

# 抑郁症患者的社会交互缺陷及其认知机制

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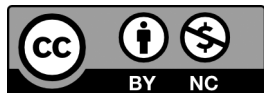
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**摘要** | 抑郁症是全球范围内最常见的精神疾病之一, 给个人和社会均造成了极大的负担。社会交互缺陷是抑郁症患者的标志性症状, 患者会在日常生活中面对诸多社交困境, 而不良的社会交互体验则进一步加重抑郁症状, 形成恶性循环。因此, 探寻抑郁症患者社会交互缺陷的内在机制是备受研究者关注的课题。目前绝大部分研究将功能障碍视作抑郁症患者社交缺陷的内在根源, 认为该群体在感知、理解、决策等认知功能上存在缺陷, 以致其难以顺利加工社会交互情景中的信息, 并对应规划恰当的行为, 故而在社会关系中遭遇失败。然而, 相关研究中仍存在未解决的矛盾, 以及未能完整解释抑郁症患者特征的局限。本文提出认知偏差视角的观点, 认为抑郁症患者相较于正常人群存在明显的认知偏差, 导致其在社会交互中的判断标准异于常人, 从而在理解他人和规划自身行为时表现出一系列心理与行为缺陷。认知偏差视角的观点得到近期不少研究的支持, 并能够作为功能障碍视角相关理论的重要补充。围绕认知偏差视角的未来研究或可得益于计算建模和神经科学技术的发展, 针对抑郁症患者的社会交互缺陷问题寻求理论突破和实践创新。

**关键词** | 抑郁症; 社会交互; 功能障碍; 认知偏差

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## 1 引言

当代科技高速发展, 随之而来的是高节奏、高压力的工作生活环境, 人们的心理健康问题日益凸显, 其中抑郁症已成为世界范围内最常见的精神疾病之一<sup>[1]</sup>。目前, 全球有超 3 亿人口遭受抑郁症困扰, 占全球人口的 4.4%<sup>[2]</sup>。抑郁症不仅对患者个人造成巨大的困扰, 影响其学习、工作和日常生活, 也给社会带来极大的负担。世界卫生组织 (WHO) 在 2012 年发布的《抑郁症: 全球性危机》报告中指出, 抑郁症已成为中国第二大负担疾病。探寻抑郁症的内在机制, 是理解、改善和治疗抑郁症的关键, 既有助于减轻患者个人的痛苦, 又有助于减轻社会的压力。

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抑郁症是一种以持续性的心境低落和快感缺失为主要特征的心理疾病,同时伴有严重的功能损害,其中社会交互缺陷尤为突出<sup>[3-5]</sup>。抑郁症患者在日常生活中会面临诸多与社会交互相关的困境,甚至可能在抑郁症状恢复后社会交互仍持续表现出困难<sup>[6, 7]</sup>。在心理治疗过程中,患者往往会大量提及无法与他人建立联结的挣扎,以及在社会交互中无法与他人良好互动的痛苦<sup>[8]</sup>,而不良的社会交互关系又进一步导致抑郁症状持续甚至恶化,构成恶性循环<sup>[9]</sup>。因此,临床实践者往往致力于帮助患者重建有序良好的社会交互关系,以便使他们回归正常的社会生活,学术研究者同样将大量目光聚焦于探究抑郁症患者社会交互缺陷的内在机制上,试图揭示其心理根源。

## 2 功能障碍视角下的抑郁症患者社会交互缺陷

日常生活中,抑郁症患者往往表现出不利于社会交互的行为和态度,从而导致其遭遇社会交互困难。一方面,抑郁症患者可能表现出说话速度慢、音量和声音的调节幅度小、参与较少的目光接触、并有较多的自我触摸等<sup>[9]</sup>,交互者倾向将这些特征解读为抑郁症患者的社交意愿不高,并随之降低自身与抑郁症患者持续互动的意愿。另一方面,抑郁症患者对自身的表征存在负面倾向,认为自己的社交技能较差<sup>[10]</sup>,进而降低参与社会活动的动机和频率<sup>[11]</sup>。两方面因素共同作用并相互影响,造成抑郁症患者持续遭遇社会交互失败。

人类之所以能够正确认识外部世界,并与之顺利交互,得益于其强大的认知功能。据此,主流观点倾向于将抑郁症患者在行为和态度上的异常解释为认知功能障碍,即认为抑郁症患者在感知、理解、决策等心理过程上存在缺陷,造成了其难以表现出正常的社会互动意愿和行为,使其长期遭受社交困境。

