, “Budi i ti u trendu” i sl.). Pored toga, sujetu je pozitivno povezana sa neuroticizmom, depresivnošću, poremećajima ishrane i sl. Iz svega navedenog možemo izvesti zaključak da rezultati istraživanja više govore u prilog posmatranju sujete kao maladaptivnog konstrukta.

Imajući sve navedeno u vidu možemo zaključiti da je sujetu maladaptivni konstrukt koji se, prema LeBelu, ispoljava kroz preterano ispoljavanje zadovoljstva fizičkim izgledom i preterano ispoljavanje zadovoljstva vezano za vlastite sposobnosti i postignuća.

⁸ U ovom radu materijalizam je određen kao *acquisition centrality*; odnosno, „centralni životni cilj osobe jeste posedovanje materijalnih dobara“.

Ograničenja rada

Iako smo u radu nastojali da što bliže odredimo pojam sujete i predstavimo dosadašnja saznanja vezana za ovaj koncept, moramo napomenuti da je literatura pretražena samo na jezicima koji su poznati autoru rada (engleski, srpski, hrvatski, bosanski), pa se postavlja pitanje do kakvih saznanja bi se došlo o pojmu sujete u nekim drugim zemljama, posebno imajući u vidu da neki nalazi upućuju da razvoj sujete može biti kulturološki uslovljen.

Neki zaključci koji su izvedeni u radu su posredni, kao što je na primer zaključak da je sujeta maladaptivni konstrukt. Bilo bi korisno osmisлити istraživanje kojim bi se to i proverilo.

Iako imamo dve skale sujete koje ovaj koncept posmatraju preko dve dominantne dimenzije, bilo bi interesantno ispitati da li se sujeta ispoljava samo u okviru ova dva faktora, intelektualna i fizička sujeta, ili je moguće ovo svojstvo ličnosti ispoljiti i u nekim drugim domenima.

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“VANITY” - FROM CONSTRUCT TO CORRELATES

Abstract

Within this paper, we tried to describe in as much detail as possible the current knowledge related to the concept of vanity. The first part of the paper deals with the presentation of defining vanity from the point of view of various researchers, as well as the presentation of the way in which this concept is operationally defined. The second part is aimed at presenting research related to the existence of gender differences in terms of the manifestation of certain dimensions of vanity. The fourth part refers to the attempt to determine the nature of vanity, adaptive or maladaptive, through the presentation of previous results of research on the relationship of this construct with others in the field of personality psychology, mental health, social psychology and the

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like. Since vanity is the most researched in the field of marketing psychology, the last part of the paper is a review of previous knowledge about the importance of vanity for marketing psychology. According to LeBel, vanity is a two-dimensional construct described through excessive expression of satisfaction with physical appearance and excessive expression of satisfaction related to one's own abilities and achievements. Most research suggests that there are differences between males and females in terms of the manifestation of certain dimensions of vanity. Having in mind the results of studies so far, we can conclude that vanity is a maladaptive construct that is especially abused in marketing, where even the terms Consumer Vanity and Vanity Size have been coined.

Keywords: Vanity, Excessive physical view, Excessive abilities view, Consumer Vanity, Vanity Size

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POL, PERCIPIRANI VASPITNI STAVOVI RODITELJA, EMPATIJA I LOKUS KONTROLE KAO PREDIKTORI SOCIJALNE ANKSIOZNOSTI KOD STUDENATA

Apstrakt

Cilj ovog istraživanja bio je ispitivanje prediktivne moći pola, dimenzija percipiranih vaspitnih stavova roditelja, empatije i lokusa kontrole u predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti. Uzorak je činilo 297 studenata (71.7% ženskog pola), starosti od 19 do 36 godina ($M = 22.29$; $SD = 2.46$). Socijalna anksioznost je merena Skalom socijalne anksioznosti (SA2). Vaspitni stavovi roditelja, kao relativno dosledan način ponašanja prema deci, operacionalizovani su preko skora na VS skali za procenu vaspitnih stavova (dimenzije: toplo, hladno, popustljivo i ograničavajuće vaspitanje oca i majke). Empatija je operacionalizovana skorom na Količniku empatije (EQ-8), a lokus kontrole posredstvom Skale eksternalnosti. Rezultati hijerarhijske regresione analize, u kojoj je prvi model sačinjen od varijable pol, pokazuju da je model statistički značajan ($R^2 = .021$, $F_{(1,295)} = 6.290$, $p = .013$). U drugom koraku uključene su dimenzije vaspitnih stavova roditelja, a rezultati su pokazali da je njihov doprinos u predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti značajan ($R^2 = .106$, $F_{(7,289)} = 4.881$, $p = .000$); kao značajan prediktor u okviru ovog modela izdvojio se samo pol ispitanika ($\beta = .145$, $p = .011$). U trećem koraku je uključena Empatija i doprinos ove varijable u predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti je značajan, kao i model u celini ($R^2 = .150$, $F_{(8,288)} = 6.363$, $p = .000$); značajan doprinos imaju pol ($\beta = .158$, $p = .004$) i Empatija ($\beta = -.212$, $p = .000$). Na kraju je uključen Lokus kontrole, ali doprinos ove varijable u predikciji socijalne anksioznosti nije značajan. Četvrti model u celini jeste statistički značajan ($R^2 = .159$, $F_{(9,287)} = 6.017$, $p = .000$), a značajni prediktori su pol ($\beta = .146$, $p = .009$) i Empatija ($\beta = -.195$, $p = .001$). Sprovedene analize pokazuju da su osobe ženskog pola sa nižom empatijom sklonije socijalnoj anksioznosti. Rezultati se diskutuju u svetlu dostupne empirijske evidencije.

Ključne reči: pol, socijalna anksioznost, vaspitni stavovi roditelja, empatija, lokus kontrole, studenti

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Uvod: teorijski okvir problema

Predmet ovoga rada je proučavanje fenomena koji se u javnosti prepoznaje kao: nesigurnost ljudi u različitim socijalnim situacijama, stidljivost u novom društvu, trema u ispitnoj situaciji ili prilikom dolaska u novu sredinu, nelagodnost pri obraćanju nepoznatim ljudima, naročito onima koji imaju viši socijalni status, strah od javnog nastupa, napetost u situacijama kad treba da se pokaže sopstvena kompetentnost, ili kad se očekuje evaluacija od strane drugih ljudi. Ovakva i slična ponašanja predstavljaju indikatore socijalne anksioznosti, koja je u porastu otkad je prisutna sve veća otuđenost u međuljudskim odnosima. Socijalno-anksiozne osobe doživljavaju emotivni distress u većini socijalnih situacija, a posebno napetim ih čini kad ih posmatraju dok rade, kad su predmet kritike, pri kontaktu sa autoritetima i slično. Navedeno ometa njihovo funkcionisanje u svakodnevnom životu i na poslu, umanjuje subjektivno blagostanje i doživljaj samoefikasnosti. Upravo ovo ukazuje na značaj proučavanja socijalne anksioznosti, koja uključuje tri centralne komponente: reakcije autonomnog nervnog sistema, okupiranost strahom od negativne evaluacije drugih i želja da se izbegne neprijatna socijalna situacija (Tovilović, 2004). Namera je ovoga rada da se istraže neki od personalnih činilaca (empatijska sposobnost, lokus kontrole, percepcija roditeljskog stila kao konteksta odrastanja) koji mogu doprineti objašnjenju socijalne anksioznosti iz ugla psihologije individualnih razlika.

