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Vrednovanje ljudskog života u doba pandemije korona virusa¹

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Vrijednosti koje ljudi pripisuju spašavanju života slijede psihofizičku funkciju, koja u cijelom nizu obilježja prikazuje pad osjetljivosti na promjene. Cilj ovog rada bio je utvrditi podliježu li ljudi i tokom pandemije korona virusa (Covid-19) psihofizičkom umrtvljenju i procjenjuju li ljudske živote manje vrijednima, kako brojke inficiranih i umrlih od ovog virusa rastu. U dva eksperimenta ispitivan je kontekstualni uticaj omjera broja izliječenih/inficiranih, pozitivnog/negativnog okvira na vrednovanje doprinosa medicinskih radnika, kao mjere vrijednosti ljudskih života, respektivno. U trećem eksperimentu provjereno je da li tip prirodne nepogode i iznos novčanih sredstava za saniranje posljedica utiču na vrednovanje ljudskog života. Doprinos medicinskih radnika u prvom eksperimentu procjenjivalo je 354 ispitanika, u drugom 725, dok je u trećem učestvovalo 729 ispitanika. Rezultati sugerišu da procjena doprinosa medicinskih radnika ne zavisi od broja

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i procenta izliječenih, a nisu značajni ni glavni efekti scenarija (kriva pandemije) i okvira (pozitivan/negativan), dok je njihova interakcija statistički značajna. Rezultati trećeg eksperimenta sugeriraju da vrednovanje ljudskih života ne zavisi od tipa katastrofe (pandemija vs. poplava), ali da zavisi od iznosa sredstava koja se izdvajaju za spasavanje ugroženih ljudi. Ovi rezultati imaju implikacije po donošenje odluka tokom katastrofa, koji bi, prilikom izvještavanja trebali izbjegavati navođenje samo brojeva, već kombinovati informacije o broju preživjelih i umrlih u zavisnosti od trenutnog stanja, kao i izvještavati o pojedinačnim slučajevima, bez obzira o kojem tipu katastrofe je riječ.

Ključne riječi: korona virus, vrednovanje ljudskih života, psihološko umrtvljenje, prospektivna teorija

Uvod

Opšta deklaracija o ljudskim pravima Ujedinjenih nacija kaže: „[...] sva se ljudska bića rađaju slobodna, i jednaka u dostojanstvu i pravima“ (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, n.d.) što implicira da svaki ljudski život vrijedi isto. To bi podrazumijevalo da, primjenom racionalne kalkulacije, vrijednost spašavanja N života iznosila N puta više od spašavanja jednog života, tj. radilo bi se o linearnoj funkciji. Međutim, prema svim dosadašnjim modelima, ljudi nisu osjetljivi na povećanje broja ljudskih žrtava (Slovic, 2014). Postoje brojni dokazi da naše afektivne reakcije i analogna vrijednost koju pripisujemo spašavanju ljudskih života slijede *psihofizičku funkciju* (Slovic, 2007, 2014). Psihofizička funkcija u cijelom nizu percepcijskih i kognitivnih obilježja prikazuje pad osjetljivosti na promjene, tj. s povećanjem obilježja i senzacije ne raste linearno naša reakcija, već se javljaju sve blaže i blaže reakcije (Slovic, 2007, 2014). Kada se to načelo primjeni na procjenu vrijednosti ljudskog života, dobija se oblik „psihološkog umrtvljenja“, tj. nesposobnosti da gubitak većeg broja žrtava procijenimo na analogan način – kao srazmjerno veći, u odnosu na manji gubitak. Vrijednost spašavanja jednog života velika je kada je riječ o prvoj ili jedinjoj žrtvi, ali se ta vrijednost smanjuje što se ukupan broj žrtava povećava. Stoga se, psihološki, važnost spašavanja jednog života gubi u kontekstu veće opasnosti: mi nećemo „osjetiti“ veliku razliku, niti ćemo znati razlikovati vrijednost spašavanja 87, odnosno 88 života (Slovic, 2007, 2014).

Objašnjenje za ovakav vid suđenja nudi *teorija afekta* (Slovic, 2007). Djelovanje u afektu brže je od onog oslonjenog na mišljenje i suđenje i značajno je pri osmišljavanju informacija i stvaranju motivacije za djelovanje. Bez afekta, informacija nema značaja i neće se koristiti u rasuđivanju i odlučivanju. Međutim, kada se oslanjamo na osjećaje, problematična postaje teškoća razumijevanja smisla velikog broja ljudskih žrtava. Naš sistem za afekat nije nastao u svrhu saosjećanja sa velikim brojem ljudi, nego u smjeru saosjećanja sa jednom osobom (Slovic, 2007; Cameron & Payne, 2011). Slično objašnjenje dala je američka spisateljica Annie Dillard (Slovic, 2014). Pročitavši u novinama da zbog vrtoglavog porasta broja žrtava naš um zastaje, počela je pisati

o „zamoru saosjećanja“, te se zapitala na kojem broju počinju da se „gube“ drugi ljudi? Osjećaji su najveći pri $N = 1$, ali počinju opadati sa $N = 2$ i „ruše“ se pri većoj vrijednosti N , kada ti drugi ljudi postaju samo „statistika“. Studije su pokazale da se jedan pojedinac, za razliku od grupe, smatra koherentnom jedinicom percepcije. To znači da impresije o pojedincima doživljavamo jače, a informacije procesuiramo detaljnije (Slovic, 2007, 2014).

Kahneman i Tversky (1979) su se, takođe bavili pitanjem psihičkog umrtvljivanja i vrednovanja ljudskih života. Ovaj psihofizički princip smanjenja osjetljivosti ugradili su u prospektivnu teoriju (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). Glavni element ove teorije je vrijednosna funkcija, koja povezuje subjektivnu vrijednost sa stvarnim dobicima ili gubicima. Ova funkcija ima izgled slova „S“ i konkavna je za dobitke, a konveksna za gubitke. Kada se primjenjuje na ljudske živote, vrijednosna funkcija podrazumijeva da je subjektivna vrijednost spašavanja određenog broja života veća za manju tragediju nego za veću (Slovic, 2007). Prospektivna teorija pretpostavlja da predstavljanje istih informacija na način koji se fokusira na dobitke rezultira preferencijom izbjegavanja rizika i šticeenje *statusa quo* (averzija za rizik), dok naglasak na gubicima rezultira preferencijom većeg rizika i preferencijom rizičnijih politika kako bi se spriječila katastrofa (Hameleers, 2021; Otterbring, Festila, & Folwarczny, 2021; Rachev et al., 2020). Uokvirivanje u terminima dobitaka – pozitivan okvir (spašavanje života) prouzrokuje više pozitivnih emocija i više nade od uokvirivanja u terminima gubitaka, tj. kada se radi o negativnom okviru. U nesigurnim situacijama, kakva je i pandemija koronavirusa, pozitivan okvir ističe potencijalno odsustvo „kazne i prisustvo nagrade“ (ljudi će biti spašeni), dok negativan okvir prouzrokuje negativne emocije ljutnje, straha, frustracije i nemoći (Hameleers, 2021).

Ekperimentalnih istraživanja na temu vrednovanja ljudskih života i psihofizičkog umrtvljivanja nema mnogo. Vodilja za trenutnu studiju i istraživanje u kojem je vrednovanje ljudskih života ispitivano direktno jeste studija Fetherstonhaugh i saradnika (1997), dok radova koji vrednovanje ljudskih života ispituju indirektno, preko vrednovanja zdravstvenih i pomoćnih tretmana ljudima u nevolji ima nešto više (Friedrich, et al., 1999; Slovic, 2007). Naime, vrednovanje doprinosa medicinskih radnika u zaštiti i spašavanju ljudskih života usko je povezano sa vrednovanjem samih ljudskih života, jer se njihovim doprinosom i medicinskim tretmanima ljudski životi direktno spašavaju. Ako vjerujemo da je svaki ljudski život jednake vrijednosti, vrijednost spašavanja N života nekim tretmanom iznosi N puta više od spašavanja jednog života, vrednovanje doprinosa medicinskih radnika indirektno govori o vrednovanju i preferenciji za broj ljudskih života koje treba spasiti. Na primjer, vrednovanje da je spašavanje 5500 života od 250000 zaraženih vrijednije od spašavanja istog broja ako je zaraženo 11000 ljudi implicira da u smislu vrijednosti 5500 života nije jednako 5500 života. Ova preferencija sugerisala bi da spašeni život vrijedi manje, ako se na njega gleda kao na „kap u moru“

(Friedrich, et al., 1999; Slovic, 2007). Fetherstonhaugh (1997) je utvrdio da vrijednost spašenih života nije nezavisna, iako bi trebala biti, od veličine populacije iz koje spašeni životi potiču. Iako je većina ispitanika shvatila da se isti broj izbjeglica može spasiti u bilo kojem kampu (4500, 11000, 250000 izbjeglica), radije su birali program malog kampa u odnosu na program velikog kampa. Takođe, ispitanici više favorizuju intervencije kada se provode u kasnijim fazama procesa spašavanja života; kao što i predviđa prospektivna teorija (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). Na primjer, ispitanici su smatrali da je korisnije spasiti 2% ugroženih u velikim kampovima kada je prijetnja tragedijom gotovo suzbijena, nego kad je tek počela uzimati danak. Na pitanje da navedu koliko života moraju spasiti da bi opravdali izdatak od 850 miliona dolara, 62% ispitanika dalo je procjene koje su se povećavale kako se povećavala populacija u riziku; 34% zahtijeva isti broj spašenih života za obje veličine problema i kada je rizik bio manji i kada je rizik bio veći. Ovom rezultatu sličan je onaj iz studije, u kojoj je ispitivana podrška kupaca uvođenju novog sistema protiv blokiranja kočnica na automobilima, kao sredstva smanjenje smrtnih slučajeva na autoputu (Friedrich, et al., 1999). Dakle, kako broj ljudi koji su pod rizikom raste, kvotna cifra koju tretmanom treba opravdati uključuje više ljudi kojih treba spasiti. O uticaju konteksta na vrednovanje tretmana govori i studija Racheva i saradnika (2020), koji su u svom radu ispitivali uticaj uokviravanja tretmana na spremnost ispitanika da preuzme rizik ili bira sigurnu opciju u zadatku „Azijske bolesti“. Rezultati pokazuju da rizik povećava osjetljivost na kontekstualne znakove, te ispitanici češće biraju opciju koja je uokvirena pozitivno (gdje je istaknuto spašavanje života) u odnosu na onu negativno uokvirenu (gdje su istaknuti gubici). Otterbring (2021) sa saradnicima sprovodi sličnu studiju i pronalazi da postoji statistički značajan efekat uokviravanja na odabir sigurnog, u odnosu na rizični program. Ispitanici su rizičniji i po pitanju broja spašenih ljudi neizvjesniji program češće birali kada je okvir bio negativan, u odnosu na to kada je okvir bio pozitivan i isticao dobitke. Rezultati, takođe, sugerišu da pozitivno uokviravanje može poboljšati i potaknuti preventivno zdravstveno ponašanje. Pozitivni okvir vrednuje se više i ljudi koji su izloženi pozitivnom okviru češće podržavaju programe koji su sigurni, u odnosu na one koji su izloženi negativnom okviru (Hameleers, 2021).

Pitanje je da li okrećemo glavu i od brojeva žrtava koje odnosi korona virus? Prema podacima Svjetske zdravstvene organizacije (World Health Organization), globalno je do sada prijavljeno preko 237 miliona slučajeva i više od 4.8 miliona smrtnih slučajeva širom svijeta od početka pandemije u (World Health Organization, 2021, October 12). Čini se da bi umiranje 5 miliona ljudi trebalo potaknuti rašireno saosjećanje i promjenu u ponašanju javnosti kako bi se zaustavilo širenje virusa. Međutim, zbog psihološkog umrtvljenja, ljudi žrtve doživljavaju samo kao broj (Doheny, 2020, December 23), što može uticati na ponašanje, uključujući otpor nošenju maski i otpor prema drugim preventivnim mjerama.

Naše istraživanje imalo je za cilj da utvrdi podliježu li ljudi i tokom pandemije korona virusa (Covid-19) psihofizičkom umrtvljenju, odnosno da li je procjena doprinosa medicinskih radnika, kao indirektna mjera vrijednosti ljudskih života, nezavisna, ili je ta procjena pod uticajem kontekstualnih faktora – broja inficiranih i umrlih i okvira (u kojem su informacije predstavljene), te da li na direktnu procjenu vrijednosti ljudskih života utiču tip prirodne nepogode i količine novca namijenjene saniranju posljedica tih nepogoda. Da bi dobili odgovor na ovo pitanje, izvedena su tri eksperimenta. U prvom eksperimentu ispitano je da li na vrednovanje doprinosa medicinskih radnika, kao indirektna mjera vrednovanja ljudskih života, utiče broj izliječenih i/ili omjer izliječenih i oboljelih. U drugom eksperimentu ispitano je da li na vrednovanje doprinosa medicinskih radnika, kao indirektna mjera vrednovanja ljudskih života, utiče scenario u koji je zadatak smješten i način prikazivanja ishoda liječenja. U trećem eksperimentu vrijednost ljudskog života procijenjena je direktno, preko broja ljudi koji trebaju biti spašeni da bi se opravdala novčana sredstva uložena u borbu protiv Covid-19.

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Eksperiment 1.

U prvom eksperimentu provjereno je da li procjena doprinosa medicinskih radnika, kao indirektna mjera vrijednosti ljudskih života, u doba pandemije virusa korona, zavisi od broja oboljelih. Eksperiment su činile dvije eksperimentalne situacije. U prvoj eksperimentalnoj situaciji dat je apsolutan broj izliječenih u odnosu na oboljele, pri čemu je omjer uvijek bio 2: 1. U drugoj eksperimentanoj situaciji, broj izliječenih je bio konstantan, ali se mijenjao broj oboljelih.

Metod

Nacrt: U prvom zadatku nezavisna varijabla je bio apsolutni broj izliječenih, sa tri nivoa (30, 150 i 750), pri čemu je broj oboljelih uvijek bio dva puta veći (60, 300 i 1500, respektivno). Drugim riječima, formirana su tri varijante ovog zadatka: izliječeno je 30 od 60 inficiranih, 150 od 300, 750 od 1500. U drugom zadatku, broj izliječenih je bio konstantan i iznosio je 30, dok je proporcija oboljelih i izliječenih bila varijabilna i iznosila; 1: 2, 1: 4, 1: 8 i 1: 16, tj. broj oboljelih je bio 60, 120, 240 i 480, respektivno.

Zavisna varijabla je vrijednost ljudskog života, iskazana preko doprinosa medicinskih radnika u borbi protiv korona virusa, na skali od 1 do 10, pri čemu 1 označava mali, a 10 veoma veliki doprinos. Ovo je indirektna mjera vrednovanja ljudskog života.

Nacrt je, u svakoj od eksperimentalnih situacija, neponovljen, tj. svaki od ispitanika rješavao je samo jednu varijantu prvog ili drugog zadatka.

Uzorak: U prvoj eksperimentalnoj situaciji, vrijednost ljudskog života procijenjivalo je 354 ispitanika, od čega 74.6% ženskog pola; 69.5% ispitanika iz grada; 58.2% sa sa najviše završenim srednjim, 12.4% višim i 29.4% sa visokim obrazovanjem. Prosječna starost ispitanika je 26.8 godina. Ispitanici su, slučajnim izborom, podijeljeni u tri grupe, čija je veličina iznosila 112, 109, i 133.

U drugoj eksperimentalnoj situaciji, struktura uzorka je bila slična. Vrijednost ljudskog života procijenilo je 493 ispitanika, od čega 72.4% ženskog pola; 67.1% ispitanika iz grada; 56.2% sa najviše završenim srednjim, 12.4% višim i 31.4% sa visokim obrazovanjem. Prosječna starost ispitanika je 27 godina. Ispitanici su, slučajnim izborom, podijeljeni u četiri grupe, čija je veličina kretala između 112 i 134 ispitanika.

Zadaci: Ispitanicima je rečeno da zamisle situaciju da je na klinikama, medicinskim tretmanom, izliječen određen broj pacijenata oboljelih od korona virusa (COVID-19), od onih koji su primjeni na liječenje. U svim zadacima (izliječeno je 30 od 60 inficiranih, 150 od 300, 750 od 1500), ispitanici su na skali od 1 do 10 ocijenjivali doprinos medicinskih radnika u borbi protiv te bolesti, pri čemu 1 označava veoma mali, a 10 veoma veliki doprinos.

U prvom zadatku, ispitanici su ocijenjivali doprinos medicinskih radnika u borbi protiv te bolesti, ako je izliječeno 30 od 60, 150 od 300, ili 750 od 1500 inficiranih. Varijante prvog zadatka su izlagane nasumično, a svaki od ispitanika procjenjivao je samo jedan od mogućih odnosa broja inficiranih i izliječenih. Na isti način, u drugom zadatku ispitanici su ocijenjivali doprinos medicinskih radnika u borbi protiv te bolesti, ako je odnos izliječenih i inficiranih bio 30: 60, 30: 120, 30: 240 i 30: 480.

Analiza: Distribucije odgovora u obe eksperimentalne situacije pomjerenе su ulijevo i odstupaju od normale raspodjele. U prvoj eksperimentalnoj situaciji, skjunis je iznosio -0.776 , a $SE = .130$; kurtozis = -0.037 , $SE = 259$. U drugoj, skjunis = -0.459 , $SE = .110$; kurtozis = -0.671 , $SE = 220$. Primijenjene transformacije, nisu uspjele da značajnije približe distribucije odgovora normalnoj raspodjeli. Zbog toga je analiza urađena na netransformisanim podacima. Zbog svoje robusnosti primijenjena je ANOVA.

Rezultati

U prvoj eksperimentalnoj situaciji, u kojoj je procjenjivan doprinos medicinskih radnika u borbi protiv korona virusa u zavisnosti od broja izliječenih, kao indirektna mjera vrednovanja ljudskog života, procjene se kreću od 7.25 do 7.80 (Tabela 1), a razlike nisu statistički značajne ($F(2, 351) = 1.94$, $p = .145$).

Tabela 1.

Procjena doprinosa medicinskih radnika zavisno od broja izliječenih

Broj izliječenih	N	M	SD	SE	95% CI	
					Donja	Gornja
30: 60	112	7.26	2.147	.203	6.86	7.66
150: 300	109	7.46	2.335	.224	7.02	7.90
750: 1500	133	7.80	2.127	.184	7.44	8.17

U drugoj eksperimentalnoj situaciji, u kojoj je procjenjivan doprinos medicinskih radnika u borbi protiv korona virusa u zavisnosti od procenta izliječenih, procjene se kreću od 6.41 do 7.26 (Tabela 2), a razlike nisu statistički značajne ($F(3, 489) = 2.5, p = .059$).

Tabela 2.

Procjena doprinosa medicinskih radnika zavisno od odnosa broja izliječenih i inficiranih

Odnos izliječenih i inficiranih	N	M	SD	SE	95% CI	
					Donja	Gornja
1:2 (30 izliječenih od 60)	112	7.26	2.147	.203	6.86	7.66
1: 4 (30 izliječenih od 120)	116	6.83	2.544	.236	6.36	7.30
1: 8 (30 izliječenih od 240)	134	6.41	2.416	.209	6.00	6.82
1: 16 (30 izliječenih od 480)	131	6.67	2.707	.237	6.20	7.14

Eksperiment 2.

U drugom eksperimentu ispitano je da li na vrednovanje ljudskog života utiče da li se radi o nepromijenjenoj epidemiološkoj situaciji ili poboljšanju epidemiološke situacije, te način prikazivanja ishoda liječenja: pozitivan okvir, u kojem je naglašen broj ljudi koji se oporavo, ili negativan okvir, u kojem je naveden broj ljudi koji je preminuo od posljedica korona virusa. Vrednovanje ljudskih života ispitavano je indirektno, preko procjene doprinosa medicinskih radnika u borbi protiv korona virusa.

Metod

Nacr: U dizajn su uključene dvije nezavisne varijable. Prva varijabla se odnosila na trenutno stanje vezano za pandemiju korona virusa (neutralni scenario, bez specifikovanja krive oboljelih, i scenario u kojem je specifikovano da je kriva broja inficiranih u znatnom padu). Druga nezavisna varijabla je okvir, tj. način prikazivanja ishoda liječenja, sa dva kategorije: pozitivan i negativan okvir. U pozitivnom okviru navedeno je da se oporavilo 1000 od 5000 inficiranih, a u negativnom okviru da je umrlo 300 od 1500 inficiranih. U oba slučaja, omjer onih koji su se oporavili, odnosno umrli, u odnosu na broj oboljelih je 1: 5.

Svaki od zadataka, dobijen ukrštanjem kategorija nezavisnih varijabli (ukrštanjem tipa scenarija i okvira dobijaju se četiri varijante zadatka: (1) scenario bez specifikovanja krive oboljelih u pozitivnom i (2) negativnom okviru, te (3) scenario u kojem je specifikovano da je kriva broja inficiranih u znatnom padu u pozitivnom i (4) negativnom okviru, neponovljen je po subjektima.

Zavisna varijabla je vrijednost ljudskog života iskazana preko doprinosa medicinskih radnika u borbi protiv korona virusa, na skali od 1 do 10, pri čemu 1 označava mali, a 10 veoma veliki doprinos.

