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THEORY AND METODOLOGY
ТЕОРИЯ И МЕТОДОЛОГИЯ

**Cultural-Historical Psychology
(L.S.Vygotsky, A.R.Luria, A.N. Leontiev)
Based on the Activity Approach of V.V.Davydov
in the Program of V.V. Rubtsov's Development
of Socio-Genetic Psychology**

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The article presents a review analysis of V.V.Rubtsov's monograph *Socio-Genetic Psychology of Educational Interactions. Selected Articles, Speeches, Projects*. The author examines the most important results of the implementation of the research program of V.V.Rubtsov's socio-genetic psychology. The author believes that V.V. Rubtsov's fundamental research has confirmed the innovative and revolutionary nature of developmental education proposed by V.V. Davydov and D.B. Elkonin. Also, these studies helped Rubtsov to put forward several important ideas for modern educational policy. These include the development of the Russian School of the Future concept (together with Y.V. Gromyko, V.A. Guruzhapov, and A.A. Margolis), social policy for better childhood conditions, the development of inclusive education for children with special needs, the education for future research psychologists, and the introduction of digital technologies in education. By investigating various forms of learning interaction in the system of developmental education, V.V. Rubtsov clarified and concretized the basic principles of cultural-historical psychology, as well as highlighted the most important problems that require further solution.

Keywords: socio-genetic psychology, cultural-historical psychology, educational interactions, activity-based approach, joint activity, shared activity, thinking, speech, substantive action, mutual understanding, reflection.

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Культурно-историческая психология (Л.С. Выготского, А.Р. Лурии, А.Н. Леонтьева) на основе деятельностного подхода В.В. Давыдова в программе развития социально-генетической психологии В.В. Рубцова

Ю.В. Громько

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В статье излагается обзорный анализ монографии В.В. Рубцова «Социально-генетическая психология учебных взаимодействий (избранные статьи, выступления, проекты)». Автор рассматривает важнейшие результаты реализации исследовательской программы социально-генетической психологии В.В. Рубцова. С точки зрения автора статьи, результаты фундаментальных исследований В.В. Рубцова позволили ему обосновать и доказать опережающе-революционный характер практики развивающего образования В.В. Давыдова–Д.Б. Эльконина, а также выдвинуть ряд важнейших положений в области современной образовательной политики, касающихся проблем разработки проекта Российской школы будущего (совместно с Ю.В. Громько, В.А. Гуружаповым, А.А. Марголисом), социальной политики в интересах детей для обеспечения благополучного детства, инклюзивного образования детей с особыми нуждами, фундаментальной подготовки психологов-исследователей, цифровизации образования. В результате реализованной В.В. Рубцовым фундаментальной программы исследований различных форм учебных взаимодействий в практиках развивающего образования В.В. Давыдова, как считает автор статьи, были уточнены и конкретизированы основные положения культурно-исторической психологии, а также сформулированы важнейшие проблемы ее развития.

Ключевые слова: социально-генетическая психология, культурно-историческая психология, учебные взаимодействия, деятельностный подход, совместная деятельность, мышление, речь, предметное действие, взаимопонимание, рефлексия.

Для цитаты: Громько Ю.В. Культурно-историческая психология (Л.С. Выготского, А.Р. Лурии, А.Н. Леонтьева) на основе деятельностного подхода В.В. Давыдова в программе развития социально-генетической психологии В.В. Рубцова // Культурно-историческая психология. 2025. Том 21. № 1. С. 4–12. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17759/chp.2025210101>

Introduction

The two-volume monograph by V.V. Rubtsov "Socio-genetic psychology of educational interactions (selected articles, speeches, projects)" [11] is a remarkable event not only for the Russian, but also for the world psychological and educational community. The importance of this enormous (each volume is more than 500 pages of text with appendices) and multi-faceted publication is that, in addition to the scientific achievements of V.V. Rubtsov himself, it presents the works of various scientists and methodologists, carried out under the supervision of V.V. Rubtsov or in collaboration with V.V. Rubtsov over 50 years.