Socijalna anksioznost

Socijalna anksioznost se može definisati kao dispoziciona karakteristika ličnosti, odnosno kao neka vrsta sklonosti i težnje osobe da na određene socijalne stimulse reaguje razdražljivošću, nelagodnošću i uznemirenošću (Leary, 1996, prema Randelović, 2021). Ovako shvaćena socijalna anksioznost referiše na to da je ovaj konstrukt crta ili osobina ličnosti. Sa druge strane, socijalna anksioznost se može definisati i kao neka vrsta kognitivno-afektivnog sindroma čije su karakteristike fiziološko uzbuđenje organizma i javljanje doživljaja straha i zabrinutosti koji su povezani sa anticipiranim negativnim ishodom za koji osoba smatra da ga je nemoguće izbeći i sprečiti (Leary, 1983). Ovaj konstrukt se shvata i kao osećaj nelagodnosti u situacijama koje podrazumevaju socijalnu interakciju ili u uslovima koji od osobe zahtevaju da izvede neku aktivnost u prisustvu drugih (Teachman & Allen, 2007). Distinktivna karakteristika socijalne anksioznosti u odnosu na druge forme anksioznosti jeste činjenica da se bazira na uverenju osobe da će je neka druga osoba procenjivati, što znači da se vezuje za društveni kontekst bilo da je realan bilo imaginaran (Randelović, 2021). Osobe koje doživljavaju ovu vrstu anksioznosti opisuju sebe kao stidljive osobe, hipersenzitivne i kao osobe koje imaju problema sa odbranom ličnih prava (Çoban & Cebraïl, 2020). Osobe s visokim stepenom socijalne anksioznosti teže da izbegnu gotovo svaki vid socijalne interakcije kako bi sprečili mogućnost da budu odbijeni i da se osećaju neprijatno (Teachman & Allen, 2007). Studije pokazuju da se ove karakteristike, odnosno osobine ličnosti formiraju već u ranom detinjstvu i da se razvijaju tokom života, kao i da je stil roditeljstva jedan

od faktora od kojih zavisi da li će osobe razviti ove osobine ličnosti ili ne (Çoban & Cebrazil, 2020). Ukoliko je socijalni život porodice ograničen, to posledično može dovesti do toga da dete ima nizak stepen samopoštovanja i da se kod njega javlja osećaj stida, što predstavlja faktor rizika za javljanje socijalne anksioznosti, jer dete ne uspeva da razvije bazično osećanje poverenja u druge ljude i shodno tome, biva osetljivo u situacijama kada se njegovo ponašanje i ličnost vrednuju (Çoban & Cebrazil, 2020). Imajući u vidu činjenicu da su roditelji autoriteti deci, ukoliko im oni ne pružaju dovoljno podrške i ohrabivanja, to može voditi ka tome da dete aktivira određene mehanizme odbrane jer ima doživljaj ugroženosti kad se nađe u društvenim okolnostima (Türkçapar, 1999).

U okviru ovog rada, socijalna anksioznost se razmatra kao dimenzija, odnosno definiše se kao relativno stabilna karakteristika ličnosti. Tovilović (2004) je, shodno dimenzionalnoj konceptualizaciji socijalne anksioznosti, ispitala latentnu strukturu instrumenta kojim je operacionalizovan ovaj konstrukt i pritom su ekstrahovana sledeća četiri faktora: socijalno-evaluaciona anksioznost, inhibiranost u socijalno-neizvesnim situacijama, nisko samopoštovanje i hipersenzitivnost na odbijanje. Socijalno-evaluaciona anksioznost podrazumeva da se ona manifestuje kada je osoba suočena sa nekom situacijom u kojoj bi mogla biti procenjena i posmatrana od strane neke druge osobe kroz uznemirenost i osećaj nelagode (Randelović, 2021). Inhibiranost u socijalno-neizvesnim situacijama implicira postojanje poteškoća u socijalnom funkcionisanju osobe. Manifestuje se kao inhibiranost u ponašanju i suzdržanost u novim i nedovoljno jasnim situacijama, koja je praćena subjektivnim doživljajem i izveštavanjem o sebi kao o stidljivoj osobi (Randelović, 2021). Nisko samopoštovanje odnosi se na negativnu procenu sopstvene ličnosti, osoba ima doživljaj niske vrednosti, nedostaje joj samouverenost, sumnja u to da je vredna kao biće, pridaje značaj mišljenju koje osobe iz njenog okruženja imaju o njoj (Randelović, 2021). Hipersenzitivnost na odbacivanje odnosi se na to da je osoba izrazito osetljiva na to šta drugi ljudi misle o njoj, brine zbog mogućnosti da će je ljudi odbaciti, veruje da je porodica jedino sigurno okruženje (Tovilović, 2004), brine da će je druge osobe osuditi ili da će o njoj imati loše mišljenja (Randelović, 2021). Uprkos ovakvoj konceptualizaciji instrumenta za procenu socijalne anksioznosti, brojna istraživanja sprovedena u našem regionu koristila su ovu skalu kao jednodimenzionalnu i kao takva se pokazala kao validan i pouzdan instrument (Alinčić, 2013; Randelović & Ćirović, 2022). Shodno tome, u ovom istraživanju, ova skala će biti razmatrana kao jednodimenzionalna.

Period adolescencije se smatra jednim od faktora rizika za razvoj i pojavu socijalne anksioznosti imajući u vidu činjenicu da su osobe u ovom periodu suočene sa tranzicijom koja se odnosi na prelazak sa vrednovanja i provođenja većeg dela života unutar nuklearne porodice na vrednovanje i provođenje vremena sa prijateljima, dakle u širem društvenom sistemu (Çoban & Cebrazil, 2020; Gren-Landell et al., 2009). Zbog malopre navedenih postavki, uzorak ovog istraživanja činile su mlade osobe, studenti.

Empirijski nalazi ukazuju na to da je prevalencija socijalne anksioznosti kao poremećaja veća kod žena nego kod muškaraca (Asher et al., 2017; Kessler et al.,

2012), da žene i devojčice (na adolescentnom uzrastu i ranije) češće manifestuju znakove socijalne anksioznosti (Asher et al., 2017; Bögels et al., 2001; Jose et al., 2012; van Oort et al., 2011; Xu et al., 2012) i da žene koje su socijalno anksiozne izveštavaju o nižem stepenu psihosocijalnog funkcionisanja nego što je to slučaj sa muškarcima (Xu et al., 2012). Međutim, u literaturi postoje i empirijski nalazi koji nisu saglasni sa prethodno navedenim. Naime, u nekim istraživanjima pokazalo se da ne postoje značajne razlike kada se razmatra varijabla pol u pogledu prevalencije socijalne anksioznosti (Barnett et al., 2020; McLean et al., 2011; Stewart & Mandrusiak, 2007), kao i da ne postoje značajne razlike kada se razmatra varijabla pol u pogledu manifestovanja i doživljavanja znakova socijalne anksioznosti (Barnett et al., 2020).

Vaspitni stavovi roditelja

Roditelji uspostavljaju određeni vaspitni stav koji zagovaraju prilikom odgajanja svoje dece još u ranom detinjstvu deteta i ti stavovi se održavaju tokom godina, odnosno tokom detinjstva i tokom mladosti njihovog deteta (Todorović, 2005). Vaspitni stavovi roditelja i ciljevi koje roditelji žele da postignu u vaspitanju svog deteta, podložni su određenim promenama koje nastaju kao neka vrsta reakcije na pojavu novih razvojnih zadataka deteta, međutim, emocionalna komponenta vaspitnih stavova i generalno, emocionalni odnos između roditelja i deteta, uspeva tokom vremena da održi isti kvalitet (Todorović, 2005). Roditelji predstavljaju i jedan od glavnih agenasa socijalizacije svog deteta i u tom procesu imaju aktivnu ulogu, kako tokom detinjstva, tako i tokom adolescencije (Flanagan et al., 2008).

Pokazalo se da vaspitni stavovi roditelja mogu biti i jedan od uzroka pojave nekih od psihopatoloških tendencija u odrasloj dobi uključujući i pojavu anksioznih simptoma ili poremećaja (Rapee, 2012), kao i pojave, konkretno, socijalne anksioznosti kod dece (Akgül & Dirik, 2018). Ukoliko razmatramo neke faktore koji potiču iz porodice, a koji deluju na razvoj anksioznosti kod dece, može se reći da loši odnosi u porodici mogu doprineti pojavi neke od vrsta anksioznosti kod deteta (Gökalp, 2000, prema Çoban & Kisa, 2020). Naime, ukoliko roditelji ne uspevaju ili ne žele da pruže ljubav svom detetu, ne pružaju mu neophodnu pažnju, previše su zaštitnički nastrojeni ili sa druge strane, previše podržavajući, to može dovesti do toga da dete nema dovoljno slobode u porodičnoj sredini kada je u pitanju izražavanje emocija. Takođe, ukoliko roditelji zagovaraju kontrolišući stil u vaspitanju deteta, to povratno može uticati na dete tako da dete ne izražava svoje emocije ili ih ne manifestuje često. Ovakvi vaspitni stavovi mogu doprineti tome da dete postane anksiozno (Gökalp, 2000, prema Çoban & Kisa, 2020).