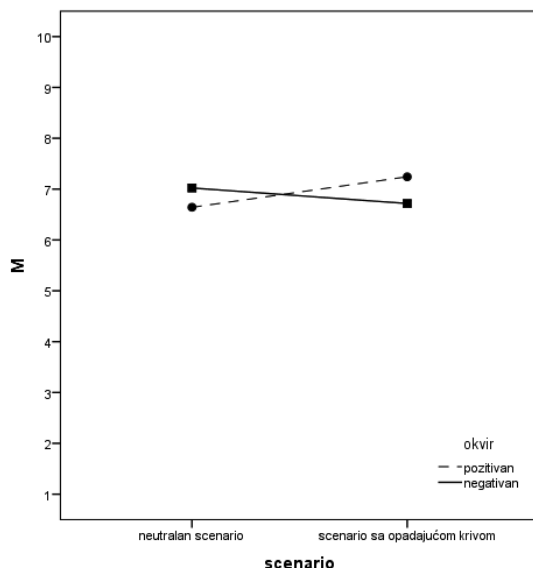
Uzorak: Uzorak je činilo 725 ispitanika, od čega 72.7% ženskog pola; 68.3% ispitanika iz grada; 58.7% sa najviše završenim srednjim, 11,8% višim i 29.5% sa visokim obrazovanjem. Prosječna starost ispitanika je 26.7 godina. Broj ispitanika se kretao od 171 do 198 po grupi.

Zadaci: Ispitanici su trebali da na skali od 1 do 10 ocijene doprinos medicinskih radnika u borbi protiv korona virusa (COVID-19), ako se zna da se određen broj osoba od onih koji su inficirani oporavio (pozitivan okvir: oporavilo se 1000 od 5000 inficiranih), odnosno, ako se zna da se određen broj osoba od onih koji su inficirani izgubio život (negativan okvir: umrlo je 300 od 1500 inficiranih), pri čemu 1 označava veoma mali, a 10 veoma veliki doprinos.

Analiza: Distribucija procjena pomjerena je ulijevo i odstupa od normale raspodjele. Skjunis je iznosio $-.508$, a $SE = .09$; a kurtosis = $-.567$; $SE = 180$. Primijenjene transformacije, nisu uspjele da značajnije približe distribuciju odgovora normalnoj raspodjeli. Zbog toga je analiza urađena na netransformisanim podacima. Zbog svoje robusnosti, primijenjena je dvofaktorska ANOVA.

Rezultati

Procjene doprinosa medicinskih radnika u borbi protiv korona virusa u zavisnosti od scenarija i okvira kreću se od 6.64 do 7.24 (Slika 1). Utvrđena je interakcija između scenarija i okvira ($F(1, 731) = 2.5, p = .01; R^2 = .006$, parcijalna $\eta^2 = .009$), ali ne i glavni efekti ova dva faktora. Kada je ishod dat u pozitivnom okviru, tj. kada se govori o broju oporavljenih u odnosu na broj inficiranih na kraju pandemije, doprinosi su procijenjeni većim nego kad je ishod dat u negativnom okviru. I obrnuto, kada je riječ o neutralnom kontekstu, u negativnom okviru doprinosi su procijenjeni kao veći, nego u pozitivnom okviru. Drugim riječima, pri kraju pandemije više se vrednuje doprinos ljekara, ako je ishod dat u pozitivnom u odnosu na negativni okvir, i obratno, u jeku pandemije više se vrednuje doprinos ljekara ako je ishod dat u negativnom okviru.



Slika 1. Procjena doprinosa medicinskih radnika u borbi sa pandemijom u zavisnosti od scenarija i okvira

Eksperiment 3.

U trećem eksperimentu, vrijednost ljudskog života procjenjivala se direktno, preko broja života koje je potrebno spasiti, kako bi se opravdala novčana sredstva namijenjena sprečavanju posljedica prirodnih nepogoda u kojima se ljudi nalaze.

Metod

Nacrtno: U dizajn su uključene dvije nezavisne varijable. Prva varijabla se odnosila na tip nepogode: poplava i pandemija korona virusa. Druga nezavisna varijabla je iznos novčanih sredstava namijenjenih borbi protiv posljedica poplava ili pandemije, koji je iznosio: (1) sto hiljada evra, (2) million i (10) deset miliona evra. Ukrštanjem kategorija nezavisnih varijabli dobija se šest eksperimentalnih situacija.

Zavisna varijabla je vrijednost ljudskog života iskazana preko broja života koji trebaju biti spašeni da bi se opravdala uložena sredstva namijenjena za tu svrhu, koji se mogao kretati od “ni jednog” do 10.000 života.

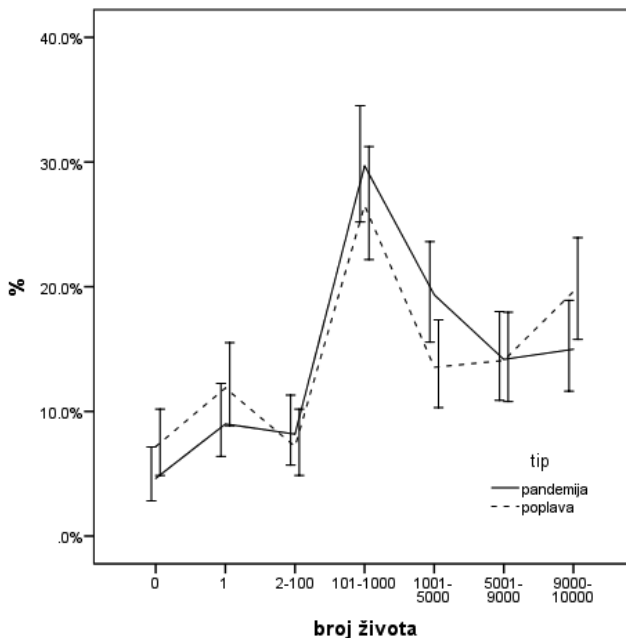
Uzorak: Uzorak je činilo 729 ispitanika, od čega 72.6% ženskog pola; 68.4% ispitanika iz grada; 55.7% sa najviše završenim srednjim, 11.9% višim i 29.5% sa visokim obrazovanjem. Prosječna starost ispitanika je 26.7 godina. Ispitanicima se, slučajnim redoslijedom, dodjeljivao jedan od šest zadatka, koji su se razlikovali po tipu nepogode i iznosu uložениh sredstava. Broj ispitanika se kretao od 113 do 130 po grupi.

Zadaci: Ispitanici su trebali da u rasponu od “ni jedan” do 10000 procijene koliko života se mora spasiti da bi se opravdao određeni iznos novčanih sredstva: (a) sto hiljada, (b) million, (c) deset milona, koju organi vlasti u nekoj državi ulažu u borbu sa (a) poplavom ili (b) pandemijom korona virusom. Svaki od šest zadataka, dobijen ukrštanjem kategorija nezavisnih varijabli, neponovljen je po subjektima, što znači da je svaki ispitanik davao procjenu samo samo na jednom zadatku.

Analiza: Podaci su, zbog velikog raspršenja, razvrstani u sedam kategorija i to: “niti jedan”, “jedan život”, “od 2 do 100”, “101–1000”, “1001–5000”, “5001–9000”, “9001–10000”. Kako bi se utvrdilo da li postoje statistički značajne razlike u procjeni broja života koji trebaju biti spašeni, urađene su dvije odvojene analize, jedna za tip nepogode, a druga za iznos novčanih sredstava namijenjenih borbi protiv posljedica nepogode, uz pomoć hi-kvadrat testa.

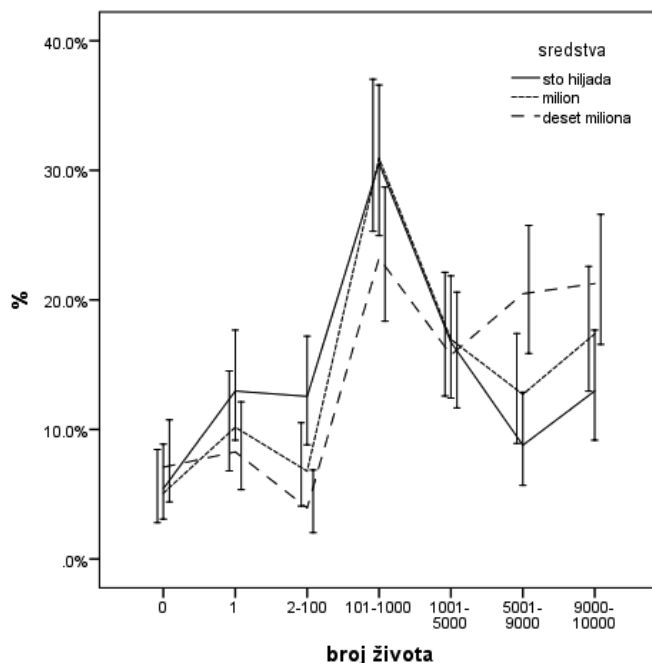
Rezultati

Procjena broja života koje je trebalo spasiti da bi se opravdala sredstva namijenjena za borbu protiv prirodonih nepogoda, nije zavisila od toga da li se radi o poplavi ili pandemiji korona virusa ($\chi^2(6) = 10.35$, $\Phi = .12$, $p = .111$; Slika 2).



Slika 2. Procjena broja života koji trebaju biti spašeni da bi se opravdala uložena sredstva, u zavisnosti od tipa nepogode. Na slici su prikazane SE sa 95% intervalom povjerenja.

S druge strane, procjena broja života zavisi od iznosa sredstava koja se izdvajaju za spasavanje istih ($\chi^2(12) = 36.60$, $\Phi = .22$, $p < .001$). Razlike koje doprinose statističkoj značajnosti su između kategorija iznad 5000 života za sredstva od 100000 i 10 miliona evra. Za prvi iznos nešto više od 20% ispitanika se nalazi u tim kategorijama, dok za drugi iznos taj broj se kreće iznad 40% (Slika 3). Prosječne vrijednosti iznose 3720, 3957, 4152 ljudskih života, za 100000, milion i 10 miliona evra, respektivno.



Slika 3. Distribucija odgovora o broju života koje treba spasiti u zavisnosti od iznosa sredstava, bez obzira na tip pandemije. Na slici su prikazane SE sa 95% intervalom povjerenja.

Diskusija

Ova studija sprovedena je tokom prvog talasa korona virusa (Covid-9) u junu 2020. godine i imala je za cilj utvrditi podliježu li procjene ljudi o vrijednosti ljudskih života tokom pandemije psihofizičkom umrtvljenju, kao što je to utvrđeno u drugim kriznim situacijama i katastrofama (Fetherstonhaugh, et al., 1997; Friedrich, et al., 1999; Slovic, 2007). Da bi se ovo ispitalo urađena su tri eksperimenta, u kojima je ispitivan uticaj različitih manipulacija na vrednovanje ljudskih života.

U prvom eksperimentu, u kojem je provjeravano da li vrednovanje ljudskih života u doba pandemije zavisi od broja oboljelih, te omjera izliječenih i inficiranih, nije dobijen efekat ovih faktora na vrednovanje ljudskih života. Ovo je u saglasnosti sa teorijom afekta (Slovic, 2007), koja ukazuje da se teško saosjećamo sa velikim gubitkom, jer naš sistem za afekat nije nastao u svrhu saosjećanja sa velikim brojem ljudi, nego u smjeru saosjećanja sa jednom osobom (Slovic, 2007; Cameron & Payne, 2011). Ovaj rezultat u skladu je sa rezultatom slične studije koju su proveli Fetherstonhaugh i saradnici (1997) i u kojoj su dvije trećine ispitanika ispravno shvatilo da će različiti programi spasiti otprilike jednak broj života bez obzira na veličinu izbjegličkog kampa u toj studiji (kontekstualni uticaj broja). Samo mali dio ispitanika u pomenutoj studiji svoju je procjenu temeljio na kontekstualnom faktoru veličine kampa, kao što su u trenutnoj studiji ispitanici to radili nezavisno od broja zaraženih i omjera izliječenih i inficiranih. Odsustvo značajnih razlika u vrednovanju ljudskih života kada je broj izliječenih konstantan, ukazuje da je ta procjena nezavisna od veličine populacije iz koje spašeni životi potiču (Fetherstonhaugh et al., 1997).

U drugom eksperimentu, u kojem je ispitivan doprinos medicinskih radnika u zavisnosti od scenarija (neutralan scenario i scenario kada broj inficiranih u opadanju) i okvira, tj. načina na koji je prikazan ishod, utvrđena je interakcija ova dva faktora. Ako se radi o smirivanju epidemije, više se vrednuje doprinos ljekara ako je ishod dat u pozitivnom u odnosu na negativni okvir, i obratno, u jeku pandemije više se vrednuje doprinos ljekara ako je ishod dat u negativnom okviru. Drugim riječima, što je situacija neizvjesnija, više se vrednuje doprinos medicinskih radnika u spašavanju ljudskih života ako se informacija stavi u negativni okvir, tj. ako se istakne broj izgubljenih, a ne spašenih života. Iako glavni efekti ne postoje, nalaz o interakciji potvrđuje djelimično ranije nalaze i ide u prilog prospektivnoj teoriji (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979), koja govori o tome kako ljudi krše princip deskriptivne invarijantnosti, prema kojem na racionalne izbore ne bi trebalo da utiču površinska obilježja opcija (Rachev et al., 2020). Treba istaći da ispitanici, bez obzira na scenarij i okvir, relativno visoko vrednuju doprinos medicinskih radnika, što je posebno značajno za donosiocje odluka i njihovo dalje djelovanje u zadbijanju povjerenja građana u borbi protiv korona virusa.

Za razliku od prethodna dva eksperimenta, u kojima je vrednovanje ljudskog života ispitivano indirektno, preko procjena doprinosa medicinskih radnika, u trećem eksperimentu je to učinjeno direktno, preko broja ljudskih života koje je potrebno spasiti kako bi se "opravdala" određena novčana sredstva namijenjena sprečavanju posljedica prirodnih nepogoda — poplava i pandemije. Rezultati sugerišu da procjena života koje treba spasiti ne zavisi od toga da li se radi o poplavi ili pandemiji korona virusa, što je u skladu sa prethodnim nalazima i pretpostavkama (Fetherstonhaugh, 1997; Friedrich et al., 1999). Dakle, pod uticajem statistike ne pobuđujemo emocije po pitanju

gubitka velikog broja ljudskih života (Slovic, 2007), bez obzira na to o kakvom se tipu katastrofe radi. S druge strane, rezultati ukazuju da procjena broja života koje treba spasiti zavisi od iznosa sredstava koja se izdvajaju za spašavanje istih. Oko 20% ispitanika navodi da je potrebno spasiti više od 5000 ljudskih života kada se radi o 100000 evra, dok se taj procenat u slučaju 10 miliona evra, kreće oko 40%. Broj života koji treba spasiti ne prati linearan rast iznosa novca: najmanji iznos je deset puta manji od srednjeg, a srednji deset puta manji od najvećeg. Fetherstonhaugh i saradnici (1997) u svojoj studiji ponudili su dva objašnjenja o kalkulaciji vrijednosti intervencija. Jedno objašnjenje je primjena pravila proporcije, tj. neki ispitanici vjeruju da je određena intervencija "vrijedna" finansiranja samo ako omjer broja spašenih života i ukupnog broja ugroženih života dostiže neki proporcionalni prag. Drugo objašnjenje slijedi pravilo o broju gdje ispitanici, takođe, drže prag, ali onaj koji se temelji na apsolutnom broju spašavanja života. S obzirom na to da se u trenutnoj studiji procjene vrijednosti ne razlikuju ispod 5000 života, potencijalno objašnjenje za to može biti da ispitanici smatraju "trivijalnim" svaki tretman koji spašava manje života od ovog praga, bez obzira koliko on novca iziskivao. Tek nakon što tretman premaši ovaj prag, biva važna informacija o tome koliko on novčanih sredstava košta.

Potencijalni problem ove studije je što je u prva dva eksperimenta vrednovanje života mjereno indirektno, preko vrednovanja doprinosa medicinskih radnika, jer ove dvije mjere ne moraju nužno upućivati na istu stvar. Međutim, ovakva procedura, u kojoj se vrednovanje ljudskih života ispituju indirektno, preko vrednovanja zdravstvenih i pomoćnih tretmana ljudima u nevolji korišćena je i ranije (Friedrich, et al., 1999; Slovic, 2007). Ozbiljniji problem je hipotetičnost situacija u koje se stavljaju ispitanici. Prednost ove studije se ogleda u tome što je vrednovanje ljudskih života istraženo za vrijeme pandemije – iako su zadaci hipotetički, kontekst u kojem je realizovao istraživanje je bio realan.

Bez obzira na spomenuta ograničenja, postoji nekoliko implikacija nalaža koji su, generalno, korisni za donosiocima odluka (kreatore politika). Iako je neophodno da stručnjaci za javno zdravlje prilikom informisanja javnosti o stanju vezanom za pandemiju COVID-19 iznose različite statističke podatke, odsustvo značajnih razlika u slučaju različitih apsolutnih brojeva onih koji su se oporavili, kao i različitog odnosa inficiranih i oprovaljenih, ukazuje da ti podaci neće smanjiti psihičko umrtvljivanje. Zbog toga je potrebno da se koriste prikazi pojedinačnih slučajeva, jer se na taj način smanjuje psihička obamrlost i podstiče osjećaj za apsolutne brojeve (Docheny, 2020). Nalaz da ne postoji razlika u vrednovanju života s obzirom na tip katastrofe govori nam o univerzalnosti fenomena i o tome da donosioci odluka trebaju koristiti iste principe prilikom izvještavanja o različitim prirodnim nepogodama, koje za posljedicu imaju ugrožavanje i smrt većeg broja ljudi. U svim ovim slučajevima potrebno je smanjiti psihičko umrtvljenje, kroz principe isticanja individualne specifičnosti i aktualizacije mikro planova i rješenja (Slovic, 2007; 2014).

Trenutna studija, pored svih prednosti i uz sva ograničenja, nije dala cjelovit odgovor na pitanje podliježu li ljudi psihofizičkom umrtvljenju i tokom novonastale pandemije korona virusa. Njen doprinos se ogleda u tome što otkriva da se vrednovanje doprinosa medicinskih radnika, kao indirektna mjera vrednovanja ljudskih života, te samo vrednovanje ljudskih života u posljednjoj studiji kontekstualno mijenja pod relativno malim uticajem okvira i količine novca koje kreatori politika imaju na raspolaganju. Trenutna studija otkrila je da situacija tokom pandemije korona virusa po pitanju psihofizičkog umrtvljenja nije tragična, ali je svakako daleko i od idealizovanog svijeta, gdje bi svaki život trebao vrijediti apsolutno jednako.

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Valuing of human life during the coronavirus pandemic

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The aim of this study is to determine whether people are subject to psychophysical numbness during the corona virus pandemic, as well as whether they estimate human lives to be less valuable as the numbers of those infected and dying from the virus increase. In the first and second experiment, the contextual influence of the ratio of the number of the cured-infected and the positive-negative framework on the evaluation of the contribution of healthcare workers, as a measure of the value of human lives, was investigated, respectively. The third experiment aimed at analysing whether the type of inevitable disaster and the amount of money allocated for repairing the consequences affected the evaluation of human life. The contribution of healthcare workers was assessed by 354 respondents in the first experiment, 725 respondents in the second and 729 respondents in the third experiment. The results indicate that the assessment of the contribution of healthcare workers does not depend on the number and percentage of the cured. The main effects of the scenario (the pandemic curve) and framework (positive/negative) are not significant, but their interaction is. The results of the third experiment suggest that valuing of human lives does not depend on the type of catastrophe (the pandemic vs. flood) but on the amount of funds allocated for helping the endangered people. These results have implications for decision-makers during disasters; namely, they should avoid giving only numbers when reporting on the disaster, but combine information on the number of survivors and deaths depending on the current situation, as well as report on individual cases, regardless of the type of disaster.

Keywords: coronavirus, valuing of human lives, psychological numbness, prospective theory

The contribution of dyadic empathy to the perception of the relationship quality¹

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The aim of the study is to examine the relationship between dyadic empathy and marital quality in formal and informal marital relationships in Serbia. The sample consisted of 738 respondents of different socioeconomic background, aged between 19 and 80, living together between 1 and 52 years ($M = 8.29$, $SD = 9.71$). The Interpersonal Reactivity Index for Couples (IRIC; Pélouquin & Lafontaine, 2010) was used to assess the cognitive and affective dimensions of dyadic empathy, and the Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS; Spanier, 1976, 1989) was used to measure marital quality. The latter assesses four dimensions of marital quality: Consensus, Dyadic Satisfaction, Affectional Expression and Cohesion. The results of structural modelling indicate a positive contribution of affective empathy to the assessment of spousal agreement regarding issues that are important for everyday functioning, the assessment of general satisfaction with marriage, as well as to the assessment of the degree of closeness and quality of communication between partners. Cognitive empathy positively contributes to the assessment of spousal agreement regarding issues that are important for everyday functioning, the assessment of the agreement of spouses concerning displays of affection, sexual relations, lack of love and denials of sex, as well as the assessment of the degree of closeness and quality of communication between partners.

Key words: dyadic empathy, marital quality, cognitive empathy, affective empathy

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Introduction

In the beginning, some authors (e.g. Batson et al., 1987; Bryant, 1987; Eisenberg & Strayer, 1987) defined empathy as an emotion-based concept, while others departed from the notion that empathy was rooted in cognitive processes (Hogan, 1969; Wispé, 1986); some other authors understood empathy as a concept that integrates both emotional and cognitive facets (e.g. Davis, 1994; Duan & Hill, 1996; Strayer, 1987). Some authors (e.g. Péroquin & Lafontaine, 2010) argue that nowadays there exists a general consensus that empathy is a two-dimensional concept that encompasses both the emotional and cognitive aspects, and it is assumed that empathy plays a key role in establishing a stable and satisfying marital relationship (Chee, 1988).