This work brings together the tradition of research in cultural-historical psychology and fundamental results in developmental education, forming a connection between the ideas of the founders of the cultural-historical

school L.S. Vygotsky, A.R. Luria, A.N. Leontiev, D.B. Elkonin, P.I. Zinchenko, A.I. Zaporozhets, P.Ya. Galperin, M.I. Lisina with the works of V.V. Davydov and his school. It is the works of V.V. Davydov, which became a significant milestone in the development of psychology and activity-based educational practice, that form a zone of fundamentally new unresolved problems for both cultural-historical psychology and the activity-based approach in the works of V.V. Rubtsov, N.N. Nechaev, E.I. Isaev, A.A. Margolis, V.T. Kudryavtsev, V.K. Zaretsky, Yu.V. Gromyko. This integrative and assembling publication actually allows us to survey the gigantic field of modern research and new ideas put forward through the prism of V.V. Rubtsov's own approach, the author of a new direction – sociogenetic psychology. The peculiarity of this approach consists in outlining the field of the most important question of genetic psychology and genetic epistemology (J. Piaget) – how thinking arises

in the conditions of changing collective interactions between a child and an adult, the children themselves, the student and the teacher, and the students themselves.

Once 40 years ago Vitaly V. Rubtsov said to his postgraduate student: "It seems that I have come across a huge mammoth during my initial research-excavations, I have discovered a huge field of completely new phenomena of the development of thinking in a student. Now the task is to dig up this mammoth and show it to everyone." This monograph actually allows us to understand what kind of «mammoth» V.V. Rubtsov discovered.

Our text is not simply a review of the published book, it is an attempt to assess the scale and main content of the ongoing program for the development of cultural-historical genetic psychology, presented in these volumes.

Results of the implementation of the research program of socio-genetic psychology of V.V. Rubtsov

The most important results of the implementation of the research program of socio-genetic psychology of V.V. Rubtsov can be summarized as follows.

1. In the fundamental research of V.V. Rubtsov and his school [11], it was shown that *the process of forming a community of participants in collective interactions and the process of the emergence of thought form an interconnected whole*, which becomes obvious when transforming the form of organization of joint action and identifying the subject of action.

2. *Operational-subject structures of thinking change in children* through specially organized *collective interactions* in overcoming affective-cognitive conflicts in coordinating actions and building joint forms of action of children and adults, and the children themselves.

3. *Objective actions in a situation of interactions and thinking operations in a child are not identical to each other*, they have different forms of construction (they are not isomorphic). The connection between them is ensured on the basis of special sign-symbolic means action diagrams, pictorial gestures, syllables endowed with meaning, "smart images" (V.V. Rubtsov [11]), verbal expressions, emphatic intonations), which make it possible to correlate the relationships of the participants in the interaction and the constructed subject of joint action.

4. The collective *form of interactions between children* organized by an adult and a teacher allows for the modeling of operational-subject structures of thinking in the system of relations *between a child and an adult, and the children themselves*, and also for transforming the identified *subject-operational structures of thinking* into a means of transforming social interactions into a tool for constructing a form of organizing joint action.

5. In numerous experiments by V.V. Rubtsov and his school [11; 12; 13], different *types of collective interac-*

tions of children with each other and among themselves were identified (pre-cooperative, pseudo-cooperative, cooperative, meta-cooperative (A.V. Konokotin [11]), characterizing different levels of children's and educational groups' ability to coordinate actions and restructure the form of organizing joint actions. The conditions for the transition from one level of collective interactions to another were identified.

6. *The types of collective interactions* and the associated modes of action of the participants in these interactions are *the basis of emerging communions* in which conditions arise for their participants to trace the connection between the form of collective objective action and operational-objective structures of thinking, changing forms of social relations and the subject of joint action (N.N. Nechaev [7]).

