Protective self-presentation, sources of socialization, and loneliness among Australian adolescents and young adults

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Abstract

This research assessed the relative impact of features of protective self-presentation, key sources of socialization, and social anxiety on individual differences in loneliness among Australian adolescents and young adults. In Study 1, 281 high school students living with parents completed self-report measures of loneliness, self-presentation features (i.e., fear of negative evaluation, social competence), parenting style (overprotection, care), peer relations (attachment, teasing) and social anxiety. Peer and parenting measures were significant predictors of loneliness, independent of self-presentation influences. Social anxiety also added to the model after controlling for all other measures. In Study 2, 170 undergraduates living independently completed measures of the same constructs. Paralleling findings from Study 1, protective self-presentation features, peer relations, and social anxiety had unique effects on loneliness. As hypothesized, however, parenting measures did not add to the prediction model for young adults. Implications of findings are discussed in relation to understanding loneliness within high school and university age samples.

Keywords: Loneliness; Self-presentation; Parenting; Peers; Adolescents; Young adults

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1. Introduction

Loneliness is a common, distressing experience that has deleterious effects on psychological functioning and physical health (e.g., Cacioppo et al., 2002; Heinrich & Gullone, 2006). Although self-presentation models (e.g., Arkin, Lake, & Baumgardner, 1986; Schlencker & Leary, 1983) have aided in articulating motivational bases of social anxiety, a cognitive-affective experience triggered by perception of others’ possible evaluations (Leary & Kowalski, 1995) and shyness, a related syndrome characterized by social anxiety and behavioral inhibition in interpersonal situations (Leary, 1983), recent extensions suggest self-presentational factors also contribute to individual differences in loneliness (e.g., Cacioppo & Hawkley, 2005; Dill & Anderson, 1999; Jackson, Fritch, Nagasaka, & Gunderson, 2002).

Self-presentation theorists posit that people are typically motivated to gain social approval in interpersonal encounters and act in ways that might attract attention and engender recognition (Arkin et al., 1986). In contrast, the socially anxious have doubts about their interpersonal competencies and capacities to create favorable impressions. They adopt a protective self-presentation style, wherein the overarching goal of social interaction is not to win approval from others but to avoid their disapproval.

Tendencies to view interpersonal encounters as threats (e.g., Jackson & Ebnet, 2006; Jackson & Eglitis, 2005), others as rejecting (e.g., Jackson, Towson, & Narduzzi, 1997; Meleschko & Alden, 1993; Wallace & Alden, 1997), and the self as less socially skilled (e.g., Wallace & Alden, 1991) may maintain or increase social anxiety and/or avoidance of social interaction. If this pattern results in having fewer social contacts than one desires, loneliness has emerged (Dill & Anderson, 1999). Indeed, shyness and social anxiety (e.g., Jackson, Soderlind, & Weiss, 2000; Jones, Rose, & Russell, 1990), fear of disapproval (e.g., Jackson et al., 2002; Leary, Koch, & Hechenbleikner, 2001) and perceptions of social incompetence (e.g., Jackson et al., 2002; Segrin & Flora, 2000), even in the absence of actual deficits (e.g., Christensen & Kashy, 1998), contribute to loneliness.

To date, self-presentation models have highlighted actors’ motives and responses on the stages of social life. With few exceptions (e.g., Jackson & Ebnet, 2006; Meleschko & Alden, 1993), past studies examined perceptions and responses of actors to people in general rather than to specific “audiences” of self-presentation. As a result, little is known about the degree to which particular audiences or socialization influences contribute to loneliness, beyond features of protective self-presentation. Given that parents and peers are key socialization agents in childhood and adolescence (e.g., Shaffer, 2001), and loneliness is more prevalent among adolescents than any other segment of the population (Perlman & Landolt, 1999), parenting and peer experiences may be particularly relevant to understanding loneliness in this age group.

With respect to parenting influences, psychodynamically-rooted researchers argue that disrupted early attachments have adverse effects on mental representations of the self and others; such disturbances interfere with the formation of subsequent attachment relationships and increase risk for loneliness (e.g., Cassidy & Berlin, 1999; Fromm-Reichmann, 1959; Hojat, 1987). Indeed, lower levels of secure attachment have been observed among lonely children (e.g., de Minzi, 2006) and young adults (e.g., Wiseman, Mayseless, & Sharabany, 2006). Conversely, loneliness has positive correlations with ambivalent and avoidant attachments to parents (Wiseman et al., 2006) as well as parenting behaviours such as overprotection (Terrell, Terrell, & Von Drashek, 2000) and inattention (Antognoli-Toland, 2001).
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