### 2.1 感知和注意障碍

对外部信息的感知和选择是认知加工过程的基础,因此抑郁症患者的基本认知过程是研究者关注的重点之一。研究发现,抑郁会对患者的视觉、听觉、嗅觉、味觉等功能产生影响<sup>[12-14]</sup>,甚至患者在视觉加工的早期阶段便已表现出功能受损<sup>[15]</sup>。此外,抑郁症患者的疼痛阈值<sup>[16, 17]</sup>、时间知觉<sup>[18]</sup>等同样偏离常态。

注意力障碍是抑郁症患者的另一标志性缺陷<sup>[19]</sup>。抑郁症患者无法维持较长时间的注意<sup>[20]</sup>,往往由于注意力存在缺陷而无法很好地完成任务<sup>[21]</sup>。此外,抑郁症患者存在相较于正常人不同的注意偏向,更多地会将注意投向负面信息<sup>[22, 23]</sup>和内在感受<sup>[24]</sup>,例如,会选择性地将注意投向威胁性词语<sup>[25]</sup>。

感知和注意障碍为社会交互带来了阻碍:基本感知能力受损可能导致患者难以察觉环境中与社会交互密切相关的信息;注意维持缺陷则可能造成患者迅速从与他人的互动中抽离,破坏对社交关系的维持;此外,对负面信息的不敏感或过度敏感都可能导致对当前互动产生错误评估,使后续社交行为产生偏差。目前已有研究发现,感知觉和注意障碍可能对抑郁症状<sup>[26, 27]</sup>及其干预造成负面影响<sup>[28]</sup>,暗示着此类功能障碍或为抑郁症患者社会交互缺陷的重要原因之一。

### 2.2 情绪识别障碍

情绪识别是与社会交互密切相关的功能。研究发现,抑郁症患者对基本面部情绪的识别普遍存在缺陷<sup>[29]</sup>。与正常人群相比,抑郁症患者面部表情识别的准确性较差<sup>[30]</sup>,尤其是对快乐的面部表情和对低强度情绪的识别准确性受损<sup>[31, 32]</sup>。抑郁症患者还表现出对表情识别的负性偏向<sup>[33, 34]</sup>,并倾向于将负面

情绪识别为具有更高强度<sup>[35]</sup>，而对正面情绪的强度评价则较正常人群更低<sup>[36]</sup>。针对青少年抑郁症的研究则揭示了其情绪识别缺陷的三个特性：对悲伤的敏感性、对快乐的感知不足和对愤怒的过度感知<sup>[37]</sup>。

抑郁症患者不仅在面部表情识别方面存在障碍，在识别感知情绪化语言时（包括口头语言与身体语言）同样如此。抑郁症患者对演员所说的情感话语中的恐惧、快乐和悲伤表现出识别障碍，并将快乐的刺激评价为恐惧和悲伤<sup>[38]</sup>。与面部表情类似，抑郁症患者对快乐的肢体语言刺激表现出较差的情绪识别准确性<sup>[39]</sup>。

情绪识别障碍会对社会交互造成明显的负面影响：患者不能够准确把握对方的情绪状态，从而难以产生恰当的情绪和行为反馈；同时，情绪识别的负性偏差可能造成患者长期感受到处于负性情绪氛围中，对心境造成持续影响，增加罹患或复发抑郁症的风险<sup>[40, 41]</sup>；长此以往，还可能造成患者对情绪识别的判断信心下降<sup>[42]</sup>，进一步弱化其社会交互动机。

## 2.3 心理理论障碍

心理理论（Theory of Mind）是指推断他人心理状态的能力，包括对他人意图、需求和目标等的理解。心理理论对于适应性的人际功能和有效沟通至关重要，因此很多研究者认为心理理论障碍是导致抑郁症社会交互缺陷的重要原因<sup>[43]</sup>。大量研究表明，抑郁症患者对他人心理状态的解读存在损害<sup>[4, 5, 44]</sup>。抑郁症患者无法准确觉察社会性故事中人物的失言行为<sup>[45, 46]</sup>，无法准确推断社交场合中人物的心理状态<sup>[44, 47]</sup>。当剥离掉外在线索，仅用简单的几何体运动构造带有社会交互信息的动画时，抑郁症患者也无法像正常人群一样从动画中提取有效的意图信息<sup>[48, 6]</sup>。抑郁症患者还会倾向于对社会刺激进行消极解释<sup>[49]</sup>，从别人的言论中解读出侮辱、嘲笑和轻蔑等负面信息<sup>[50]</sup>。

