ATTACHMENT AMONG JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

Aleksandra Stojilković, Milica Tošić Radev
Department of Psychology, University of Niš, Serbia

Abstract

The subject of the study is to examine the relation between delinquency and attachment (UPIPAV-R; Hanak, 2004). The sample contains 60 male adolescents (30 with a history of transgressive behavior).

Two discriminant functions are extracted. The first function differs the respondents with history of violation of the student conduct code, on following dimensions: Mentalization, Regulation of anger and Using of the secure base. The second function describes juvenile offenders and it is saturated with dimensions: Unresolved trauma and Negative model of self and others.

Key words: juvenile offenders, delinquency, attachment

1. INTRODUCTION

The study of delinquency and criminal tendencies started to interest psychologists since the beginning of the 20th century. The concepts of delinquency and juvenile delinquency are legal terms which include all forms of behavior among the young, who in the eyes of the law, belong to the group of criminal offenses.

Juvenile delinquency includes an entire spectrum of juvenile behavior, ranging from the maladjusted to the criminal. There are two approaches to the solution to this problem: a one broader in scope (criminal-sociological) and one more narrow in scope (formal-legal). The more narrow (formal-legal) approach is accepted by most legal theorists. This definition of the concept of juvenile delinquency includes all forms of behavior, which the criminal law classifies as criminal offenses. The broader definition of juvenile delinquency includes all forms of deviant juvenile behavior, from the pre-delinquent to the types defined by criminal justice legislation. However, juvenile delinquency does not represent merely the breaking of rules of law, but also of moral norms. This understanding of the concept of juvenile delinquency is also known under the term of juvenile offending. In other words, juvenile delinquency in a broader sense includes all forms of behavior which fall out of the scope of generally accepted norms in a certain environment or for a certain age group in the sense of disregard for social norms and of violating the rights of others (Konstantinović-Vilić, Nikolić-Ristanović & Kostić, 2009).

In this paper we will rely on the broader definition of delinquency, and so will treat as offences not only the types of juvenile behavior which the Criminal Law of the Republic of Serbia recognizes as criminal offenses, and for which it prescribes the educational correctional measure of confinement in the Institute for Youth Education, but also those types of behavior which are recognized by the Law on the Foundations of the Education System and the bylaws of the school that the young individual is attending as serious violations of student conduct. These are types of behavior which are punishable by a reprimand from the principal and the teachers’ council, and which include: 1) the destruction, damage, hiding, removal, alteration or addition of data to the records which the school or any other organization keeps; 2) alterations to existing or writing additional data on any public documents issued by the school or any other organization; 3) the destruction or theft of school property, or the property of a company, entrepreneurship, student or employee; 4) inflammatory speech, aiding and abetting, possession, distribution and consumption of alcohol, tobacco or narcotics or psycho-active substances; 5) bringing a weapon or any other object which can be used to harm or hurt another human being on school property or the property of any other organization; 6) willful disobedience and disregard for the safety measures set up to protect the students; 7) the use of a cell phone, electronic device or any other means which are used to violate the rights of others or to cheat during the process of evaluation; 8) truancy from at least 35 classes and frequent less serious violations of student conduct.
1.1. Delinquency and the attachment theory: a disorganized attachment pattern

A child develops secure attachment during the early development of a relationship with a primary attachment figure, which is characterized by sensitive, timely and consistent responses to the child’s needs (Bowlby, 1980). An adequate response to the internal world of the child (for example, giving food after the baby has started crying) teaches the child that, after a certain period of time, relief is imminent, and represents the basis for the development of the capacity for delayed gratification (Fonagy, 2003). Representations, which are developed within a secure attachment – of oneself, as an individual who can be understood and accepted, and of the other person, as an available, predictable individual able to offer security (Weinfield, Sroufe, Egeland, & Carlson, 2008) enable the formation of pro-social relations, the internalization of moral norms and social conventions of the community (Van Ijzendoorn, 1997). However, when there is no adequate response to the needs of the child certain deviations or disorders occur in the development of the mechanisms and capacities of the child. It then takes recourse in the extensive use of various forms of defense mechanisms which enable it to remain in the relationship and to survive (Bowlby, 1980). The children of mothers who were consistently unavailable, but still offered sufficient conditions for physical survival and were not a source of fear will develop an insecure-avoidant pattern of attachment (Weinfield, Sroufe, Egeland, & Carlson, 2008). These children, and later adults, will not expect other people to be able and willing to offer them comfort and security, and they will protect themselves from having to relive their early unsuccessful relations by setting up clear boundaries. Faced with strong emotions, they will not be able to recognize and process them, due to the excessive need to use dampening mechanisms (Bowlby, 1980), and will instead more frequently act them out through certain activities or seek out functional solutions to overcome the affects.

