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The psychological well-being of adolescents growing up within and outside the family

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Abstract

Context and relevance. The problem of orphanhood is one of the pressing social issues, and the development of scientifically based recommendations for reducing risk factors for the development of children living outside the family, creating an optimal socio-psychological environment for maintaining well-being are extremely relevant. **Objective.** This study aims to understand the specifics of the well-being of modern adolescents growing up both within and outside their families. **Hypothesis.** Adolescents from orphanages and from families have different potential sources for psychological well-being, related to their varying current and past social development situations. **Methods and materials.** The study involved 405 adolescents living in orphanages ($M = 14,5$, $SD = 1,16$, 42% girls, 58% boys) and in families ($M = 14,7$, $SD = 1,21$, 44% girls, 56% boys). Potential sources of psychological well-being were assessed using a battery of questionnaires, including Multidimensional Students' Life Satisfaction Scale, Dispositional Vitality Scale, Comprehensive Diagnostic Methodology for Subjective Well-Being, Nonverbal Scale of Attitudes Towards Life and School, and the Life Orientation Test (LOT-R). Additionally, a qualitative content analysis of the Unfinished Sentences Test was conducted. **Results.** The hypothesis about different potential sources of well-being of adolescents growing up in and outside the family, associated with the characteristics of their current and past social situation of development (L.S. Vygotsky), was confirmed. Specific potential sources of the well-being of adolescents from orphanages were found, related to optimistic ideas about the future, their profession, future family and life, which can be independently controlled. We have also found several common bases for joy and psychological well-being of adolescents in the two groups — joy from communicating with friends, achieving success in what you do and orientation towards professional self-realization. **Conclusions.** The results obtained indicate the importance of considering the social situation of adolescent development and their experiences when investigating their psychological well-being. The data can be used in consulting work with adolescents from orphanages and in the training of caregivers.

Keywords: adolescents growing up outside the family; psychological well-being; social situation of development; coping strategies

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Психологическое благополучие подростков, растущих в семье и вне семьи

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Резюме

Контекст и актуальность. Проблема заботы о сиротах — одна из актуальных социальных проблем, и разработка научно обоснованных рекомендаций по снижению факторов риска развития детей, проживающих вне семьи, созданию оптимальной для поддержания благополучия социально-психологической среды крайне актуальна. **Цель.** Настоящее исследование ставит задачей понять специфику психологического благополучия современных подростков, растущих в семьях и вне семей. **Гипотеза.** У подростков из детских домов и семей разные потенциальные основания психологического благополучия, связанные с разной текущей и прошлой социальной ситуацией развития. **Методы и материалы.** В исследовании приняли участие 405 подростков, проживающих в детских домах ($M = 14,5$, $SD = 1,16$, 42% — девочки, 58% — мальчики) и семьях ($M = 14,7$, $SD = 1,21$, 44% — девочки, 56% — мальчики). Потенциальные источники психологического благополучия оценивались с помощью батареи опросников (Многомерная шкала удовлетворенностью жизнью, Шкала диспозиционной витальности, Комплексная методика диагностики субъективного благополучия, Невербальная шкала отношения к жизни и к школе, Опросник диспозиционного оптимизма (ТДО-П)), а также был проведен дополнительный качественный контент-анализ методики незаконченных предложений. **Результаты.** Гипотеза о разных источниках благополучия подростков, растущих в семье и вне семьи, связанных с особенностями их текущей (и прошлой) социальной ситуации развития, была подтверждена. Были обнаружены специфические основания благополучия подростков из детских домов, связанные с оптимистическими представлениями о будущем, своей профессии, будущей семье и жизни, которую можно будет самостоятельно контролировать. Также удалось установить ряд общих оснований для радости и благополучия подростков двух групп — радость от общения с друзьями, достижения успеха в том, что ты делаешь, и ориентация на профессиональную самореализацию. **Выводы.** Полученные результаты свидетельствуют о важности учета социальной ситуации развития подростков и их переживаний при исследовании их психологического благополучия. Данные могут использоваться в консультативной работе с подростками из детских домов, при подготовке воспитателей.

Ключевые слова: подростки, растущие вне семьи; психологическое благополучие; социальная ситуация развития; копинг-стратегии

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Introduction

The issue of orphanhood, its consequences, and its prevention is one of the key social problems in contemporary Russia. The development of evidence-based recommendations for creating an optimal psychological environment for children growing up outside the family is extremely important. In recent years, significant state efforts have been made towards the deinstitutionalization of orphans (e.g., various types of substitute families, family-style orphanages, inclusive schooling, professional training for caregivers) (Semya, Tarasova, Volchanskaya, 2024), which has led to a substantial improvement

in their living conditions and an overall reduction in the number of orphans and adolescents left without parental care. Currently, there are approximately 29 thousand orphans and adolescents left without parental care residing in institutional care settings in Russia.