U literaturi se kao najuticajniji dvodimenzionalni model vaspitnih stavova izdvaja Šeferov model (Schaefer, 1959, Pavićević i Stojiljković, 2016; Piorkowska-Petrović, 1991). Ovaj model je konceptualizovan tako da razmatra dve različite dimenzije – afektivnu i dimenziju kontrole. Afektivna dimenzije referiše na odnos, tačnije, kvalitet emocionalnog odnosa koji roditelji imaju u svom odnosu sa detetom. Na krajevima ove dimenzije nalaze se toplo i hladno vaspitanje. Dimenzija kontrole

odnosi se na stepen autonomnosti koju roditelji dopuštaju detetu. Na krajevima ove dimenzije nalaze se popustljivo i ograničavajuće vaspitanje (Schaefer, 1959; Pavićević i Stojiljković, 2016; Piorkowska-Petrović, 1991). Ove dve dimenzije, odnosno polove ovih dimenzija, moguće je kombinovati i tako se formiraju četiri vaspitna stava roditelja, a to su toplo–popustljiv, hladno–popustljiv, toplo–ograničavajući i hladno–ograničavajući vaspitni stav (Kodžopeljić, 2009; Pavićević i Stojiljković, 2016). Karakteristike toplo–popustljivog vaspitanja roditelja su to da su interpersonalne relacije roditelj–dete prožete toplinom, obostranim poverenjem. Roditelj je sklon tome da pohvali svoje dete, ukoliko dete uradi nešto adekvatno, ima tendenciju da nagradi takvo ponašanje, kazne primenjuje retko jer smatra da je adekvatniji način razgovarati sa detetom o (ne)adekvatnim i (ne)poželjnim načinima ponašanja i ti razgovori su obično propraćeni objašnjenjem. Roditelj teži tome da provodi što je više vremena sa svojim detetom, responzivan je na njegove potrebe, aktivno sluša svoje dete (Kodžopeljić, 2009; Pavićević i Stojiljković, 2016). Karakteristike koje referišu na to da roditelj zastupa hladno–popustljiv vaspitni stav jeste odbojnost roditelja prema detetu, roditelj je razdražljiv, hipersenzitivan, dakle, dominira negativni afektivitet ili može da bude pasivan i da ne pokazuje previše interesovanja za svoje dete. Roditelj je sklon tome da često koristi kažnjavanje kao vaspitnu meru, koje nije praćeno nikakvim objašnjenjem, čak je sklon i tome da vrši fizičko nasilje nad detetom. Generalno gledano, komunikacija između deteta i roditelja je loša (Kodžopeljić, 2009; Pavićević i Stojiljković, 2016). Roditelj čiji je vaspitni stav toplo–ograničavajući uspostavlja granice, pravila i očekivanja koja ima od deteta u skladu sa detetovim potrebama, sa njegovom ličnošću, ali i u skladu sa okolinskim faktorima. Granice i pravila nisu rigidno postavljene, fleksibilne su i dete se oseća bezbedno i sigurno u takvim okolnostima, jer mu roditelj pruža dovoljno slobode i mogućnosti da tokom vremena postaje sve nezavisnije (Kodžopeljić, 2009; Pavićević i Stojiljković, 2016). Karakteristike hladno–ograničavajućeg vaspitanja roditelja se odnosi na to da on ima tendenciju da se postavi kao autoritet, postavlja rigidna pravila, uvodi razne zabrane detetu, od deteta ima određene zahteve. Shodno tome, stiče se utisak da je roditelj više vremena i truda uložio u osmišljavanje brojnih zahteva, ograničenja i pravila umesto što se posvetio i investirao u sopstveno dete (Kodžopeljić, 2009; Pavićević i Stojiljković, 2016).

Tokom odrastanja dete prolazi kroz proces formiranja svog self koncepta i da formira mišljenje o sebi na osnovu samopercepcije koja se obično temelji na porukama koje roditelji šalju detetu (Akbay & Gündüz, 2020). U nekim radovima koji su razmatrali povezanost između vaspitnih stavova ili vaspitnih stilova roditelja i socijalne anksioznosti, pokazalo se da roditelji čija su deca socijalno anksiozna imaju tendenciju da vrše kontrolu nad svojom decom, da ih prezaštićuju ili emocionalno zanemaruju (Takako, 1994, prema Yilmaz & Tolan, 2021). Pokazalo se da ukoliko roditelji imaju prezaštićujući stav prema svom detetu, oni se odnose prema svojoj deci kao da, na neki način, ne odrastaju, već da su i dalje bebe koje su zavisne od njihove brige i nege (Takako, 1994, prema Yilmaz & Tolan, 2021). Postoje empirijski nalazi koji ukazuju na to da deca koja odrastaju uz roditelje koji su previše zaštitnički nastrojani, to može delovati na decu tako da imaju subjektivni doživljaj

da nisu sposobna da donesu odluke lične prirode i da nisu dovoljno kompetentna u interpersonalnim relacijama (Carothers & Parfitt, 2017).

Empatija

Iako u literaturi nije moguće pronaći jedinstvenu definiciju, istraživači su saglasni u tome da empatija uključuje složenu interakciju kognitivne komponente, koja se odnosi na sposobnost razumevanja drugih i posmatranje stvari iz njihove perspektive, i afektivne komponente, odnosno odgovora koji se javlja automatski i predstavlja reakciju na emocionalno stanje druge osobe (Davis, 1983; Preston & de Waal, 2002). Empatiju je moguće definisati kao neku vrstu sposobnosti osobe da prepozna iskustvo drugih kako na emocionalnom, tako i na kognitivnom planu, a koje je posledično praćeno izvesnim emocionalnim promenama same osobe (Davis, 1994). Dakle, odnosi se na sposobnost da prepoznamo, doživimo iskustva koje doživljavaju druge osobe, kao i njihove emocije i da sagledavamo stvarnost iz tuđe perspektive i zbog toga u nama dolazi do promena i na kognitivnom i na emocionalnom planu. Empatija, kao zajedničko doživljavanje emocija, može voditi ka pojavi zabrinutosti i tome da osoba teži ka tome da pruži podršku drugoj osobi (Davis, 1983) ili može voditi ka pojavi takozvane emocionalne zaraze i doživljavanju bola zbog emocionalnog stanja druge osobe što može delovati tako da osoba ima tendenciju da izbegava socijalne interakcije (Shamay-Tsoory, 2011).

Konstrukat empatije se u literaturi navodi kao ključni činilac kada je u pitanju razvoj i negovanje socijalnih kompetencija, stvaranja i održavanja adekvatnih i pozitivnih interpersonalnih odnosa, kao i razvoja same ličnosti (Eisenberg, 1998, prema Auyeung, 2012). Osobe koje imaju viši stepen izraženosti empatije u interpersonalnim relacijama doživljavaju veći stepen bliskosti (Long et al., 1999), zadovoljniji su životom (Grühn et al., 2008), u manjoj meri manifestuju depresivne simptome (Grühn et al., 2008). Empatija vodi ka pozitivnim ishodima u socijalnim interakcijama i ka adekvatnom funkcionisanju u društvenom i emocionalnom domenu života osobe (Eisenberg, 2000; Hoffman, 1997; Zaki & Ochsner, 2012). Ukoliko osoba ima nizak stepen empatije, to može delovati ometajuće na funkcionisanje osobe u interpersonalnim odnosima kao i na dalji razvoj tih odnosa (Auyeung, 2012). Kod osoba koje su socijalno anksiozne, kapacitet za empatiju je manji i osobe imaju poteškoća prilikom emocionalnog reagovanja i tumačenja znakova interpersonalne prirode i to se dešava zbog činjenice da socijalno anksiozne osobe manifestuju određene greške prilikom percipiranja i doživljavanja emocija (Pittelkow et al., 2021). Socijalno anksiozne osobe su često zaokupljene sopstvenom ličnošću kao objektom i to ih može ometati u percepciji, praćenju i interpretaciji znakova koji im šalju druge osobe. Način razmišljanja i razumevanja koji se odnosi na postojanje mogućnosti da osobe iz našeg okruženja nisu istog mišljenja kao mi, da ne doživljavaju osećanja koja doživljavamo mi mogu biti povezani sa empatijom (Randelović, 2021). To može delovati negativno i na društvene relacije, jer se strah kod osoba koja je socijalno anksiozna može povećati, jer stiče utisak da se ne ponaša adekvatno i u skladu sa situacijom. Dakle, samosvesnost može da deluje tako da se

socijalno anksiozna osoba oseća ranjivo u socijalnim interakcijama i da smatra da osobe iz okruženja imaju negativno mišljenje o njoj. Postoji i shvatanje da ukoliko osoba ima nizak stepen empatije, ne uspeva da uspešno zaključi kako se osobe iz okruženja osećaju i može se javiti osećaj nesigurnosti i anksioznosti koji vode ka izbegavanju socijalnih interakcija (Hezel & McNally, 2014).