In the case of those children whose mothers selectively responded some of their child’s needs, while they ignored the rest or punished them, an ambivalent or preoccupied pattern of attachment is formed (Weinfield, Sroufe, Egeland, & Carlson, 2008). The children do not dare to explore their environment or the psychological world, since they are not sure whether they will find true support and comfort in the case of danger. They basically see themselves as inadequate, insufficiently worthy and good, and thus try hard to satisfy the demands placed before them, fearing that they will lose their safe base. They rely on defense mechanisms from the domain of cognitive interruptions (Bowlby, 1980), whose role it is to prevent the individual from facing experiences which would represent too big of a threat. Such mechanisms include withdrawal in the face of prohibited affects, restraint, insecurity, while at the same time there is a manifestation of emotional unrest and an anger which the mother did not contain.

A disorganized attachment pattern was the last to be isolated, after it was determined that some children could not be classified as belonging to any of the pre-existing categories. It develops among children who were exposed to certain forms of trauma as a part of their relationship with their parents. The mothers of these children, often themselves traumatized, sometimes psychologically ill, did not manage to offer their children a sensible strategy for solving life’s problems, so that the children formed negative models of themselves and others, growing overwhelmed with anxiety and avoidance and without any strategies with which to solve life’s problems (Main & Hese, 1992). In order to survive psychologically, these children take recourse to excessive use of mechanisms of dissociation (Bowlby, 1980), which remove from one’s consciousness any experiences with the primary attachment figure which could cause them pain, but at the same time they hinder the adaptation of the work models to the external reality and lead to their breaking apart. Some of the significant consequences of the break-up of the work models are the partial or complete exclusion of one or more systems of behavior, as others take dominance over the functioning of the individual, while at the same time there is no awareness of the factors which influenced the manifestation of these specific reactions (Bowlby, 1980). Considering the fact that taking part in one’s own and other people’s internal words is frightening, the experiences remain non-integrated, and thus will often be projected onto others or acted out (Allen, Fonagy, & Bateman, 2008). That is how an individual may incorrectly identify both a person and a situation which are related to a certain type of behavior, but also misjudge their own actions.
Theoreticians and researchers in the field of attachment connect delinquent behavior with the disorganized attachment pattern, pointing out that a large number of offenders (as many as 70%, according to Milojević & Dimitrijević, 2012) belong precisely to this category. John Bowlby, back in 1946, determined a significantly frequent absence of or a constant succession of primary attachment figures in the early childhood of delinquents and discussed the influence of hostile, violent parenting based on rejection on the later manifestations of delinquent behavior. The findings of numerous studies indicate the extensive prevalence of disorganized and avoidant patterns of attachment (Deklyen & Greenberg, 2008; Fonagy et al, 1997; Van IJzendoorn, 1997), while the frequency of a secure attachment patterns among prisoners is conspicuously small. Thus, in a sample of convicted adolescents, only five percent of the offenders had formed secure attachment patterns (Van IJzendoorn, 1997).

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. The problem and hypothesis of the research

This paper deals with the study of the relations between attachment and juvenile delinquency. The research question is whether the dimensions of attachment can provide the foundation on which it would be possible to differentiate between young individuals with a history of juvenile delinquency and their peers with exemplary behavior. In accordance with the subject matter of the research, we propose the following hypotheses:

H1: We expect to determine of a statistically significant difference in the expression of the dimensions of attachment (The fear of losing one’s external secure base, The capacity to mentalize, Unresolved family trauma, A negative self-model, A negative model of others, Using an external secure base and Anger regulation) between young individuals with a history of juvenile offences (young people in conflict with the law and schoolchildren with a reprimand from the teachers’ council or the principal) and their peers with exemplary behavior.

H2: It is expected that we can isolate a canonical discriminant function which will make a good distinction between young people with a history of juvenile offences (young people in conflict with the law and students with a reprimand from the teachers’ council or the principal) and their peers with exemplary behavior.