The cognitive or perspective taking dimension of empathy implies the ability to understand the position and point of view of other people (Underwood & Moore, 1982), while the affective dimension of empathy or empathic concern refers to a person's emotional response, i.e. his/her emotional reaction to another person's emotional experience (Davis, 1983). Bearing in mind both the affective and cognitive components, empathy is considered as the ability to understand and share in the emotional states of others (Cohen & Strayer, 1996). The stated definition refers to a general empathy as a tendency that manifests itself in the society, i.e. in the wider social context, while dyadic empathy implies the same tendency but in specific, individual interpersonal relations between partners who are in a romantic relationship (Long, 1990). Hence, dyadic empathy is a process of empathy expressed towards a partner in the context of mutual romantic relationship (Long, 1990) – a relationship in the form of a partnership, cohabitation or marriage. It is based on active understanding and mutual sharing of feelings between partners, i.e. on compassion for the partner, support and mutual respect (Ickes, 2001).

Attachment theory provides a clear theoretical basis for understanding the link between dyadic empathy and marital quality. According to Bowlby (1969), a person must first experience sufficient attachment security to be able to activate their caregiving system and to be able to respond to the signals of distress by their partner (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2005). This system serves to alleviate distress and increase a sense of security in close relationships, and is thus especially important in the context of partner relationships, since, in times of stress, people rely on their romantic partners for comfort, support and protection (Bowlby, 1969). Empathy is considered a key component of this system and serves as an important mechanism for recognizing and responding to signals of partner's distress (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2005). Lack of empathy towards a romantic partner, which can stem from insecure attachment, may inhibit intimacy and closeness and increase distance between partners. Therefore, effective romantic caregiving, demonstrated by a partner's ability to experience and express empathy, is closely related to

the relationship quality and satisfaction, and it is one of the key factors in fostering closeness and support in stressful situations (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007).

According to empathy models in the context of romantic relationships (Davis & Oathout, 1987; Reis & Shaver, 1988), dyadic empathy increases the likelihood of cognitive, affective and behavioural responses that facilitate relationship quality for both partners. Specifically, dyadic empathy enhances relationship quality by allowing an individual to feel understood and validated by their partner, or by encouraging prosocial behaviours such as displaying affection, which contributes to maintaining and enhancing relationship satisfaction. In contrast, a lack of dyadic empathy can be perceived as disinterest, potentially resulting in a feeling of being misunderstood or unimportant to the partner, or insensitive behaviours, which can have negative consequences for the relationship (Davis & Oathout, 1987).

A large body of previously conducted research has attested to the positive effects of dyadic empathy on the quality and functioning of partner relationships (Busby & Gardner, 2008; Long et al., 1999). In one study, which included partners who were in a relationship for at least six months, the assessed dyadic empathy was positively correlated with relationship satisfaction, whereby the correlation between the partners agreement in showing empathy and their relationship satisfaction also proved to be significant (Kimmes et al., 2014). Davis and Oathout (1987), on the other hand, point out that the cognitive component of empathy particularly stands out as a significant predictor of relationship satisfaction. Through the study of different functional and less functional behaviours of partners and spouses in stressful marital and partner situations, Koenig et al. (2013) confirmed the important role of the cognitive facet of empathy, i.e. the ability to take someone else's perspective, for marital adjustment. Similar results were obtained in a study by Rowan et al. (1995), still, bearing in mind that a positive correlation between the cognitive dimension of dyadic empathy and marital adjustment was registered only in male subjects.

Considering the interdependence of sexual and romantic relationships (McNulty et al., 2015), it is assumed that dyadic empathy can also affect sexual desire and sexual pleasure in a similar way in which it affects relationship satisfaction. However, there is little empirical research on the role of dyadic empathy in the context of sexuality. Most cross-sectional studies have been aimed at examining the link of the perceptions of empathic response, i.e. empathy, from a partner, with personal sexual desire and satisfaction (Kleinplatz et al., 2013). Some authors (e.g. Laurenceau & Kleinman, 2006) have suggested that empathy has positive effects both for the person who perceives or receives an empathic response and for the person who empathizes. Hence, for example, people who are responsive to their partner's

needs report feeling greater happiness in their relationship (Kogan et al., 2010) and higher sexual desire and satisfaction (Muise et al., 2013).

Previous research has also established that both the cognitive and affective facets of dyadic empathy reduce the negative impact of stressful life events on relationship satisfaction (Busby & Gardner, 2008; Long et al., 1999), as well as that affective empathy increases the tendency for forgiveness in marriage, which leads towards experiencing greater marital quality (Paleari et al., 2005). However, some studies have found a positive relationship between affective empathy and forgiveness in marriage in men only (Toussaint & Webb, 2005), pointing out that affective empathy is a better predictor of forgiveness in marriage in male respondents (Fincham et al., 2002).

Based on the results of the aforementioned studies, it can be concluded that the cognitive and affective dimensions of dyadic empathy play an important role in maintaining and increasing the satisfaction with and, generally speaking, functioning of romantic/marital relationship. Hence, the aim of this research is to examine the relationship between dyadic empathy and the perception of the quality of marital relationship in our country. Taking into account the results of some international studies that suggest that high dyadic empathy generally leads to more successful marital adjustment (e.g. Gaur & Bhardwaj, 2015), it is expected that dyadic empathy and its cognitive and affective dimensions will be positively correlated with marital quality, measured by the following dimensions: Consensus, Dyadic Satisfaction, Affectional Expression and Cohesion.

Method

Sample

The study was conducted on a convenience sample which included a total of 738 respondents (56.5% female), aged between 19 and 80 ($M = 30$, $SD = 9.66$), living in formal (33.5%) or informal marriage (66.5%), between 1 and 52 years ($M = 8.29$, $SD = 9.71$). The majority of respondents in this survey do not have children (72.1%), while the remainder have one (9.5%), two (14.2%), three (4.1%) or four children (0.1%).

The highest number of respondents in the sample completed university education (56.4%), a somewhat lower number secondary school (33.2%), while the fewest respondents had college (8.7%) and primary school education (5%).

The majority of respondents in the sample are permanently employed (35.9%), a slightly lower number are employed part-time (31.2%); 24.1% are currently unemployed and looking for work; there are even fewer company owners (6%), while the fewest number of respondents declared themselves as housewives (1.8%) or receiving a disability pension (1.1%).

The largest number of respondents assess their financial status as average (49.9%), a somewhat smaller number as above average (36.7%), while the lowest number of respondents assess their financial status as below average (13.4%)

Instruments

1. The Interpersonal Reactivity Index for Couples (IRIC; Péloquin & Lafontaine, 2010) is designed to assess dyadic empathy. It is an adapted version of Davis' (1980) IRI (Interpersonal Reactivity Index) questionnaire used to assess the construct of general empathy. The instrument consists of 13 items answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale (ranging from 0 – “does not describe me well” to 4 – “describes me very well”), based on which respondents assess Empathic concern, i.e. affective empathy ($n = 7$, $\alpha = .76$) and Perspective taking, i.e. cognitive empathy ($n = 6$, $\alpha = .66$).

2. The Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS; Spanier, 1976) is intended to assess the marital relationship quality. It consists of 32 items which ask the respondent to assess the frequency of certain behaviours. Besides the total score ($\alpha = .92$), it also allows the calculation of scores on the following scales:

1. Consensus ($n = 13$, $\alpha = .87$) assesses the agreement of spouses on matters of importance for everyday functioning: managing finances, attitude towards household chores, religion, recreation, attitude towards friends, parents and relatives, life philosophy, decision making etc.;
2. Dyadic satisfaction ($n = 10$, $\alpha = .81$) assesses general satisfaction with marriage, trust in the partner, frequency of marital conflicts, degree of marital tension, experience of mutual intolerance and personal attitude towards the future of marriage;
3. Affectional Expression ($n = 4$, $\alpha = .64$) assesses the degree of partners agreement in the demonstration of emotions and sexual relationships; and
4. Cohesion ($n = 5$, $\alpha = .77$) assesses the degree of closeness and quality of communication between partners: joint work towards achieving something, calm conversations, encouraging the exchange of ideas, common interests outside home, laughing together.

Results

Table 1 shows the descriptive indicators and intercorrelations of the variables used in the research. According to a less strict criterion (± 2), skewness and kurtosis values can be considered acceptable for all dimensions of marital quality and dyadic empathy (Finney & DiStefano, 2006).

Respondents scored high on all dimensions, which indicates that research included the participants who assess their relationships as very high-quality and in whom dyadic empathy is highly expressed.

Table 1
Descriptive indicators and intercorrelations of the variables used in the research

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Affective empathy						
2. Cognitive empathy	.42**					
3. Consensus	.24**	.37**				
4. Affectional Expression	.18**	.30**	.59**			
5. Dyadic satisfaction	.32**	.38**	.51**	.53**		
6. Cohesion	.21**	.32**	.59**	.48**	.54**	
Min	4	2	4	2	15	1
Max	28	24	65	12	52	24
M	21.58	16.68	49.5	9.38	38.83	17.58
SD	4.21	4.3	9.13	2.11	6.41	3.79
Sk	-0.64	-0.66	-0.92	-0.82	-0.92	-0.84
K	0.19	0.43	1.78	0.27	0.82	1.24

Note: Sk – skewness; K – kurtosis; $p \leq .01$.

Structural modelling was used to determine the relative contribution of affective and cognitive empathy to explaining individual dimensions of the relationship quality. In order to assess the goodness of fit of the assumed model with the data, the following indicators were used: the Chi-square test, Comparative fit index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), Root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) and Standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). The CFI and TLI values, which indicate satisfactory goodness of fit of the assumed model with the data, should be above 0.95 (Hooper et al., 2008). The cut-off point of the recommended RMSEA is 0.07 (Steiger, 2007) and that of the SRMR is 0.08 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Although the Chi-square test is considered to be the most direct and basic indicator of fit in structural modelling (Barrett, 2007), it is almost impossible not to reject the null hypothesis when using large samples, due to the test dependence on sample size. This makes the test almost always significant when it comes to large samples (Hutchinson & Olmos, 1998; Fan et al., 1999) and hence it should be used as one of the indicators of the model fit with the data.

The results of most indicators indicate a good fit of the assumed model with the data ($\chi^2 = 245.34$, $p = .00$; SRMR = 0.01; CFI = 0.99; TLI = 0.99; RMSEA = 0.01). Standardized values of beta coefficients indicate a positive contribution of affective empathy to the agreement of spouses concerning issues relevant for everyday functioning ($\beta = .121$, $p < .01$), general satisfaction with marriage ($\beta = .342$, $p < .01$), as well as the degree of closeness and quality

of communication between partners ($\beta = .115, p <.05$). Cognitive empathy positively contributes to the agreement of partners when it comes to the issues that are important for everyday functioning ($\beta = .268, p <.01$), the agreement of partners in the display of emotions and sexual relations ($\beta = .239, p <.01$), and closeness and quality of communication between partners ($\beta = .251, p <.01$). Figure 1 shows the standardized values of beta coefficients and correlations between dimensions.

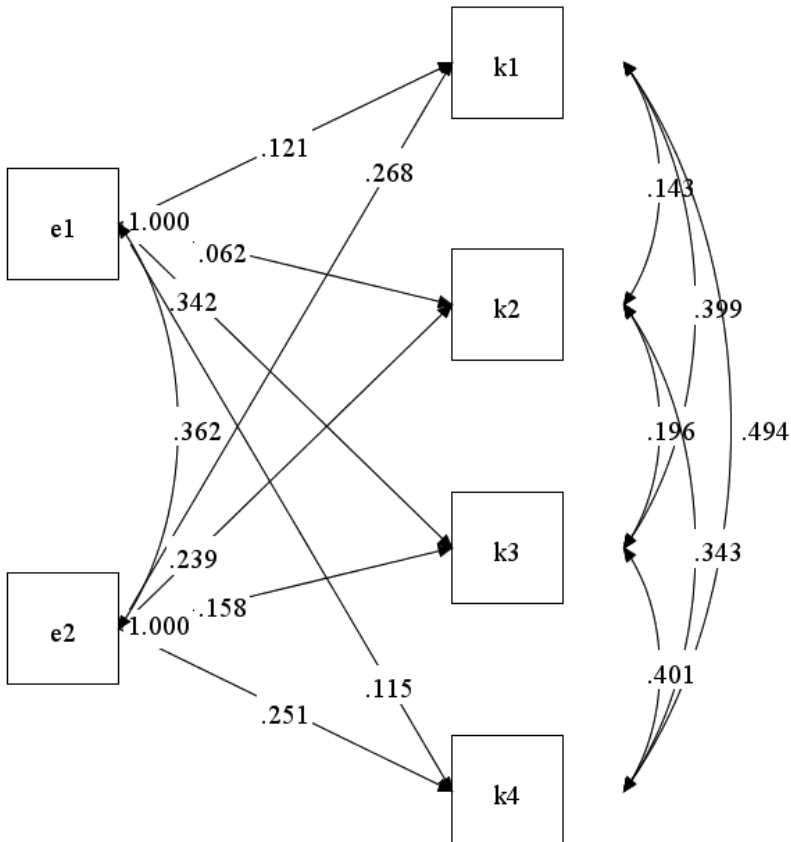


Figure 1. The model for predicting the quality of marital relationship based on dyadic empathy (e1 = affective empathy, e2 = cognitive empathy, k1 = Consensus, k2 = Affectional Expression, k3 = Dyadic satisfaction, k4 = Cohesion)

Discussion

The results of the present study generally confirm the assumptions stemming from the results of previous studies (e.g. Busby & Gardner, 2008;

Gaur & Bhardwaj, 2015; Kimmes et al., 2014) on the role of dyadic empathy in marital functioning, i.e. its relations with certain dimensions of marital quality. The obtained findings indicate that a greater ability to understand and empathize with partner's emotional states contributes to increase in the perception of the relationship quality. The identified significant contribution of both the affective and cognitive components of dyadic empathy to marital consensus confirms the results of previous studies which attested to the importance of certain facets of empathy in predicting overall marital adjustment (e.g. Long & Andrews, 1990); additionally, this finding indicates that the ability to understand, as well as empathize with the partner's emotional state, increases partners' mutual agreement on issues important for everyday functioning. In the situations in which partners disagree on certain decisions, taking a partner's perspective, understanding and empathizing with his/her emotional states that precede and/or accompany making a certain decision can be an important element of intimate partner interactions because it helps individuals to approach their partner and the issues under consideration in a more appropriate and constructive way (Yoo & Noyes, 2016), thus increasing the possibility of seeking and finding compromises, as well as the possibility of greater mutual agreement on various aspects of marital functioning.

In line with the results of some studies that argued about the importance of the affective dimension of empathy for achieving greater marital satisfaction (e.g. Paleari et al., 2005) and its role in providing support in marriage (Devoldre et al., 2010), which leads to greater marital satisfaction (Acitelli, 1996; Cobb et al., 2001), the findings of this study also point to a significant contribution of the affective dimension of dyadic empathy to the assessment of marital satisfaction. However, unlike some previous studies, which have also pointed to the importance of taking a partner's perspective in explaining marital satisfaction (Cramer & Jowett, 2010; Davis & Oathout, 1987; Davis & Young, 1985), the link between cognitive empathy and marital satisfaction was not significant in this study. The previously mentioned results can be explained by taking into account empathic response as the final result of empathising, which is largely attributed to empathy defined in terms of affection (Baron-Cohen, 2011). Namely, in a person who empathises, affective empathising provokes an empathic response which, most often in the form of self-care or distress, motivates the person to provide help and support to the person he/she empathizes with, to contribute to overcoming problems and to reduce the ensuing tension. This assumption is confirmed by the research that found that the use of empathic responding was associated with lower levels of marital tension (O'Brien et al., 2009), which further contributed to increased marital satisfaction. Unlike affective empathy, cognitive empathy is not associated with the existence of an empathic response to the other's condition, most often to suffering, but exclusively with an understanding of that suffering (Hunter & Bech, 2004). Further, the obtained results can

be explained by Silars' (1985) assumptions about the possibility of violating benevolent misunderstandings on which relationship satisfaction is based if there exists an extremely high ability to understand the partner (Levinger & Breedlove, 1966), which underlies cognitive empathy. Accordingly, the results of some empirical analyses point to a "positive marital illusion" necessary for the perception of marital happiness, which is why it is desirable for the perception of marital status to be positively or even idealistically distorted compared to the objectively existing situation in marriage (Fowers et al., 1996), as well as for the idealization of a partner that prevents the decline of marital satisfaction (Murray et al., 2011). In addition, there is a possibility that agreement of partners in the display of cognitive empathy has a greater effect on marital satisfaction (Kimes et al., 2014) compared to the personal level of cognitive empathy, but this needs to be confirmed in future research.

The identified significant contribution of affective and cognitive dyadic empathy to the perception of closeness and quality of communication between partners is consistent with the assumption stemming from previous research which, besides the importance of dyadic empathy for general marital adjustment, including cohesiveness (Busby & Gardner, 2008; Ulloa et al., 2017), indicate that a lack of empathy leads to distancing between partners and decrease in the degree of closeness between them (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007), as well as that empathic tendencies play an important role in achieving cohesion at the level of the entire family (Simić, 2013).

Unlike previous studies that found a significant effect of dyadic empathy on sexual desire and pleasure (McNulty & Widman, 2013; Rosen et al., 2016), this study has only registered the contribution of cognitive empathy to the assessment of the degree of partners agreement in the display of emotions and sexual relationship. However, it is necessary to take into account that previous research, in the context of sexual desire and pleasure, focused on the perception of empathic responses on the part of the partner and not on the displayed empathy towards the partner, and that even the studies that investigated the contribution of the displayed empathy towards the partner to the perception of personal sexual pleasure, did not analyse the individual, but joint contribution of the affective and cognitive dimensions of dyadic empathy to the perception of sexual pleasure.

The significant contribution of the cognitive dimension of dyadic empathy to affectional expression can be explained in several ways. Namely, looking at things from the partner's perspective can foster more open communication between partners about their sexual relationship, which has been pointed out in research as the most challenging area of discussion for couples (Sanford, 2003); this can lead to greater intimacy and sexual satisfaction of both partners (Basson, 2001; MacNeil & Byers, 2009). Further, understanding the partner and his/her needs and focusing on these needs, including sexual needs, contributes to increasing personal satisfaction with the relationship

and specifically sexual satisfaction (Impett et al., 2015). In addition, understanding the partner's perspective reduces the frequency of conflicts (Pauls et al., 2008), which may be associated with more frequent sexual intercourse and display of emotions. On the other hand, it can be assumed that individual's emotional reactions to the affective state of the partner are of greater importance for the partner's than for the personal display of emotions and sexual satisfaction. When an individual makes an effort to understand the partner's perspective and carefully communicates this understanding, the partner feels understood and validated, which can lead to experiencing greater intimacy with the partner, as well as to more frequent experiencing and expression of positive emotions. These assumptions also need to be examined in future research on the sample of couples.

Finally, some limitations of the conducted research should be noted. First of all, the cross-sectional nature of the study makes it impossible to draw causal conclusions, and hence longitudinal research is needed in order to obtain a more precise insight into the causal relationships between the analysed variables. A multimethod approach, which, in addition to the self-reported measures used in this study, would include more objective measures, could also provide a better understanding of the analysed constructs and a more detailed insight into the nature of dyadic empathy and marital quality. Further, a study conducted on respondents in heterosexual relationships prevents the generalization of the results to other dyads, such as same-sex relationships. Hence, in future research, it would be useful to examine the applicability of the results to a wider range of relationships. Also, it is recommended for future studies to be conducted on the sample of couples, given that the results of some international studies indicate the importance of synchronising empathy between partners for their successful marital or partnership functioning. However, despite the listed limitations, the obtained findings provide a better insight into the nature of the relation between dyadic empathy and perception of marital quality. In addition, they can provide guidance for future research on the determinants of quality of marital relationship and contribute to advancing applicable psychological knowledge in working with couples in a relationship, marital and family context.

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Doprinos dijadne empatije doživljaju kvaliteta partnerskog odnosa

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U cilju utvrđivanja doprinosa dijadne empatije doživljaju kvaliteta bračnog odnosa, prikupljeni su podaci na uzorku od 738 ispitanika različitog socioekonomskog statusa, starosti između 19 i 80 godina, koji žive zajedno između godinu dana i 52 godine ($AS = 8.29$, $SD = 9.71$). Za procenu dijadne empatije primenjen je Interpersonalni indeks reaktivnosti za parove (Interpersonal Reactivity Index for Couples, IRIC; Péloquin & Lafontaine, 2010), koji procenjuje kognitivnu i afektivnu dimenziju empatije, dok je za procenu doživljaja kvaliteta bračnog odnosa primenjena Skala prilagođenosti u bračnom odnosu (Dyadic Adjustment Scale, DAS-7; Spanier, 1976), koja procenjuje četiri dimenzije kvaliteta bračnog odnosa: Konzensus, Zadovoljstvo brakom, Afektivno-seksualnu usaglašenost i Kohezivnost. Rezultati strukturalnog modelovanja ukazuju na pozitivan doprinos afektivne empatije slaganju bračnih partnera po pitanjima koja su od značaja za svakodnevno funkcionisanje, opštem zadovoljstvu brakom, kao i stepenu bliskosti i kvalitetu komunikacije među partnerima; i pozitivan doprinos kognitivne empatije slaganju bračnih partnera po pitanjima koja su od značaja za svakodnevno funkcionisanje, usaglašenosti bračnih partnera u ispoljavanju emocija i seksualnim odnosima, te bliskosti i kvalitetu komunikacije među partnerima.