Lokus kontrole

Pojam lokusa kontrole nastao je u okviru Roterove teorije socijalnog učenja i ovaj konstrukt se definiše kao stepen u kome osoba očekuje da će ishod nekog ponašanja zavisiti od njenog ponašanja (što je karakteristika unutrašnjeg lokusa kontrole) ili do kojeg osoba smatra da kontrolu imaju drugi ljudi, da je ishod proistekao slučajno i da nije bilo moguće nikako predvideti njegov ishod (što su karakteristike spoljašnjeg lokusa kontrole; Rotter, 1990). Preciznije, lokus kontrole predstavlja generalizovana očekivanja osobe o tome gde se nalazi kontrola nastupajućih događaja, to je neka vrsta orijentacije osobe u odnosu na doživljaj izvora kontrole ishoda nekog događaja (Crnjaković i sar., 2008). Lokus kontrole zapravo predstavlja kontinuum na čijim se krajevima nalaze eksterni ili spoljašnji i interni ili unutrašnji lokus kontrole (Novicki & Strikland, 1973). Ovaj konstrukt takođe referiše na unutrašnja stanja koja osobe imaju, a tiču se toga da li smatraju da stepen aktivnosti i volja kao psihološka funkcija imaju ulogu u savladavanju prepreka i kada se osoba nađe u nepovoljnoj situaciji (Lefcourt & Davidson-Katz, 1991). Ukoliko bismo hteli da uporedimo osobe sa unutrašnjim i spoljašnjim lokusom kontrole, na osnovu rezultata nekih prethodnih studija, moglo bi se reći da pojedinci sa unutrašnjim lokusom kontrole imaju veći stepen subjektivnog blagostanja, zadovoljnije su životom (Popova, 2012), generalno imaju pozitivan afektivitet i boljeg su fizičkog zdravlja (Klonowicz, 2001).

U literaturi postoji mali broj istraživanja koji je razmatrao odnos lokusa kontrole i socijalne anksioznosti. U okviru jedne studije pokazalo se da lokus kontrole ima medijatorsku ulogu u odnosu između kontrolišućeg vaspitnog stila i anksioznosti deteta (Chorpita et al., 1998). Dakle, razmatran je odnos stilova roditeljstva, lokusa kontrole i socijalne anksioznosti. Rezultati su pokazali da je adekvatan model onaj koji je konceptualizovan tako da kontrolišući (prezaštićujući) vaspitni stav ima ulogu medijatora i da se spoljašnji lokus kontrole formira i održava kao posledica prevelikog stepena zaštite deteta od strane roditelja tokom detinjstva, a to dalje za posledicu ima veći stepen izraženosti socijalne anksioznosti (Chorpita et al., 1998). U okviru iste studije, razmatran je još jedan medijacioni model, konceptualizovan tako da prezaštićujuće vaspitanje ima ulogu medijatora između spoljašnjeg lokusa kontrole i socijalne anksioznosti (Chorpita et al., 1998). Kao objašnjenje, navodi se da, kada dete odrasta pored prezaštićujućih roditelja, tokom života ima pretpostavku da na ishode njegovog ponašanja utiču drugi ljudi ili slučajnost, a ne ono samo. Zbog toga dete traži pomoć od roditelja i traži zaštitu od njih, što održava prezaštićujuće ponašanje i nadzor roditelja i vodi ka pojavi socijalne anksioznosti. Empirijski nalazi su pokazali i da postoji pozitivna povezanost između spoljašnjeg lokusa kontrole i socijalne anksioznosti na uzorku studenata (Emmelkamp & Cohen-Kettenis,

1975), na uzorku ispitanika iz kliničke populacije (Cloitre et al., 1992) i na uzorku zlostavljane dece (Graham et al., 2022). Ovakvi nalazi pokazuju da su socijalno anksiozne osobe sklone tome da percipiraju i doživljavaju da nemaju mogućnosti i sposobnosti da kontrolišu situaciju u kojoj se nalaze.

Problem ovog istraživanja predstavlja vid integracije više personalnih faktora i kognitivno-emocionalnih činilaca, u nameri da se što obuhvatnije objasne odrednice socijalne anksioznosti kod mladih koji su studenti i pokaže šta ih može učiniti podložnijim strahovanjima od negativne socijalne evaluacije. Imajući u vidu izneti teorijski okvir i novije empirijske studije posvećene proučavanju socijalne anksioznosti, čiji rezultati nisu uvek konzistentni, cilj ovog istraživanja je ispitivanje prediktivne moći pola ispitanika, dimenzija percipiranih vaspitnih stavova roditelja, empatije i lokusa kontrole u predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti studenata.

Metod

Uzorak i procedura

Uzorak ispitanika je prigodan. Obuhvata 297 studenata, sa različitih fakulteta Univerziteta u Nišu, Beogradu i Kragujevcu (Filozofski, Medicinski, Hemijski, Ekonomski, Prirodno-matematički ...), pretežno ženskog pola ($N = 213$, 71.7%), a bilo je i 84 ispitanika muškog pola (28.3%). Starost ispitanika je bila u rasponu od 19 do 36 godina ($AS = 22.29$; $SD = 2.46$).

Istraživanje je sprovedeno tokom aprila i maja 2020. godine tako što su ispitanici popunili online upitnik (koji je deljen putem društvenih mreža i ličnih kontakata). Učešće u istraživanju bilo je dobrovoljno i anonimno, a uslov za popunjavanje upitnika bio je da su ispitanici punoletni i da imaju status studenta. Ispitanicima su date neophodne informacije o ciljevima istraživanja, te je tako pribavljena saglasnost po informisanju.

Instrumenti

Skala socijalne anksioznosti (SA2; Tovilović, 2004). Skala podržava stanovište da je socijalna anksioznost dispoziciona karakteristika ličnosti, te je namenjena proceni tendencije osobe da socijalno-anksiozno reaguje. Za razliku od prethodne verzije skale SA sa 32 stavke, ova skraćena skala je jednodimenzionalna i sadrži 25 tvrdnji. Zadatak ispitanika je da na petostepenoj skali Likertovog tipa procene stepen svog slaganja sa svakom od tvrdnji ($1 = \textit{potpuno netačno}$; $5 = \textit{potpuno tačno}$). Viši skor na skali implicira da je kod ispitanika izraženija socijalna anksioznost. Pouzdanost interne konzistentnosti skale na originalnom uzorku je veoma dobra ($\alpha = .92$; Tovilović, 2004), kao i na uzorku iz ovog istraživanja ($\alpha = .94$).