The psychological problems associated with the personality development and well-being of adolescents left without parental care stem from their specific social situation of development and its experience, and require thorough study and analysis. Within the cultural-historical approach, developed by Lev Vygotsky, the social situation of development is the central psychological mechanism that reveals the main patterns of

a child's personality development and determines their activity as the main cause of this development. Furthermore, «...the environment determines the child's development through their experience of the environment, <...> the forces of the environment acquire a guiding significance through the child's experience» (Vygotsky, 2001, p. 213).

The problem of psychological well-being has been intensively researched over the past few decades due to positive psychology, which has demonstrated that well-being is not merely the absence of ill-being, but possesses its own intrinsic value, consequences, and distinct sources (Seligman, 2013). According to the well-known PERMA model there are five main sources of eudaimonic well-being: P – Positive Emotions; E – Engagement (flow); R – Positive Relationships; M – Meaning; A – Accomplishment (achievements, sense of competence). Thus, two sources of well-being are external – relationships and accomplishments, while the other three are sources are internal, psychological. In this paper we will focus on the role of external factors in the well-being of adolescents left without parental care taking into account this model.

Adolescence is a critical period for a child's personality development, sensitive to marked fluctuations in well-being (Gordeeva, Sychev, 2023). Comparisons of psychological well-being between Russian adolescents from families and those from orphanages (including both orphans and adolescents left without parental care) show that adolescents from orphanages display lower levels of life satisfaction and sense of meaning in life than adolescents from families (Sulimina, 2014; Golovey, Danilova, Danilova, 2017; Danilova, Danilova, 2020). They also more frequently exhibit symptoms of anxiety and depressive disorders (Avakian, Volikova, 2014; Zolotareva, Khagay, 2024), experience more stress, and have more suicidal thoughts (Sigal et al., 2003). Adolescents from orphanages demonstrate lower general self-esteem and lower specific self-evaluations of personality traits compared to adolescents from families (Prikhodzhan, Tolstykh, 2005; Golovey, Danilova, Danilova, 2015; Kholmogorova, Volikova, Safonova, 2015; Zhiltsova, Soldatov, 2015; Sulimina, 2014). It was also shown that adolescents from orphanages are less satisfied with their studies but more satisfied with leisure and extracurricular activities than adolescents from families (Danilova, Rykman, 2018).

At the same time, there is data indicating an absence of differences in several indicators of ill-being, such as school and interpersonal anxiety, between adolescents from orphanages and adolescents from families, as well as a more positive attitude towards school and teachers among adolescents from orphanages (Avakian, Volikova, 2014). There is initial evidence, albeit from very small samples, suggesting no difference in overall life satisfaction between adolescents from orphanages and adoles-

cents from families (Danilova, Rykman, 2018). Yet another study of orphanage graduates and adults without institutionalization experience showed no differences in levels of anxiety, depression, locus of control, delinquent behavior, satisfaction with interpersonal relationships, or physical and psychological health (Chumakova et al., 2020). It corresponds to the results of another study which notes that Canadian adults being institutionalized as children and those raised in families were equally satisfied with their social life and did not differ in the frequency of chronic diseases (Sigal et al., 2003).

The family is a crucial source of a child's well-being. The results of recent study based on representation Russian sample of 15 years old adolescents showed that warm and supportive relationships with parents are important predictors of happiness, life satisfaction, and positive emotions (Gordeeva, Sychev, 2023). Adolescents from orphanages are at risk of reduced psychological well-being because they find it difficult to establish appropriate, reliable, and trusting relationships with close individuals, and caregivers often fail to provide the necessary level of empathy, support, and acceptance (Golovey, Danilova, Danilova, 2017; Danilova, Danilova, 2020). Research data indicate that the biological families of orphaned adolescents are characterized by greater dysfunction than those of adolescents from families, and the experience of being raised in a dysfunctional family or in an institution is associated with lower psychological well-being in adolescents (Kholmogorova, Volikova, Safonova, 2015; Oslon et al., 2022). Adolescents enter institutional care from families due to various adverse reasons, including abuse, parental substance abuse, parental imprisonment, or parental illness/death (Suzuki, Tomoda, 2015).