Ključne reči: dijadna empatija, kvalitet braka, kognitivna empatija, afektivna empatija

Predictor models of intimate partnership satisfaction: attachment, the capacity to mentalize and narcissism

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The aim of this study is to analyse whether attachment, mentalization and narcissism contribute to the prediction of intimate partnership satisfaction. The study included 222 respondents aged 18 to 50, all childless, who were in an intimate partnership or had been married from at least one year to ten years at most. The respondents filled out online questionnaires, including: the Serbian version of the Experiences in Close Relationships-Revised (SM-ECR-R) questionnaire used for assessing attachment; the Mentalization Scale (MentS); the Narcissistic Personality Inventory NPI40 used for assessing the level of narcissism and the Relationship Assessment Scale (RAS) aimed at assessing intimate partnership satisfaction. The results indicate that higher levels of anxiety, avoidance, mentalization of others and narcissism predict lower intimate partnership satisfaction. Attachment, which developmentally precedes mentalization and narcissism, has the most significant independent effect on the prediction of satisfaction. The greatest predictive power was achieved by the predictive model which, at the same time, includes anxiety, avoidance and the mentalization of others. The conclusion of the study is that attachment, the mentalization of others and narcissism predict intimate partnership satisfaction.

Key words: attachment, mentalization, narcissism, relationship satisfaction

The quality of intimate partnerships is associated with numerous aspects of life, such as physical and mental health (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Joel et al., 2020; Meeks et al., 1998), one's personal and professional life and well-being of children (Joel et al., 2020). Research has shown that there is an association between the experience of quality in an intimate partnership and symptoms of depression (Wang et al., 2017; Whitton & Whisman, 2010),

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anxiety (Whisman & Baucom, 2012), as well as greater intimate partnership satisfaction accompanied by greater job satisfaction (Rogers & May 2003). A frequently studied construct in the context of intimate partnership satisfaction is the type of attachment. A meta-analysis (Hadden et al., 2014) determined a significant negative correlation between intimate partnership satisfaction, as well as anxiety, and the avoidant dimension of attachment in 31 independent effects.

The attachment theory highlights the importance of the quality of an emotional relationship formed between a mother and child during the first years of life, as well as its impact on the quality of attachment to someone close later in adulthood (Bowlby, 1969). It is assumed that first attachments in life are relatively stable, due to the mediation of internal working models and their influence on the formation of subsequent relationships with others (Bowlby, 1973). This assumption has been confirmed in numerous studies (Main et al., 1985; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Collins & Read, 1990; Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994; Hazen & Shaver, 1987; Simpson, 1990). Researchers describe attachment using attachment patterns and/or dimensions which lie at its core – anxiety and avoidance. Anxiety represents a need for approval and fear of abandonment in relationships, while avoidance refers to avoiding a sense of closeness and dependency on others.

Numerous studies indicate that secure attachment, low anxiety and low avoidance are characterized by openness for closeness and intimacy, with a sense of mutual trust and satisfaction (Collins & Read, 1990; Hazen & Shaver, 1987; Simpson, 1990). People with secure attachment consider themselves worthy of love and attention; they do not mind their partner depending on them or them depending on their partner; they are not afraid that they will be abandoned (Hazen & Shaver, 1987), display better communication skills (Guerrero, 1996) and use more constructive strategies for conflict solving in their intimate partnerships compared to those with insecure attachment (Scharfe & Bartholomew, 1995). In avoidant attachment (low anxiety and high avoidance), due to negative expectations, closeness in relationships is avoided and its importance denied with a defensive attitude, while the importance of independence and self-sufficiency is emphasized (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994). What characterizes people with this type of attachment is fear of closeness and the attitude that real love exists only in novels (Hazen & Shaver, 1987), coldness, mistrust, distance, and lower intimate partnership satisfaction (Collins & Read, 1990; Simpson, 1990), while their relationships are usually superficial and short-lived (Stefanović-Stanojević, 2011). In the preoccupied attachment style, with high anxiety and low avoidance, a person tries to compensate for their low sense of worth through extreme closeness with others, which renders that person vulnerable if it is not achieved (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994). These people are obsessive in intimate partnerships,

demanding, jealous, in constant fear of abandonment, they strive towards a symbiosis, dramatic love at first glance (Hazen & Shaver, 1987) and seek constant confirmation of love (Collins & Read, 1990). People with fearful attachment (high anxiety and high avoidance) manifest an ambivalent attitude in their relationships with others. They are drawn to others due to their high dependency and seek self-validation through their relationships, but at the same time also flee from closeness due to fear of rejection (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994); hence, their intimate partnerships are rare or chaotic (Stefanović-Stanojević, 2011). Some researchers suggest that lower intimate partnership satisfaction among people with insecure attachment emerges in situations when a threat is perceived, when the attachment system is activated, while they do not need to be less satisfied in other situations (Little et al., 2010). Based on the activation model of the attachment system in adulthood, when perceiving a threat, people with secure attachment use strategies based on that style of attachment, while anxiously attached individuals experience hyperactivation of the attachment system and an excessive search for closeness and attention from the attachment figure (partner). Paying excessive attention to partner's availability and constant worry increase the likelihood of noting actual or imaginary signs of disapproval from the partner and of potential abandonment. In situations of the perceived threat, people with avoidant attachment try to prevent the activation of the attachment system using deactivating strategies, denying the need for attachment and striving to rely on themselves excessively (Mikulincer & Shaver 2003). Little and associates argue that, although the activation model of the attachment system emphasizes the characteristic behaviour of people with insecure attachment even in situations where there is no threat, the model still suggests that, when activated, insecure attachment systems are most detrimental for an intimate partnership. People with avoidance strategies, who tend to deactivate attachment system in threatening situations, still feel the need for love and intimacy on a subconscious level and can function similarly to people with secure attachment in situations when the attachment system has not been activated (Little et al., 2010).

The attachment theory and the psycho-analytical concept of narcissism describe a similar relationship style with others, both among people with avoidance attachment and among those with increased narcissism, as well as a similar model of parenting behaviour as a potential cause of avoidance attachment and narcissism. Some studies suggest that they have the same basic structure (Brennan & Shaver, 1998; Feintuch, 1998). The association between these constructs lies in the valuation of the child by the parents and the sense of protection the child has in his/her relationship with them, on the basis of which the child builds his/her self-respect. If a child in a secure relationship builds an internal working model of the self as worthy of love

and attention, and of others as available and responsive, he/she will probably develop a healthy level of self-respect and of what Kohut refers to as healthy narcissism. To the contrary, in an avoidant style relationship, which a child builds living with unavailable and rejecting parents, he/she develops an internal working model of others as unavailable, which creates danger of the development of pathological narcissism, due to a deficit in the interpersonal interpretative capacities of the child (Bennett, 2006). In the theory of the self, Kohut points out that inadequate parental responses, in the sense of emotional detachment during the process of transformation from infantile into healthy narcissism of adults, lead to a loss of the cohesive self, insecurity and the loss of self-respect, while an understanding of the child's needs and a warm and empathetic relationship helps in the development of an adequate level of self-respect (Topić Lukačević & Bagarić, 2018). Studies have found a positive correlation between avoidance attachment and narcissism (Adil & Kamal, 2005; Ahmadi et. al., 2013). We assume that the traits of narcissistic individuals such as the desire to have others admire them, the belief that they are special, unique and that they deserve special treatment (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), can lead to problems in intimate partnerships and lower satisfaction if the person feels their needs have not been satisfied. In order to keep up the adoration of others, narcissistic individuals use a perfectionist self-presentation (Casale et al., 2020). Furthermore, they expect perfectionism even from the idealized others since they believe they have the right to be in the presence of an idealized object. Narcissistic injury and the subsequent rage can ensue due to any experienced loss of perfectionism, that is, if the idealized others disappoint the narcissistic individual and do not meet their expectations (Nealis et al., 2015). Previous studies have attested to a negative correlation between narcissism and satisfaction in intimate partnerships, as well as the mediator effect of the idealized self-presentation in the case of high levels of narcissism on intimate partnership satisfaction (Casale et al., 2020). Additionally, numerous forms of behaviour have been linked to high levels of narcissism, which can in turn impact one's relationship with their partner, such as vindictiveness (Rasmussen, 2016), aggression in intimate partnerships (Keller et al., 2014) and lower dedication in an intimate partnership (Campbell & Foster, 2002; Zeigler-Hill et al., 2020).

The next construct that we associate with attachment and intimate partnership satisfaction is mentalization. It represents an imaginative mental activity which helps us understand the behaviour of others through their feelings, needs, desires, beliefs, goals, purposes and reasons. In addition to interpreting the behaviour of others, mentalization also refers to the interpretation of one's own behaviour and experiences (Fonagy & Allison, 2012). Growing up with parents with whom the child was securely attached

facilitates the development of the capacity to mentalize in the child (Bateman & Fonagy, 2010). Empirical studies have confirmed the existence of a positive correlation between the patterns of secure attachment and a more developed capacity to mentalize (Banjac et al., 2013; Fonagy et al., 1991), as well as the possibility of predicting the development of the capacity to mentalize among children based on the established secure attachment of both the children and the parents (Fonagy et al., 1998). Fonagy and Allison assume that mentalization developed to enable people to quickly and effectively interpret other people's behaviour. The ability to mentalize is developed through the constant interaction of the child and the parents so that the child's behaviours are interpreted by the parents and, after being processed, turned back. If this interpretation and processing of the child's signals and emotional reactions are adequate, the child is not overwhelmed by emotional turmoil and feels secure (Fonagy & Allison, 2012). The assumption is that this facilitates the development of self-control, the regulation of emotions (Fonagy et al., 1991) and attention (Bateman & Fonagy, 2010). Based on the aforementioned, we can see that a decreased capacity to mentalize can lead to problems in intimate partnerships and thus impact intimate partnership satisfaction. A decreased capacity to mentalize and the ensuing decreased self-control, the regulation of the negative affect and the feeling of being emotionally overwhelmed lead to behaviours such as yelling, property damage and causing harm to oneself or others (Adshead et al., 2013). To preserve satisfactory intimate partnerships, in addition to self-control and the reigning in of negative emotions such as aggression and hostility, cognitive processing of the events which caused them is needed, so that the thoughts and feelings associated with anger would be diminished or replaced by more positive ones, which in turn depends on the capacity to mentalize (Hegsted, 2020).

Understanding the concept of intimate partnership satisfaction through the relationship of attachment, mentalization and narcissism can help us to understand the impact which early life experiences have on our intimate partnerships. Awareness of how our personal history of close relationships during early childhood contributes to our intimate partnerships later on in life can contribute to our not blaming only our partner and the current events for any possible intimate partnership dissatisfaction. Therefore, it is possible to plan therapeutic interventions so that people could explore their internal reasons for any subjective sense of dissatisfaction in intimate partnerships.

The aim of this study is to analyse whether it is possible to predict intimate partnership satisfaction based on the dimensions of attachment, anxiety and avoidance. In addition, we aim at analysing whether and to which extent narcissism and mentalization contribute to improvement in predicting intimate partnership satisfaction.

The method

Sample and procedure

The sample used in the survey consisted of childless individuals in intimate partnerships or individuals who had been married, from at least one to ten years at most ($M = 3.968$, $SD = 2.97$). A total of 222 respondents took part in this study, 153 females and 69 males, aged 18 to 50 ($M = 26.91$, $SD = 6.89$). The respondents filled out survey questionnaires in electronic form. The questionnaire was e-mailed to a certain number of people in the author's environment, who were then asked to send out the questionnaire to other people from their own environment who fit into the afore-mentioned profile. The respondents were informed that the study was anonymous, voluntary, and that the results would be processed in group form and used for purposes of science and research. The study was carried out in Niš during 2021 on a convenience sample compiled using the snowball technique.

The instruments

The Experiences in Close Relationships questionnaire, ECR-R (Fraley et al., 2000) and the Serbian version of the Experiences in Close Relationships-Revised questionnaire, SM-ECR-R (Hanak & Dimitrijević, 2013). The questionnaire consists of 36 items, one half of which refer to the dimension of avoidance, and the other half to the dimension of anxiety. The respondents answer by evaluating the claims on a seven-point scale regarding the extent to which they agree with each claim. The extent of agreement ranges from "I do not agree at all; I do not agree; I partly agree; I neither agree nor disagree; I partly agree; I agree" to "I completely agree". In this study, a good reliability of the subscales was determined, $\alpha = .911$ for anxiety and $\alpha = .839$ for avoidance, as well as for the questionnaire as a whole $\alpha = .896$.

The Mentalization Scale (MentS) (Dimitrijević et al., 2018). The scale is aimed at assessing three aspects of the capacity to mentalize, including: mentalization of the self, the mentalization of others and the motivation to mentalize, while a complete score is obtained at the same time. The scale consists of 28 items, for which the respondents state the extent of their agreement using a five-point scale ranging from "1 – completely untrue" to "5 – completely true". The reliability of the instrument both for the subscales and as a whole is satisfactory, and in this study had a value of $\alpha = .804$, (Mentalization of the self $\alpha = .717$, Others $\alpha = .802$, Motivation $\alpha = .665$).

Narcissistic Personality Inventory NPI40 (Raskin & Terry, 1988). It is used to evaluate the narcissistic personality traits on a sub-clinical population. In this study, the Serbian version of the scale was used (Dinić & Vujić, 2019). The questionnaire consists of 40 pairs of claims in a forced-choice test.

The respondents answered by choosing one claim in each pair which they thought best described them and was closest to their feelings. The reliability determined in this study was $\alpha = 0.861$.

The Relationship Assessment Scale RAS (Hendrick, 1988). The questionnaire consists of seven questions which measure the general intimate partnership satisfaction. The respondents answer using a five-point scale where 1 refers to a low level of satisfaction, and 5 to a high level of satisfaction. In this study the reliability was $\alpha = .920$.

Data analysis

The obtained data were processed using the analysis of variance and regression analysis. The analyses and statistical tests were carried out at a set level of significance of 0.05.

Results

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 shows means and standard deviations of the variables. Except for Narcissism, the average values for all variables are at a medium and high level (Table 1).

Table 1.

Descriptive analysis

Variables	Min.	Max.	<i>M</i>	SD
Anxiety	1.06	5.94	3.01	1.18
Avoidance	1.61	6.33	3.51	0.85
Ment-Self	1.38	5.00	3.45	0.78
Ment-Others	2.40	5.00	4.01	0.58
Ment-Motivation	2.20	5.00	3.90	0.55
Mentalization	2.61	5.00	3.81	0.45
Narcissism	.03	.93	0.34	0.18
RAS	1.00	5.00	4.10	0.80

Note: Ment-Self – mentalization of the self; Ment-Others – mentalization of others; Ment-Motivation – motivation to mentalize; RAS – intimate partnership satisfaction

Analysing the distribution of the attachment style in the sample, it is found that 60.8% of the respondents are securely attached, 18.5% are dismissive, 13.5% are preoccupied and 7.2% are fearfully attached. An equal percent of both men and women are securely attached (60.7% women; 60.8% men). The dismissive pattern is found in 15.03% of women and 26.08% of men; 17.64% of women and 4.34% of men have the preoccupied pattern, while 6.53% of women and 8.69% of men have a fearful attachment pattern.

Table 2. Average values for intimate partnership satisfaction based on the attachment pattern

A Pattern	N	M	SD	Min.	Max.
Secure	135	29.95	4.53	13.00	35.00
Preoccupied	30	26.93	6.46	10.00	35.00
Dismissive	41	27.73	5.81	8.00	35.00
Fearful	16	23.75	7.46	7.00	33.00
Total	222	28.68	5.58	7.00	35.00

Note: A Pattern – Attachment pattern

The average values for intimate partnership satisfaction, depending on the attachment pattern, indicate that respondents with secure attachment manifest the highest levels of satisfaction, while those with fearful attachment manifest the lowest level of satisfaction (Table 2).

By applying the *F*-test it is determined that there is a significant difference in intimate partnership satisfaction between respondents with various attachment patterns ($F(3, 218) = 8.683, p < .001$). The level of the effect of the difference of different attachment patterns in the average satisfaction was estimated by the partial eta-squared coefficient, with a value of $\eta^2 = .107$, which represents the difference of medium intensity. The results of the *Post hoc* (Bonferroni) test indicate that, based on intimate partnership satisfaction, there is a significant difference between the secure and preoccupied attachment patterns, as well as the secure and fearful, while there was no significant difference between the secure and dismissive attachment patterns. The extent of the difference in intimate partnership satisfaction was assessed by the square of the point-biserial correlation coefficient, which indicates that the difference between the secure and the preoccupied pattern is low-intensity, while it is medium-intensity between the secure and the fearful pattern (Table 3).

Table 3.

The post hoc test of the differences between intimate partnership satisfaction depending on the attachment pattern

I A Pattern	J A Pattern	M difference (I-J)	Standard error	Sig.	95% Confidence interval		r_{pb}^2
					Lower bound	Upper bound	
Secure	Preoccupied	3.01*	1.07	.032	.16	5.87	0.05
Secure	Fearful	6.20**	1.40	.000	2.46	9.94	0.13
Secure	Dismissive	2.22	.95	.121	-.30	4.74	
Preoccupied	Dismissive	-.80	1.28	1.000	-4.19	2.60	
Preoccupied	Fearful	3.18	1.64	.324	-1.19	7.56	
Dismissive	Fearful	3.98	1.57	.070	-.18	8.15	

Note: A Pattern – Attachment pattern; *the difference in the M is significant at the .05 level; ** the difference in the M is significant at the .001 level

The values of Pearson's correlation coefficient for the dimensional variables are shown in Table 4. The negative correlation between Anxiety on the one hand and Mentalization of the self and total capacity to Mentalize on the other is of medium intensity, while the correlation between Anxiety and the Mentalization of others is of low intensity. The intensity of negative correlation between Avoidance and all the Mentalization variables is medium, except for Mentalization of the self, which is low. The correlation between Avoidance and Narcissism is negative and of low intensity. The intensity of negative correlation between Anxiety and Satisfaction in an intimate partnership is medium, while the negative correlation between Avoidance and Satisfaction is of low intensity. The correlation between the complete capacity to Mentalize, both of the self and others, on the one hand, and Narcissism, on the other, is positive and of low intensity. The positive correlation between Mentalization of the self and Satisfaction in an intimate partnership is of low intensity.

Table 4.

Correlations between the dimensions of attachment, mentalization, narcissism and intimate partnership satisfaction

	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Anxiety	.273**	-.531**	-.162*	.044	-.317**	-.129	-.330**
2. Avoidance		-.290**	-.333**	-.340**	-.443**	-.154*	-.294**
3. Ment-Self			.246**	.130	.661**	.142*	.194**
4. Ment-Others				.484**	.790**	.272**	-.098
5. Ment-Motiv					.720**	.038	.017
6. Mentalization						.211**	.058
7. Narcissism							-.066
8. RAS							

Note: Ment-Self – mentalization of the self; Ment-Others – mentalization of others; Ment-Motiv – motivation to mentalize; RAS – intimate partnership satisfaction; ** the correlation is significant at the .01 level; * the correlation is significant at the .05 level

Predictive models

The introduction of the dimensions of Anxiety and Avoidance set up basic predictive Model 1, while the regression analysis was used to ascertain that based on these values it was possible to predict intimate partnership satisfaction. The correlation coefficient between the measured values of intimate partnership satisfaction and the values predicted by the model is $R = 0.392$. The model explains 15.4% of the variance of the dependent variable ($R^2 = 0.154$) (Table 5).

Table 5.
A comparative evaluation of the predictive models

Model	R	R ²	Standard error	Change Statistics				
				R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Significance F change
1.	.392	.154	.74	.154	19.887	2	219	.000
2.	.415	.172	.73	.019	4.942	1	218	.027
3.	.454	.206	.72	.052	14.418	1	218	.000
4.	.462	.214	.71	.007	2.048	1	217	.154

Note: Model 1, Predictors: Avoidance, Anxiety; Model 2, Predictors: Avoidance, Anxiety, Narcissism; Model 3, Predictors: Avoidance, Anxiety, Ment-Others; Model 4, Predictors: Avoidance, Anxiety, Ment-Others, Narcissism

By introducing Narcissism into basic Model 1 it was possible to establish Model 2. The results show that Model 2 is a better predictor of the value of the criterion variable compared to Model 1 (Table 5), considering that the correlation coefficient is higher by 0.23 compared to Model 1 and has a value of $R = 0.415$. The change is significant at the $p < .05$ level. Model 2 explains 1.9% more of the variance (change $R^2 = .019$); thus, Narcissism improves the basic predictive model.

The introduction of the entire scale of Mentalization into basic Model 1, as well as the subscales individually, determined that Mentalization of others contributes most to the improvement of the predictive model. Model 3, in which Anxiety, Avoidance and Mentalization of others are predictor variables, predicts the value of the criterion variable better compared to models 1 and 2, considering that the correlation coefficient is higher by 0.062 compared to Model 1, and has a value of $R = 0.454$, while the change is significant at the $p < .001$ level. Model 3 explains 5.2% more of the variance compared to Model 1 (change $R^2 = 0.052$) (Table 5); thus, Mentalization of others improves the basic model.

Model 4, with the predictor variables of Anxiety, Avoidance, Mentalization of others and Narcissism, does not significantly improve Model 3 as it barely explains 1% ($R^2 = 0.007$) more of the variance. The correlation coefficient is higher by 0.008 compared to Model 3, and has a value of $R = 0.462$ (Table 5).

Model 3, as the best predictive model, explains 20.6% of the total variance of the criterion variable, considering that the explained variance is 28.952 (Table 6).

Table 6.
Analysis of the variance of the predictive Model 3

Source of variance	Sum of squares	Degree of freedom	Mean squared deviation	F	Sig.
Model 3	28.95	3	9.65	18.876	.000
Unexplained variance	111.46	218	.51		
Total variance	140.41	221			

Note: Criterion variable: RAS – Intimate partnership satisfaction
 Model 3, Predictors: Avoidance, Anxiety, Ment-Others

Table 7.
The regression coefficient for Model 3

Model 3	Unstandardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients	<i>t</i>	Sig.
	B	Standard error	β		
The constant	7.00	.48		14.543	.000
Anxiety	-.19	.04	-.29	-4.586	.000
Avoidance	-.28	.06	-.30	-4.498	.000
Ment-Others	-.34	.09	-.24	-3.797	.000

Note: Criterion variables: RAS – Intimate partnership satisfaction

In Model 3, all the regression coefficients are significant at the .01 level (Table 7). Mentalization of others contributes less to the predicted score of Satisfaction in an intimate partnership than Anxiety and Avoidance, considering that the value of the standardized coefficient of Mentalization of others is lower compared to the value of the standardized coefficient of Anxiety (-.289) and Avoidance (-.296), but it has the same direction of prediction.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to analyse whether attachment, expressed through the dimensions of anxiety and avoidance, as well as narcissism and mentalization, predict the level of intimate partnership satisfaction.