Skala za procenu vaspitnih stavova roditelja (VS; Kodžopeljić, 2009). Instrument je namenjen proceni vaspitnih stavova roditelja iz ugla njihove dece. Radi se o petostepenoj Likertovoj skali ($1 = \textit{uopšte se ne slažem}$; $5 = \textit{potpuno se slažem}$), a zadatak ispitanika je da procene u kojoj meri se slažu sa svakom navedenom

tvrdnjom. Skala se sastoji od 44 tvrdnje i ispitanici procenjuju stepen slaganja sa svim tvrdnjama posebno za oca i posebno za majku. Tvrdnje su raspoređene u četiri subskale (po 11 stavki): toplo vaspitanje, hladno vaspitanje, popustljivo vaspitanje i ograničavajuće vaspitanje. Pouzdanost subskala na originalnom uzorku se pokazala kao prihvatljiva za istraživačke svrhe: toplo vaspitanje oca ($\alpha = .77$) i majke ($\alpha = .78$); hladno vaspitanje oca ($\alpha = .82$) i majke ($\alpha = .69$); popustljivo vaspitanje oca ($\alpha = .75$) i majke ($\alpha = .59$); ograničavajuće vaspitanje oca ($\alpha = .81$) i majke ($\alpha = .69$; Kodžopeljić, 2009). Pouzdanost interne konzistencije na uzorku iz ovog istraživanja je dobra: toplo vaspitanje oca ($\alpha = .91$) i majke ($\alpha = .89$); hladno vaspitanje oca ($\alpha = .90$) i majke ($\alpha = .88$); popustljivo vaspitanje oca ($\alpha = .85$) i majke ($\alpha = .79$) ograničavajuće vaspitanje oca ($\alpha = .82$) i majke ($\alpha = .79$).

Količnik empatije (Empathy Quotient EQ-8; Loewen et al., 2009). Namena skale je procena stepena empatičnosti, odnosno empatijskog kapaciteta osobe. Instrument je jednodimenzionalan, sastoji se od 8 tvrdnji i predstavlja skraćenu verziju prvobitne istoimene skale koja je imala 60 tvrdnji. Ispitanici izražavaju slaganje sa stavkama na četvorostepenoj Likertovoj skali procene (1 = *potpuno se slažem*; 4 = *uopšte se ne slažem*). Zbog smera tvrdnji koje čine stavke za potrebe ovog istraživanja izvršena je modifikacija bodovanja u odnosu na originalan instrument (1 = *uopšte se ne slažem*; 4 = *potpuno se slažem*) kako bi veći skor ukazivao na veći empatijski kapacitet ispitanika (primer tvrdnje: *Lako mi je da se stavim na mesto druge osobe. Ja brzo uočim ako se neko u grupi oseća nelagodno ili mu je neprijatno*). Dodatni razlog ovakve odluke je bilo i to da u online anketiranju ispitanici ne naprave previd pri čitanju uputstva za popunjavanje ove skale i odgovaraju po inerciji kao na prethodnim skalama gde viši skor označava veću izraženost varijable. Pouzdanost interne konzistentnosti je zadovoljavajuća na originalnom uzorku ($\alpha = 0.76$; Loewen et al., 2009) i na uzorku iz ovog istraživanja ($\alpha = 0.65$).

Skala eksternalnosti (Rotter, 1966; adaptacija: Bezinović, 1990). Skala je namenjena proceni jedne dimenzije Roterovog koncepta, tj. proceni spoljašnjeg (eksternalnog) lokusa kontrole. Eksternalnost odražava fatalističku orijentaciju osobe prema kojoj isključivo sudbina, sreća, predodređenost i slučajnost određuju ishode ponašanja i događaje u životu pojedinca. Osoba nema subjektivni doživljaj da kontroliše ishod svojih radnji i postupaka i smatra da ne može učiniti gotovo ništa kako bi sprečila da se nešto desi. Navedeno dobro ilustruju sledeće stavke: *Bez obzira šta učinim da to sprečim, ono loše što treba da se dogodi – dogodiće se. U životu dobro prolaze oni koji su za to predodređeni*. Skala sadrži 10 tvrdnji i zadatak ispitanika je da na Likertovoj petostepenoj skali (1 = *potpuno netačno*; 5 = *potpuno tačno*) procene stepen slaganja sa svakom od tvrdnji. Visok rezultat ukazuje na eksternalnu orijentaciju osobe, dok skorovi niži od srednje vrednosti na skali ukazuju na unutrašnji lokus kontrole. Pouzdanost interne konzistencije se pokazala kao zadovoljavajuća u većem broju ranijih istraživanja na populaciji sličnoj uzorku ispitanika (Crnjaković i sar., 2008, $\alpha = .75$; Đigić, 2018, $\alpha = .89$), kao i na uzorku iz ovog istraživanja ($\alpha = .85$).

Rezultati

Najpre će biti prikazani osnovni deskriptivno statistički podaci o varijablama koje su obuhvaćene ovim istraživanjem. Tabela 1 sadrži podatke o rasponu i prosečnim vrednostima, meri disperzije i odstupanju empirijskih distribucija od normalne raspodele (Skjunes i Kurtosis).

Tabela 1

Osnovni deskriptivno-statistički podaci o varijablama istraživanja

Varijable	<i>N</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Sk</i>	<i>Ku</i>
Toplo vaspitanje (majka)	297	1.00	5.00	4.16	0.79	-1.531	2.312
Toplo vaspitanje (otac)	297	1.00	5.00	3.83	0.96	-0.962	0.213
Hladno vaspitanje (majka)	297	1.00	4.64	1.78	0.77	1.458	1.898
Hladno vaspitanje (otac)	297	1.00	4.45	2.09	0.94	0.775	-0.478
Popustljivo vaspitanje (majka)	297	1.00	5.00	3.92	0.69	-1.130	1.586
Popustljivo vaspitanje (otac)	297	1.00	5.00	3.80	0.82	-1.200	1.435
Ograničavajuće vaspitanje (majka)	297	1.00	4.64	2.06	0.69	1.053	1.180
Ograničavajuće vaspitanje (otac)	297	1.00	4.45	1.95	0.75	1.104	0.830
Empatija	297	1.25	4.00	3.19	0.44	-0.712	0.729
Lokus kontrole	297	1.00	5.00	2.78	0.81	0.134	-0.563
Socijalna anksioznost	297	1.00	4.96	2.60	0.89	0.342	-0.495

Imajući u vidu važeće norme za našu populaciju za uzraste od 17 do 25 godina, kao i za mlađe ispitanike, uzrasta od 11 do 15 godina (Kodžopeljić, 2009), ali i da naš uzorak čine ispitanici uzrasta od 19 do 36 godina, nema dovoljno osnova za valjane zaključke o stepenu izraženosti dimenzija vaspitnih stavova. Uz ovu ogradu se ipak vidi da su ispitanici u najvećoj meri percipirali vaspitnu praksu svojih roditelja kao zasnovanu na toplini (a manje na hladnoći), i pre kao baziranu na popustljivosti nego na ograničavanjima. Ovaj utisak je saglasan sa skorijim nalazima većeg broja studija o vaspitnim stilovima u našoj sredini, među kojima izdvajamo nekoliko novijeg datuma (Pavićević i Stojiljković, 2016; Stevanović i Todorović, 2016; Stojiljković, & Todorović, 2017; Todorović, 2005).

Iz tabele 1 se vidi da empirijske distribucije skorova na šest od ukupno osam subskala vaspitnih stavova roditelja odstupaju od normalne distribucije. Pozitivna asimetrija koja ukazuje na veće prisustvo nižih skorova nađena je za sledeće vaspitne stavove: Hladno vaspitanje (majka), Ograničavajuće vaspitanje (majka) i Ograničavajuće vaspitanje (otac). Sa druge strane, negativna asimetrija koja ukazuje na veće prisustvo viših skorova nađena je za sledeće vaspitne stavove: Toplo vaspitanje (majka), Popustljivo vaspitanje (majka) i Popustljivo vaspitanje (otac).

Ukoliko se uzmu u obzir dobijene srednje vrednosti, može se reći da studenti obuhvaćeni uzorkom imaju dovoljno razvijene empatijske kapacitete ($M = 3.19$ od max 4 na skali), ali ovaj rezultat treba posmatrati iz ugla veće zastupljenosti ispitanika ženskog pola, a brojni nalazi svedoče da su žene u većoj meri empatične nego osobe muškog pola. Treba, međutim, istaći da ne postoje norme za našu populaciju za

kratku skalu EQ-8 (norme su napravljene za duže verzije instrumenta od 28 i 40 stavki), te i ovo treba imati u vidu.

