

儿童社会退缩的研究进展

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【摘要】 社会退缩是在社交情境中的一种行为抑制,可能会造成儿童多方面的适应不良和内化、外化问题,不利于其心理发展和健康成长。随着社会学发展研究的不断深入,儿童社会退缩逐渐得到国内外学者的广泛重视,了解儿童群体的社会退缩现象对深入开展后续研究十分重要。通过国内外文献综述,总结儿童社会退缩的分型、作用机制及影响因素,以期为未来制定预防策略和早期干预方案提供科学依据。

【关键词】 社会退缩;精神卫生;行为;儿童

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【Abstract】 Social withdrawal is a kind of behavioral inhibition in social situations, which may increase the risk for maladjustment, internalizing and externalizing problems, interfering with psychological development and healthy growth. With the deepening understanding in sociology of development, child social withdrawal has gradually received extensive attention from scholars across the world. Understanding the phenomenon of child social withdrawal is important for in-depth follow-up research. Based on the literature review, the paper aims to summarize the types, mechanisms and influencing factors of social withdrawal in children, in order to provide scientific basis for formulating prevention strategies and early intervention programs in the future.

【Keywords】 Social withdrawal; Mental health; Behavior; Child

社会退缩指儿童在社交情境中抑制自己参与同伴互动,避免维持年龄典型的社会关系,并伴有孤独倾向的一种行为表现^[1]。社会互动是儿童发展认知、情感和习得社会技能的重要途径^[2],童年时期持续的社会退缩会导致儿童无法正常探索社交技能,引发同伴排斥及多方面适应不良,继而出现自卑、孤独、焦虑、抑郁等内化问题^[3],以及学业困难、物质滥用、攻击行为等外化问题^[4]。随着社会学发展研究的不断深入,儿童社会退缩已得到国内外学者的广泛重视。本研究主要针对儿童社会退缩的临床分型、作用机制及影响因素进行综述,以期为后续实施干预提供参考。

1 儿童社会退缩的分型

儿童社会退缩的分型主要基于社交动机理论和安全依赖关系理论^[5-6]。

1.1 基于社交动机理论的儿童社会退缩分型 基于社交动机理论,社会退缩由社交趋近动机和社交回避动机 2 个维度共同界定,分为 3 种亚型^[7]。害羞退缩型具有高社交趋近动机和高社交回避动机的特征,主

要表现为儿童面对新事物和不熟悉环境时的过度警惕和内心敏感。害羞退缩的儿童主观愿意参与社会交往,但由于内心恐惧而表现出犹豫、恐惧和躲避等反应。研究表明,童年时期害羞的儿童更容易出现内化问题^[8-9]。相比之下,孤独偏好型则具有低社交趋近动机和低社交回避动机的特征,该类型反映的是儿童对独处的偏好,孤独偏好型儿童对社会交往无恐惧倾向,他们不主动参与社交,更愿意选择有吸引力的活动,这一亚型的儿童与较少的负面情绪相关^[10]。社交回避型是儿童社会退缩中较为极端的一种亚型,具有低社交趋近动机和高社交回避动机的特征^[11],社交回避型儿童大多在童年期遭受了同伴侵害,导致其在人际情境中快感缺失,并将不参与社交认定为一种自我保护的方式^[12],社交回避儿童的退缩行为会随着时间的推移持续强化,进而演变为较严重的心理问题及精神疾病^[13]。

1.2 基于安全依恋关系理论的儿童社会退缩分型 安全依恋关系理论认为,儿童的安全依恋会影响个体的社会互动和同伴关系,并与社会退缩相关^[14]。基于安全依恋关系理论,社会退缩分为过度安全依恋型、

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反依恋型和安全依恋适应不良型。过度安全依恋型儿童缺乏探索和参与社会交往的动力,并且可能导致严重的发育迟缓和“蜗居”(一种严重的社会退缩)行为,需要早期从家庭着手采取心理治疗^[15]。反依恋型儿童青少年通常性格较为独立,回避社会交往是一种对限制的“解脱”,该类型个体通过自我寻求来成长^[16]。安全依恋适应不良型往往是在不良的家庭状态和同伴排斥、孤立、欺凌等环境下产生的一种“防御”行为,这一类孩子渴望与外界建立联系,但在社交欲望和恐惧之间存在较大矛盾^[17]。