The results show that attachment is a significant predictor of intimate partnership satisfaction. Reduced anxiety, i.e. a lower need for approval and smaller fear of abandonment from one's partner, along with lower avoidance of closeness and dependence on others, predict greater intimate partnership satisfaction. These findings are in line with those of some other studies (Ayenew, 2016; Barry et al., 2015; Butzer & Campbell, 2008). The internal working model of the self as one worthy of love and attention, as well as that of others as safe individuals to rely on (a positive model of the self, a positive model of others, low anxiety, low avoidance), which we build during childhood based on our relationship with our guardian (Bowlby, 1973), predict greater intimate partnership satisfaction in adulthood. During the activation of the attachment system, people with secure attachment know or believe that their needs can be satisfied in intimate partnerships, as well as that maintaining closeness in an intimate partnership is awarded and that the partner is available, responsive and attentive in threatening situations. The strategies of people with secure attachment lead to feelings of comfort in intimate partnerships, emphasizing the advantages of intimate partnerships over single life, and are based on general trust in others and the belief in their good will, which especially increases trust in one's partner and makes it easier to tolerate their ambiguous or negative forms of behaviour. These strategies even further facilitate an emotional exchange with one's partner (Mikulincer &

Shaver 2003). Increased anxiety in relationships (a negative model of the self, a positive model of others) is characterized by a hyperactivation of strategies of the attachment system, which leads to overly demanding and dependent behaviour in a partner relationship, as well as to chronic frustration due to unsatisfied needs for love and dedication. These strategies lead to catastrophic assessments of interpersonal conflict, which results in their escalation. Demanding behaviour, excessive requests for closeness, lack of trust and suspicion in one's partner can cause the other partner's negative emotions and their distance, which causes additional worry and uncertainty on the part of the person with anxious attachment (Mikulincer & Shaver 2003). Increased avoidance (a positive model of the self, a negative model of others) is characterized by a deactivation of the attachment system, which has a negative impact on the quality of the relationship because it leads to superficial and cold relationships, with lack of closeness and intimacy, as well as avoidance of finding solutions for the problem in the relationship. This kind of relationship can reduce the satisfaction of the other person in the relationship due to their feeling frustrated since their needs for closeness and intimacy are not satisfied, which can consequently lead to a decrease in satisfaction on the part of the person with avoidant attachment (Mikulincer & Shaver 2003).

Mentalization of others contributes to the prediction of intimate partnership satisfaction, but less so than attachment. Attachment developmentally precedes mentalization and therefore the internal working models of the self and others built during childhood have a more significant effect on intimate partnerships in adulthood than mentalization. A greater capacity to mentalize others predicts less intimate partnership satisfaction. Due to the greater emotional significance that intimate partnerships have, and probably due to the desire for a satisfactory and stable relationship, the interpretation of our partner's thoughts and feelings might seem overwhelming and may lead to a decrease in the intimate partnership satisfaction. We assume that in an intimate partnership there is greater sensitivity to our partner's thoughts, while their more intense interpretation and better understanding can create worry for the partner's emotional state and the relationship, which can lead to a decrease in satisfaction. On the other hand, due to the nature of intimate partnerships, in the sense of the existence of more intense feelings, it is possible that the interpretation of the thoughts and feelings of our partner will be disrupted by our emotions and lead to incorrect insight, the onset of worry, doubt, and thus result in a decrease in satisfaction. Our study found a positive correlation between the mentalization of the self and intimate partnership satisfaction. A greater capacity to mentalize one's own thoughts, feelings and behaviour leads to a person not being overwhelmed by negative emotions. Instead, one has better self-control and ability to, by later cognitive processing of the event (for example, their partner's actions), replace negative thoughts with positive ones (Hegsted, 2020), which would probably bring about a decrease in conflict, and thus contribute to greater intimate partnership satisfaction. As far as the link

between mentalization and attachment is concerned, the results indicate that higher levels of anxiety and avoidance correspond to lower levels of mentalization, and vice versa. Hence, we can conclude that our data are in agreement with the propositions that growing up with parents with whom we have secure attachment facilitates the development of the capacity to mentalize (Bateman & Fonagy, 2010; Fonagy & Allison, 2012).

The smallest contribution to the prediction of intimate partnership satisfaction was made by narcissism. It is possible that high levels of narcissism predict lower satisfaction due to the existence of a discrepancy between the expectation of special treatment and admiration, which people with high levels of narcissism expect from their partner, and what is actually happening, as well as disappointment which can be felt because one's partner is not ideal. Attachment contributes more to the prediction of intimate partnership satisfaction than narcissism, since it developmentally precedes it, and so it is possible that it has a greater impact on our relationships with others, especially intimate ones. Specifically, a child, depending on his/her attachment to the parents, builds internal working models of the self and others, and in turn develops his/her own sense of self-respect, that is, healthy or pathological narcissism (Bennett, 2006). Considering that the correlation between narcissism and avoidance is negative, the expected association between narcissism and avoidance was not found in our study. The explanation for the negative correlation might be found not in the psychoanalytical concepts of narcissism, but in the theories of social learning, based on which narcissism develops when a child grows up with parents who overestimate him/her, believing that the child is special and deserves more rights than others. Consequently, a child could internalize the belief that he/she is special and deserves privileges and special treatment (Brummelman et al., 2015). The inconsistent results of studies that analysed the association between attachment and narcissism, which sometimes indicate a higher level of avoidance in cases of a higher level of narcissism or vice versa, have been accounted for by some researchers by the way in which narcissism was measured, that is, the lack of differentiation between grandiose and vulnerable narcissism (Smolewska & Dion, 2005).

We can conclude that, among all the studied constructs, attachment has the most significant effect on the prediction of intimate partnership satisfaction. Mentalization of others significantly contributes to the improvement of the predictive power of attachment, and the overall capacity to mentalize has a positive correlation with secure attachment. Narcissism contributes least to prediction, and no positive correlation was determined between avoidant attachment and narcissism. The first attachments which we build with our guardians in childhood, building our internal working models of the self and others, shape the intimate partnerships we make in our adulthood (Bowlby, 1973). Increased anxiety, i.e. an increased need for approval from our partner and fear of abandonment, an excessive need for closeness and attention, as well

as frustration due to the feeling of our needs being unsatisfied, lead to decreased intimate partnership satisfaction. Increased avoidance of closeness and intimacy, as well as excessive relying on oneself, can lead to lower satisfaction of the other partner, and consequently on the part of the person with avoidant attachment. People with secure attachment generally trust their partner and believe in their availability and responsiveness (Mikulincer & Shaver 2003); they thus have greater intimate partnership satisfaction. Mentalization of others contributes to the predictive power of anxiety and avoidance, but also achieves a smaller effect on the prediction of intimate partnership satisfaction compared to attachment. Attachment developmentally precedes mentalization (Bateman & Fonagy, 2010; Fonagy & Allison, 2012) and it is possible that, as a result, it achieves a greater effect on the prediction of intimate partnership satisfaction. The increased capacity to mentalize others or a more intense interpretation of our partner's thoughts and feelings leads to a decrease in satisfaction, due to excessive attention being paid to our partner's emotional state and worry about the relationship. Narcissism has the lowest effect on improving the predictive power of attachment; however, it is still indicated that increased narcissism may lead to a decrease in intimate partnership satisfaction, if a person feels that their needs to be admired by their partner and to be given special treatment have not been satisfied.

The obtained findings provide a good basis for the continuation of research which would include a larger sample of respondents. The study included individuals in an intimate partnership who assessed their own attachment, narcissism, mentalization and intimate partnership satisfaction; the assumption is that a study of couples would provide us with a more complete image. At the same time, it would be possible to study whether and in which way attachment, narcissism and mentalization of one partner predict intimate partnership satisfaction of the other. For a more precise determination of the relationship between narcissism and attachment, it might be more suitable to use an instrument which measures vulnerable and grandiose narcissism separately.

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Prediktorski modeli zadovoljstva u intimnoj partnerskoj vezi: afektivna vezanost, kapacitet za mentalizaciju i narcizam

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Cilj ovog istraživanja bio je ispitivanje da li afektivna vezanost, mentalizacija i narcizam doprinose predviđanju zadovoljstva u intimnim partnerskim vezama. Istraživanje je obuhvatilo 222 ispitanika uzrasta od 18 do 50 godina koji su bez dece, u intimnoj partnerskoj vezi ili u braku, u trajanju od najmanje jedne a najviše deset godina. Ispitanici su popunjavali upitnike u elektronskoj formi i to: Upitnik „Iskustvo u bliskim odnosima” srpska modifikovana i adaptirana verzija, SM-ECR-R za procenu afektivne vezanosti; UM, upitnik za ispitivanje mentalizacije; Inventar narcističke ličnosti NPI40 za procenu nivoa narcizma i skalu RAS za procenu zadovoljstva u intimnoj partnerskoj vezi. Rezultati pokazuju da viši nivoi anksioznosti, izbegavanja, mentalizacije drugih i narcizma predviđaju manje zadovoljstvo u intimnim partnerskim vezama. Afektivna vezanost, koja razvojno prethodi mentalizaciji i narcizmu, ostvaruje najznačajniji samostalni efekat na predikciju zadovoljstva. Najveću prediktivnu moć ostvaruje prediktivni model koji istovremeno sadrži anksioznost, izbegavanje i mentalizaciju drugih. Zaključak istraživanja je da afektivna vezanost, mentalizacija drugih i narcizam predviđaju zadovoljstvo u intimnim partnerskim vezama.

Ključne reči: vezanost, mentalizacija, narcizam, zadovoljstvo vezom

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Mračna tetrada i domeni self-koncepta¹

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Cilj ovog istraživanja bio je ispitivanje relacija između dimenzija Mračne tetradе (narcizam, psihopatija, makijavelizam i sadizam) i šest domena self-koncepta (socijalni, kompetencijski, emocionalni, akademski, porodični i fizički self-koncept). Na uzorku od 210 ispitanika (69.5% ženskog pola), starosti od 18 do 78 god., primenjene su srpske adaptacije sledećih instrumenata: Kratka skala Mračne trijade (Short Dark Triad – SD3), Procena sadističke ličnosti (Assessment of Sadistic Personality – ASP) i Multidimenzionalna skala self-koncepta (Multidimensional Self Concept Scale – MSCS). Rezultati su pokazali da je narcizam pozitivno povezan sa svim domenima self-koncepta, a posebno sa socijalnim i fizičkim selfom, dok je psihopatija negativno povezana sa svim domenima self-koncepta, a posebno sa socijalnim selfom. Makijavelizam je negativno povezan sa socijalnim i kompetencijskim self-konceptom, a sadizam negativno sa kompetencijskim i akademskim self-konceptom. Iako se narcizam smatra „najsvetlijom“ mračnom crtom, rezultati mogu ukazivati i na pristrasnu sliku o sebi, što je u skladu sa narcističkim grandioznim i superiornim viđenjem sebe.

Ključne reči: Mračna tetrada, Mračna trijada, self-koncept

Uvod

Mračna tetrada predstavlja skup četiri socijalno averzivne crte ličnosti – makijavelizam, supklinički narcizam, supklinička psihopatija i svakodnevni ili supklinički sadizam. Njihovo zajedničko jezgro je bezosećajnost i manipulativnost (Dinić et al., 2020a), odn. antagonizam (Dinić et al., 2021). Pored toga što dele zajedničke karakteristike, mračne crte imaju distinktivne karakteristike. Za makijavelizam je karakteristična promišljenost, cinični pogled na svet i eksploatacija drugih, dok je za psihopatiju karakterističan zaravnjen

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afekat, nedostatak osećaja krivice i kajanja, sklonost ka manipulativnom interpersonalnom stilu i slaba kontrola impulsa (npr. Paulhus, 2014). Ono što je važna distinkcija ove dve crte je impulsivnost koja je karakteristična za psihopatiju, dok su promišljenost i bolja kontrola ponašanja karakteristične za makijavelizam (npr. Paulhus, 2014). Narcizam je u okviru Mračne tetrade najčešće ispitivan kao grandiozna forma, te ga karakterišu visoko samopoštovanje, superiorno viđenje sebe, osećaj povlašćenosti i traženje posebnog tretmana (npr. Paulhus, 2014). U slučaju sadizma distinktivnu odliku čini uživanje u tuđoj patnji i bolu (npr. Paulhus, 2014). U ovom radu postavlja se pitanje na koji način su mračne crte povezane sa slikom o sebi. Naime, mračne crte se povezuju sa socijalno negativnim ishodom (npr. Dinić et al., 2020b; Muris et al., 2017), pa ipak, nisu sve povezane sa negativnim viđenjem sebe (npr. Campbell et al., 2002).

Self-koncept predstavlja generalizovano iskustvo o sebi u različitim područjima života i rada i nastaje na osnovu iskustva osobe o svojim kompetencijama i veštinama u različitim domenima (Bracken, 1996; 2009). Self-koncept se definiše u interakciji sa okruženjem i fidbekom o nama samima koji dobijamo od drugih ljudi. U savremenim razmatranjima self-koncepta, on se najčešće posmatra kao multidimenzionalni konstrukt s hijerarhijskom strukturom. Jedan od najčešće korišćenih modela self-koncepta je Brackenov multidimenzionalni model (Bracken, 1996). Bracken (1996; 2009) self-koncept definiše preko šest dimenzija koje su u umerenoj korelaciji i ravnomerno učestvuju u organizaciji globalnog selfa, slično kao g faktor inteligencije. Ovi domeni se odnose na vrstu interakcije sa različitim aspektima okruženja i ti domeni su: socijalni odnosi, kompetencije, emocije, akademski uspeh, porodični odnosi i fizički izgled. Socijalni self-koncept odnosi se na to kako osoba vidi svoje interpersonalne veštine, te koliko je socijalno uključena i prihvaćena od strane drugih ljudi, odn. koliko je zadovoljna svojom pozicijom u socijalnom okruženju. Važno je istaći da socijalne interakcije i interpersonalne relacije predstavljaju ključ normalnog i zdravog mentalnog funkcionisanja (Bracken, 2009). U Brackenovom modelu kompetencijski self-koncept podrazumeva deskripciju sposobnosti da se postignu i zadovolje bazične potrebe, prevaziđu prepreke i ostvare određeni ciljevi. Ovaj domen selfa odnosi se na samodeskripciju sopstvene asertivnosti, mentalne snage, iskrenosti i poštovanja koje se dobija od strane drugih, kao i procene koliko često osoba upada u nevolje. Emocionalni self-koncept se odnosi na svesnost i prihvatanje svojih emocija, kao i faktora i uslova koji dovode do različitih afektivnih stanja osobe. Osoba sa visokim skorom na ovoj dimenziji uživa u životu, smatra da je srećna, zadovoljna je sobom takva kakva jeste, opuštena je i nije zbunjena u vezi s tim šta oseća. Akademski uspeh odnosi se na to kako osoba procenjuje svoje postignuće u specifičnim oblastima (npr. matematika, čitanje), na samoprocenu intelektualnih sposobnosti i sposobnosti učenja, radnih navika, te na prihvaćenost sopstvenih ideja i sugestija od strane drugih u školi ili na poslu. Porodični self-koncept referira na to kako ljudi opažaju odnos članova porodice prema njima, da li su ti odnosi bili podržavajući

i afirmativni, puni poštovanja i podrške, te koliko su roditelji prihvatili osobu takvom kakva jeste. Na kraju, fizički self-koncept se odnosi na to kako osoba vidi svoj fizički izgled i atraktivnost, te fizičke sposobnosti, spremnost i snagu, da li se stidi svog tela i sl.

Prethodna istraživanja pokazuju da se crte Mračne trijade (makijavelizam, narcizam i psihopatija) povezuju sa slabijim osećajem selfa, smanjenom upotrebom termina koji se odnose na trajne osobine prilikom samoopisa i većom upotrebom termina koji se odnose na stanje (Doerfler et al., 2021). Na ovom mestu treba istaći i to da se mračne crte mogu sagledati kao multidimenzionalni konstrukti. U slučaju psihopatije najčešće se razlikuju primarna psihopatija, koja okuplja karakteristike poput bezosećajnosti, manipulativnosti i sebičnosti, i sekundarna psihopatija, koja se odnosi na impulsivnost, reaktivnost, devijantni životni stil i sklonost ka antisocijalnom ponašanju (npr. Levenson et al., 1995). U slučaju narcizma najčešće se razlikuju grandiozni i vulnerabilni narcizam. Već je pomenuto da se u okviru Mračne tetrade narcizam najčešće ispituje kao grandiozni, dok se vulnerabilni narcizam odnosi na nestabilno i, pre svega, nisko samopoštovanje, osećaj srama zbog neispunjenosti narcističkih potreba i divljenja od strane drugih, hipersenzitivnost i sl. (npr. Pincus & Roche, 2011). Kada su se mračne crte sagledale kao multidimenzionalni konstrukti, samo sekundarna psihopatija i vulnerabilni narcizam su bili značajni prediktori slabijeg osećaja selfa i slabije jasnoće self-koncepta, dok je agensni aspekt grandioznog narcizma, koji se odnosi na liderstvo i autoritet, pokazao obrnuti obrazac veza (Doerfler et al., 2021). Međutim, druga istraživanja pokazuju da je za narcizam generalno karakterističan nestabilni ili fragilni self-koncept (Fukushima & Hosoe, 2011).

Narcizam se posebno izdvaja kao mračna crta u slučaju relacija sa self-konceptom, budući da predstavlja superiorno viđenje sebe, a neki bi rekli i odbrambeni mehanizam održavanja pozitivne evaluacije o sebi (npr. Imbesi, 1999). Grandiozni, agensni narcizam se dosledno povezuje sa preuveličanim pozitivnim atributima u domenu orijentacije na delotvornost (nasuprot orijentaciji na zajedništvo), pa tako osobe sa višim narcizmom sebe vide kao bolje od drugih, kompetentnije, inteligentnije, uspešnije, fizički atraktivnije i sl. (npr. Gebauer & Sedikides, 2018). Dalje, ova forma narcizma se pozitivno povezuje sa samopoštovanjem u domeni performansi, socijalnih odnosa i izgleda (Durand, 2016). U jednom novijem istraživanju, od svih crta Mračne trijade, samo je narcizam pozitivno bio povezan sa samoprocenjenom fizičkom atraktivnošću (Borráz-León & Rantala, 2021). Preuveličavanje slike o sebi kod grandioznog, agensnog narcizma ograničeno je na domen inteligencije i ekstraverzije, te se slabije uočava i u domenu prijatnosti i moralnosti u kojem osobe s višim narcizmom sebe procenjuju kao prosečne (Campbell et al., 2002). Osobe sa višim agensnim narcizmom vide sebe kao efikasne u radnom okruženju i kao socijalno smele (Radojević i Dinić, 2020). Ipak, kada su u pitanju socijalni odnosi kakvi su porodični, narcizam, kao i ostale mračne crte, povezuje se s većim izveštavanjem o roditeljskom zanemarivanju u detinjstvu

(npr. Jia et al., 2021), mada u slučaju narcizma kvalitet procenjene roditeljske nege zavisi od toga da li se odnosi na majku ili oca (Jonason et al., 2014).

Kada su u pitanju preostale mračne crte, istraživanja pokazuju da postoji slaganje između samoizveštaja i izveštaja od strane drugih u pogledu psihopatskih crta (Miller et al., 2011), što ukazuje na to da osobe sa izraženijim psihopatskim crtama imaju realan uvid u svoje osobine. Neka ranija istraživanja ukazuju na to da osobe sa dijagnostikovanom psihopatijom sebe vide u više devijantnom svetlu, imaju niže samopoštovanje i niži moralno-etički, socijalni i porodični self-koncept, ali su podjednako zadovoljni sobom i imaju podjednako izražen fizički self-koncept kao i osobe iz opšte populacije i imaju prosečan skor na personalnom selfu koji se odnosi na doživljaj sopstvene vrednosti i osećaja adekvatnosti (Tamayo & Raymond, 1977). Ipak, u kasnijim istraživanjima nisu dobijeni dosledni rezultati za pojedine domene self-koncepta. Na primer, u jednom istraživanju je dobijeno da je psihopatija pozitivno povezana sa samogađenjem, kao i makijavelizam (Akram & Stevenson, 2021), a u drugom da je pozitivno povezana sa fizičkom atraktivnošću, mada je pokazano da pol moderira ovaj odnos, kao i da primarna psihopatija ostvaruje pozitivnu, a sekundarna psihopatija negativnu vezu (Visser et al., 2010). Takođe, postoje istraživanja koja ukazuju na neznačajnu vezu između psihopatije i makijavelizma s jedne strane i procene fizičke atraktivnosti s druge strane (Borráz-León & Rantala, 2021). Pored toga, primarna psihopatija ostvaruje pozitivne veze sa samopoštovanjem u domenu performansi, socijalnih odnosa i izgleda, dok sekundarna psihopatija ostvaruje obrnuti obrazac veza (Durand, 2016)

Nedoslednosti postoje i po pitanju relacija mračnih crta sa zadovoljenjem bazičnih potreba. Istraživanje Jonasona i Ferrella (2016) pokazuje da su osobe sa višom psihopatijom i sa višim makijavelizmom nezadovoljne zadovoljenjem svojih bazičnih potreba (za autonomijom, kompetencijama i povezanosti sa drugima), dok narcizam pokazuje donekle drugačiji obrazac veza ostvarujući neznačajne veze sa potrebom za kompetencijama, negativne sa potrebom za autonomijom i negativne sa potrebom za povezanošću sa drugima, iako nekada neznačajne. U narednom istraživanju je potvrđena veza makijavelizma i frustracije usled nezadovoljenja bazičnih potreba, ali je dobijena ista veza sa narcizmom, dok je za psihopatiju dobijen obrnuti obrazac – osobe sa povišenom psihopatijom su bile više zadovoljne zadovoljenjem bazičnih potreba i manje frustrirane usled njihovog nezadovoljenja (Lisá & Valachová, 2021). Zadovoljenje bazičnih potreba se povezuje sa blagostanjem. Međutim, prethodna istraživanja ne pokazuju dosledne rezultate u odnosu na veze sa blagostanjem, te je dobijeno da psihopatija i makijavelizam ostvaruju negativnu povezanost sa blagostanjem, a da narcizam ne ostvaruje značajne veze (Muris et al., 2017), ili da narcizam i makijavelizam karakteriše bolje blagostanje, dok veza sa psihopatijom i sadizmom nije bila značajna (Dinić et al., 2020b).

Prethodna istraživanja ukazuju na negativnu vezu psihopatije i akademskog uspeha (Hassall et al., 2015), te sklonost osoba sa višom psihopatijom (Baran & Jonason, 2020) i makijavelizmom (Barbaranelli et al., 2018) da varaju u akademskom setingu. S druge strane, u istraživanju Góisa i sar. (Góis et al., 2020) je dobijena neočekivana pozitivna veza između sadizma i akademskog uspeha.

Problem istraživanja

Prethodnih istraživanja na temu relacija mračnih crta i self-koncepta je malo i u njima je self-koncept najčešće ispitivan kao jednodimenzionalni konstrukt, ili su ispitivani samo neki aspekti poput samopoštovanja, ili je ispitivana samo jedna od mračnih crta (npr. Tamayo & Raymond, 1977). Kako se sve četiri crte Mračne tetrade povezuju sa socijalno averzivnim ponašanjima i kako su njihove centralne karakteristike bezosećajnost i manipulativnost (npr. Dinić et al., 2020a; 2021), očekuje se da će mračne crte biti povezane sa negativnim self-konceptom u domenu socijalnih odnosa (porodični i socijalni self-koncept). U slučaju ostalih domena self-koncepta, za psihopatiju, makijavelizam i sadizam može se očekivati negativna ili neznačajna veza, s obzirom na nedoslednost rezultata prethodnih istraživanja. Na ovom mestu je važno naglasiti da kada se psihopatija razmatrala kao jednodimenzionalni konstrukt u prethodnim istraživanjima, uglavnom je ostvarivala negativne ili neznačajne veze sa konstruktima koji su u vezi sa self-konceptom (Akram & Stevenson, 2021; Borráz-León & Rantala, 2021; Jonason & Ferrella, 2016). U slučaju kada je razmatrana kao multidimenzionalni konstrukt, rezultati pokazuju da je za primarnu psihopatiju karakteristično pozitivno i grandiozno viđenje sebe, a za sekundarnu – niže samopoštovanje u različitim domenima (npr. Durand, 2016). Za razliku od ostalih mračnih crta, kada je u pitanju narcizam, može se očekivati drugačiji obrazac veza. Imajući u vidu da je za grandiozni narcizam karakteristično precenjivanje pozitivnih osobina u domenu delotvornosti (Campbell et al., 2002), može se očekivati da narcizam bude pozitivno povezan sa pozitivnom evaluacijom sebe usled neuviđanja sopstvenih mana tj. nekritičnosti prema sebi. S obzirom na to, u slučaju narcizma može se očekivati pozitivna veza sa fizičkim i akademskim selfom, odn. sa domenima selfa koji su više povezani sa delotvornošću.

Metod

Uzorak i postupak

U istraživanju je učestvovalo 210 ispitanika (69.5% ženskog pola), starosti od 18 do 78 godina ($AS = 34.72$, $SD = 13.53$). Prema nivou obrazovanja, 41.9% ispitanika ima završenu osnovnu ili srednju školu, 22.9% trenutno studira, 4.8% ima završenu višu školu, i preostalih 30% ima završen fakultet ili

više od toga i 0.5% nije odgovorilo na ovo pitanje. Jedan deo podataka je prikupljen onlajn, preko društvene mreže Facebook metodom snežne grudve, drugi deo u formi papir-olovka, pri čemu je uzorak prigodan.

Instrumenti

Multidimenzionalna skala self-koncepta (Multidimensional Self Concept Scale – MSCS: Bracken, 1992). Ova skala se sastoji od 150 ajtema koji mere self-koncept u šest različitih domena: socijalni odnosi („Većina ljudi misli da sam zanimljiv.“), kompetencije („Veoma sam samopouzdan.“), afektivitet, odn. emocije („Lako se uznemirim.“), akademsko postignuće („Ponosan sam na svoj uspeh na studijama/poslu.“), porodični odnosi („U mojoj porodici brinemo jedni o drugima.“) i fizički izgled („Moja težina je upravo onakva kakva treba da bude.“). Skala je adaptirana na srpski jezik metodom povratnog prevoda uz odobrenje autora o finalnoj verziji skale (videti Prilog A). Takođe, kako je skala namenjena adolescentima, nekoliko ajtema iz domena akademskog self-koncepta su prilagođeni odrasloj populaciji. Uz ajteme je priložena petostepena Likertova skala za odgovaranje (od 1 = *uopšte se ne slažem* do 5 = *u potpunosti se slažem*). Korelacije između domena se kreću od .31 (između akademskog i porodičnog self-koncepta) do .75 (između kompetencijskog i akademskog self-koncepta).

Kratka skala Mračne trijade (Short Dark Triad – SD3: Jones & Paulhus, 2014, za adaptaciju na srpskom videti Dinić et al., 2018). Ovaj instrument sadrži 27 ajtema, po 9 ajtema za svaku dimenziju Mračne trijade: makijavelizam, narcizam i psihopatija, pri čemu su narcizam i psihopatija definisane na supkliničkom nivou. Uz ajteme je priložena petostepena Likertova skala za odgovaranje (od 1 = *uopšte se ne slažem* do 5 = *u potpunosti se slažem*).

Procena sadističke ličnosti (Assessment of Sadistic Personality – ASP: Plouffe et al., 2017, za adaptaciju na srpskom videti Dinić et al., 2020c). Ovaj instrument se sastoji od 9 ajtema koji mere supklinički sadizam, tj. njegove indikatore kao što su pokoravanje, traženje zadovoljstva u tuđoj patnji i bezosećajnost. Uz ajteme je priložena petostepena Likertova skala za odgovaranje (od 1 = *uopšte se ne slažem* do 5 = *u potpunosti se slažem*).

Rezultati

Deskriptivni podaci i pouzdanost interne konzistencije

Alfa pouzdanost je prihvatljiva za skorove na svim skalama, osim za skalu narcizma u čijem slučaju je marginalna (Tabela 1). Skorovi na skalama se distribuiraju normalno (skjunis i kurtozis su u preporučenim vrednostima za normalnu distribuciju, videti Dinić, 2019). Prema normama za MSCS, po kojima prosečni skorovi obuhvataju skor od 85 do 115, svi skorovi na skalama self-koncepta se mogu smatrati prosečnima.

Tabela 1

Deskriptivni podaci i pouzdanost interne konzistencije primenjenih skala

Skale	AS	SD	Skjunis	Kurtozis	α
Makijavelizam	27.92	6.07	-0.19	0.07	.76
Narcizam	25.37	4.78	0.31	0.35	.59
Psihopatija	18.06	5.51	0.79	1.11	.71
Sadizam	13.75	4.90	1.04	0.44	.81
Socijalni self	94.40	11.51	-0.23	-0.15	.86
Kompetencijski self	94.06	12.47	-0.05	-0.18	.87
Emocionalni self	92.67	15.38	-0.29	0.04	.92
Akademski self	93.64	13.08	0.08	-0.22	.89
Porodični self	104.05	18.68	-1.37	1.85	.96
Fizički self	86.31	13.84	-0.19	0.23	.89

Napomena. SE za skjunis iznosi .17, a za kurtozis .33.

Korelacije između varijabli

Korelacije između domena self-koncepta i makijavelizma, psihopatije i sadizma su negativne, dok su pozitivne sa narcizmom (Tabela 2). Makijavelizam ostvaruje najvišu negativnu korelaciju sa kompetencijskim, psihopatija sa kompetencijskim, socijalnim i akademskim selfom, sadizam sa kompetencijskim i akademskim selfom, i narcizam ostvaruje najvišu pozitivnu korelaciju sa socijalnim selfom. Primetno je da kompetencijski self ostvaruje upadljivo visoke korelacije sa emocionalnim i akademskim selfom, dok u domenu mračnih crta psihopatija i sadizam ostvaruju najvišu međusobnu korelaciju.

Tabela 2

Korelacije između crta Mračne tetrade i domena self-koncepta

	M	N	P	S	SS	KS	ES	AS	PS	FS
M	1									
N	.18	1								
P	.47	.30	1							
S	.39	.09	.61	1						
SS	-.35	.24	-.38	-.34	1					
KS	-.37	.16	-.39	-.45	.68	1				
ES	-.30	.19	-.31	-.27	.73	.79	1			
AS	-.28	.18	-.38	-.45	.56	.75	.64	1		
PS	-.15	.06	-.29	-.28	.44	.47	.51	.31	1	
FS	-.15	.27	-.16	-.13	.55	.56	.62	.49	.38	1

Legenda: M = makijavelizam, N = narcizam, P = psihopatija, S = sadizam, SS = socijalni self, KS = kompetencijski self, ES = emocionalni self, AS = akademski self, PS = porodični self, FS = fizički self. Korelacije $\pm .15$ su značajne na nivou $p < .05$.

Set korelaciona analiza

U cilju ispitivanja odnosa između domena self-koncepta i crta Mračne tetradе, primenjena je set korelaciona analiza. Ova analiza je specijalna forma regresione analize u kojoj je moguće kontrolisati interkorelacije između setova varijabli (Cohen et al., 2003). Dva skupa varijabli dele međusobno 52% (Cohen's set correlation R^2) zajedničke varijanse (prosečna kvadrirana kano-nička korelacija iznosi .12). Mračne crte sa domenima self-koncepta dele od 11% (porodični self) do 26% zajedničke varijanse (socijalni self, Tabela 3). Rezultati pokazuju da narcizam pozitivno, a psihopatija negativno korelira sa svim domenima self-koncepta. Narcizam nešto više doprinosi korelaciji sa socijalnim i fizičkim selfom u odnosu na korelacije sa ostalim domeni-ma selfa, dok psihopatija doprinosi nešto višoj korelaciji sa socijalnim selfom. Nakon Bonferroni korekcije p -nivoa, makijavelizam je negativno povezan sa socijalnim i kompetencijskim selfom, i to relativno ujednačeno. Sadizam je značajno negativno povezan sa samo dva domena – kompetencijama i aka-demskim uspehom.

Tabela 3

Set korelaciona analiza: parcijalne korelacije (beta ponderi) između domena self-koncepta i crta Mračne tetradе

Skale	Socijalni self	Kompetencijski self	Emocionalni self
Makijavelizam	-.23	-.22	-.21
Narcizam	.39	.29	.32
Psihopatija	-.34	-.21	-.27
Sadizam	-.09	-.26	-.06
R^2	.33	.33	.22
$F(4,205)$	25.31	24.78	14.52
Skale	Akademski self	Porodični self	Fizički self
Makijavelizam	-.11	-.01	-.12
Narcizam	.30	.15	.36
Psihopatija	-.25	-.24	-.22
Sadizam	-.28	-.15	.02
R^2	.30	.12	.15
$F(4,205)$	22.31	7.09	8.78

Napomena: Korelacije $\pm .15$ su značajne na nivou $p < .05$, a boldovane su značajne nakon Bonferroni korekcije. R^2 koeficijenti su značajni na nivou $p < .001$.

Diskusija

Cilj ovog istraživanja je bio ispitivanje relacija između različitih domena self-koncepta i crta Mračne tetradе. Rezultati su pokazali da postoji značajna povezanost između mračnih crta i domena self-koncepta, pri čemu procenat zajedničke varijanse iznosi 52%. Najveći procenat zajedničke varijanse ostva-

ren je u slučaju veza sa socijalnim selfom. S obzirom na to da su mračne crte socijalno averzivne i da se povezuju s negativnim socijalnim ishodima i rizicima (npr. Dinić et al., 2020b; Paulhus, 2014), ovaj rezultat ukazuje na njihov važan doprinos u percepciji odnosa sa drugima i sopstvenih socijalnih veština.

Međutim, od svih mračnih crta, narcizam je ostvario obrnuti obrazac veza sa svim domenima self-koncepta, tj. ostvario je pozitivne veze. Iako su pozitivne veze sa domenima self-koncepta koji se više odnose na delotvornost očekivane (fizički i akademski self), pozitivne veze sa domenima interpersonalnih odnosa nisu bile očekivane. Dobijene pozitivne relacije narcizma i svih domena self-koncepta mogu se objasniti grandioznim i superiornim viđenjem sebe koje karakteriše narcizam. Naime, osobe sa višim narcizmom precenjuju svoje kompetencije, sposobnosti, fizički izgled, pa tako i svoje socijalne veštine. Na primer, pokazano je da postoji jaka pozitivna veza između grandioznog, agensnog narcizma i samoprocenjene samoeфикаsnosti u socijalnom domenu, dok je veza sa radnom i emocionalnom samoeфикасношću umerena (Radojević i Dinić, 2020). Osobe sa povišenim narcizmom sebe doživljavaju kao socijalno smele i neinhibirane u započinjanju socijalnih kontakata, one ostvaruju pozitivan prvi utisak i generalno ih krasi šarm, ali na dugoročnom planu im je teže da zadrže simpatije drugih (Holtzman et al., 2010). Može se pretpostaviti da osobe sa povišenim grandioznim narcizmom imaju pristrasnu sliku o sebi, što je pokazano i u ranijim istraživanjima (Campbell et al., 2002), a u ovom istraživanju je dodatno pokazano da su te pristrasnosti generalizovane na sve ispitivane domene self-koncepta.

S druge strane, psihopatija, makijavelizam i sadizam ostvarili su negativne veze sa domenima self-koncepta, pri čemu je psihopatija najjače povezana sa socijalnim selfom, a potom i sa emocionalnim i akademskim. Psihopatija, posebno primarna, čini srž mračnih crta (Dinić et al., 2021) i ona odražava antagonističku orijentaciju. U skladu s tim, među domenima self-koncepta čini se da je za psihopatiju dominantan odnos prema drugima, tj. percepcija njihove socijalne neprilagođenosti i neprihvaćenosti. S obzirom na to da se psihopatija povezuje s realnim uvidom u svoje osobine (Miller et al., 2011), pretpostavljeno je da će psihopatija biti negativno povezana sa socijalnim domenom self-koncepta, što je i dobijeno. Međutim, naše istraživanje je pokazalo da se negativna percepcija sebe, koju imaju osobe s višom psihopatijom, može generalizovati na sve domene, od socijalnog i porodičnog do akademskog i fizičkog selfa. Drugim rečima, osobe s povišenom psihopatijom opažaju da su socijalno neprilagođenije i generalno neadaptirane. Ipak, pored socijalnog selfa, najjače veze su ostvarene sa emocionalnim i akademskim selfom, što odražava probleme osobe sa povišenom psihopatijom u emocionalnoj regulaciji (Garfo et al., 2020) i radnim navikama (Baran & Jonason, 2020).

Na ovom mestu treba samo skrenuti pažnju na to da iako je dobijeno da se psihopatija povezuje s negativnom slikom o sebi, to ne znači nužno i da se povezuje s negativnim ishodima. Naime, osobe s povišenom psihopatijom, i to pre svega primarnom, mogu misliti o sebi kao o devijantnoj i neprilagođenoj osobi, ali to ih ne čini vulnerabilnima u odnosu na stres, čak veza sa otpornošću na stres je bila neznačajna u prethodnim istraživanjima (npr. Eisenbarth et al., 2019) kao i veza sa blagostanjem (npr. Dinić et al., 2020b). Takođe, u ovom radu nije pravljena distinkcija između primarne i sekundarne psihopatije, te se čini da je dobijeni obrazac veza više karakterističan za sekundarnu, nego za primarnu psihopatiju, te se sugeriše da se u narednim istraživanjima detaljnije istraži odnos mračnih crta kao multidimenzionalnih konstrukata i domena self-koncepta.

Makijavelizam i sadizam su u regresionoj analizi pokazali manje značajnih veza sa domenima self-koncepta. Makijavelizam je ostvario negativne korelacije sa svim domenima, ali nakon korekcije p -nivoa, ostale su značajne relacije samo sa socijalnim i kompetencijskim selfom. Ovi rezultati ističu dominantno antagonističku orijentaciju kod osoba s povišenim makijavelizmom, te nisko samopouzdanje i samopoštovanje usled nezadovoljenja bazičnih potreba. U prethodnim istraživanjima je takođe dobijena negativna veza između makijavelizma i zadovoljenja bazičnih potreba (Jonason & Ferrell, 2016).

Sadizam prethodno nije istraživao u relacijama sa domenima self-koncepta. U ovom istraživanju on je pokazao najmanji broj značajnih korelacija, a u set korelacionoj analizi samo veze sa kompetencijskim i akademskim selfom. Iako je u jednom prethodnom istraživanju dobijena pozitivna veza između sadizma i akademskog uspeha (Góis et al., 2020), u našem istraživanju je dobijeno da se sadizam povezuje sa procenom nedovoljno razvijenih akademskih veština i nezadovoljenjem bazičnih potreba. Naime, sadizam se povezuje sa zadovoljstvom i pozitivnim afektom u specifičnim slučajevima kada se posmatra ili izaziva tuđa patnja (npr. Paulhus, 2014) ili u kriznim situacijama kakva je COVID-19 pandemija (Haredin et al., 2021), ali generalno, naše istraživanje pokazuje da je sadizam povezan sa osećajem neispunjenosti i nezadovoljstva svojim životom i pozicijom.

Postoji nekoliko ograničenja ovog rada. Prvo, skala narcizma ima graničnu pouzdanost, te rezultate u vezi s njom treba uzeti s rezervom. Drugo, u okviru Kratke skale Mračne trijade sve crte se posmatraju kao jednodimenzionalni konstrukti pa se ne pravi razlika npr. između primarne i sekundarne psihopatije, a narcizam se definiše preko grandioznog aspekta. U narednim istraživanjima se sugeriše da se primene skale u kojima se mračne crte mere kao multidimenzionalni konstrukti. Treće, uzorak je prigodan i većinom ga čine žene, te su rezultati ograničeni po pitanju generalizacije na opštu populaciju. U preliminarnim analizama je efekat pola kontrolisan, ali to nije izmenilo rezultate. Ipak, sugeriše se da u narednim istraživanjima uzorak bude balansirano po polu.

Sumirano, rezultati ovog istraživanja ukazuju na to da je narcizam povezan sa pozitivnim self-konceptom, a preostale crte Mračne tetrade sa negativnim self-konceptom u različitim domenima. Ovi rezultati mogu ukazivati na pristrasnosti u evaluaciji sopstvenog selfa kod osoba sa povišenim narcizmom, te na održavanje grandiozne slike o sebi. Ipak, rezultati ukazuju i na to da je narcizam „najsvetlija“ mračna crta i da pokazuje suprotan obrazac veza sa slikom o sebi u odnosu na ostale mračne crte. Preostale mračne crte iako se povezuju s negativnom slikom o sebi, pokazuju neke specifičnosti, pa tako psihopatija i makijavelizam se najviše povezuju sa percepcijom sebe kao antagonistički nastrojenom osobom. Pored toga, psihopatija se dodatno povezuje i sa neprihvatanjem svojih emocija i problemima u akademskoj sferi, a makijavelizam sa nezadovoljenjem bazičnih potreba. Za sadizam se izdvaja kao karakterističan osećaj nekompetentnosti u akademskoj i intelektualnoj niši.

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The Dark Tetrad traits and self-concept domains

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The aim of this research was to examine the relations between the Dark Tetrad traits (narcissism, psychopathy, Machiavellianism, and sadism) and six domains of self-concept (social, competence, affect, academic, family, and physical self-concept). Using a sample comprised of 210 participants (69.5% women), aged between 18 and 78, the Serbian adaptations of the following instruments were applied: the Short Dark Triad (SD3), the Assessment of Sadistic Personality (ASP), and the Multidimensional Self-Concept Scale (MSCS). The results indicate that narcissism was positively related to all domains of self-concept, especially to social and physical self, while psychopathy was negatively related to self-concept domains, especially to social self. Machiavellianism was negatively related to social self-concept and competence, while sadism was negatively related to competence and academic self-concept. Although narcissism is considered as the “brightest” dark trait, results could indicate biased evaluations of the self in narcissism, which is in line with its grandiose and superior self-view.