7. The most important role in organizing the processes of collective interactions, in which the transformation of the form of organization of joint action occurs, is played by *the processes of mutual understanding* (Yu.V. Gromyko), *reflection* (A.Z. Zak, I.M. Ulanovskaya), *communication* (N.N. Nechaev, A.V. Konokotin). When implementing these processes, the limitation of the existing form of joint action is revealed and the "space of new possibilities" (V.V. Rubtsov, B.D. Elkonin) is determined on the basis of the transformation of the form of organization of joint action.

8. In numerous studies by V.V. Rubtsov and his school, *different types of individual actions were identified in the transformation of the form of organization of joint action*, characterized by the tendency and readiness of the participant in the interaction to rely to a greater extent on speech statements, pictorial gestures and messages ("speech-makers"), operational structures of subject action ("operationalists") and the organization of cooperative action ("organizers").

9. It is precisely in the conditions of specially organized collective interactions that *the processes of generating new images by children on the basis of the development of imagination* (V.T. Kudryavtsev[6]) and *the processes of the emergence of new speech and symbolic means of expression on the basis of understanding and achieving mutual understanding through the formation of the meaning of joint action* (Yu. V. Gromiko) are carried out. The genesis of thought and forms of community can be associated for participants in collective interactions with the genesis of image and speech.

10. V.V. Rubtsov developed and repeatedly implemented *a method of genetic-modeling experiment*, allowing to trace the acquisition by participants of educational collective interactions of concepts, methods of generalization, methods of classification, structures of operational subject action during the transformation of the form of organization of joint action.

11. *The technological "secret"* of the genetic modeling experiment in the works of V.V. Rubtsov is a specially developed *symbolic construction*, a sign-material objectiv-

ity, *into which a child can be included* so that he, independently orienting himself in the experimental situation, demonstrating situational perceptiveness in interactions with other children and an adult, carries out an action. And Vitaly Rubtsov repeatedly constructed such special objects (with R.Ya. Guzman, A.V. Korostelev, with Laura Martin, with A.V. Konokotin and others), which is the basis of his experimental method. The objectivity created and constructed by V.V. Rubtsov can be compared with the objectivity of other famous names in psychology – J. Bruner, J. Piaget, A.N. Perret-Clermont, N. Ach, L.S. Vygotsky, P.Ya. Galperin, V.V. Davydov. It is precisely the comparison of these constructed objects of action that allows us to obtain new results.

These fundamental studies by V.V. Rubtsov allowed him to substantiate and prove the advanced-revolutionary nature of the practice of developmental education by V.V. Davydov–D.B. Elkonin, and also *to put forward a number of the most important provisions in the field of modern educational policy* concerning the problems of developing the project of the Russian School of the Future (jointly with Yu.V. Gromiko, V.A. Guruzhapov, A.A. Margolis), social policy in the interests of children to ensure a prosperous childhood, inclusive education of children with special needs, fundamental training of research psychologists, and digitalization of education.

Key provisions of V.V. Rubtsov's approach in the field of practice of development of Russian and world education

The most important provisions of V.V. Rubtsov's approach in the field of practical development of Russian and world education are as follows.

1. Numerous studies by V.V. Rubtsov and his school have shown that, on the basis of specially organized collectively distributed forms of educational activities of schoolchildren, when resolving conflict situations, *collectively integrated methods of joint educational action* arise, which ensure the mastery of the content of theoretical concepts of various academic subjects, constructed on the basis of V.V. Davydov's theory of substantive generalization, and also contribute to the formation of specific educational actions associated with setting an educational task, modeling, transforming models, etc.

2. Under the guidance and in collaboration with V.V. Rubtsov, a team of researchers (V.V. Ageyev, R.Ya. Guzman, I.M. Ulanovskaya, I.V. Rivina, A.M. Medvedev, and others) developed *special diagnostic methods*, that make it possible to identify the level of development of a student's cognitive actions in different forms of educational interactions; types of cooperation and emerging educational communities of students and teachers, and the students themselves; forms of coordination of search and testing actions; the level of development of meta-

subject competencies, reflexive analysis of methods of action; forms of educational communication, mutual understanding. The *special subject matter of educational interactions* created by V.V. Rubtsov for these methods differs from the specified target (normative) subject matter of mastering theoretical knowledge, developing skills and abilities. This *difference between the language of educational interactions of students with each other and with the teacher, specially created by V.V. Rubtsov, and the language of target formation in the teacher's activities* made it possible to determine and study the level of development of intellectual abilities in various educational systems, as well as the subjectivity of the educational activities of schoolchildren. It has been established that the intellectual development capabilities of modern students, achieved in the developmental education system, significantly exceed the level of development that the traditional Russian school is aimed at.