抑郁症患者对他人心理状态缺乏了解，可能导致在特定社交场合的反应不足，譬如难以理解他人表现出的幽默<sup>[51]</sup>、讽刺<sup>[48, 52]</sup>等较复杂的社会信息，从而给出不恰当的反馈破坏社会交互关系。甚至在抑郁症的缓解期，抑郁症患者对他人二阶信念（推断他人对第三方的想法的能力）的推断仍存在缺陷<sup>[53]</sup>，造成对他人社交关系的解读可能存在偏差。

## 2.4 社会决策障碍

除了感知和理解环境与他人外，社会交互的顺利进行还有赖于规划恰当的交互行为，社会决策功能与之密切相关。目前已有不少研究发现，抑郁症患者在进行具体决策时表现出异常。在囚徒困境游戏中，抑郁症患者互惠合作的频率普遍较低，更多时候选择背叛和竞争回避<sup>[54-56]</sup>。在公共物品游戏中，抑郁症患者贡献的金额更少<sup>[54]</sup>。总体上在各类博弈任务中，抑郁症患者最优的决策与理论和正常人群均存在较大差异，表现出对合作类交互的偏离。

抑郁症患者的社会决策障碍可能是造成社交缺陷的重要因素，其合作倾向或亲社会倾向可能较低，因而与他人开展交互的动机较低，甚至主动选择回避或拒绝他人，使自身长期脱离社会互动环境。

# 3 认知偏差视角下的抑郁症患者社会交互缺陷

## 3.1 现有研究的冲突与局限

围绕功能障碍开展的一系列研究，为抑郁症患者的社交缺陷提供了合理的解释，但该视角仍存在明

显局限。一方面,近年来采用不同范式的研究发现,抑郁症患者的认知功能与正常人群无显著差异,但仍表现出社会交互缺陷,这与功能障碍视角的解释存在明显冲突。有研究显示,抑郁症患者对面部表情识别的准确性并不弱于健康对照组<sup>[57, 58]</sup>。即使患者自身报告对情绪识别的判断信心不足,其对情绪识别的准确性实际上并未出现明显损害<sup>[42]</sup>。研究还发现,抑郁症患者在基本的社会信息解码方面可能仍保留一定的能力,比如在读眼识心任务中的表现不弱于健康人群<sup>[3, 44]</sup>,且其社会信息推断能力同样未明显受损<sup>[59]</sup>。一项以男性青少年抑郁症患者为对象的研究甚至发现,患者在读眼识心任务中的表现甚至强于同龄人<sup>[60]</sup>。

另一方面,来自社会决策领域的不少研究发现,抑郁症患者的决策尽管与正常人群不同,但并非总是表现出对他人或对社会交互的排斥。在囚徒困境游戏中,当自己选择合作而他人选择背叛时,抑郁症患者自我报告的愤怒程度较正常人群更高;当他人选择合作而自己选择背叛时,抑郁症患者自我报告的内疚程度较比正常人群更高<sup>[61]</sup>。在公共物品游戏中,抑郁症患者会更多地拒绝不公平提议,以维持利他的公平感<sup>[62, 63]</sup>。在最后通牒游戏中,抑郁症作为金钱方案的分配者时,会把更多的钱分给接受者,即提出超公平方案<sup>[64]</sup>;而作为接受者时,接收住院治疗6周的抑郁症患者仍认可不公平提议,即接受更少的金钱分配<sup>[65]</sup>。上述证据表明,抑郁症患者可能对积极的社会交互仍有较高预期,且拥有足以支撑社会交互顺利开展的基础认知功能。这一推论暗示着,不能简单地将抑郁症患者视作功能障碍者,其社会交互缺陷背后可能存在另一种机制。

### 3.2 来自认知偏差视角的解释

认知活动不仅涉及对信息的感知以及行为规划,还包含对信息的抽象解读。对于同样的信息,不同个体可能因判断标准不同造成理解差异,并进而产生相去甚远的行为响应,这类个体间的差异可以被称为认知偏差。信号检测论为认知偏差提供了数学上的描述,并被广泛应用于心理过程的研究中,以此为基础研究揭示了个体在感知理解等底层认知过程中的一系列差异<sup>[66-68]</sup>,以及在道德规范、人际义务等高级认知过程中的不同<sup>[69, 70]</sup>。在社会交互过程中,个体将线索和信号识别为交互关系有赖于特定的标准,根据交互关系评价和规划行为同样有赖于特定的社会规范。据此有理由推论,抑郁症患者的社会交互缺陷或源于其相较于正常人群存在的明显认知偏差,导致其对社会交互中的判断标准异于常人,从而表现出一系列心理与行为缺陷。