Key words: the Dark Tetrad, the Dark Triad, self-concept

Prilog A

Multidimensional Self-Concept Scale

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Koristi se uz dozvolu autora

Srpska adaptacija Multidimenzionalne self-koncept skale

skala je adaptirana za primenu na odrasloj populaciji

adaptirale na srpski Sanja Došan i Bojana M. Dinić

Molimo Vas da procenite u kom stepenu Vas date tvrdnje opisuju tako što ćete zaokružiti jedan od ponuđenih brojeva za svaku tvrdnju. Brojevi znače sledeće:

1 - uopšte se ne slažem	2 - ne slažem se	3 – podjednako se i slažem i ne slažem	4 - slažem se	5 - u potpunosti se slažem
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1. Obično sam zabavan za društvo.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Ljudi nisu zainteresovani da razgovaraju sa mnom.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Previše sam stidljiv/a.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Većini ljudi se dopadam.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Ljudi me izbegavaju.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Mnogi ljudi se šale na moj račun.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Nisam prihvaćen/a od strane ljudi koji me znaju.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Većina ljudi misli da sam zanimljiv/a.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Ljudi uživaju u mom društvu.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Većinu vremena se osećam ignorisano.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Osećam se željeno od strane pola koji me privlači.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Niko se ne smeje mojim šalama.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Većina ljudi me ceni upravo ovakvog kakav/kakva jesam.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Često se osećam izostavljeno.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Ljudi pričaju laži o meni.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Imam mnogo prijatelja.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Provodim mnogo vremena osećajući se usamljeno.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Nikad nisam siguran/na kako da se ponašam u društvu ljudi koje ne poznajem dovoljno dobro.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Ljudi mi govore svoje tajne.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Ljudi imaju pik na mene.	1	2	3	4	5
21. Ljudi me ne primećuju.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Dobijam mnogo telefonskih poziva od prijatelja.	1	2	3	4	5
23. Mnogi ljudi imaju loše mišljenje o meni.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Dozvoljavam da me ljudi previše maltretiraju.	1	2	3	4	5
25. Ljudi me moraju upoznati pre nego što im se dopadnem.	1	2	3	4	5
26. Iskren/na sam.	1	2	3	4	5
27. Prečesto kažem pogrešne stvari.	1	2	3	4	5
28. Suviše sam lenj/lenja.	1	2	3	4	5

29. Imam dobar smisao za humor.	1	2	3	4	5
30. U suštini sam slaba osoba.	1	2	3	4	5
31. Mislim da me većina ljudi poštuje.	1	2	3	4	5
32. Nerado izražavam ono što mislim.	1	2	3	4	5
33. Samouvereno izražavam svoje stavove i osećanja na direktan i iskren način.	1	2	3	4	5
34. Nemam sreće.	1	2	3	4	5
35. Veoma sam samopouzdan/na.	1	2	3	4	5
36. Izgleda mi kao da nemam nikakvu kontrolu nad svojim životom.	1	2	3	4	5
37. Često odlazem da uradim važne stvari, dok ne bude prekasno.	1	2	3	4	5
38. Dajem ljudima dobar razlog da mi veruju.	1	2	3	4	5
39. Nisam dovoljno dobar/dobra koliko bih trebao/la da budem.	1	2	3	4	5
40. Ne ćutim kad bih trebao/la.	1	2	3	4	5
41. U većini stvari sam uspešan/na.	1	2	3	4	5
42. Odgovorno postupam prema svojim obavezama.	1	2	3	4	5
43. Nedostaje mi zdrav razum.	1	2	3	4	5
44. Izgleda kao da sam uvek u nevolji.	1	2	3	4	5
45. Većinu stvari mogu da uradim kompetentno.	1	2	3	4	5
46. Nisam veoma pametan/na.	1	2	3	4	5
47. Kukavica sam na mnogo načina.	1	2	3	4	5
48. Drugi veruju da ću napraviti nešto od sebe.	1	2	3	4	5
49. Prečesto pravim glupe stvari bez razmišljanja.	1	2	3	4	5
50. Nerazumno trošim novac.	1	2	3	4	5
51. Uživam u životu.	1	2	3	4	5
52. Plašim se mnogih stvari.	1	2	3	4	5
53. Postoje mnoge stvari koje bih promenio/la kod sebe.	1	2	3	4	5
54. Nisam u stanju da se lako šalim na svoj račun.	1	2	3	4	5
55. Nisam srećna osoba.	1	2	3	4	5
56. Ponosan/na sam na sebe.	1	2	3	4	5
57. Osećam se kao gubitnik/gubitnica.	1	2	3	4	5
58. Moj život je obeshrabrujući.	1	2	3	4	5
59. Zadovoljan/na sam sobom ovakvim/ovakvom kakav/kakva jesam.	1	2	3	4	5
60. Lako se uznemirim.	1	2	3	4	5
61. Imam dobru samokontrolu.	1	2	3	4	5
62. Često sebe razočaram.	1	2	3	4	5
63. Moj život je nestabilan.	1	2	3	4	5
64. Imam pozitivan pogled na život.	1	2	3	4	5
65. Često me zbunjuju moja osećanja.	1	2	3	4	5
66. Ponekad se osećam bezvredno.	1	2	3	4	5
67. Često me sramota stvari koje sam uradio/la.	1	2	3	4	5
68. Često se osećam bespomoćno.	1	2	3	4	5
69. Osećam se voljeno.	1	2	3	4	5

70. Želeo/la bih da budem neko drugi.	1	2	3	4	5
71. Nesiguran/na sam.	1	2	3	4	5
72. Ja sam dobra osoba.	1	2	3	4	5
73. Nisam srećan/na kao što izgleda.	1	2	3	4	5
74. Obično sam veoma opušten/na.	1	2	3	4	5
75. Postoje trenuci kad se ne sviđam sebi.	1	2	3	4	5
76. Ljudima oko mene se obično sviđaju moje ideje.	1	2	3	4	5
77. Često se osećam nepripremljeno za posao/nastavu.	1	2	3	4	5
78. Dobar/dobra sam u matematici.	1	2	3	4	5
79. Teško mi je da učim.	1	2	3	4	5
80. Obično dobro uradim testove.	1	2	3	4	5
81. Ponosan/na sam na svoj uspeh na poslu/studijama.	1	2	3	4	5
82. Imam bogatiji rečnik nego većina ljudi mojih godina.	1	2	3	4	5
83. Čitam tečno kao i većina ljudi mojih godina.	1	2	3	4	5
84. Ne razmišljam brzo.	1	2	3	4	5
85. Radim više nego većina kolega na mom poslu/fakultetu.	1	2	3	4	5
86. Mnogo toga što pročitam, ne razumem.	1	2	3	4	5
87. Prilično lako učim.	1	2	3	4	5
88. Čini se da nikad nemam dobre ideje.	1	2	3	4	5
89. Moji nadređeni su zadovoljni kako se ponašam na poslu/Moji nastavnici su zadovoljni kako se ponašam na nastavi.	1	2	3	4	5
90. Često se osećam glupo.	1	2	3	4	5
91. Izgleda da se većini nadređenih/nastavnika dopadam.	1	2	3	4	5
92. Imam loše navike u učenju.	1	2	3	4	5
93. Nauka je laka za mene.	1	2	3	4	5
94. Neprijatno mi je na poslu/fakultetu.	1	2	3	4	5
95. Obično se veoma trudim kad nešto radim.	1	2	3	4	5
96. Većina ljudi bi pre radila sa mnom nego sa nekim drugim.	1	2	3	4	5
97. Moji nadređeni/nastavnici imaju loše mišljenje o meni.	1	2	3	4	5
98. Većina predmeta u školi mi je bila laka.	1	2	3	4	5
99. Nisam veoma kreativan.	1	2	3	4	5
100. Obično se osećam dobro u vezi s time kako sam napisao neki izveštaj za posao/seminarski, esej.	1	2	3	4	5
101. Moji roditelji se brinu da li sam srećan/na.	1	2	3	4	5
102. Moja porodica čini da se osećam voljenim/om.	1	2	3	4	5
103. Moja porodica mi sve uništava.	1	2	3	4	5
104. U mojoj porodici brinemo jedni o drugima.	1	2	3	4	5
105. Moja porodica me ceni.	1	2	3	4	5
106. Zabavljam se sa svojom porodicom.	1	2	3	4	5
107. Voleo/la bih kad bih mogao/la zameniti porodicu sa nekim drugim.	1	2	3	4	5
108. Moji roditelji su zainteresovani za mene.	1	2	3	4	5
109. Moji roditelji mi ne veruju.	1	2	3	4	5

110. Moj dom je topao i brižan.	1	2	3	4	5
111. Moji roditelji ne vole da budu u mom društvu.	1	2	3	4	5
112. Roditelji mi pomažu kad je to potrebno.	1	2	3	4	5
113. Važan sam član svoje porodice.	1	2	3	4	5
114. Moji roditelji su ponosni na mene.	1	2	3	4	5
115. Moja porodica nije dobra.	1	2	3	4	5
116. Moji roditelji nisu zadovoljni ničim što uradim.	1	2	3	4	5
117. Moji roditelji prisustvuju događajima koji su meni važni.	1	2	3	4	5
118. Moji roditelji veruju u mene.	1	2	3	4	5
119. Ponosan/na sam na svoju porodicu.	1	2	3	4	5
120. Moji roditelji brinu o mom obrazovanju.	1	2	3	4	5
121. Moja porodica je jedan od najvažnijih aspekata mog života.	1	2	3	4	5
122. Moji roditelji me vole baš ovakvog/ovakvu kakav/kakva jesam.	1	2	3	4	5
123. Ne znam zašto moja porodica ostaje zajedno.	1	2	3	4	5
124. Moji roditelji brinu o mojoj budućnosti.	1	2	3	4	5
125. Moj dom nije srećno mesto.	1	2	3	4	5
126. Osećam se dobro.	1	2	3	4	5
127. Atraktivan/na sam.	1	2	3	4	5
128. U lošoj sam fizičkoj formi.	1	2	3	4	5
129. Kad pogledam u ogledalo, sviđa mi se to što vidim.	1	2	3	4	5
130. Brzo se umaram.	1	2	3	4	5
131. Imam lepe zube.	1	2	3	4	5
132. Izgledam dobro u svemu što obučem.	1	2	3	4	5
133. Ružan/na sam.	1	2	3	4	5
134. Fizički sam snažniji/snažnija od većine ljudi.	1	2	3	4	5
135. Imam lepu figuru.	1	2	3	4	5
136. Zdrav sam.	1	2	3	4	5
137. Osećam se dobro u vezi s tim kako izgledam.	1	2	3	4	5
138. Dobar/dobra sam u mnogim sportovima.	1	2	3	4	5
139. Ne sviđa mi se kako mi stoji moja odeća.	1	2	3	4	5
140. Obično mene biraju među poslednjima za neki sportski tim.	1	2	3	4	5
141. U dobroj sam fizičkoj formi.	1	2	3	4	5
142. Moja kosa nikad ne izgleda dobro.	1	2	3	4	5
143. Moja koža je privlačna.	1	2	3	4	5
144. Ne volim da me drugi vide u kupaćem kostimu.	1	2	3	4	5
145. Postoje delovi mog tela koje pokušavam sakriti od drugih.	1	2	3	4	5
146. Moja odeća izgleda dobro na meni.	1	2	3	4	5
147. Izgledam kao da nemam energije da uradim mnogo.	1	2	3	4	5
148. Moja težina je upravo onakva kakva treba da bude.	1	2	3	4	5
149. Promenio/la bih izgled kad bih mogao/la.	1	2	3	4	5
150. Graciozan/na sam.	1	2	3	4	5

PRIKAZI

Nove mogućnosti u primeni Rasch modela

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Trevor, G. Bond, Zi Yan and Moritz Heene: *APPLYING THE RASCH MODEL: Fundamental Measurement in the Human Sciences* (Fourth edition). Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2021. <https://www.routledge.com/Applying-the-Rasch-Model-Fundamental-Measurement-in-the-Human-Sciences/Bond-Yan-Heene/p/book/9780367141424>

U pitanju je drugi prikaz knjige *APPLYING THE RASCH MODEL: Fundamental Measurement in the Human Sciences* u našoj sredini. Ovog puta reč je o njenom četvrtom izdanju, štampanom tačno 20 godina nakon objavljivanja prvog. Kao što je navedeno u prethodnom prikazu (Stepanović, 2004), početkom 2000. ova publikacija je bila jedno od retkih štiva posvećenih Raš analizi. Iako su se u međuvremenu pojavile druge naučne monografije i članci, ovaj naslov ostao je jedan od najuticajnijih kada su u pitanju razumevanje Raš analize i njena praktična primena. To ne iznenađuje budući da autori u četvrtom izdanju slede tri glavna principa na kojima počiva i prvo. Prvi podrazumeva razmatranje glavnih pretpostavki i osobenosti Raš analize u kontekstu istraživačkih problema s kojima se susreću istraživači iz različitih domena psihologije, ali i šire, u oblasti humanističkih nauka. Drugi princip proizlazi iz prethodnog, ali je još konkretniji, pošto Bond i saradnici prikazuju primere korišćenja nekoliko modela analize što odgovaraju istraživanjima u kojima su primenjivani različiti instrumenti (intervjui, upitnici, testovi, skale procene) i u kojima su dobijene različite vrste podataka. Treći princip tiče se veoma jednostavnog jezika i krajnje razumljivih objašnjenja, a na kraju svakog poglavlja data je lista pitanja i naloga, kao i širok spisak dodatne literature. To omogućava čitaocima različitog nivoa predznanja da lako prate knjigu.

Bond, Jan i Hene u prva dva poglavlja razmatraju koncept merenja i njegove principe koji odgovaraju različitim tipovima podataka, kao i razliku pristupa koji počivaju na merenju i upotrebi statistike. Oni kritikuju često nehajan odnos istraživača prema podacima kojima raspolažu, čime se ugrožava

valjanost merenja, a posledično i pouzdanost izvedenih zaključaka. Autori obrazlažu važnost objedinjenog pristupa u merenju (*conjoint measurement*), koji podrazumeva izražavanje karakteristika ispitanika i ajtema na istoj skali, uvodeći na taj način postepeno osnovne pojmove Raš analize.

U trećem i četvrtom poglavlju dalje se razrađuju centralni koncepti Raš analize – pojam jednodimenzionalnosti skale merenja (*unidimensionality concept*) dovodi se u vezu sa ordinalnim odnosom težine ajtema i sposobnosti ispitanika posmatranim kroz odgovarajuću verovatnoću davanja specifičnog odgovora od strane određenog ispitanika. Model analize primenjen na dihotomne podatke demonstriran je veoma detaljno u kontekstu istraživanja kognitivnog razvoja u kojem je korišćen Bondov test logičkih operacija (BLOT, *Bond's Logical Operations test*). Ovaj test preveden je na srpski jezik i kod nas se koristi već gotovo dve decenije (v. Stepanović, 2004, 2007; Stepanović Ilić et al., 2012).

Problem invarijantnosti kao osnovno svojstvo merenja u nauci predmet je petog poglavlja. Autori naglašavaju važnost konstantnosti karakteristika ispitanika, ali i ajtema instrumenata, u različitim uslovima merenja. Pitanje invarijantnosti mera ispitanika i ajtema diskutuje se u svetlu primene različitih testova koji mere istu sposobnost, što je posebno važno za domen razvojne psihologije. Demonstrirano je kako se mere ispitanika i ajtema različitih instrumenata namenjenih ispitivanju iste psihološke karakteristike mogu posmatrati u okviru iste skale i kako rešiti problem usidrenja skale pri ponovljenim merenjima na različitim uzorcima. Na kraju poglavlja dat je pregled različitih parametara koji mogu ukazati na probleme sa invarijantnošću, odnosno na potrebu za preispitivanjem kvaliteta merenja datim instrumentom ili bar latentne dimenzije u osnovi mernog instrumenta.

Sledeća poglavlja, šesto i sedmo, posvećena su korišćenju Raš analize u istraživanjima u kojima se koriste skale procene Likertovog tipa, što je čest slučaj u psihologiji ličnosti i u oblasti socijalne psihologije pri ispitivanju stavova. Prikazana je upotreba modela Raš analize pod nazivom *Rating scale model* (RSM), koji se primenjuje kada svi ajtemi određenog instrumenta sadrže isti broj stepeni procene, kao i takozvanog modela *Partial credit* (PCM), koji se koristi kada ajtemi sadrže skale procene s različitim brojem stepeni.

U narednih pet poglavlja autori se bave primenom Raš analize u specifičnim kontekstima koji odgovaraju različitim potrebama istraživača. Tako se u osmom poglavlju u model Raš, pored težine ajtema i sposobnosti ispitanika, uključuje i treća dimenzija, koja se odnosi na procene različitih procenjivača, što odgovara istraživanjima u školskom kontekstu, gde je veoma važno uzeti u obzir ovaj aspekt. Iako autori zagovaraju korišćenje Raš analize pri konstrukciji instrumenata kako bi se dobili što validniji podaci, u devetom poglavlju razmatraju se slučajevi njene primene na već prikupljene podatke. Reč je o konstrukciji skala od već postojećih mera, uspostavljanju empirijskih kriterijuma za donošenje dalekosežnih odluka ili korišćenju Raš analize u svrhu

regresije, kada se izdvajaju pokazatelji koji, na primer, mogu poslužiti kao prediktori namere studenata da napuste fakultet. Deseto poglavlje ilustruje primenu ove analize u različitim oblastima, kao što su medicina, psihofizika i psihologija obrazovanja, ali i način na koji se ona uspešno može kombinovati s modeliranjem kroz upotrebu strukturalnih jednačina SEM (*structural equation modeling*). U sledećem poglavlju diskutuje se o konstrukciji skala procene sa optimalnim brojem stepeni procene u odnosu na ispitivani fenomen i o dobiti od Raš analize u tom kontekstu. U dvanaestom poglavlju Bond i saradnici ponovo se vraćaju konceptu jednodimenzionalnosti predstavljajući multidimenzionalne modele Raš analize i upotrebu faktorske analize u domenu reziduala, što je, po njima, veoma pogodno za velike baze podataka, karakteristične za međunarodne studije u oblasti obrazovanja, kao što su PISA i TIMSS.

U poslednjem poglavlju Bond i saradnici sumiraju osnovne pretpostavke neophodne za primenu Raš analize ističući njenu saglasnost s logički zasnovanom, valjanom naučnom metodologijom koja na smislen način kombinuje teoriju i merenje. Pored toga, diskutovane su sličnosti s modelima IRT (*Item Response Theory*), koji stoje nasuprot klasičnoj teoriji testova (*Classical Test Theory*), ali i specifičnosti i prednosti Raš analize u odnosu na IRT modele.

Na početku ove publikacije autori sami apostrofiraju brojne novine koje uvodi četvrto izdanje u odnosu na ona prethodna. To su, pre svega, bolje strukturisana poglavlja, s dodatnom literaturom i zadacima, jasno istaknuti ključni pojmovi, razjašnjenje veze između Raš analize i SEM-a, ali i veći naglasak na upotrebi R-paketa uz kodove dostupne čitaocima ovog izdanja. Pored ovih novina i važna tri principa istaknuta na početku prikaza, naglasila bih da je svako poglavlje obogaćeno novim relevantnim referencama i primerima istraživanja. Sve pomenuto četvrto izdanje publikacije Bonda i saradnika čini široko primenljivim za naučnike iz oblasti humanističkih nauka koji nastoje da putem istraživanja nađu odgovore na fundamentalna naučna pitanja ili da reše praktične probleme važne za uspešno funkcionisanje pojedinca, institucija i društva kao celine.

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Skica teorijske psihologije

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Tomas Teo: *Skica teorijske psihologije: kritička razmatranja*. Clio, Beograd, 2022. http://clio.rs/SKICA-TEORIJSKE-PSIHOLOGIJE_Knjiga_283084

U psihologiji postoji malo autora i još manje knjiga usmerenih na razumevanje temeljnih problema psihologije kao nauke i delatnosti, i na preispitivanje osnovnih, često prikriivenih, pretpostavki od kojih je satkana. Knjiga *Skica teorijske psihologije: kritička razmatranja* (u daljem tekstu *Skica teorijske psihologije*), kanadskog psihologa Tomasa Tea, jedno je od retkih takvih dela, sada dostupno i čitaocima na srpskom jeziku (u prevodu Biljane Popović). Tomas Teo (1963) je jedan od najpriznatijih i najplodnijih savremenih psihologa u oblastima teorijske i filozofske psihologije, istorije psihologije i kritičke psihologije. Ove discipline, marginalizovane poslednjih nekoliko decenija u akademskoj psihologiji i skrajnute u procesu obrazovanja psihologa, predstavljaju okosnicu knjige *Skica teorijske psihologije*. Ova knjiga se bavi zanemarenim, i u psihologiji ne baš dobrodošlim temama ontologije, epistemologije, etike, politike i estetike. Predmet ove knjige je sama psihologija, a ključne teme su one pred kojima većina psihologa zatvara oči i/ ili ne prepoznaje njihov značaj jer osporavaju status psihologije kao prirodnonaučne discipline, dovode u pitanje ustaljeno razumevanje predmeta psihologije kao prirodno datog objekta i psihologa kao vrednosno neutralnog, objektivnog posmatrača psihološke stvarnosti, problematizuju odnos psihologa i institucija u kojima i za koje rade. Naposljetku, jer u razumevanje delovanja psihologa i psihologije kao nauke uvode činioce kao što su sociokulturni i politički kontekst, moć, interesi, ideologija i pomodarstvo.