3. V.V. Rubtsov, together with V.K. Zaretsky, A.A. Margolis, E.I. Isaev, A.V. Konokotin [11], significantly specified the concept of the zone of proximal development in educational practices as processes of transition from pre-educational to educational community in the course of collective interactions of students with the teacher and with each other. *The construction of an educational community leads to the discovery of a space of new opportunities in the educational activities of students in the zone of proximal development.* This space of new opportunities for students is determined by the emergence of a common emotional-semantic field and a special type of educational interactions initiated by the teacher, based on the coordination of individual actions, communication processes and reflection. During these interactions, students transform the form of organization of joint educational activities based on reflection of the limitations of the established method of individual actions and setting an educational task to overcome these limitations as a result of constructing joint action.

4. The specification of the processes of intellectual and affective development of students at different age periods of personality development (preschooler, younger schoolchild, primary and secondary teenager) in the study of developmental education practices allowed V.V. Rubtsov and a team of co-authors (Yu.V. Gromyko, V.A. Guruzhapov, A.A. Morgolis [11]) *to identify and design a socio-cultural type of post-Soviet school – the Russian School of the Future.* This socio-cultural type of the nationwide Russian school of the future is revealed through systems of interconnected formative activities (game activities, educational activities, project activities) at different stages of age development of schoolchildren when solving the most important life problems and in accordance with personal-semantic contextual motivations. The achievement of personal and meaningful motives in solving life problems by students is carried out in the ecosystem of children-adult educational com-

munities that determine the co-organization of learning processes, non-declarative education, age development, socio-cultural and professional self-determination in the practices of developmental education of the school of the future. *The most important characteristic of children-adult educational communities of the school of the future are freely forming game, educational, project communities, in which the subjectivity of students' activities is initiated.* Thus, educational communities of students and teachers, and the students themselves, are determined by a free, spontaneous type of coordination of individual actions in constructing the subject of joint educational activity when setting an educational task that requires overcoming (B.D. Elkonin) the achieved individual development capabilities of students. This type of interaction between students, pupils and teachers, which is not authoritarian, not administratively forced, not sclerotized by bureaucratic efforts, creates conditions for the exchange of development opportunities between participants in the emerging game, educational and project communities of the school of the future. It is the free type of educational interactions, which simultaneously requires efforts to overcome the limitations of the established method of action in the formation of the subject of joint action in coordination with other students and the teacher, that creates the conditions for new approaches to inclusive education of children with special needs (V.V. Rubtsov and A.V. Konokotin [11]) and more broadly social strategies in the interests of children to ensure a prosperous childhood (V.V. Rubtsov).

5. Activity-based practices of developmental education require the advancement of new approaches to the digitalization of education, the use of generative artificial intelligence (ChatGPT), video games (O.V. Rubtsova), and the development of a digital platform for the Russian School of the Future. The main limitations of existing approaches to digitalization and gamification of education are that digital systems are created not for the development of children's intellectual abilities, but for behavioralization and management of consumer behavior. They use electronic systems that absolutize the moment of exercise and the effective control of completed operations (V.V. Davydov, V.V. Rubtsov and a group of authors). While the most important capabilities of generative artificial intelligence can be associated with educational modeling (V.V. Rubtsov, A.A. Margolis, A.L. Pazhitnikov) of subjects of joint action, objects of study, various types of actions in a situation, acts of communication, the thought acts themselves and the processes of interaction of students with each other and with the teacher. Models of thought acts, which in turn model various objects of action and objects of study from different disciplines, create conditions for the development of special thought-digital semiotics (model languages of image and representation of thinking and activity in general), allowing to design, construct the