Imajući u vidu primetnu disproporciju u zastupljenosti ispitanika ženskog pola u našem uzorku i s obzirom na to da rezultati istraživanja o polnim razlikama u socijalnoj anksioznosti nisu konzistentni (Asher et al., 2017; Barnett et al., 2020; Bögels et al., 2001; Deardorff et al., 2007; Essex et al., 2010; Jose et al., 2012; Kessler et al., 2012; McLean et al., 2011; Stewart & Mandrusiak, 2007; van Oort et al., 2011; Xu et al., 2012), ispitano je da li postoji razlika u izraženosti socijalne anksioznosti u odnosu na pol. Rezultati su prikazani u tabeli 2.

Tabela 2

Izraženost socijalne anksioznosti s obzirom na pol ispitanika

Pol	AS	SD
Muški (N=84)	2.397	.706
Ženski (N=213)	2.680	.936
Ukupno (N=297)	2.600	.885

Tabela 2a

T test jednakosti aritmetičkih sredina između studenata muškog i ženskog pola u odnosu na varijablu socijalna anksioznost

		Levenov test		t test		
		<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Socijalna anksioznost	jednake varijanse	7.887	0.005	-2.51	295	0.013
	nejednake varijanse			-2.83	200.43	0.005

Dobijeni rezultati ukazuju na postojanje statistički značajnih razlika u pogledu izraženosti socijalne anksioznosti: smer razlika pokazuje da je viši stepen socijalne anksioznosti ženskih ispitanika (1 = muški pol; 2 = ženski pol). S obzirom da uzorak nije ujednačen po polu, ustanovljenu razliku treba uzeti sa rezervom.

Sledeći korak u obradi podataka se odnosi na izračunavanje korelacije između dimenzija percipiranih vaspitnih stavova roditelja, empatije, lokusa kontrole i socijalne anksioznosti (Tabela 3) kako bi se ustanovilo da li su ispunjeni uslovi za sprovođenje hijerarhijske regresione analize.

Tabela 3*Prikaz Pirsonovih korelacija između varijabli korišćenih u istraživanju*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1 TVM	1	.569**	-.802**	-.458**	.754**	.437**	-.392**	-.283**	.051	-.016	-.191**
2 TVO		1	-.406**	-.845**	.422**	.767**	-.198**	-.341**	.163**	-.012	-.201**
3 HVM			1	.546**	-.679**	-.334**	.550**	.343**	.059	.005	.213**
4 HVO				1	-.366**	-.696**	.344**	.497**	-.061	-.030	.226**
5 PVM					1	.569**	-.605**	-.381**	.010	.016	-.174**
6 PVO						1	-.352**	-.603**	.066	.009	-.215**
7 OVM							1	.651**	.217**	-.047	.219**
8 OVO								1	.135*	-.027	.221**
9 E									1	-.174**	-.206**
10 LK										1	.161**
11 SA											1

Napomena. TVM = Toplo vaspitanje majka; TVO = Toplo vaspitanje otac; HVM = Hladno vaspitanje majka; HVO = Hladno vaspitanje otac; PVM = Popustljivo vaspitanje majka; PVO = Popustljivo vaspitanje otac; OVM = Ograničavajuće vaspitanje majka; OVO = Ograničavajuće vaspitanje otac; E = Empatija; LK = Lokus kontrole; SA = Socijalna anksioznost.

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

Dobijeni rezultati ukazuju na to da postoje statistički značajne korelacije između prediktorskih varijabli i kriterijumske varijable, što ukazuje na to da je opravdano sprovesti hijerarhijsku regresionu analizu. Pokazalo se da je socijalna anksioznost statistički značajno povezana sa svim potencijalno prediktorskim varijablama i da je intenzitet tih korelacija nizak.

S obzirom na to da je utvrđena visoka interkorelacija nekih prediktorskih varijabli ispitano je da li postoji multikolinearnost jer je to smetnja sprovođenju hijerarhijske regresione analize. Saglasno preporukama stručnjaka (Field, 2013), kao indikator za postojanje multikolinearnosti uzeta je visina (intenzitet) korelacije dveju varijabli veća od .8. Na osnovu uvida u podatke (Tabela 3) može se reći da postoji multikolinearnost između određenih vaspitnih stavova (Toplo vaspitanje majka i Hladno vaspitanje majka; Toplo vaspitanje otac i Hladno vaspitanje otac). Kako bi se prevazišao problem multikolinearnosti, napravljene su sažimanjem dve nove varijable: jedna varijabla je dobijena računanjem prosečnog skora na dimenzijama Toplo vaspitanje majka i Hladno vaspitanje majka, a druga je napravljena računanjem prosečnog skora na dimenzijama Toplo vaspitanje otac i Hladno vaspitanje otac (pritom su vrednosti na dimenzijama Hladno vaspitanje otac i Hladno vaspitanje majka rekodirane). Opravdanost ovakvog postupka leži u tome što se pretpostavlja da toplo vaspitanje isključuje hladno i obrnuto, odnosno da je reč o vaspitnim stavovima koji se raspoređuju na kontinuumu od hladnog do maksimalno toplog vaspitnog stila. Na opisani način su četiri odvojene, teorijski i sadržinski suprotne dimenzije, sažete u dve bipolarne kontinuirane dimenzije vaspitnih stavova majke i oca. Tako konceptualizovane varijable su zatim uključene u regresioni model radi provere prediktivne moći obuhvaćenih personalnih varijabli.

Dalje je sprovedena hijerarhijska regresiona analiza (Tabela 4). Kriterijum redosleda pri uključivanju prediktora u hijerarhijsku regresionu analizu zasnovan je na logičkoj analizi i intenzitetu korelacije određene varijable sa socijalnom anksioznošću. S obzirom na to da je uzorak prigodan i neujednačen po polu, odnosno da ima znatno više ženskih ispitanika ($N = 213$, 71.7%), varijabla pol je u okviru regresionog modela tretirana kao kontrolna varijabla, odnosno sprovedena je statistička kontrola varijable pol, ubacivanjem pola u prvi korak hijerarhijske regresione analize.

Tabela 4

Rezultati hijerarhijske linearne regresije: pol, percipirani vaspitni stavovi roditelja, empatija i lokus kontrole kao prediktori socijalne anksioznosti

Prediktori		Sažetak modela	β	p	Tolerance	VIF
1	Pol	$R = .144, R^2 = .021, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .018,$ $F_{(1,295)} = 6.290, p = .013$	.144	.013	1.000	1.000
	Pol		.145	.011	.982	1.018
2	TVO		-.059	.590	.262	3.818
	TVM	$R = .325, R^2 = .106, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .084,$	-.151	.161	.270	3.702
	OVO	$F_{(7,289)} = 4.881, p = .000, \Delta R^2 = .085,$	.055	.560	.345	2.902
	OVМ	$\Delta F_{(6,289)} = 4.570, p = .000$	.116	.217	.350	2.856
	PVO		-.106	.412	.185	5.402
	PVM		.119	.333	.204	4.895
	Pol		.158	.004	.978	1.022
3	TVO		-.047	.655	.262	3.821
	TVM	$R = .388, R^2 = .150, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .127,$	-.170	.105	.270	3.710
	OVO	$F_{(8,288)} = 6.363, p = .000, \Delta R^2 = .044,$	.056	.543	.345	2.903
	OVМ		.101	.271	.350	2.861
	PVO	$\Delta F_{(1,288)} = 15.074, p = .000$	-.116	.359	.185	5.404
	PVM		.130	.279	.204	4.897
	E		-.212	.000	.991	1.009
4	Pol		.146	.009	.963	1.038
	TVO		-.073	.494	.257	3.899
	TVM		-.155	.139	.268	3.737
	OVO	$R = .398, R^2 = .159, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .132,$	.051	.578	.344	2.905
	OVМ	$F_{(9,287)} = 6.017, p = .000, \Delta R^2 = .009,$	.071	.446	.337	2.967
	PVO		-.107	.397	.185	5.414
	PVM	$\Delta F_{(1,287)} = 2.913, p = .089$	.102	.397	.201	4.988
	E		-.195	.001	.958	1.044
LK		.100	.089	.855	1.170	

Napomena. TVM = toplo vaspitanje majka; TVO = toplo vaspitanje otac; PVM = popustljivo vaspitanje majka; PVO = popustljivo vaspitanje otac; OVM = ograničavajuće vaspitanje majka; OVO = ograničavajuće vaspitanje otac; LK = lokus kontrole; E = empatija

Najpre su razmotrene vrednosti statističkih parametara VIF i Tolerance kako bi se proverilo postojanje multikolinearnosti prediktorskih varijabli (Tabela 4). Kao kriterijum potvrđivanja multikolinearnosti uzeta je za VIF vrednost 10 (jednako ili veće od 10), a za Tolerance vrednost .10 (jednake ili manje od .10; Senaviranta et al., 2019). Uvidom u dobijene vrednosti VIF i Tolerance, zaključeno je da ne postoji multikolinearnost između prediktorskih varijabli i da je ispunjen ovaj uslov za sprovođenje hijerarhijske regresione analize.