Most adolescents with institutionalization experience exhibit insecure attachment styles (Avakian, 2015; Subasi, Yildiz, 2022). Due to the formation of problematic attachment patterns, adolescents from orphanages show specificities in interpersonal relationships with adults and peers, reduced trust in others and in themselves, less developed communication skills (Prikhodzhan, Tolstykh, 2005; Golovey, Danilova, Danilova, 2017; Danilova, Danilova, 2020), a fear of social evaluation (Kholmogorova, Volikova, Safonova, 2015; Avakian, Volikova, 2014). Adults raised in care are less likely to marry and tend to lead more isolated lives (Sigal et al., 2003). On the other hand, a recent study showed that the substitute family for adolescents from orphanages does not always lead to higher well-being among its graduates compared to graduates of orphanages (Oslon et al., 2023). These recent data underscore the importance of studying the factors of well-being in children and adolescents growing up in orphanages.

Kholmogorova and colleagues have shown in their study that adolescents from orphanages, compared to ad-

olescents from families, have a lower striving for acceptance, lower satisfaction with social support, and higher fear of rejection. This leads to their excessive demands, reduced capacity for mutual, symmetrical supportive relationships, and diminished expression of gratitude and reciprocal help. At the same time, adolescents did not differ in their satisfaction with instrumental support (availability of help in solving everyday problems) and emotional support or availability of supportive relationships (Kholmogorova, Volikova, Safonova, 2015).

As the literature review indicates, previous research has focused mainly on indicators of ill-being in adolescents from orphanages: their anxiety, depression, negative affect, suicidal thoughts and behavior, and anger. The focus of our study is on well-being and optimism. The aim of the present research is to investigate psychological well-being, optimism, and perception of the future in adolescents from orphanages and adolescents from families using integrated data from validated well-being scales and questionnaires and semi-projective techniques.

The main hypothesis of the study is that there are different potential sources of well-being in adolescents from orphanages and adolescents from families, associated with their different current and past social situations of development which leads to the higher likelihood of family adolescents to form warm, secure relationships with adults. Specifically, we suggest that relationships with friends, constructive ideas about the future, one's profession, family, and a future life that can be independently controlled may serve as resources for the psychological well-being of adolescents from orphanages.

Materials and methods

Sample

The study compared two samples of adolescents aged 13-17 without health impairments: 1) 182 adolescents from orphanages ($M = 14,5$, $SD = 1,16$, $N_{\text{girls}} = 77$, $N_{\text{boys}} = 105$) residing in orphanages in the city of Kemerovo, Siberia, and 2) 223 adolescents from families ($M = 14,7$, $SD = 1,21$, $N_{\text{girls}} = 99$, $N_{\text{boys}} = 124$) residing with their families in Moscow and the Kursk region.

Procedure

The study was administered to adolescents from orphanages using online forms in the computer classrooms of their orphanages. A psychologist was present in the room, and adolescents entered the computer classrooms one by one. The study was administered to adolescents from families using printed forms; participants completed the questionnaires in groups in their classrooms in the presence of a psychologist and a teacher.

Statistical data analysis was performed using the software packages Jamovi 2.6.44 [rus] and Microsoft Excel 2007.

Measures

The following instruments were used to assess adolescents' psychological well-being:

The Multidimensional Students' Life Satisfaction Scale (Sychev, Gordeeva et al., 2018), which assesses life satisfaction across five subscales: "Friends," "School," "Teachers," and "Myself." The "Family" subscale was not used to avoid causing frustration among adolescents from orphanages growing up outside a family.

- The Dispositional Vitality Scale (Alexandrova, 2014), designed to assess the subjective experience of possessing physical and mental energy available for goal-directed activity.

- The Emotional Well-Being scale from MULTICAM (Little, Wanner, 1997; adapted by T.O. Gordeeva), intended to assess well-being over the last two weeks. It contains four subscales: Joy (e.g., "I felt energetic and cheerful"), Positive Relationships (e.g., "I felt that others liked being with me"), Anxiety (e.g., "I felt worried"), and Anger (e.g., "I felt like smashing something"). All four subscales have been used in our previous research (Gordeeva, Sychev, Sukhanovskaya, 2020) and have demonstrated high reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha \geq ,80$).

- The Nonverbal Scale of Attitudes Towards Life and School (Andrews, Withey, 1976), which features seven symbolic faces ranging from sad to happy.

- To assess optimism as a correlate and source of well-being, the Life Orientation Test (LOT-P) (Gordeeva, Sychev, Osin, 2021) was used, measuring generalized positive expectations about the future.

- Furthermore, to assess psychological well-being, perceptions of life and the future, as well as coping strategies, a semi-projective technique Incomplete Sentences Test was used. Five sentence stems were administered: "My life...", "In the future, I...", "When I have a problem...", "I like it when...", and "My favorite subjects are...". The data were processed using qualitative content analysis (Savinskaya, 2023).