subject of collective interactions and experiment with new languages and ways of thinking, with new forms of collective interactions. One of the most important characteristics of this semiotics is the models of processes in the form of moving "dynamic signs" (V.V. Rubtsov [11]). In general, when creating a digital platform for the Russian School of the Future, it is necessary to distinguish and contrast the digital-algorithmic approach and the digital-cognitive approach to organizing the content of education. The digital-algorithmic approach correlates the student's answers with a certain established rule, a given set of operations for obtaining the desired answer. The digital-cognitive approach serves to expand the possibilities of cognition, ensures the creation of conditions for modeling, depicting and presenting acts of thinking and action in the educational work of schoolchildren for the students themselves and the teacher.

The main provisions of cultural-historical psychology, clarified and specified as a result of the research program implemented by V.V. Rubtsov

As a result of the fundamental research program of various forms of educational interactions in the practices of developmental education implemented by V.V. Rubtsov [11; 13], V.V. Davydov's clarified and concretized basic provisions of cultural-historical psychology can be summarized as follows:

1. The most important point for the development of higher mental functions is the interaction of children with an adult and with each other in contact with an adult. *There is no initial "individuality" of development, although a specific individual child develops.*

2. The productivity and effectiveness of the development of these interactions is determined by specific actions of *mediating contact between an adult and a child and other children*, when a special type of mediation action arises (B.D. Elkonin [15]) — invitations to contact, entry into contact, disclosure of new possibilities in contact.

3. The most important role in the course of these interactions is played by *the actions of sign mediation*, the transformation of a sign into a means (instrument) of controlling one's own behavior through controlling the behavior of an adult based on a sign (semiotic) attitude toward an object.

4. It is precisely *the unity of mediation* (the organic-corporeal form of the very co-movement of an adult and a child, children interacting near an adult on the basis of intonation, expressive gesture, entering into contact, the discovery of the impulse of the leader by the follower (B.D. Elkonin [15]) *and mediation* (A.N. Leontiev) — a symbolic transformation of the focus of consciousness on how to compose and connect objects-things, what to see in general, what to pay attention to (V.V. Rubtsov), —

that determines the initially active nature of the cultural-historical theory of L.S. Vygotsky without L.V. Vygotsky himself using the category/word "activity".

5. *The acquisition of cultural norms of human activity occurs only within the child's interactions with adults and other children*, where culture acts as a model of activity revealed by an adult — a direction of achievements that the child strives to master, supported by an adult through special teaching practices that are not limited to copying or imitating the proposed behavior patterns.

6. The constant, tireless improvement of attempts and tests to carry out various types of activity, *the qualitative complication of such tests by the child is directed by the adult through special teaching practices* in interaction between the child and the adult, the child and other children (learning leads to development).

7. *The greatest effects of teaching* a specific child are achieved in the zone of proximal development, which is built by the adult teacher, revealing *new opportunities for the child-student beyond the boundaries of the child's established and mastered activity* when overcoming difficulties that have arisen.

8. *The most important areas of change in a child in the learning process are the development of thinking, speech* (L.S. Vygotsky) *and action* (A.N. Leontiev and the Kharkov school), which "have... different roots", but are integrated into the processes of interaction between a child and an adult, and the children themselves under the guidance of an adult.

Problems of development of cultural-historical psychology and psychological anthropology of development in general

The summarized provisions of cultural-historical psychology based on educational interactions in the practices of developmental education allow us to formulate the most important problems of the development of cultural-historical psychology and psychological anthropology of development in general.