2.2. Measuring instruments

The questionnaire for the evaluation of attachment (UPIPAV-R) (Hanak, 2004). In order to study attachment among adults, we used the UPIPAV-R questionnaire which consists of 77 items included in 7 points on a scale. The responses are recorded on a seven-point Likert scale. The questionnaire is used to evaluate the organization of attachment in general, and not to evaluate attachment to certain primary attachment figures. The following terms were suggested for the components of attachment based on the analyses of the content of the items: the fear of losing one’s external secure base, the capacity to mentalize, unresolved family trauma, a negative self-model, a negative model of others, relying on external secure bases and weak anger regulation (Hanak, 2004). Based on the results obtained from the questionnaire using a cluster analysis, the respondents can be classified into four basic patterns of attachment: a secure, rejecting, preoccupied and fearful pattern. The aforementioned scales are marked by high reliability (Vukosavljevic-Gvozden & Hanak, 2007), while the internal consistency of the scale on our sample has a Cronbach alpha value of 0.891.

A questionnaire for the socio-demographic data was designed for the needs of the study through which, among other things, we gathered data on behavioral grading and any history of delinquent behavior.
2.3. The sample of respondents

The sample consisted of 60 respondents, all males, aged between 14 and 19. One half of the sample (N=30) consisted of respondents with a history of delinquent behavior – 15 young men who have been issued sentences of correctional educational measures and who are currently residing at the Institute for Youth Education in Niš (delinquency or theft, grievous bodily harm or violent behavior) and 16 high school students from the technical schools of “Nikola Tesla” from Niš and “Vožd Karađorđe” from Lebane who scored low on behavioral grading as a result of having committed serious violations of student conduct. The second half of the sample (N=31) consisted of high school students attending technical schools from Niš and Lebane with exemplary behavior.

3. RESULTS

First of all, in order to compare the rate of expression of the dimensions of attachment of the respondents who are also juvenile delinquents, students who scored low on behavioral grading and the control group, we applied an analysis of variance. The results of the post hoc analysis are shown, for purposes of clarity, only for the statistically significant differences.

Table 1. Differences between groups on attachment dimensions (ANOVA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attachment dimensions</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>PostHoc Group 1</th>
<th>PostHoc Group 2</th>
<th>Differences in Mean</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unresolved trauma</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>.022*</td>
<td>Juvenile delinquents at the Institute for Youth Education Students who scored low on behavioral grading</td>
<td>-16.837(*)</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of losing the secure base</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.670</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative others</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>.070</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentalization</td>
<td>11.02</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>Students with exemplary behavior Students who scored low on behavioral grading Juvenile delinquents at the Institute for Youth Education</td>
<td>15.31(*)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative self</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>.022*</td>
<td>Students with exemplary behavior Students who scored low on behavioral grading</td>
<td>-12.04(*)</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using the secure base</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>.028*</td>
<td>Students with exemplary behavior Students who scored low on behavioral grading</td>
<td>11.03(*)</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulation of anger</td>
<td>10.25</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>Students with exemplary behavior Students who scored low on behavioral grading</td>
<td>-16.05(*)</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results indicate that on the dimension of the Unresolved family trauma we can discern a statistically significant difference between young people in conflict with the law and high school students who scored low on behavioral grading. Namely, higher scores on this dimension were realized by students who scored low on behavioral grading. Significantly higher scores were obtained for the dimension of the Mentalization by students with exemplary behavior, which differentiates them, in a statistically significant manner, from the other groups of participants (F=11.02, p < .000). The students who scored lower on behavioral grading achieved higher scores than the other groups on the dimension of the Negative self model and differ in a statistically significant manner from the students with exemplary behavior (F=4.10, p < .005). The use of a secure base statistically significantly differentiates between students with exemplary behavior from the other groups, while the
highest scores were recorded on the dimension of Weak anger regulation were achieved by students who scored low on behavioral grading.

We applied the method of canonical discriminant analysis, with aim to check whether the adolescents history of transgressive behavior may be discriminated, against the adolescents without the history of violation of the student conduct code, on the basis of attachment dimensions.

In table 2 we presented chi square of canonical discriminant functions, canonical correlation coefficient, Bartlett-test values (Wilks-Lambda), size of the chi-square test, degrees of freedom and significance of the discriminant function.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Eigenvalue</th>
<th>% varianse</th>
<th>Canonical R</th>
<th>Wilks-lambda</th>
<th>Chi square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.065</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>0.718</td>
<td>0.341</td>
<td>60.298</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.421</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>0.545</td>
<td>0.704</td>
<td>19.694</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>.003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Applying canonical discriminant analysis the two functions that discriminated different groups of young people with a history of juvenile offences (young people in conflict with the law and students with a reprimand from the teachers’ council or the principal) and their peers with exemplary behavior based are derived based on the dimensions of attachment. Canonical correlation is $r = 0.718; p < .000$ for first, and $r = 0.545; p < .005$ for second function.