近年来,一些研究进一步细分了社会交互场景中的线索强弱,相关结果支持认知偏差视角。研究发现,当用于识别社会关系的行为或面孔线索较强时,抑郁症患者能够表现出不弱于正常人群的社会信息解码能力<sup>[32, 71]</sup>,在社会关系已明确的情境中,抑郁症患者可以表现出与正常人群相同甚至更强的社交行为。在囚徒困境游戏中,若操纵博弈伙伴的合作概率使其表现出明显稳定的合作倾向,则抑郁症患者能够在游戏中表现出较正常人群更强、更稳定的合作行为<sup>[72, 73]</sup>,采用最后通牒游戏的研究同样显示,抑郁症患者不仅拒绝损害自身利益的不公平提议<sup>[63, 74]</sup>,也拒绝扩大个人利益的不公平提议<sup>[74]</sup>,即维持全局公平。来自神经学的证据显示,抑郁症患者在交互关系中并非对社会拒绝过于敏感,而是对社会接受不够敏感,导致更易觉察到负面反馈<sup>[75]</sup>。上述研究表明抑郁症患者或对社会关系的确定性有更强的要求,即对交互行为能否满足特定社会关系的判断标准较正常人群更高,导致其根据行为识别社会关系,以及根据社会关系判断和执行行为时表现出一系列异常,这为认知偏差视角提供了初步证据。



### 3.3 新的研究取向与手段

认知偏差视角的核心观点在于, 抑郁症患者的社会交互缺陷源于其判断标准偏差。因而围绕该命题开展研究的关键点在于, 如何量化社会交互信息和情境, 并从认知过程中分离出判断标准。近年来相关研究范式和技术手段的进步, 为此提供了可能。

首先, 利用先进的计算机技术可以生成社会交互强度不同的动画, 将这些动画用于研究中, 并配合恰当的范式, 能够揭示个体在理解社会交互情景中的判断标准差异, 即对行为产生的影响<sup>[76, 77]</sup>, 为量化研究社会交互相关的认知过程提供了可能。其次, 利用计算建模技术可以对认知过程进行仿真, 并揭示行为背后潜在的认知过程和特性<sup>[78, 79]</sup>, 为在复杂场景中研究抑郁症患者的社会交互行为及标准提供可能。此外, 借助神经学技术探究脑活动, 不仅能够为潜在认知活动提供神经学证据, 还有助于探索社会交互场景中的多脑协同模式, 为揭示抑郁症患者社会交互缺陷背后的神经机制带来帮助<sup>[80, 81]</sup>。

## 4 总结与展望

本文围绕抑郁症患者的社会交互缺陷这一主题, 着重梳理了功能障碍视角下的相关研究, 并基于其中存在的冲突和局限, 提出认知偏差视角这一新观点及相关研究证据。未来研究或可聚焦于三方面: 其一, 系统考察认知偏差视角下的抑郁症社会交互缺陷及机制; 其二, 厘清抑郁症社会交互缺陷背后功能障碍、认知偏差等多种机制的协同作用; 其三, 区分可能存在的抑郁症亚群, 并进一步考察可能的干预手段和治疗方法。

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## The Cognitive Mechanism of Social Interaction Deficits in Individuals with Depression

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**Abstract:** Depression is one of the most common mental illnesses worldwide, with an enormous burden on individuals and the society. Deficit in social interaction is a hallmark symptom in people with depression. Individuals with depression always face a lot of social difficulties in daily life, and bad social experience further aggravate depressive symptoms, forming a vicious circle. Therefore, it is a topic of great concern to researchers to explore the internal mechanism of social interaction deficits in depression. Most current studies regard dysfunction as the internal root of social deficits in depression, and believe that individuals with depression have deficiencies in cognitive functions such as perception, understanding, and decision-making, which make it difficult for them to process social information and make suitable decisions, thus leading to fail in social interaction. However, there are still unresolved inconsistencies in relevant research, as well as limitations that do not fully account for the characteristics of individuals with depression. This article puts forward an explanation from the perspective of cognitive bias, and believes that individuals with depression have cognitive biases compared with normal people, which leads to their different judgment standards in social interactions, and thus show some differences in understanding others and planning own behavior. A range of recent studies provide evidence to support the viewpoint of cognitive bias perspective, and it can serve as an important supplement to related theories of dysfunction perspective. Future research around the cognitive bias perspective may benefit from the development of computational models and neuroscience techniques to seek theoretical breakthroughs and practical innovations for the problem of social interaction deficits in depression.

**Key words:** Depression; Social interaction; Dysfunction; Cognitive bias