1. The very idea of socio-genetic psychology of V.V. Rubtsov [11; 13], when considering the processes of educational interactions, reveals and outlines *the theoretical "cell"* of a huge new theoretical field of psychological anthropology of the development of various age stages and various practices of developmental education. This area involves the simultaneous consideration and tracing of *the relationship between two genetic processes — the process of sociogenesis of communities, communions and the process of the emergence of consciousness*, which mu-

tually determine each other. In this case, we are not talking about individual consciousness, but first of all about the collective consciousness of a forming community, when its participants carry out transformative actions and create various signs, coordinating sign (semiotic) relations to highlight the subject of joint action. The obvious interconnection between these two emerging new formations — proto-consciousness and proto-social relations (the emerging proto-sociality — the social relations of the future for the new generation, simultaneously transforming the system of established social relations and growing into them) — *is revealed in the project activity of a teenager*. A teenager develops a *practical project-oriented consciousness*, and the teenager himself forms new social relations and connections in the project team, which will become an element of the society of the future, formed by the new generation. Tracing the connection between these two processes requires going beyond the framework of rigid individualistic educational psychology, which denies interdisciplinary connections and does not include genetic epistemology (the origin of knowledge and structures of thinking in the course of educational interactions), activity-based cognitivism, the analysis of semiosis in joint activities, the theory of consciousness and the theory of sociogenesis.

2. V.V. Rubtsov discovered *a fact of fundamental importance* in his research. It was shown that children have a special perceptiveness to the coordination of their own response activity to the activity of an adult, other children in a situation of interactions. Is it not this sensitivity the basis of the "natural" readiness of a child who has not yet learned to cooperate, which Michael Tomasello writes about in his book [16]? *Perceptiveness to the coordination of interactions with adults and other children, in whose field the child is from the moment of birth, cannot be reduced to the set of higher mental functions known in psychology*. Damage and weakening of perceptiveness to coordination of interactions with adults and other children may lead to various types of autism and communication defects. These different types of perceptiveness and sensitivity (remember the genesis of the sensation of color with the hands by A.N. Leontiev, the ability to feel the magnetic field in N.V. Tseng [10]) are a kind of basis for intellectual processes. Another type of perceptiveness can also be pointed out — *situational perceptiveness* on the basis of which the orienting basis of action is mastered.

3. In the course of special interactions of a child with adults and other children, the development of intellectual processes occurs — thinking, thought communication (flowing speech without fixed meanings in the form of language (N.N. Nechaev [8; 9])) and thought

¹ The unity of three processes — thinking, thought communication and thought action as a fundamental basis of the cultural-historical tradition and the activity approach was first presented in the diagram of thought activity by G.P. Shchedrovitsky. The terms "thought communication" and "thought action" were proposed by G.P. Shchedrovitsky to designate processes that are based on thought content and meanings [14].

action¹. "Thinking and speech... (*and we will add from ourselves, Yu.G. and also the action*)... have genetically completely different roots", but in the course of interactions of children with adults and with other children, mutual intersection and interweaving of these processes occurs. In addition to thinking, communication and action in a situation of collective interactions, there is mental communication and communicative thinking, mentally equipped action in a situation and thinking in the form of operationalized actions, communicative action in a situation and communication in the form of spoken actions. The action of mediation [154] identified by B.D. Elkonin is a communicative action that initiates the processes of interaction between adults and children, and between children.

4. *The processes of development of intellectual abilities* – thinking, thought-communication, thought-action, their above-mentioned intersections, as well as reflection, understanding, schematization, mutual understanding based on mastering the methods of action in the situation of educational interactions – differ from the processes of development of higher mental functions. The development of modes of action underlying intellectual abilities requires special further study. "Interpsychic" as a certain type of interactions based on the created forms of collectively distributed activity is a means of modeling the genesis of intellectual ability in a participant in the interaction. The subject of analysis in this case becomes the independent subjective implementation of the intellectual process by a participant in collective interactions based on the mastered mode of action. As V.V. Rubtsov rightly notes in his monograph: "The uniqueness of the transition from the situation of interaction "adult-child" to the generation of cognitive

action cannot be explained by either the formula "from external to internal" or the formula "from internal to external" ([11], vol. 1, p. 58). The genesis of the abilities of reflection, understanding, schematization, depiction of "smart images", and linguistic means of expression requires further analysis.