Table 3 shows the matrix structure of isolated discriminatory functions, while table 5 shows group centroids of canonical discriminant functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. Structure matrix of canonical discriminant functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulation of anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using of secure base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of losing the secure base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unresolved trauma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results in table 3 suggest that first discriminative function is significantly saturated with following dimensions: Mentalization, Regulation of anger and Using of the secure base and the second function with Unresolved trauma, Negative self and Negative others. The first function is a characteristic of students who scored low on behavioral grading, while the second one can discriminate adolescents to whom have been issued sentences of correctional educational measures and who are currently residing at the Institute for Youth Education in Niš (Table 4).
Table 4. Functions at group centroids of canonical discriminant functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Function 1</th>
<th>Function 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institute for Youth Education</td>
<td>-0.752</td>
<td>-0.964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students who scored low on behavioral grading</td>
<td>-1.247</td>
<td>0.801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students with exemplary behavior</td>
<td>0.991</td>
<td>0.110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the end, this model of prediction can predict, based on attachment dimensions, belonging to the group of students who scored low on behavioral grading with 67% accurate prediction, as well as 66% correct prediction of adolescents with serious history of juvenile delinquency.

4. DISCUSSION

Starting from a broader determination of juvenile delinquency which indicates that it consists of all forms of behavior which violate the framework of the generally accepted norms in a certain environment or a certain age group, in the sense of a lack of respect for social norms and violating the rights of others (Konstantinović-Vilič, Nikolić-Ristanović & Kostić, 2009), and taking into consideration the findings of numerous theoreticians working in the field of attachment which links delinquent forms of behavior with insecure patterns of attachment (Deklyen & Greenberg, 2008; Fonagy et al, 1997; Van IJzendoorn, 1997; Milojević & Dimitrijević, 2012), we wanted to analyze whether there are any differences in the attachment between two groups of young individuals prone to delinquent behavior (the first groups consists of individuals whose delinquency is characterized as criminal, and the other a group consists of individuals whose behavior includes offences which are serious violations of student conduct) and young individuals characterized by appropriate, non-violent forms of behavior, and whether the dimensions of attachment are good predictors of delinquency.

In the case of attachment, the results have indicated that students with exemplary behavior, compared to the other groups, scored highest on the dimensions of Capacity for mentalization and Using a secure base. They are actually more prone to self-analytical behavior, but also behavior which is aimed at analysis and allowing one to “walk in someone else’s shoes”, so as to understand their feelings and behavior and to empathize with them. They believe it is important to have other people as a source of support and are prone to using primary attachment figures as their secure base.

The high scores on the dimensions of the A negative self model, Weak anger regulation and a low score on the dimension of Using a secure base are the characteristics of students who scored low on behavioral grading and distinguish this group of respondents from the other ones. Thus, the students who performed serious violations of student conduct are more insecure of themselves and their own personal value, are prone to vindictiveness and hostile behavior in situations marked by frustration, as well as to relying on destructive means of manifesting anger. These young people view family relations as both tense and ambivalent, consider their childhood experiences as hostile or painful, and do not have the capacity to use a primary attachment figure as a secure base. This group of respondents can be discriminated relatively well based on the dimensions of attachment, with a 67% rate of accurate prediction.

The second prediction model separates the group of young men who were in conflict with the law, who were sentenced to attend the Institute for Youth Education based on the high values scored on the dimension of A negative model of others and the low values they scored on the dimensions of Unresolved family trauma and the A negative self model. This group of young men does not have a negative self model, nor unresolved family trauma but does have a pronounced negative model of others.
When we compare these two functions we can note that both groups of juveniles with a history of delinquent behavior, that is, those who are currently residing at the Institute for Youth Education and those who scored low on behavioral grading as a result of serious violations of student conduct, have a positive self model, while the students who performed mild violations of student conduct have a negative self model. A negative model of others, which is characterized by a lack of trust of the world around them, is a feature only of the young people belonging to the group of respondents who are currently confined to a juvenile detention center. Another feature which differentiates between students who scored low on behavioral grading and the others is their inability to use their secure base and control their anger. What is especially surprising is that the aforementioned groups do not differ significantly on the dimension of the Unresolved family trauma, while the group confined to the Institute for Youth Education for more serious offences scored lower on the aforementioned dimension than the other groups.

By comparing these results with the existing theoretical and empirical findings we can conclude that the students who scored low on behavioral grading also scored low values for the indicators of secure attachment: that is, the use of a secure base and the capacity for mentalization, as well as for weak anger regulation, which includes vindictiveness and hostile behavior in situations which provoke high frustration. In their respective research, Hanak (Hanak, 2004) and Dimitrijević (Dimitrijević et al., 2011), relying on a cluster analysis, categorized the dimensions into patterns of attachment, and by comparing them to the categories which were obtained in those studies we can note that the determined profile of the students who scored low on behavioral grading fits best into the disorganized pattern of attachment. This pattern of attachment occurs based on exposure to some type of neglect, abuse or scenes of violence in childhood (Crittenden, 1989, Radke-Yarow et al., 1985; according to Stefanović-Stanojević et al., 2010). The child develops a negative self-image and a negative image of others and does not form a functional strategy for contact with important figures. Its most frequent response to stressful situations is to be overwhelmed with panic and to take recourse to an irrational strategy – lying, alcohol consumption, vindictiveness, running away (Stefanovic-Stanojevic et al., 2010). If these early acquired models of behavior continue throughout its life, the individual retains the habit of seeing danger in others and applies the learned means of survival in any relationship – “either be the stalker, that is, the source of fear and aggression, or the victim, that is, overwhelmed with helplessness” (Stefanović-Stanojević et al., 2010).

The results of our study indicate that the young men from our sample confined to the Institute, scored low on all the dimensions of bonding, except for the dimension of the negative model of others. According to the model proposed by Bartolomew, the negative model of significant individuals, and the positive model of oneself is found among insecure individuals with an insecure-avoidant pattern of attachment. Such characteristics of their internal work model make individuals prone to avoiding close relationships due to bad experiences, but at the same time, by defending themselves by negating the need for close ties, these individual manage to retain an image of themselves as good and worthy (Bartolomew & Shaver, 1998). This is precisely the profile of our respondents who are in conflict with the law, with a pronouncedly low focus on the feelings, responses and needs of others, as well as a negation of the need for emotional exchange, who, on the other hand have a highly developed defense mechanism of high self-worth. Even though these findings are surprising, considering that our expectations were that we would determine a connection between the disorganized pattern of attachment and delinquency, but not the avoidant pattern of attachment, these findings can be explained by the dynamics of the occurrence of this pattern, that is, a consistent non-reaction to the needs of the child during its infancy and the unavailable primary attachment figure which rejected the child whose secure base it was supposed to be. Namely, with the adopted philosophy that the world is not a nice place, that others are not worthy and that one should rely on and invest only in oneself, we can expect that in underprivileged life circumstances, and family or socio-economic conditions during childhood, these individuals can easily stray, that is, become delinquents. After all, our findings do not stand apart from other research results, considering that the literature already indicates a great presence of disorganized, but also avoidant patterns of attachment among delinquents (Deklyen & Greenberg, 2008; Fonagy et al, 1997; Van IJzendoorn, 1997).
Summing up the existing findings, we can conclude that based on attachment it is possible to distinguish between young people who are in conflict with the law and moral standards and those who abide by the requirements of society. Namely, it turned out that in the case of the first group of young individuals, the dimensions of attachment, which are characteristic for insecure bonding, are predominant.

What is particularly worrying are the data which lead us to conclude on the existence of a disorganized pattern of attachment among the school-age population with behavioral issues, considering the studies carried out on clinical populations which indicate the significant vulnerability of individuals with a disorganized pattern, their proclivities to develop symptoms of depression and their generally pronounced mental health issues (Pianta et al., 1996; Dozier et al., 1999). In addition, knowing the various consequences of fear without any sort of resolution, the connection between scoring low on behavioral grading and this pattern of attachment could be a way to better understand, more appropriately and intensely work with problem children in schools, who are often additionally stigmatized by negative teacher expectations who expect them to be delinquents, marked by a lack of success, inadequate behavior and further poor choices in life. It would therefore be important to check these findings in future studies.

The second important finding refers to the fact that young people who have committed more serious offences are characterized by certain dimensions of bonding characteristic for avoidant, but not disorganized patterns of attachment. This suggests that the positive self model and the negative model of others, without the presence of an unresolved trauma, can also be a feature of young people who are prone to delinquency and juvenile offences. What is more, these young people committed more serious offences than adolescents with a more disorganized pattern of attachment, considering the fact that they are already serving sentences in the Institute for Youth Education.

In general, our findings suggest that the scores on various dimensions which lie at the basis of insecure patterns of bonding, and especially their combinations which correspond to the avoidant and disorganized pattern of attachment, differentiate young individuals of exemplary behavior from their peers who are prone to disrespecting authority, violating rules, norms and laws. Certainly, our findings do not suggest a causal relationship, while the possibility of prediction is not complete, but they can certainly be valuable to the understanding of one of the factors, and consequently the manner in which to approach children who are juvenile delinquents.

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