Results

Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations for all variables studied. Since the data distribution deviated from normality (p-values ranging from $< 0,001$ to $0,045$), non-parametric statistical methods were applied. The gender distribution did not differ among adolescents from orphanages and adolescents from families ($\chi^2 = 0,178$, $p = 0,673$). A comparison of the two adolescents subsamples from regular families from two Russian regions (Moscow and the Kursk region) revealed only

isolated and statistically small differences; therefore, they were combined into a single sample (Adolescents from families) for all subsequent analyses.

To test the main hypothesis regarding differences in the potential sources of psychological well-being, optimism, and satisfaction with relationships between adolescents from orphanages and adolescents from families, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test for two independent samples was used. As shown in Table 1, there were no significant differences for most variables. However, adolescents from orphanages reported higher levels of vitality and school satisfaction (both $p < 0,001$) and lower levels of ill-being, such as anxiety and anger, compared to adolescents from families.

A Mann-Whitney U test of gender differences within each sample revealed that in both groups, girls scored higher on anxiety ($p < 0,01$) and anger ($p < 0,05$) than boys. This is consistent with recent data obtained from Russian samples (Gordeeva, Sychev, Sheldon, 2024).

To refine the main hypothesis and expand the results of the quantitative analysis, a qualitative content analysis of five incomplete sentences was conducted: "My life...", "In the future, I...", "When I have a problem...", "I like it when...", and "My favorite subjects are...". An expert assessment method was employed, with two experts (the authors of this publication) independently coding the responses. A Z-test (Glass, Stanley, 1976) was used to assess the reliability of differences in category proportions. A rank-biserial correlation, which can serve as an effect size measure for the Mann-Whitney U test, was

used to assess the relationship between quantitative variables and the identified qualitative categories. Categories with fewer than 10 responses were excluded from the correlation analysis.

Using the Mann-Whitney U test, it was found that responses from adolescents from orphanages to the incomplete sentences were less detailed and elaborate than those from adolescents from families ($p < 0,001$). Furthermore, adolescents from orphanages had significantly more omitted responses in the incomplete sentences, particularly for the sentences "In the future, I..." and "I like it when...".

The data from the incomplete sentences partially confirm the results from the questionnaires. Specifically, adolescents from families and adolescents from orphanages overall evaluated their lives equally positively ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 89$ (60%); $N_{\text{families}} = 105$ (55%); $p = 0,31$) (e.g., "My life is good/wonderful"). Positive answers from adolescents in both groups were positively correlated with most well-being variables and negatively correlated with anxiety and anger (r ranging from $-0,30$ to $0,50$, $p < 0,05$). However, these correlations were more pronounced for adolescents from families, while for adolescents from orphanages they were often non-significant (see Table 2).

Adolescents from families gave significantly more neutral answers when describing their lives (e.g., "My life... is normal/ ordinary") compared to adolescents from orphanages ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 10$ (7%), $N_{\text{families}} = 45$ (23%), $p < 0,001$). Only among adolescents from families these

Table 1
Descriptive statistics and differences on scales of psychological well-being between adolescents from orphanages and families

Scales	Adolescents from families		Adolescents from orphanages		PDifferences (U Manna – Whitney)	<i>p</i>	Effect size
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
Optimism	16,5	4,98	15,9	4,63	18379	0,102	0,09
Vitality	32,7	8,54	35,8	7,82	15977	<0,001	–0,21
Joy	11,4	3,09	11,6	2,86	19921	0,75	–0,02
Anxiety	8,65	3,70	7,41	2,78	16668	0,002	0,18
Anger	10,2	4,39	8,97	3,69	16921	0,004	0,17
Positive attitudes	12,7	3,12	12,5	2,85	19141	0,32	0,06
Attitude towards life	5,42	1,45	5,58	1,44	18804	0,19	–0,07
Attitude towards school	4,24	1,62	4,55	1,66	18255	0,08	–0,10
School satisfaction	17,2	5,22	19,3	5,83	15873	<0,001	–0,22
Teachers satisfaction	19,1	5,99	19,1	6,14	20211	0,94	–0,00
Self-satisfaction	21,2	5,83	21,1	4,81	20092	0,86	0,01
Satisfaction with friends	24,3	5,05	23,5	5,65	18908	0,24	0,07

Note: «M» — average value; «SD» — standard deviation; «p» — significance.

answers were associated with lower well-being, i.e. reduced vitality, joy, optimism, and increased anxiety ($p < 0,01$).

Adolescents of both groups mentioned the role of friends in their lives with equal frequency. For instance, they liked spending time with friends ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 11$ (7%), $N_{\text{families}} = 13$ (7%), $p = 0,80$), and when facing difficulties, they could turn to them for help ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 10$ (6%), $N_{\text{families}} = 11$ (5%), $p = 0,80$). However, among adolescents from families, mentioning friends showed a positive correlation only with satisfaction with friends, whereas among adolescents from orphanages, it also correlated with other well-being indicators (Table 2).