5. After the fundamental works of V.V. Davydov on the presentation of theoretical concepts in the form of a method of objective action, allowing us to trace the genesis of theoretical knowledge, the idea of L.S. Vygotsky's opposition of everyday and scientific concepts changed radically. The child does not have "everyday concepts", but can give definitions of terms introduced into the discussion and theoretical concepts set by the teacher. *These definitions of students are not comparable with the idealizations in the structure of the concept, highlighted through the action of modeling and transformation of models.* The most important role is played by the dialogue of students with adults and among themselves in discussing the "conceptual monsters" of students – ways of understanding, the introduced theoretical concept in the form of strange images and schemes, unusual verbal expressions. The theoretical representation of the teacher in the dialogues of students can itself be considered as a "conceptual monster". The processes of schematization of meanings and the depiction of "smart images" of students play a huge role in attempts to identify and present conceptual monsters (V.V. Rubtsov).

Thus, this monograph records the significant results achieved by V.V. Rubtsov and the team of researchers and developers working with him in implementing the program for the construction of socio-genetic psychology, and defines new frontiers in the development of cultural-historical psychology.

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Digital Extended Man Looking for his Wholeness

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The mixed online-offline reality, with the technosystem as an integral component of the digital era's ecological human system, has given rise to a new anthropological type: the technologically augmented human, enhanced by digital tools. This extended human, simultaneously embodied in the physical realm and dematerialized through extra-corporeal expansion, becomes distributed across multiple realities and digital spaces. This distribution challenges the concept of holistic subjectivity. The problem of wholeness is examined through technological, cognitive, motivational-value, and socio-behavioral dimensions. A key focus is on identifying new methods for managing digital extensions, fostering internal coherence, and integrating digital and real-world identities to enable conscious, responsible, effective, and safe participation in digital social practices. In this era of rapid digital transformation, the wholeness of modern humans must be re-evaluated based on a fundamental principle: a changing individual exists within a constantly transforming world. This principle acknowledges the limitations of previous anthropological frameworks and norms in understanding humanity, recognizing humans as an open, unfinished project perpetually striving to realize their boundless potential.

Keywords: digital extended personality, digital socialization, holism, wholeness, externalism.

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Человек технологически достроенный: в поисках целостности

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Смешанная реальность и появление техносистемы, как важной части экологической системы жизнедеятельности людей в цифровую эпоху, формирует новый антропологический тип человека, технологически расширенного и достроенного цифровыми средствами. Человек достроенный, будучи одновременно телесно воплощенным и дематериализованным в своем расширении за пределы физического тела, оказывается распределенным между различными реальностями и цифровыми пространствами, что ставит под вопрос его целостную субъектность. Проблема целостности рассматривается в рамках следующих направлений: технологического, когнитивного, мотивационно-ценностного и социально-поведенческого. Важный фокус анализа — поиск новых форм управления цифровыми достройками, формирование внутренней согласованности личности, объединяющей в себе цифровые и реальные идентичности и способной осознанно, ответственно, эффективно и безопасно быть включенной в практики цифровой социальности. В эпоху цифровых трансформаций, скорость которых все нарастает, проблема целостности современного человека должна быть пересмотрена на основе ключевого принципа — изменяющийся человек находится в постоянно трансформирующемся мире, предполагающем, в том числе, что прежние антропологические лекала и нормы сковывают наше понимание о нем и что человек — открытый, незавершенный проект, нацеленный на бесконечное раскрытие своего потенциала.

Ключевые слова: технологически расширенная личность, цифровая социализация, целостность, экстернализм.

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The Fourth Industrial Revolution, constantly accelerating due to digital transformation is driving the inevitable evolution of humans into beings increasingly interconnected with technology. Researchers are seeking metaphors to describe, analyze, and explain these transformative changes. One such metaphor, grounded in evolutionary biology and psychophysiology, is the concept of the “completed person” where tools created by humans are viewed as external exosomatic organs — extensions of the body (A. Lotka, P. Medawar, I. Feigenberg) — enabling new forms of activity. In a transdisciplinary context, this metaphor represents a key vector in the evolutionary development of human civilization within a

technologically saturated socio-cultural environment — a novel ecosystem of human existence.