Skica teorijske psihologije ističe manjkavosti i nedostatke psihologije, tražajući istovremeno za korenima stranputica psihološke misli i praksi, ali i ukazuje na moguća rešenja i puteve do drugačijih, trajnijih i istinitijih uvida o ljudima, kao i humanijih i pravednijih praksi za ljude. Tomas Teo je oštar kritičar psihologije, ali cilj njegove oštrice nije da je usmrti i poništi, već da ponudi ideje na kojima je moguće izgraditi novu, bolju psihologiju. Analizirajući osnovne pretpostavke psihologije (na primer, način na koji određuje

svoj predmet; kako pristupa istraživanjima čoveka; šta posmatra kao valjano znanje u psihologiji; šta postavlja kao ključni cilj svog delovanja; kako pozicionira sebe u odnosu na prirodne i društveno-humanističke nauke; kako vidi ulogu istorije, kulture, duha vremena i političko-ekonomskog konteksta u razumevanju psiholoških pojmova i praksi itd), Teo ukazuje na problematičnost psihologije i slepilo naše discipline za one teme od kojih zavisi njena budućnost i smer njenog razvoja. Međutim, zauzimanjem kritičkog i metapsihološkog stava, Teo nam i nudi sliku psihologije kakva bi ona mogla da bude, prevazilazeći ograničenja pozitivizma, metodolatrije i robovanja naturalizmu i kvantifikaciji. Ova knjiga rešenje kriza u psihologiji ne vidi (samo) u usavršavanju statističkih metoda i tehnologija istraživanja, već pre svega u zauzimanju refleksivnog i kritičkog stava o psihologiji. Vrednost *Skice teorijske psihologije* nije samo u tome što podstiče teorijska, kritička i filozofska razmatranja psihologije, već i u tome što se bavi sržnim temama ljudske egzistencije poput nasilja, rasizma, ugnjetavanja, nepravde, osveščivanja, solidarnosti i pružanja otpora, i što navodi čitaoca da postavi pitanje kako da prevaziđe okvire ljudske subjektivnosti ukorenjene u neoliberalnom poretku stvari.

U *Skici teorijske psihologije* se prvenstveno postavljaju fundamentalna pitanja o psihologiji, a ne nudi se iluzija konačnih i neosporivih odgovora. Pitanja postavljena u knjizi su vanvremenska i biće bitna psiholozima dok god je psihologije, slično pitanjima teorije i istorije psihologije u delima Lava Vigotskog, jednako aktuelnim danas, kao i pre skoro jednog veka kada ih je Vigotski pokrenuo. Za kritičara psihologije, naša disciplina je u krizi, oprhvana problemima, razjedinjena, opsednuta trivijalnim dilemama, gluva na krike siromašnih i obespravljenih, u službi održavanja nepromenjenog društvenog stanja, disciplina koja maši svoju metu i zanemaruje složenost, subjektivnost i celovitost ljudskog bića. *Skica teorijske psihologije* je, smatram, knjiga neprocenjive vrednosti za razumevanje ovih problema, razmatranje ograničenja i mogućnosti psihologije, i za pokretanje kritičke misli i akcije unutar i izvan psihologije.

UPUTSTVO ZA AUTORE

Časopis *Psihološka istraživanja* objavljuje teorijske radove, pregledne radove, originalne istraživačke radove, stručne radove i prikaze iz svih oblasti psihologije koji nisu prethodno objavljeni i nisu istovremeno podneti za objavljivanje u nekoj drugoj publikaciji. Važan kriterijum selekcije radova jeste društvena relevantnost analizirane teme (videti *Uređivačku politiku* časopisa). Rukopisi treba da budu pripremljeni prema standardima časopisa *Psihološka istraživanja*, tj. u skladu sa APA (American Psychological Association) Publication Manual, 6. izdanje (<http://www.apastyle.org/>). Za prijavu radova koristi se SCIndeks Asistent - Sistem za online uređivanje časopisa preko linka: <http://aseestant.ceon.rs/index.php/psistra/login>

Radovi koji nisu adekvatno pripremljeni neće se recenzirati.

Autori iz celog sveta pozivaju se da pošalju svoje radove.

U pripremi rada treba se držati sledećih uputstava:

Dužina rada

Rad mora biti napisan u tekst procesoru Microsoft Word, na stranici formata A4, fontom Times New Roman (12 tačaka), latinicom, s proredom od 1,5 redova. Sve stranice moraju biti numerisane. Rad treba da bude dužine do jednog autorskog tabaka (30.000 slovnih mesta ili 20 strana bez referenci i priloga). Izuzetak su pregledni radovi koji mogu biti dužine do 50.000 znakova i prikazi koji mogu biti dužine do 5.000 znakova. Redakcija zadržava pravo da objavi i radove koji premašuju tu dužinu u slučajevima kada izlaganje naučnog sadržaja zahteva veću dužinu, odnosno prostor. Rad treba da bude lektorisan.

Jezik rada

Časopis objavljuje radove na srpskom i engleskom jeziku.

Naslov rada

Naslov rada treba da bude što konzicijni. Iza naslova rada slede ime autora i naziv institucije u kojoj autor radi. Iza imena prvog autora treba staviti fusnotu koja sadrži e-mail adresu (jednog od) autora.

Sažetak

Sažetak dužine od 150 do 250 reči treba da bude na početku rada. Sastavni delovi sažetka treba da budu: cilj istraživanja, metod, rezultati i zaključak. Sažetak po pravilu ne sadrži reference. Bez obzira na jezik rada, prilažu se sažetak i ključne reči i na srpskom i na engleskom jeziku.

Ključne reči

Na kraju sažetka treba navesti do pet ključnih reči. Pri odabiru ključnih reči, poželjno je odabrati one pojmove koji se često koriste za pretragu časopisa.

Tabele, grafikoni i slike

Tabele i grafikoni treba da budu sačinjeni u Wordu ili nekom Word kompatibilnom formatu. Isti podaci ne mogu se prezentovati i tabelarno i grafički. Svaka tabela, grafikon

ili slika treba da budu označeni brojem, s naslovom koji ih jasno objašnjava. U slučaju tabele, u jednom redu navodi se broj tabele, običnim fontom i bez tačke na kraju, a u novom redu naslov tabele ispisan kurzivom, kao u donjem primeru. Treba izbegavati linije i senčenja koja nisu neophodna.

Tabela 1

Struktura uzorka prema polu i uzrastu u tri istraživanja

Karakteristike	Godina istraživanja			Total (N = 3700)
	1996 (n = 1280)	2001 (n = 1200)	2006 (n = 1220)	
Pol				
Muški	49.2%	47.8%	50.7%	49.2%
Ženski	50.8%	52.2%	49.3%	50.8%
Uzrast				
15–29 godina	20.8%	19.0%	25.5%	21.8%
30–49 godina	38.5%	38.5%	41.4%	39.4%
50 i više godina	40.7%	42.5%	33.1%	38.8%

U slučaju grafičkih priloga (npr., slike, grafikoni), oznaka slike/grafika uz redni broj navodi se italikom, nakon čega, u produžetku, sledi naslov slike/grafika i kratko pojašnjenje njegovog sadržaja slovima u normalu (videti primer grafika ispod). Ti elementi navode se ispod odgovarajućeg grafičkog priloga. U tekstu se treba pozvati na svaku tabelu, grafikon ili sliku, upućivanjem na brojčanu oznaku.

Grafik 1. Promene u raširenosti vrednosti autonomije. Grafik ilustruje podatak da svaka uzrasna kohorsta s vremenom sve više prihvata vrednosti autonomije.

Statistika

Oznake primenjenih statističkih testova pišu se italikom (npr., *F*, *t*, *p*), izuzev ukoliko se ne radi o simbolima grčkog alfabeta (npr. χ^2 , α). Rezultati statističkih testova treba da budu prikazani u sledećem obliku: $F(1,8) = 19.53$; $p < .01$ i slično za druge testove (npr.: $\chi^2(3) = 3.55$, $p < .01$ ili $t(253) = 2.061$, $p < .05$). Treba navoditi manji broj konvencionalnih nivoa značajnosti *p* (npr.: .05, .01, .001).

Citati

Svaki citat, bez obzira na dužinu, treba da bude praćen referencom s brojem strane. Za svaki citat duži od 350 slovnih mesta autor mora imati pismeno odobrenje vlasnika autorskih prava, koje treba da priloži.

Fusnote i skraćénice

Fusnote treba izbegavati. Skraćénice, takođe, treba izbegavati, osim izrazito uobičajenih. Skraćénice koje su navedene u tabelama i slikama treba da budu objašnjene.

Navođenje referenci u tekstu

U radovima na srpskom jeziku preporučljivo je da se imena stranih autora navode u srpskoj transkripciji, prilagođenim (fonetskim) pisanjem prezimena, a zatim da se u

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Reference

Reference se navode u skladu sa APA uputstvima, 6. izdanje (<http://www.apastyle.org/>), na kraju rada, u odeljku koji treba da bude naslovljen „Reference”. U spisku referenci navode se samo one reference na koje se autor pozvao u radu, abecednim redom po prezimenima autora. Ne treba navoditi reference koje nisu pomenute u tekstu. Ukoliko je tekst pisan na engleskom jeziku, za izvore na srpskom jeziku naslove knjiga, članaka itd. potrebno je dati i engleske prevode u zagradi. Uobičajeni izvori navode se na sledeći način:

- a) **Knjiga**; Sadrži prezime i inicijale (svih) autora, godinu izdanja, naslov knjige (*kurzivom*), mesto izdanja i izdavača.
Opšti format: Autor, A., Autor, B., i Autor, C. (godina). *Naslov knjige*. Mesto izdanja: Izdavač.
Primer: Green, D., Palmquist, B., i Schickler, E. (2002). *Partisan hearts and minds: Political parties and the social identities of voters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- b) **Poglavlje u knjizi ili zborniku**; sadrži prezime i inicijal imena (svih) autora, godinu izdanja, naslov poglavlja, inicijal imena i prezime urednika ili redaktora, naslov knjige (*kurzivom*), strane poglavlja u zagradi, mesto izdanja i ime izdavača.
Opšti format: Autor, A., i Autor, B. (godina). Naslov poglavlja. U A. Urednik, B. Urednik & C. Urednik (ur.), *Naslov knjige* (str. xxx–xxx). Mesto izdanja: Izdavač.
Primer: Popkin, S., i Dimock, M. (1999). Political knowledge and citizen competence. U S. Elkin & K. Soltan (ur.), *Citizen competence and democratic institutions* (str. 117–146). University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- c) **Članak u časopisu**; sadrži prezime i inicijale (svih) autora, godinu izdanja u zagradi, naslov članka, pun naziv časopisa (*kurzivom*), volumen (*kurzivom*) i stranice.
Opšti format: Autor, A., Autor, B., i Autor, C. (godina). Naslov članka. *Naziv Časopisa*, xxx, xxx–xxx.
Primer: Kuzmanović, B., Popadić, D., i Havelka, N. (1995). Social changes and changes of values. *Psihologija*, 28, 7–26.
- d) **Saopštenje sa skupa**; sadrži prezime i inicijale (svih) autora, godinu i mesec održavanja skupa u zagradi, naslov izlaganja (*kurzivom*), naziv konferencije i lokaciju.
Opšti format: Autor, A. (godina, mesec). *Naslov saopštenja*. Saopštenje na Naziv konferencije, Lokacija.
Primer: Maksić, S., i Ševkušić, S. (2011, februar). *Problemi identifikacije kreativnosti učenika u školi*. Saopštenje sa XVII naučnog skupa Empirijska istraživanja u psihologiji, Beograd.

- e) **Web dokument**; sadrži prezime i inicijale (svih) autora, godinu, naziv dokumenta (*kurzivom*) i Internet adresu sajta.

Opšti format: Autor, A., Autor, B., i Autor, C. (godina). *Naziv dokumenta*. Preuzeto sa <http://xxxxxxx>.

Primer: Foa, R. (2007). *Socioeconomic development and parenting values*. Preuzeto sa http://www.roberto.foa.name/Parenting_Attitudes_Foa.

- f) **Neobjavljena magistarska ili doktorska teza**; sadrži prezime i inicijal autora, godinu u zagradi, naslov teze, identifikaciju rada kao teze u zagradi, ime institucije i mesto.

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Primer: Smith, B. (1995). Youth and political participation (Neobjavljena doktorska disertacija). Institute of Psychology, Vienna.

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Pozivanje na sekundarnu literaturu ili njeno citiranje (npr., Marsh, 1980, prema: Stevenson, 2005) treba izbegavati.

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Kategorija (tip) članka

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IZJAVA AUTORA

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DATUM:

INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

The journal *Psihološka istraživanja* publishes theoretical papers, review papers, original research papers, professional papers and book reviews from all fields of psychology, not previously published elsewhere and not already under concurrent consideration for publication in another journal. An important criterion in the selection of papers is social relevance of the analysed topic (see the *Publication Policy* section). Manuscripts should comply with the standards of the journal *Psihološka istraživanja*, i.e. with APA (American Psychological Association) Publication Manual, 6th edition (<http://www.apastyle.org/>). Manuscripts should be submitted via e-mail to: ps.istrzivanja@gmail.com, accompanied by the signed *Author's Statement* provided at the end of this document.

The papers that are not adequately prepared will not be reviewed.

Papers are invited from authors throughout the world.

The manuscript should conform to the following preparation guidelines:

Length

Papers should be written in the text processor Microsoft Word, page format A4, in Times New Roman font (12 pt), in Latin alphabet, 1.5 line spacing. All pages must be numbered. Contributions should not exceed the length of one author's sheet (30.000 characters with spaces or 20 pages without references and appendices). Exception is made for review papers that may not exceed 50.000 characters with spaces, and book reviews that may not exceed 5.000 characters with spaces. The Editorial Board retains discretion to publish papers beyond this length in cases when clarity of scientific content presentation requires greater length, that is, space. Papers should be proof read.

Language

The journal publishes papers in Serbian and English.

Title

Paper title should be as concise as possible. Author's full name and affiliation should follow the title. The footnote containing the e-mail address of the author (one of the authors) should be inserted after the full name of the first author.

Summary

Summary ranging between 150 and 250 words should be submitted at the beginning of the paper. It must include research goal, method, results and conclusion. Up to five key words must be supplied at the end of the summary. As a rule, summary must not contain references. Regardless of the language in which the paper is written, the summary and key words should be submitted in both Serbian and English.

Key words

Up to five key words should be given at the end of the summary. When choosing key words, it is recommended to select those concepts that are often used in journal searches.

Tables, figures and pictures

Tables and figures should be made in the MS Word or MS Word compatible format. Same data should not be presented both in tables and figures. Each table, figure or picture should be numbered, with a self-explanatory title. In case of tables, the first line should contain the table number, written in the normal font and without the full stop after the number, while the second line should state the title of the table in italic, as in the example given below. Unnecessary lines and shading should be avoided.

Table 1

Sample structure by sex and age in three surveys

Characteristics	Year of the survey			Total (N = 3700)
	1996 (n = 1280)	2001 (n = 1200)	2006 (n = 1220)	
Sex				
Male	49.2%	47.8%	50.7%	49.2%
Female	50.8%	52.2%	49.3%	50.8%
Age				
15–29 years old	20.8%	19.0%	25.5%	21.8%
30–49 years old	38.5%	38.5%	41.4%	39.4%
50 years and older	40.7%	42.5%	33.1%	38.8%

In case of visual materials (e.g. figures, graphs), the number of the figure/graph should first be given in italic, and, in the same line, the title of the figure/graph and its short description are given in normal font (see the example of the graph below). These elements should be provided below the respective graph/figure. A reference to each table, figure or picture should be made in the text.

Graph 1. Changes in the valuing of autonomy. The graph shows the increasing valuing of autonomy in each age cohort with time.

Statistics

The denomination of the used statistical tests should be given in italics (e.g. *F*, *t*, *p*), except in cases when the Greek alphabet symbols are used (e.g. χ^2 , α). The results of statistical tests should be provided in the following form: $F(1,8) = 19.53$; $p < .01$ and similar for other tests, e.g. $\chi^2(3) = 3.55$, $p < .01$ or $t(253) = 2.06$, $p < .05$. Lower number of conventional *p* levels should be stated (e.g.: .05, .01, .001).

Quotations

Any quotation, regardless of its length, should be accompanied by reference and page number. For any quotation over 350 characters, authors must obtain a written permission by copyrights owner that needs to be enclosed.

Footnotes and abbreviations

Footnotes should be avoided. Abbreviations should be avoided as well, except the fairly usual ones. The abbreviations used in tables and pictures should be explained.

In-text reference citations

In papers in Serbian, foreign authors' names are cited in Serbian transcription, with surnames written phonetically, thereafter surname is quoted in parentheses in its original spelling, together with the year of publication, for example: Pijaže (Piaget, 1951). Multiple citations should be given alphabetically, not chronologically (e.g., Lazić, 1994; Pantić, 1990). If a paper has two authors, both names are cited in the text (e.g., Kuzmanović & Petrović, 2007). In the case of reference to more than two authors, when first mentioned, the surnames of all of the authors are cited in the text, while the surname of the first author and the abbreviation "i sar." (if the paper is written in Serbian, e.g., Joksimović i sar., 2007) or "et al." (if the paper is written in English, e.g. Millner et al., 2005) are used in subsequent citations. In papers in English, in-text references are cited complying with the APA (American Psychological Association) Publication Manual, 6th edition (<http://www.apastyle.org/>).

References

References should conform to APA instructions, 6th edition (<http://www.apastyle.org/>), and should be listed at the end of the paper, in the section entitled "References". The list should include only the references mentioned in the text, ordered alphabetically by the authors' surnames. References not mentioned in the text should not be listed. If the paper is written in English, the translation of the Serbian titles of books, journal articles etc. should be given in parentheses. The basic reference formats are listed in the following way:

- a) **Book**; should contain surname and initials of (each) author, year of publication, book title (*in italic*), place of publication and a publisher.
General form: Author, A., Author, B., & Author, C. (year). *Title of work*. Location: Publisher.
Example: Green, D., Palmquist, B., & Schickler, E. (2002). *Partisan hearts and minds: Political parties and the social identities of voters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
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General form: Author, A., Author, B., & Author, C. (year). Title of chapter. In A. Editor, B. Editor, & C. Editor (Eds.), *Title of book* (pp. xxx—xxx). Location: Publisher.
Example: Popkin, S., & Dimock, M. (1999). Political knowledge and citizen competence. In S. Elkin & K. Soltan (Eds.), *Citizen competence and democratic institutions* (pp. 117–146). University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- c) **Article from a journal**; should contain surname and initials of (each) author, year of publication in parentheses, title of the article, journal title in full (*in italic*), volume (*in italic*) and pages.
General form: Author, A., Author, B., & Author, C. (year). Title of article. *Title of Journal*, xx, pp—pp.
Example: Kuzmanović, B., Popadić, D. & Havelka, N. (1995). Social changes and changes of values. *Psihologija*, 28, 7–26.

- d) **Conference paper**; should contain surname and initials of (each) presenter, year and month of the meeting or symposia in parentheses, title of the presentation (*in italic*), conference name and location.
 General form: Presenter, A. (Year, Month). *Title of paper*. Paper presented at the Name of the Conference, Location.
 Example: Maksić, S., & Ševkušić, S. (2011, February). *Problemi identifikacije kreativnosti učenika u školi*. Paper presented at the Seventeenth International Symposium Empirical Research in Psychology, Belgrade.
- e) **Web document**; should contain surname and initials of (each) author, year, document title (*in italic*) and Internet site address.
 General form: Author, A., Author, B., & Author, C. (year). *Title of document*. Retrieved from <http://xxxxxxx>.
 Example: Foa, R. (2007). *Socioeconomic development and parenting values*. Retrieved from http://www.roberto.foa.name/Parenting_Attitudes_Foa.
- f) **Unpublished Master's or PhD thesis**; should contain surname and initials of the author, year in parentheses, title of the thesis, identification of the work as a thesis in parenthesis, name of the institution and location.
 General form: Author, A. A. (year). *Title of doctoral dissertation or master's thesis* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation or master's thesis). Name of Institution, Location.
 Example: Smith, B. (1995). Youth and political participation (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Institute of Psychology, Vienna.

Multiple citations of one author are given chronologically according to the year of reference publication, from the oldest towards the new ones. Multiple reference citations of a single author from the same year should be labelled alphabetically according to titles, e.g. (1995a), (1995b).

It is undesirable to cite non-published works (e.g., manuscripts et al.). If such citations are necessary, data should be given in as full as possible.

References to secondary literature or its citation (e.g., Marsh, 1980, quoted in Stevenson, 2005) should be avoided as much as possible.

Appendix

Appendix should include only descriptions of material that may be useful for readers to understand, evaluate or repeat the research.

Reviewing and publishing

All papers are reviewed anonymously by two competent reviewers. On the basis of reviews, the Editorial Board make one of the following decisions: to accept the paper for publication without changes, to accept the paper after minor revisions, to accept the paper after substantial revisions or to reject the paper. The Editorial Board send both reviews to the authors and inform the contributing author about the final decision within the period of three months from paper reception. If the author resubmits the revised paper for publishing, it is obligatory to enclose a letter informing the Editorial Board about the corrections made in the text (along with page numbers where the revisions were made), in keeping with reviewers' recommendations. If the authors think that some of the reviewers' comments are not justified, or if they are impossible to meet, they must enclose a detailed elaboration and send it to the Editorial Board. The Editorial Board have the right to decide on the manuscript status independently.

Article category (type)

Complying with the instruction of the Ministry of Science and Technological Development, the articles published in the journal *Psihološka istraživanja* will be categorised in one of the following categories:

Scientific articles: 1. original research paper (a paper presenting previously unpublished data of one's own research by means of a scientific method); 2. review paper (a paper containing an original, detailed and critical presentation of the research problem or the field in which the author has made a certain contribution, evident on the basis of self-citations); 3. brief or preliminary communication (an original research paper of full format, but of smaller volume or of preliminary character); 4. scientific criticism, i.e. polemics (a discussion about a certain topic, based exclusively on scientific argumentation) and comments;

Professional articles: 1. professional paper (a contribution offering the experience useful for improvement of professional practice, but not necessarily based on a scientific method); 2. informative contribution (an editorial, commentary et al.); 3. review (of a book, computer programme, case, scientific event et al.).

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To the Editorial Board of the *Psihološka istraživanja* journal

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- if the paper is based on the published conference proceeding article, this has been adequately referenced in the text (a footnote attached to paper's title);
- if the same sample or corpus of data has been used previously for the purposes of another paper or conference presentation, this has been adequately referenced in a footnote attached to paper's title or in the methodology part of the paper, when the sample is described;
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