The aspiration to become financially secure was a common life goal that did not differ between the two groups. In the incomplete sentence "In the future, I...", adolescents from orphanages and adolescents from families did not differ in the frequency of this category ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 7$ (5%), $N_{\text{families}} = 17$ (9%), $p = 0,80$) (e.g., "Rich," "Will earn a lot"). Adolescents from both groups wrote with approximately equal frequency about the pleasure derived from achieving success in activities ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 20$ (14%), $N_{\text{families}} = 41$ (21%), $p = 0,07$) (e.g., I like it when... everything works out; I see good results from my work). However, this category was associated with well-being variables predominantly among adolescents from orphanages.

Well-being and interpersonal relationships

When writing about their future in incomplete sentences, adolescents from orphanages more frequently mentioned family. In the incomplete sentence "My life..." ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 11$ (7%); $N_{\text{families}} = 5$ (3%); $p = 0,037$) and "I like it when..." ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 40$ (27%), $N_{\text{families}} = 32$ (16%), $p = 0,02$), they gave more responses indicating that their lives are filled by the presence of social relationships, expressing a need for them. In the incomplete sentence "In the future, I...", adolescents from orphanages more often expressed a desire to have a family and children in the

future compared to adolescents from families ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 14$ (9%), $N_{\text{families}} = 6$ (3%), $p = 0,03$) (e.g., In the future, I... will be a wife and mother; ... want a large and close-knit family / a good mom / a good dad ...). In contrast, adolescents from families, when describing their current lives, significantly more often mentioned warm relationships ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 17$ (11%); $N_{\text{families}} = 38$ (20%); $p = 0,04$). Here are just few quotes from what adolescents from orphanages wrote: "I like it when... I am respected / listened to / loved / given attention / understood / my opinion is considered, people listen to me."

Notably, adolescents from orphanages exhibited a strong need for praise in the incomplete sentences ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 25$ (16%), $N_{\text{families}} = 5$ (3%), $p < 0,001$) (e.g., I like it when ... I am praised). Adolescents from orphanages also more frequently expressed a desire for autonomy, to be free from external rules and constraints associated with the regimented nature of group living. This is manifested in the characteristic phrase "My life — my rules," which was not found among adolescents from families ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 10$ (7%), $N_{\text{families}} = 0$). Thus, we can conclude that the current interpersonal relationships with adults among adolescents from orphanages are characterized by a dependence on praise and inequality.

Coping strategies. The specificity of relationships and dependence on others among adolescents from orphanages is also evident in their coping strategies from the incomplete sentences. Specifically, adolescents from orphanages more frequently choose the strategy of searching social support ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 60$ (37%), $N_{\text{families}} = 31$ (15%), $p < 0,001$) (e.g., "I do it together with my caregiver," "I consult with close ones"), while adolescents from families more often preferred to cope with difficulties independently (Active coping, $N_{\text{orphanages}} = 64$ (40%), $N_{\text{families}} = 131$ (65%), $p < 0,001$) (e.g., "I try to solve it myself," "I solve it"). Furthermore, active coping category showed more correlations with well-being variables among adolescents from families, whereas among adolescents from orphanages, searching social support was

Table 2

The relationship between categories of incomplete sentences and quantitative variables in two groups of adolescents — from orphanages and from families

Categories	N		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Pos.Aswers	105	ПС / AF	0,5***	0,5***	0,4***	-0,3***	-0,3***	0,4***	0,4***	0,24**	0,4***	0,34***	0,5***	0,4***
	89	ДД / АО	0,22*	0,2*	0,1	-0,01	-0,2*	0,12	0,2*	0,2*	0,14	0,2*	0,2*	0,3**
Achievements	41	ПС / AF	0,3**	0,1	0,1	-0,18	-0,06	0,15	0,3**	0,16	0,22*	0,1	0,14	0,16
	20	ДД / АО	0,22	0,25	0,26	-0,3	-0,4**	0,3*	0,3*	0,3*	0,4**	0,3*	0,3*	0,23
Friends	13	ПС / AF	0,23	0,3	0,05	-0,07	-0,2	0,2	0,3	0,18	0,12	0,2	0,14	0,4*
	11	ДД / АО	0,4*	0,12	0,34	-0,34	-0,3	0,5**	0,24	0,16	0,13	0,14	0,24	0,4*

Note: «1» — optimism; «2» — vitality; «3» — joy; «4» — anxiety; «5» — anger; «6» — positive attitude; «7» — attitude to life; «8» — attitude to school; «9» — satisfaction with school; «10» — satisfaction with teachers; «11» — satisfaction with oneself; «12» — satisfaction with friends; «PosAswers» — positive answers; «AF» — Adolescents from families; «АО» — Adolescents from orphanages. «*» — correlation is significant at the 0,05 level; «**» — correlation is significant at the 0,01 level; «***» — correlation is significant at the 0,001 level.

Table 3

**The relationship between categories of incomplete sentences and quantitative variables
in two groups of adolescents – from orphanages and from families**

Categories	N		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Active coping	133	ПС / AF	0,2*	0,2*	0,03	–0,13	0,08	0,08	0,2*	0,1	0,2*	0,2*	0,2*	0,1
	64	ДД / АО	0,08	0,06	0,07	–0,1	–0,08	0,17	0,03	0,09	0,16	0,07	0,06	0,16
Focusing on emotions	12	ПС / AF	–0,5**	–0,4*	–0,4*	0,4*	0,5**	–0,4**	–0,6***	–0,4**	–0,5**	–0,6***	–0,6***	–0,5**
	22	ДД / АО	–0,2	–0,2	–0,15	0,3*	0,2	–0,12	0,04	–0,06	–0,09	–0,12	–0,06	–0,2
Search for social support	31	ПС / AF	0,3**	0,03	0,3*	0,06	–0,3*	0,24*	0,23*	0,1	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,04
	60	ДД / АО	0,3**	0,2*	0,15	–0,2	–0,3**	0,22*	0,22*	0,2*	0,14	0,23*	0,2*	0,24**

Note: see table 1.

more correlated with well-being variables (see Table 3). Interestingly, unlike adolescents from families, among adolescents from orphanages, the strategy of focusing on emotions was not associated with ill-being or relationship satisfaction.

Specifics of the foundations of psychological well-being in achievement and leisure

When describing their favorite subjects, adolescents from orphanages significantly less frequently choose core subjects—mathematics, Russian language, natural sciences and STEM ($p < 0,01$), as well as social sciences and humanities ($p < 0,001$), showing a preference for non-core subjects instead ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 72$ (42%), $N_{\text{families}} = 32$ (16%), $p < 0,001$), such as physical education, technology, and art.

Like most adolescents from families, adolescents from orphanages were oriented towards obtaining a profession in the future ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 86$ (56%), $N_{\text{families}} = 84$ (47%), $p = 0,08$). However, significant differences were found in the content of the chosen professions. Adolescents from orphanages more often choose more practical professions ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 45$ (29%), $N_{\text{families}} = 20$ (11%), $p < 0,001$), such as cook, welder, hairdresser. In contrast, adolescents from families more often choose more complex professions requiring higher education ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 28$ (18%), $N_{\text{families}} = 50$ (28%), $p = 0,04$), such as doctor, lawyer, teacher. Also, in the incomplete sentence "In the future, I...", adolescents from families

significantly more often reported a desire to become successful ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 10$ (7%), $N_{\text{families}} = 24$ (13%), $p = 0,04$). For adolescents from orphanages, the choice of core academic subjects and professions was positively related to well-being variables, whereas the choice of non-core lessons and practically oriented professions showed no such associations (Table 4). For instance, optimism, self-satisfaction, and low anxiety were associated with a preference for more complex professions requiring university education.

When describing what brings them joy (in the incomplete sentence "I like it when..."), adolescents from families, unlike adolescents from orphanages, reported a wider range of activities and hobbies, including studies, tutors, but mainly – games (usually computer games), music (listening and playing instruments), as well as sports, dancing, drawing, and other hobbies ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 4$ (3%), $N_{\text{families}} = 24$ (12%)).

Additionally, adolescents from families often wrote about the desire to rest, relax and do nothing ($N_{\text{orphanages}} = 3$ (2%), $N_{\text{families}} = 21$ (11%)), whereas this category was extremely rare among adolescents from orphanages (since fewer than 5 responses were identified in these categories for adolescents from orphanages, the significance level of these differences was not assessed (Glass, Stanley, 1976)).

Thus, in the analysis of the incomplete sentences, it is evident that several key categories have different psychological meanings for adolescents from orphanages and adolescents from families.

Table 4

**The relationship between categories of incomplete sentences and quantitative variables
in two groups of adolescents – from orphanages and from families**

Categories	N		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Profession (any)	84	ПС / AF	–0,07	–0,02	0,01	0,02	0,01	–0,03	0,06	0,03	–0,02	0,04	–0,05	–0,05
	86	ДД / АО	0,15	0,08	0,14	–0,08	–0,09	0,2*	0,07	0,2*	0,2*	0,2*	0,16	0,3***
Professions (university)	50	ПС / AF	–0,13	–0,06	–0,09	0,003	–0,06	–0,04	0,08	–0,02	0,02	–0,01	–0,07	–0,08
	28	ДД / АО	0,25*	0,22	0,13	–0,24*	–0,10	0,17	0,11	0,13	0,18	0,23	0,3*	0,4**
Practical professions	20	ПС / AF	0,20	0,31*	0,32*	–0,06	0,07	0,05	0,16	0,16	0,007	0,19	0,24	0,09
	45	ДД / АО	0,06	–0,02	0,07	0,06	–0,03	0,11	–0,03	0,07	0,07	0,07	0,05	0,18

Note: see table 1.

Discussion

The present study aimed to investigate psychological well-being and identify its potential sources in adolescents growing up within and outside the family. The analysis of self-report measures showed that the two groups of adolescents did not differ in their levels of optimism, joy, satisfaction with life and oneself, as well as indicators of positive relationships and satisfaction with relationships with friends and teachers. Moreover, adolescents from orphanages reported higher levels of vitality and school satisfaction and lower levels of anxiety and anger than adolescents from families. These findings contradict a number of earlier studies that found lower levels of psychological well-being in adolescents from orphanages (Prikhozhan, Tolstykh, 2005; Golovey, Danilova, Danilova, 2015; Kholmogorova, Volikova, Safonova, 2015; Zhiltsova, Soldatov, 2015; Sulimina, 2014; Golovey, Danilova, Danilova, 2017), but they are consistent with more recent studies (Danilova, Rykman, 2018; Chumakova et al., 2020), which may indicate positive dynamics due to implemented measures. The greater school satisfaction among adolescents from orphanages compared to adolescents from families is also consistent with the findings of Avakian and Volikova (2014), which showed that adolescents from orphanages are more satisfied with school, skip classes less often, and have a better attitude towards teachers as significant adults. Nevertheless, we also suggest that the self-report questionnaire of orphaned adolescents data may be affected by social desirability bias.

In this regard, we examined different potential sources of psychological well-being in adolescents from orphanages and adolescents from families based on questionnaire data, supplemented by an analysis of the incomplete sentences test data. The results indicate indeed several similarities between adolescents from orphanages and adolescents from families. They evaluate their lives equally positively, dream that "everything will be good," derive joy from achieving success in different activities, both groups aspire to obtain a profession and achieve financial security in the future. However, certain characteristic differences were also found, which correspond to differences in the socialization conditions of the two groups. The following three common potential sources of psychological well-being for both groups can be identified: joy from communicating with friends (spending time together), current successes in activities, and an orientation towards professional self-realization. The first is interpersonal in nature, related to relationships with others, while the latter two are achievement-oriented, related to achieving success and a sense of competence. In other potential sources, specificities are observed, evidently linked to their social situation of development, both before entering the orphanage and during their stay there.

The obtained data show that the level of well-being in adolescents from orphanages is very weakly related to a characteristic source of well-being—more positive and secure relationships with close people in the present, and adolescents from orphanages are clearly less satisfied with these relationships. This corresponds with the results of previous studies comparing the level of emotional distance, on the one hand, and the feeling of acceptance and love from caregivers for adolescents from orphanages and from parents for adolescents from families, on the other (Golovey, Danilova, Danilova, 2017). However, their actively present dreams about a future family serve as a source of such well-being. Adolescents from orphanages more frequently noted a need for social relationships than adolescents from families, and currently, they felt a lack of warm and accepting relationships with others and the presence of dependent relationships. Adolescents from orphanages also more often reported a need for praise, which may characterize psychologically immature relationships with others, based on frequent external evaluation and submission. These results are consistent with previous research data showing that one of the main distinctions of adolescents from orphanages are a high fear of rejection, social anxiety, dissatisfaction with integration into social interactions (Kholmogorova, Volikova, Safonova, 2015; Avakian, Volikova, 2014).

We also discovered a vivid manifestation of specificity in the experiences and satisfaction of basic psychological needs among adolescents from orphanages, particularly in autonomy. Only among adolescents from orphanages was the phrase "My life — my rules" present, indicating a frustration of the need for autonomy; it was not found among adolescents from families. This appears to reflect the experience of living by predetermined rules set by adults, not by the adolescent themselves, which corresponds with the perception of the caregiver figure for adolescents from orphanages as more direct and authoritarian than that of parents for adolescents from families (Golovey, Danilova, Danilova, 2017). This may lead to a more pronounced external locus of control in adolescents from orphanages found in previous studies (Prikhozhan, Tolstykh, 2005; Zhiltsova, Soldatov, 2015; Sulimina, 2014).

Different foundations of well-being in adolescents, depending on socialization conditions and specifics of relationships, are also evident in different coping strategies found in two groups. For orphans, well-being is associated with seeking social support, while for adolescents from families, it is linked with active coping. This result differs from the previous data (Prikhozhan, 2015), which showed that adolescents from orphanages less frequently use the strategy of searching social support and do not differ from adolescents from families in their preference for active coping with difficulties. This discrep-

ancy might be related to the time elapsed between the two studies or differences in diagnostic measures.

Well-being is largely associated with how adolescents see their future (Prikhozhan, Tolstykh, 2005). Overall, an achievement orientation is associated with well-being in all adolescents, regardless of socialization conditions. However, family-raised adolescents express a stronger desire to become successful in the future compared to adolescents left without parental care. When describing the future, adolescents from orphanages more often choose practical professions requiring college training, while adolescents from families choose professions requiring university education. Also, adolescents from orphanages less frequently choose non-core subjects as their favorites. Both results are consistent with earlier research (Prikhozhan, Tolstykh, 2005; Golovey, Danilova, Danilova, 2015; Zhiltsova, Soldatov, 2015; Danilova, Rykman, 2018) and reflect the social situation of development for adolescents from orphanages. Notably, for adolescents from orphanages, unlike adolescents from families, the choice of more complex professions is associated with well-being.

We also discovered specificity in how the two groups spend their leisure time, reflecting a limited number of hobbies, various extracurricular activities, and leisure pursuits among adolescents from orphanages compared to adolescents from families. This result corresponds with previous data indicating that adolescents from orphanages report less richness of significant events in the past, present, and future compared to their family-raised peers (Zhiltsova, Soldatov, 2015).

It should be taken into account that the reasons for psychological problems in adolescents from orphanages may include early family trauma, on the one hand (Oslon et al., 2022), and insufficient support from adults for the child's psychological needs, coupled with life regulations leading to frustration of autonomy, on the other (Golovey, Danilova, Danilova, 2017). Conversely, specific challenges for adolescents from families may include being overloaded with studies, anxieties related to university admission and fulfilling complex life plans, meeting expectations, and parental pressure.

The direction for future research on the psychological well-being of adolescents, depending on their experiences and social situation of development, lies in identifying the conditions for fostering a sense of control over one's life, supporting autonomy, competence, and secure attachment, while controlling for the duration of stay in an orphanage.

Conclusion

The results from the self-report measures did not distinguish adolescents from orphanages and adoles-

cents from families on most indicators of psychological well-being, which most likely indicates a contribution of social desirability. On the other hand, the results of the qualitative analysis of the incomplete sentences test revealed significant differences in perceptions of life, the future, and different foundations of psychological well-being among adolescents, depending on the specifics of their social situation of development. This situation is primarily associated with a lack of supportive communication with adults and limited opportunities for socio-emotional and intellectual life for adolescents in care.

The conducted analysis allowed us to identify both general developmental characteristics and potential sources of well-being relevant to this age group (communication with friends, success in activities, professional self-realization, and financial well-being), as well as specific ones related to their particular social situation of development. The specificity of psychological well-being in adolescents from orphanages is largely associated with the frustration of needs for competence, autonomy, and relatedness, leading them to search support not in the current present but in the future. It was shown that well-being is higher among those who anticipate professional self-realization in the future, hope for the possibility of building close family relationships, and envision their own life organized "by their own rules."

The specificity of well-being in adolescents from families is linked to current warm relationships with close people, the realization of their abilities within their studies, an orientation towards achieving competence and status in the future, as well as various hobbies, entertainment, and rest (a hedonic orientation). At the same time, they exhibit slightly greater personal maturity, expressed in a readiness to independently solve emerging problems and cope with them actively.

To study the psychological well-being of adolescents from orphanages, it is advisable to use both quantitative (self-report questionnaires) and qualitative methods, primarily the incomplete sentences test, due to its greater informativeness and lower susceptibility to social desirability despite the time-consuming and labor-intensive nature of this analysis.

Thus, we discovered potential sources for the psychological well-being of adolescents growing up outside the family, their strengths and weaknesses. They could be considered when developing modern programs for successful integration of adolescents from orphanages into society, as well as in the training of orphanage caregivers.

Limitations. The limitations of the study include the inaccessibility for researchers of information about the time adolescents spend in orphanages and their life histories, including the current presence of family members and relatives. Another limitation is the potential social desirability bias of responses of adolescents from orphanages.

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Tamara O. Gordeeva — planning of the research; control over the research; data collection and analysis; mathematical and statistical processing of empirical materials; writing the manuscript.

Elena V. Dvorskaya — idea; data collection and analysis; mathematical and statistical processing of empirical materials; writing and design of the manuscript.

All authors participated in the discussion of the results and approved the final text of the manuscript.

Вклад авторов

Гордеева Т.О. — планирование исследования; контроль за проведением исследования; сбор и анализ данных; математико-статистическая обработка эмпирических материалов; написание рукописи.

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