In this ecosystem, the technosystem — encompassing smartphones, computers, digital platforms, applications, artificial intelligence programs, and their modes of use — serves as the primary mediating link between individuals and their surrounding world. A significant driver of technosystem development is the rapid proliferation of internet-connected people and devices, resulting in a mixed (convergent) reality — a cyber-physical environment. This environment comprises a complex interplay of physical, social, and virtual subjects, objects, and stimuli from both the real and virtual worlds [9]. All these elements coexist within a sin-

gle space-time continuum. However, while holistic perception of this continuum is presumed, traditional ontological thinking raises crucial questions about understanding the true nature of being in the digital age. Within this continuum, the ontological challenge stimulates the expansion and active augmentation of the internet-connected individual through the technosystem, leading to complex issues surrounding digital mediation and the formation of a new sense of personal wholeness across multiple realities.

Within the framework of L.S. Vygotsky's cultural-historical psychology and Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, human development within this new ecosystem is considered a stage of social evolution. The technosystem, as a critical component of the external environment, enhances the capabilities of both adults and children, becoming integrated into and augmenting their cognitive, behavioral, and social systems. Digital devices and environments function as cultural tools that mediate mental functions, facilitate new activities, foster social interactions, and generate new cultural practices [7].

Extended human: from stone biface to artificial intelligence

Human "expansion" is not a recent phenomenon. Three or four million years ago, Australopithecines utilized sticks as tools, extending their capabilities. Cro-Magnons consciously invented tools, and Upper Paleolithic cave paintings represent early evidence of externalizing aspects of consciousness onto "external media." Throughout history, human augmentation via tools and technologies has progressed – from digging sticks and hand axes to telescopes, surgical robots, and spacecraft. The most significant leap, however, occurred during the era of digital transformation, profoundly expanding human capabilities, particularly when compared to the less technologically advanced analog era. Combined with technological tools, including artificial intelligence, human consciousness becomes both embodied and disembodied, extending beyond the physical body and brain. Humans are no longer purely corporeal or "digital" but are constantly integrated into multiple worlds. While inextricably linked, these "incarnations" are distributed across numerous spaces simultaneously, challenging the notion of unified human subjectivity [15; 18; 26].

The extended and augmented human is central to digital socialization, which we define as a changing human's adaptation to the opportunities and risks of a constantly evolving socio-technological environment [7]. The transdisciplinary framework for studying the technologically extended personality encompasses various concepts, prominently including externalist perspectives. Understanding consciousness has evolved from internalism, reducing mental phenomena to brain characteristics, to externalism, where external objects causally influence, constitute, or organize cognitive processes. Externalist perspectives suggest that human cognition is shaped by environmental conditions, viewing humans through their external additions or extensions. This is evident in E. Kapp's philosophy of technology; enactivism (F. Varela, E. Thompson, E. Rosch); the classical externalism of H. Putnam and T. Burge; the active externalism of E. Clark and D. Chalmers; and L.S. Vygotsky's active social externalism, which emphasized social forms of mental development long before these ideas emerged elsewhere [4].

Within the digital socialization concept, studying the human through key dimensions – access and connectivity to digital technologies, mixed reality, the technologically extended personality, digital sociality, and digital well-being – reveals accelerating human extension in mixed cyber-physical reality and the resulting changes.

Technological transformations and the adoption of new digital products are accelerating. ChatGPT, for example, reached 100 million users within two months, a significantly faster rate than other popular digital platforms. Despite the prevalence of neural network-based services and futurologists' predictions of "strong" artificial intelligence within the next decade, the initial ChatGPT boom has subsided. Soon, users will possess AI-powered mobile devices – interactive, multitasking, with speech recognition and synthesis, computer vision. These devices will exhibit almost animate qualities, evolving through interactions with their owners into "unique entities" adapting to individual preferences. Such an AI-powered phone will become a companion and a crucial digital extension of the real personality, acquiring new properties and qualities within this symbiotic relationship.

The interest in the technologically extended person is not coincidental. