

父母冲突与青少年行为问题研究进展与展望

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收稿日期: 2022年1月16日; 录用日期: 2022年2月18日; 发布日期: 2022年2月25日

摘 要

父母冲突作为青少年生活中的压力源使青少年面临行为问题发展的风险。以往关于父母冲突影响青少年行为问题的机制研究, 主要包括青少年的认知情绪加工及父母养育行为的中介作用及性别的调节作用, 皮肤电导性及皮质醇激活等可能是父母冲突影响青少年行为问题的生理基础。此外, 以往基于父母冲突背景下的干预研究大都聚焦于改善父母关系质量。未来可以更多地关注在父母冲突环境中父子关系或父亲养育方式的作用, 并进一步从个体和家庭层面探究父母冲突环境中青少年行为问题发展的保护性因素, 如努力控制、父母积极因素。父母冲突影响青少年行为问题的其他生理基础如前额叶皮质成熟等, 及针对青少年群体的干预项目也是未来研究的方向。

关键词

父母冲突, 青少年, 行为问题

Research Progress and Prospect of Interparental Conflict and Adolescent Behavioral Problems

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Received: Jan. 16th, 2022; accepted: Feb. 18th, 2022; published: Feb. 25th, 2022

Abstract

As a stressor in adolescent life, interparental conflict makes adolescents face the risk of developing behavioral problems. Previous studies have explored the mechanism of the influences of interparental conflict on adolescents' behavioral problems, mainly including the mediating role of adolescents' cognitive-emotional processing and parenting behavior, and the moderating role of

gender. Skin conductance and cortisol activation can be the physiological bases underlying the influences of interparental conflict on adolescent behavioral problems. In addition, previous intervention studies based on the context of interparental conflict have mostly focused on improving the quality of interparental relationship. The role of father-son relationship or paternal parenting style on adolescent behavioral problems in the context of interparental conflict was recommended in future research. Moreover, further research should explore the protective factors of adolescent behavioral problems in the context of interparental conflict from individual and family levels, such as effort control and positive parental factors. Other physiological bases underlying the influences of interparental conflict on the development of adolescent behavioral problems such as the maturation of prefrontal cortex, and intervention programs targeting the adolescents are also the directions of future research.

Keywords

Interparental Conflict, Adolescent, Behavioral Problems

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1. 引言

来自离异家庭的青少年比完整家庭的青少年更容易出现适应性问题, 这些问题可能会一直持续到成年期(Van der Valk et al., 2005)。然而, 有研究指出父母离异本身并不一定给下一代带来发展的风险, 而是压力性的环境在起作用(Amato, 2010), 父母冲突作为一种普遍存在的现象(包括在许多完整的家庭中也常有发生), 其对儿童或青少年发展产生的负面影响不容忽视。父母冲突是指父母间的冲突行为, 如争论、意见不合、吵架, 包括肢体和语言攻击的频率与强度(Van Dijk et al., 2020)。父母冲突是一个多维的结构, 包括冲突的频率、表达方式、持续时间、强度等(Grych et al., 1992)。研究发现父母冲突对儿童或青少年的情绪(Qi, 2021)、行为(Thompson et al., 2020)、社交(Weymouth et al., 2019; Zhou et al., 2021)及认知能力(Zemp et al., 2020)都有消极的影响, 无论父母是否离异, 或者抚养孩子的父母是否与孩子有血缘关系(Harold & Sellers, 2018)。

行为问题可以划分为两大类, 分别为内化行为问题与外化行为问题(Campbell, 1995)。内化行为问题的表现形式包括焦虑、社交退缩、恐惧和悲伤情绪等, 外化行为问题则包括攻击、挑衅、多动、冲动和药物使用等。青少年的内化与外化问题可能单独或同时出现(Wang et al., 2016)。以往的研究表明, 敌对的父母冲突影响青少年行为问题的发展(Zhou & Buehler, 2019)。考虑到青少年开始接触日益复杂的社会关系(Wrzus et al., 2013), 父母间的关系与冲突对青少年尤其重要, 并可能成为其心理压力的重要来源(Silva et al., 2016)。青春期是内化与外化问题等发展的突出时期(Paus et al., 2008), 更加突显了在青少年群体中探究父母冲突对其行为问题影响的重要性。

2. 父母冲突与青少年行为问题研究进展

2.1. 父母冲突通过认知情绪加工影响青少年行为问题

以往有大量的研究针对父母冲突影响青少年行为问题的作用机制进行了研究。基于社会认知与依恋理论, 青少年对父母冲突的认知过程和情绪加工可能解释父母冲突对其产生的影响(Harold & Sellers,

2018; Davies & Cummings, 1994)。对父母冲突的认知过程主要有感知到的威胁、自责归因和应对效能评估(Fosco et al., 2007)。儿童或青少年对父母冲突的评估是威胁性的,为父母间的分歧而自责或者认为自己无法有效地应对,则会经历更多的焦虑和无助(Harold & Sellers, 2018)。情绪不安全感被视为是以往父母冲突经历的产物并对后续关于父母关系的反应与内在表征产生重要的影响。在父母冲突环境下,青少年对情绪安全感的担忧可能影响其情绪唤醒程度,影响其对父母冲突的反应过程。父母冲突会引发儿童或青少年的情绪不安全感,进而对其长期的适应性产生影响(Davies & Cummings, 1994)。

2.2. 父母冲突通过父母养育行为影响青少年行为问题

父母的养育行为或亲子关系可能受到父母间负面情绪和互动的“溢出”效应,进而导致青少年的行为问题(Harold et al., 2012)。根据“溢出假设”,在婚姻领域产生的情绪、情感等会转移到亲子关系中,健康的父母关系所产生的积极情绪有利于父母实施最佳的养育行为,有利于父母对下一代时间精力的投入,相反的,敌对的父母冲突往往产生愤怒、沮丧等负面的情绪,处于负面情绪中的父母可能以更加敌对的方式对待孩子,对孩子的需求更加不敏感,这些都与较差的亲子互动相关(Krishnakumar & Buehler, 2000),进而影响孩子的发展。这种溢出效应不仅在完整的家庭中存在,在离异的家庭中也同样存在。一项针对离异家庭的元分析研究表明,较低的父母支持水平与较高的侵入式养育在父母冲突与孩子行为问题之间起中介作用(Van Dijk et al., 2020)。

2.3. 性别的调节作用

孩子的性别能够调节父母冲突与青少年行为问题之间的关系。在童年期,根据男性脆弱性假设,和女孩相比,婚姻冲突更能预测男孩的适应不良,尤其是外化行为问题;在青春期,根据性别强化假设,女孩有对交流和融入社交网络有更大的倾向,从而对父母冲突更敏感(Davies & Lindsay, 2004)。但也存在一些不一致的结果,如有研究发现父母冲突与青少年性别的交互作用,父母冲突对青少年的自杀想法(或自杀尝试)及其遭受同伴欺凌的影响在男生中更加明显(Ai et al., 2017)。结果的异质性可能是由于其它因素的影响,如行为问题类型、父母性别与子女性别的交互作用等。青少年对父母敌对的评估可以预测女孩之后的内化问题而非外化问题(Harold & Conger, 1997)。当女孩与父亲的接触更少时,父母冲突更大幅度地增加了女孩而不是男孩的抑郁风险(Kalmijn, 2016)。

2.4. 父母冲突影响青少年行为问题的生理基础

过去关于父母冲突影响青少年行为问题的生理基础的研究,聚焦于儿童或青少年对父母冲突的心理生理和神经生物学反应,如皮肤电导水平反应性、皮质醇激活与自主神经系统的反应等。在父母冲突环境下,较高的皮肤电导水平与青春期男孩的内化问题及与青春期女孩的内、外化问题及认知问题相关(Harold & Sellers, 2018),而较低的皮肤电导水平反应性则可能是高水平父母冲突环境下的保护性因素,如有研究发现在暴露于争吵录音时,来自高水平父母冲突家庭的青少年的较低的皮肤电导水平与较好的注意力表现相关(Zemp et al., 2014)。也有研究为皮质醇激活作为父母冲突影响青少年行为问题的生理基础提供了证据,育儿相关的分歧与感知到的威胁与较高的皮质醇水平相关,较高的生理激活又与内化与外化问题相关(Koss et al., 2013)。自主神经系统由两个协同作用的系统组成,即交感神经系统和副交感神经系统,交感神经系统与副交感神经系统的共抑制和共激活是在父母冲突背景下外化和内化问题的脆弱性因素(El-Sheikh & Erath, 2011)。

2.5. 父母冲突下青少年发展障碍的干预研究

以往父母冲突环境中青少年发展障碍的干预研究主要从三个方面着手:青少年、父母及社会支持

(Harold & Sellers, 2018)。其中, 基于父母层面的干预研究最多。在学者认为, 在父母层面解决冲突对于改善孩子的成长环境与适应性发展具有重要的意义, 对父母关系的干预, 包括针对父母沟通技能与冲突解决能力的干预, 能够提高父母关系质量, 降低育儿压力, 改善亲子关系, 减少青少年的行为问题, 有助于青少年的发展(Cummings & Schatz, 2012)。旨在改善父母关系的干预项目主要集中在美国, 在中国本土的研究较少。也有学者提倡从政策层面尽可能降低父母冲突对青少年的负面影响(Harold & Sellers, 2018)。针对青少年本身的干预研究还有待完善。

3. 父母冲突与青少年行为问题研究展望

3.1. 父子关系与父亲养育方式的中介作用

根据家庭系统理论, 父母冲突通过影响亲子关系及父母养育方式, 进而影响儿童的适应与发展(Harold & Sellers, 2018)。过去关于父母冲突影响儿童发展的机制的研究更多地将母亲与孩子的互动来代表亲子关系, 或者将母亲与父亲的角色混合在一起进行研究, 但父亲的角色如父亲与孩子的关系、父亲的养育方式等却较少得到关注(Cowan & Cowan, 2002; Harold & Sellers, 2018)。以往的研究表明父亲与母亲可能对孩子的发展产生不同的影响, 父母冲突的影响更有可能消极地溢出到父子关系中, 也就是说, 父亲与孩子的互动更容易受父母冲突的负面影响(Harold et al., 2012), 进而影响到孩子的发展。也有研究指出基于家庭系统的儿童发展障碍干预项目中父亲参与的重要性(Cowan & Cowan, 2002)。

3.2. 努力控制的调节作用

过去的研究大都集中于探究父母冲突对青少年产生影响的过程, 如亲子关系和养育方式、青少年对父母冲突的评估(Davies & Cummings, 1994)等。但个体受父母冲突的影响存在差异性, 有哪些保护性因素可以缓冲父母冲突对青少年的负面影响, 还需要进一步的研究。努力控制可能作为保护性因素调节父母冲突与青少年行为问题之间的关系。努力控制是一种气质性的自我调节能力, 包括抑制反射性的主导反应(即抑制控制), 激活次主导反应(即激活控制)的能力(Rothbart & Bates, 2006)。实证研究表明, 较好的努力控制或注意控制水平与较少的内化问题(Dyson et al., 2015)或外化问题(Vijayakumar et al., 2014)相关。一项横断研究发现, 当青少年的努力控制水平较低时, 父母冲突对青少年网络使用问题有更强的预测作用(Qi, 2021)。较高的努力控制水平可能使个体在应对压力情境如父母冲突时能更好地进行情绪调节和行为控制, 进而减少父母冲突对其行为问题发展的影响。

3.3. 父母积极因素的调节作用

父母关系包括了很多的方面, 除了父母冲突, 父母建设性的沟通、父母温暖、父母冲突的解决、父母关系稳定性等父母间积极的互动可能影响父母冲突与青少年行为问题的关系。父母冲突与父母积极因素(如父母合作性冲突)常常同时存在, 并且对孩子的发展产生不同的影响(Zhou & Buehler, 2019)。父母积极因素可能作为保护性因素缓冲父母冲突对青少年认知评估及其行为问题的负面影响。当冲突发生在温暖良好的父母关系环境中, 青少年认为父母冲突会对他们自己或者家人的幸福带来威胁的可能性会较小(Davies & Cummings, 1994)。有一些研究为父母积极因素的保护性作用提供了证据, 如父母冲突的解决与父母间温暖可以减弱父母间敌意对青少年的负面影响(Zhou et al., 2021)。但以往关于父母积极因素在父母冲突环境中起缓冲作用的研究较少, 父母积极因素起保护作用的机制还有待进一步研究。

3.4. 父母冲突影响青少年行为问题的生理基础: 前额叶皮质成熟

关于父母冲突是否影响青少年大脑结构功能的变化, 进而影响青少年行为问题的发展, 得到的关注

相对较少。家庭环境与早期经历可能影响青少年的大脑发育(Whittle et al., 2013), 如积极养育可以预测右前扣带皮质变薄速度的加快(Whittle et al., 2014)。皮质成熟的特征是其厚度在青春期的减少(Tamnes et al., 2013)。一项关于前额叶皮质的成熟和青少年精神病理学的研究表明, 前扣带皮层变薄的程度与青少年攻击行为的减少相关(Vijayakumar et al., 2014)。相反, 较少的前额叶皮质变薄在青少年中与更多的注意力不集中的问题和抑郁与焦虑症状相关(Ducharme et al., 2014), 且处于青少年中后期及成年早期个体, 其抑郁和焦虑得分与前额叶皮质厚度正相关(Ducharme et al., 2014)。父母冲突可能影响青少年前额叶皮质成熟(皮质变薄速度或厚度), 进而影响青少年行为问题的发展。

3.5. 父母冲突下针对青少年群体的干预研究

基于风险与弹性视角(Zhou et al., 2021), 较好的自我调节能力如努力控制能够使青少年面对父母冲突时更好地进行情绪与注意力的调节, 进而使青少年受到的负面影响降低。行为遗传学的研究表明, 儿童的自我调节能力和行为问题受到遗传和环境的双重影响(Kochanska et al., 2009), 这为针对提高青少年的情绪调节能力、降低其行为问题风险的干预项目提供了可能。正念是指关注和意识到当前正在发生的事情的状态, 它强调关注当下和不予评判(Brown & Ryan, 2003)。研究表明正念可以预测自我调节行为, 促进更加积极的情绪状态和心理健康(Brown & Ryan, 2003)。未来的研究可以关注正念训练是否能够通过提高青少年的自我调节能力, 进而减少其行为问题的发展, 以及何种正念训练能够起到更好的效果。

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