2 社会退缩的神经生物学作用机制

2.1 社会退缩与大脑神经网络 儿童期是社会行为发育的关键时期,与社会功能相关的大脑网络以杏仁核为中心,包括眶额皮质、颞皮质、内侧前额叶皮层和前扣带皮层^[18]。社会退缩个体的大脑杏仁核更活跃,且对负面情绪更敏感,这一机制决定了社会退缩儿童在人际交往中对社会信号的误解和消极情绪的反应过度,导致个体在社交情境中产生“恐惧”回路,并通过唤起回避行为以应对体感痛苦^[19]。当痛苦长期、反复刺激,就会改变大脑神经网络结构,形成稳定的社会退缩行为。因此当个体在遇到类似环境下的社交情形时可能会发出消极的判断,并激发警惕反应^[20]。

2.2 社会退缩与神经递质 临床观察证实了大脑社会感知能力的高度脆弱性,神经介质在处理社会刺激过程中的缺陷可能导致个人社交问题及精神疾病^[19]。社会退缩可能源于大脑特定神经回路的错误加工,所有“一般”神经介质都与加工社会信息有关,如血清素、多巴胺、阿片类物质和 γ -氨基丁酸。Greenberg 等^[21]的动物实验发现,多巴胺及其受体的过度活跃可能与社会退缩的加强紧密关联。此外,神经肽催产素和加压素也与社会退缩相关^[21]。

2.3 社会退缩与皮质醇分泌 皮质醇对压力的反应性升高可能是社会退缩的一个关键发病机制^[22]。皮质醇是由下丘脑—垂体—肾上腺轴(HPA 轴)分泌的一种糖皮质激素,能够帮助个体适应压力源^[23]。研究发现,社交回避型的儿童在面对典型的社交情境时经历了更大的压力,或者对轻度压力的社交情境更脆弱和敏感,在这种情况下社交回避个体的 HPA 轴被激活导致体内游离皮质醇循环浓度增加,增加的皮质醇分泌也可以帮助个体减轻生理症状^[24],而害羞退缩型和孤独偏好型则与皮质醇升高无关。因此,皮质醇增加或许可作为区分社会退缩亚型的一个实验室指标^[22]。

2.4 社会退缩与迷走神经张力调节 有研究发现,迷走神经张力调节参与儿童情绪调节,并与其认知及行为有关^[25]。根据多迷走神经理论,迷走神经制动器通

过调节心脏活动以适应环境压力^[26]。社会退缩儿童的迷走神经调节心脏活动反应方面存在缺失,可能会加剧其应对社交压力方面的痛苦反应。随着这种不良感受的增多,他们可能会更倾向于退出社交活动^[27]。

3 儿童社会退缩的影响因素

3.1 生物遗传因素 遗传因素在社会退缩的维持中起着重要作用,也是儿童易患各种精神病理症状的重要原因^[19]。荷兰的一项纵向双胞胎研究发现,遗传因素在儿童社会退缩的持续中起着重要作用^[28]。Geneviève 等^[1]则在荷兰双胞胎研究基础上进行了纵向扩展,提出儿童社会退缩中的不同分型具有不同的多基因组分,其中害羞退缩型与孤独症之间可能存在共同的潜在遗传成分,而孤独偏好型则与儿童抑郁症、自闭症、多动障碍等均存在共享遗传成分。Bralten 等^[29]进行了一项全基因组关联研究,检测到与社交功能缺陷显著相关的全基因组 18 个独立位点和 56 个基因,其中最强的关联信号出现在 11p15 染色体上,这一位点包含编码睡眠生物钟的 *ARNTL* 基因和编码多巴胺 D2 受体的 *DRD2* 基因,该研究不仅证实了人群中社交功能的遗传基础,也为探究人群社交功能背后的生物遗传因子提供了线索。

3.2 一般人口学因素 儿童社会退缩主要受年龄、性别和家庭收入的影响。(1)年龄:社会退缩行为随着儿童年龄的增长越发稳固,长期影响儿童的适应能力^[28]。(2)性别:女生社会退缩的发生率高于男生^[30],但由于男生在社交规范中承担的社会期望高于女生,因此有社会退缩行为的男生在同伴关系中遭受的情绪困难和负面影响更大^[31]。(3)家庭收入:社会退缩儿童在成长期间往往有较好的经济背景和较充足的物质基础,这种舒适的养育环境使得儿童依赖家庭支持,缺乏探索新社会关系的动力,甚至产生“寄生”倾向^[14]。

3.3 社会环境因素 儿童社会退缩与家庭环境、学业环境、社会文化等相关。(1)家庭环境:家庭是个体发展和社会化的主要场所;家庭冲突、儿童虐待导致儿童无法正常习得社交技能,是加剧儿童社会退缩的重要外部因素^[32]。(2)学业环境:儿童在面对社会新环境(如转学和升学)时的社会退缩检出率较高。学业环境的重组意味着社交需求增加,但儿童时期社交技能尚未成熟,部分儿童可能会对这种压力产生负面反应,导致不同程度地退出社会互动^[19,33]。(3)社会文化:社会文化影响社会退缩的表达含义及反馈,目前研究发现东西方文化均会引起社会退缩儿童的适应问题,但可能会存在强度的不同。中国传统文化中,