Rezultati hijerarhijske regresione analize (Tabela 4) pokazuju da je prvi model, kada je kao prediktor socijalne anksioznosti uključena varijabla pol statistički značajan ($\beta = .144, p = .013$) i da objašnjava 2.1% varijanse socijalne anksioznosti. Preciznije, ovo znači da je kod osoba ženskog pola nešto veća sklonost pojavi socijalne anksioznosti (ženski pol je obeležen sa 2, a muški sa 1). Kada se u drugom koraku, uz varijablu pol, kao prediktorske varijable uključe dimenzije vaspitnih stavova oca i majke, povećava se značajno prediktivna moć modela. Ovako konceptualizovan model u celini je statistički značajan i objašnjava 10.6% varijanse socijalne anksioznosti. Međutim, dok varijabla pol ostaje statistički značajan prediktor socijalne anksioznosti ($\beta = .145, p = .011$), nijedan od vaspitnih stavova se ne izdvaja kao pojedinačni značajan prediktor kriterijumske varijable. U trećem koraku uključena je empatija u regresioni model, i pokazalo se da ona značajno doprinosi predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti u odnosu na kombinaciju prediktorskih varijabli iz prethodnog koraka. Ovako sačinjen treći regresioni model, koji čine varijable pol, dimenzije vaspitnih stavova i empatija, statistički je značajan i objašnjava 15.0% varijanse socijalne anksioznosti. Kao statistički značajan prediktor, pored varijable pol ($\beta = .158, p = .004$), izdvojila se i empatija koja se pokazala kao značajan negativan prediktor socijalne anksioznosti ($\beta = -.212, p = .000$). Negativan predznak ukazuje na to da se očekuje veći stepen socijalne anksioznosti kod osoba koje su manje empatične, i obrnuto, veća empatičnost je osnova očekivanju da će stepen socijalne anksioznosti studenata biti niži. Na kraju, u četvrtom regresionom modelu, kada se uključi i varijabla lokus kontrole, nije utvrđen značajno veći doprinos predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti studenata. Predikcioni model u celini je statistički značajan i objašnjava 15.9% varijanse socijalne anksioznosti, a kao značajni prediktori socijalne anksioznosti i dalje ostaju pol ispitanika ($\beta = .146, p = .009$) i empatija ($\beta = -.195, p = .001$). Dakle, rezultati hijerarhijske regresione analize dosledno ukazuju na to da pol i empatija imaju značajan doprinos u predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti na obuhvaćenom (prigodnom) uzorku ispitanika.

Diskusija

Opšti cilj sprovedenog istraživanja bio je ispitivanje uloge pola ispitanika, kao i prediktivne moći dimenzija percipiranih vaspitnih stavova roditelja, empatije i lokusa kontrole u predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti. Polazna pretpostavka istraživanja bila je da pol ispitanika, način na koji ispitanici percipiraju vaspitne stavove svojih roditelja, empatijski kapacitet i lokus kontrole, kao orijentacija

(unutrašnja-spoljašnja) u tumačenju izvora ponašanja i ishoda događaja, mogu doprineti predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti kod studenata. U daljem tekstu biće izložena neka od mogućih tumačenja dobijenih rezultata u svetlu ranijih empirijskih nalaza i teorijskog određenja varijabli obuhvaćenih sprovedenim istraživanjem.

Pokazalo se da pol, dimenzije vaspitnih stavova roditelja (ukupno uzev bez izdvajanja pojedinih vaspitnog stavova) i empatija ostvaruju značajan doprinos u predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti kod studenata. Što se tiče pojedinačnih značajnih prediktora, rezultati ukazuju na to da dve varijable dosledno daju svoj doprinos predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti, s tim što je empatija u okviru ove studije bolji prediktor socijalne anksioznosti od varijable pol.

Imajući u vidu značajnost regresionih modela i smer doprinosa pojedinih prediktora, kao i da je doprinos pola u sva četiri testirana modela bio značajan, postoji dovoljno osnova za zaključak da je pol ispitanika značajan prediktor socijalne anksioznosti. U nekim skorašnjim inostranim studijama je utvrđeno da osobe ženskog pola, u poređenju sa muškim ispitanicima, imaju značajno više skorove na socijalnoj anksioznosti, što daje podršku i rezultatima ovog istraživanja u našoj sredini (Asher et al., 2017; Bögels et al., 2001; Essex et al., 2010; Jose et al., 2012; van Oort et al., 2011; Xu et al., 2012). Ovakvi rezultati mogu se delimično objasniti time da žene i devojke, u našoj kulturi, naročito u manje razvijenim sredinama, u većoj meri nego muškarci strepe od evaluacije i eventualne osude drugih i drže do toga da njihova reputacija ne bude poljuljana (Randelović, 2021); žena ima dodatnu odgovornost kao majka i najčešće se majkama pripisuje odgovornost za (loše) vaspitanje dece. Osim toga, pritisak nametnutih ideala lepote u većoj meri opterećuje mlade žene nego muškarce, pa samim tim je socijalna anksioznosti na neki način posledica stresora koji su karakteristični za ženski pol (npr., nezadovoljstvo telom i ukupnim izgledom), ali i ograničenjima koja se povezuju sa rodnim ulogama (Deardorff et al., 2007). Dodajmo da brojne kulture implicitno i eksplicitno postavljaju standarde ponašanja i ističu čitav niz očekivanja i/ili zahteva osobama oba pola, s tim što je u većini slučajeva socijalni pritisak veći kad je reč o osobama ženskog pola. Uostalom, češće se govori o borbi za „ženska prava” što znači da nema prave ravnopravnosti ni tamo gde bi se očekivalo da je taj civilizacijski nivo dostignut. Što se tiče studentske populacije i univerzitetski obrazovanih žena, često su u situaciji da prave kompromise između porodičnih uloga i obaveza na poslu, odnosno svega onoga što proističe tokom izgradnje karijere (Hedrih i sar., 2013). Stoga je jasno da sve ovo može biti i izvor socijalne anksioznosti osoba ženskog pola, čime bi se doveli u vezu i rezultati ovog istraživanja na uzorku studentske populacije.

Kao što je rečeno, dobijeni rezultati su ukazali i na značajnu ulogu empatije koja predstavlja negativan prediktor socijalne anksioznosti. Ovaj nalaz znači da osoba koja nije dovoljno empatična, tj. nema dovoljno razvijene empatijske kapacitete, te nije u stanju da razume i reaguje na položaj i emocionalno stanje drugih ljudi, može biti sklonija socijalnoj anksioznosti. Osobe koje imaju teškoća da se stave na mesto drugih osoba i da saosećaju sa njima, nisu u stanju da prepoznaju i adekvatno protumače očekivanja drugih ljudi. Ovo dalje može da dovede do toga da se očekivanja, stavovi i ponašanja drugih ljudi neadekvatno protumače kao preteća i

previše zahtevna što može posledično dovesti do nesporazuma; takve osobe su stoga sklone tome da strepe i brinu da li će ih drugi ljudi pogrešno proceniti (na primer, da su nekompetentni, nespretni, nedovoljno obrazovani, glupavi, dosadni itd.). Pritom treba uzeti u obzir i nedovoljnu socioemocionalnu zrelost mladih, a takvi su činili i uzorak našeg istraživanja. Jasno je da sve navedeno može postati izvor socijalne anksioznosti i razlog dugoročnog povećanja intenziteta strepnje u interakciji sa socijalnim okruženjem.