害羞、谨慎被社会所接受,但随着社会文化的发展,鼓励自信、表达和竞争力等个人特征的文化得到重视,社会退缩则倾向于社会适应不良^[34]。Coplan 等^[35]采用与西方相同的方法在中国进行调查,发现中国社交回避的儿童报告出更高水平的适应不良,中国儿童对社交回避的同伴也表现出消极的评价。此外,相比西方文化,亚洲家庭更加注重教育和成就,儿童有着更高的期望和更激烈的竞争意识,因此在其失败时可能遭受更明显的信心受挫^[36]。西方部分研究者认为,儿童的社会退缩是可接受的,这是儿童早期自我探索的一种方式,但持续的社会退缩将导致青春期和成年期的社会适应困难^[37]。提示研究人员在未来的研究中不仅需要横向对比不同文化背景对儿童社会退缩适应功能的差异,还需要纵向考虑儿童社会退缩在文化历史变迁中的不同含义。

3.4 父母教养方式 父母教养方式在儿童行为的形成中起着重要作用。相关研究发现,社会退缩儿童的父母表现出较高的心理控制、过度保护以及对孩子缺乏信心的焦虑和敏感^[38]。此后也有研究深入探索了两者之间的关系,发现儿童社会退缩与父母控制行为之间可能存在唤起性的关联,即父母的控制行为会加重儿童社会退缩,而儿童在表现出退缩行为后会唤起父母的保护行为,并增强其控制,这种双向的关联还会随着时间推移更加稳固^[2]。此外,消极的养育态度、父母角色缺失、父母忽视、打击式教育导致儿童形成负面的自我概念,不利于其处理人际关系技能的培养。

3.5 童年创伤经历 来源于家庭和同伴的创伤经历,是儿童社会退缩的非特异因素。家庭体罚、冲突、虐待、暴力等可能导致儿童广泛的社会认知缺陷,无法获得理解社会情境、识别他人情绪以及在社交互动中承担多种角色的能力,从而难以适应社交情景^[39]。同伴关系在塑造儿童社会情感技能方面具有重要作用,在同龄人的互动中,儿童能够以主体和客体的角度直接或间接地习得社会行为和社会规范,并发展出平等、互惠的关系^[4]。而同伴排斥、同伴拒绝、欺凌等则使其在人际情境中社交快感缺失、自尊受挫,当这种创伤经历反复出现,则会强化儿童的社会退缩行为^[40]。

3.6 病理性网络的使用 随着社会经济发展和变革,互联网和网络游戏的普及给儿童的娱乐交流方式带来了巨大的改变。研究表明,过度的网络使用是儿童青少年社会退缩和“蜗居”现象的重要原因^[41],且儿童的网络使用时间与其社会退缩风险存在正向关系^[42]。另外,社会退缩和网络的使用可能会产生一种相互强化的效应,即儿童越感到孤独、害怕社交,就越

可能通过虚拟网络缓解这些压力和负面情绪,当这种行为成为一种习惯时,便会导致“蜗居”行为^[43]。除儿童本身的网络使用外,也有研究发现父母的智能手机成瘾与儿童社会退缩行为之间存在联系^[44]。

3.7 个体交流状况 良好的语言表达能力和听力状况是儿童交流和互动的客观条件。Fujiki 等^[45]通过探索儿童社会退缩影响同伴关系的过程机制,发现语言表达能力是儿童社会退缩行为和同伴关系的重要调节因素。另外,听力障碍也会影响儿童的交流互动,引发社会退缩及情感发展受损。Helbig 等^[46]研究表明,发育性语言障碍的儿童无法进行正常交流,患有社会退缩的可能性较高。3岁以后的儿童可能会意识到同龄人的口吃问题,并对其作出负面评价,持续口吃可能会使儿童缺乏必要的语言交流,阻碍其社交互动,导致社会退缩^[47]。

4 小结

儿童社会退缩对儿童的心理发展和健康成长都有着重要影响。由于社会退缩会造成儿童多方面适应不良和内化、外化问题,因此要早发现、早干预,及时中断其带来的负面影响。目前国外已有研究者从同伴及父母关系等方面着手开始了对儿童社会退缩的干预,但并未针对社会退缩的不同亚型进行。我国关于儿童社会退缩的相关研究尚处于探索阶段。鉴于中西方文化的差异,探索适合我国现实情况和不同亚型的儿童社会退缩干预方案,对提升儿童适应功能和促进儿童身心发展具有重要意义。

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