Što se tiče dostupnih empirijskih nalaza iz drugih studija novijeg datuma, može se reći da posredno uglavnom daju podršku našim rezultatima. Ustanovljeno je da socijalno anksiozne osobe imaju poteškoća koje se tiču razumevanja emocionalnog stanja drugih osoba (O'Toole et al., 2013). Takođe, socijalno anksiozne osobe izveštavaju učestalije o negativnim iskustvima u interpersonalnim odnosima (Cohen et al., 2017), pokazuju poteškoće prilikom emocionalnog reagovanja i interpretacije znakova u socijalnim interakcijama (Pittelkow et al., 2021). Skorašnja studija sprovedena u našoj sredini ukazuje na to da kognitivno funkcionisanje socijalno anksiozne osobe karakteriše osećaj straha da se ne ponaša adekvatno u socijalnoj situaciji i da ljudi sa njom ne dele isto mišljenje i identična osećanja (Randelović, 2021). Ima, međutim, i istraživanja sa kojima naši nalazi nisu saglasni, uz napomenu da postoje razlike u korišćenim instrumentima kao i specifične karakteristike uzorka. Tako je u nekim istraživanjima nađena pozitivna povezanost socijalne anksioznosti i empatije (Morrison et al., 2016; Tibi-Elhanany & Shamay-Tsoory, 2011). Autori navode sledeće objašnjenje: socijalno anksiozne osobe su u većoj meri empatične jer se fokusiraju i brinu o tome kako ih druge osobe vide i procenjuju i samim tim to vodi ka tome da će oni usvojiti perspektivu za koju smatraju da je drugi ljudi imaju, a tiče se njih samih, takođe su sklone da dožive empatijsku zabrinutost zbog stanja drugih osoba (Tibi-Elhanany & Shamay-Tsoory, 2011). Dakle, u ovim studijama se pokazalo da su socijalno anksiozne osobe uspešnije u identifikaciji emocija kod drugih osoba, uprkos tome što pokazuju tendenciju da loše procenjuju sopstvene emocije i da su kritične prema sebi (O'Toole et al., 2013; Staugaard, 2010).

Zaključak

Generalno gledano, rezultati istraživanja opravdavaju način na koji je postavljen istraživački problem, a to je ispitivanje prediktivne moći pola, dimenzija percipiranih vaspitnih stavova roditelja, empatije i lokusa kontrole u predviđanju socijalne anksioznosti kod studenata.

Dobijeni rezultati ukazuju na to da prilikom razmatranja fenomena socijalne anksioznosti treba uzeti u obzir i faktore iz neposrednog socijalnog okruženja (vaspitni stav roditelja), kao i intraindividualne, kognitivno-emocionalne faktore (empatija). Smatramo da bi uloga pojedinih dimenzija vaspitnih stavova roditelja i lokusa kontrole bila jasnija ukoliko bi uzorak ispitanika uključio osobe iz opšte populacije, čime bi se postigla veća heterogenost uzorka i prikupljenih podataka (umesto relativne homogenosti studentske populacije).

Teorijski i praktični značaj ovog istraživanja ogleda se u potpunijem upoznavanju faktora koji mogu da doprinesu pojavi socijalne anksioznosti kod mladih uopšte kao i primeni nalaza u vaspitnom radu sa decom i mladima. Moguće je izvesti i praktične implikacije dobijenih nalaza u oblasti psihološkog savetovanja i psihoterapijskog rada sa mladim ljudima koji su socijalno anksiozni i to ih ometa u svakodnevnom funkcionisanju.

Ograničenja sprovedenog istraživanja proističu iz činjenice da je uzorak bio prigodan i da je postojala neujednačenost uzorka u odnosu na pol. Ističemo da način prikupljanja podataka ima slabosti zbog nedovoljne kontrole u online istraživanjima, ali i zbog toga što se svi podaci zasnivaju na samoprocenivanju (ova sposobnost kod nekih osoba nije dovoljno razvijena, a takođe postoje različiti stilovi samoprocene). Retrospektivna procena vaspitnih postupaka roditelja može biti nedovoljno pouzdana, pa bi bilo dobro da se upotpuni procenama samih roditelja. Budućim istraživanjima treba obuhvatiti veći broj ispitanika, voditi računa o ujednačenoj zastupljenosti ispitanika muškog i ženskog pola kako bi se mogle sprovesti analize na poduzorcima i proveriti pretpostavka o različitim relacijama ispitivanih varijabli. Ima razloga da se dalje proučavaju veze između stila roditeljstva i percepcije vaspitnih stavova od strane dece sa socijalnom anksioznošću, saglasno nalazima o značaju konteksta odrastanja za formiranje slike o sebi i subjektivni doživljaj blagostanja.

Dalja proučavanja socijalne anksioznosti trebalo bi da obuhvate sociodemografske varijable i karakteristike okruženja, kao i posledice eventualnih društvenih kriza koje mogu povećati ličnu nesigurnost, osećanje ugroženosti i opštu anksioznost. Vreme kad je sprovedeno istraživanje je bilo opterećeno strahom i neizvesnošću, ograničenim socijalnim kontaktima i depresivnim stanjima zbog prisutne epidemije korone. Ovako nepovoljna atmosfera može ostaviti posledice u socioemocionalnom funkcionisanju osobe, povećati egoizam i umanjiti brigu za druge, podstaći socijalnu anksioznost. Treba svakako uzeti u obzir relativno trajne dispozicije ličnosti, od kojih delimično zavise način prevladavanja stresa, spremnost osobe za pomaganje, verovanje u pozitivnu ljudsku prirodu, i lokus kontrole kao orijentacija za tumačenje izvora ponašanja i stepena kontrole nad događajima.

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GENDER, PERCEIVED PARENTAL REARING ATTITUDES, EMPATHY AND LOCUS OF CONTROL AS PREDICTORS OF SOCIAL ANXIETY AMONG STUDENTS³

Abstract

The aim of this research was to examine the predictive power of gender, the dimensions of perceived parental rearing attitudes, empathy and locus of control in predicting social anxiety among students. The sample consisted of 297 students (71.7% female), aged 19 to 36 years ($M = 22.29$, $SD = 2.46$). Parental Rearing attitudes were operationalized through the score on the Parental Rearing Style Scale (dimensions: warm, cold, permissive and restrictive upbringing of the father and mother). Empathy was operationalized through the score on the Empathy Quotient, locus of control was operationalized using the Externality Scale, while social anxiety was measured using the Social Anxiety Scale. The results of the hierarchical regression analysis, in which

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the first model consisted of the gender variable, showed that this model as a whole is statistically significant ($R^2 = .021$, $F_{(1,295)} = 6.290$, $p = .013$). In the second step, the dimensions of parents' educational attitudes were included and the results showed that their contribution in predicting social anxiety is statistically significant, as well as that the model as a whole is statistically significant ($R^2 = .106$, $F_{(7,289)} = 4.881$, $p = .000$). Gender was singled out as a statistically significant predictor within this model ($\beta = .145$, $p = .011$). In the third step, Empathy is included and the contribution of this variable in predicting social anxiety is statistically significant, as is the model as a whole ($R^2 = .150$, $F_{(8,288)} = 6.363$, $p = .000$). Statistically significant predictors within this model are gender ($\beta = .158$, $p = .004$) and Empathy ($\beta = -.212$, $p = .000$). Within the fourth model, Locus of control is included and the contribution of this variable in predicting social anxiety is not statistically significant, but the model as a whole is statistically significant ($R^2 = .159$, $F_{(9,287)} = 6.017$, $p = .000$) and gender ($\beta = .146$, $p = .009$) and Empathy ($\beta = -.195$, $p = .001$) stand out as statistically significant predictors. Conducted analyses show that female persons with lower empathy are more prone to social anxiety. The results are discussed in light of the available empirical evidence.

Keywords: gender, parental rearing attitudes, empathy, locus of control, social anxiety, students

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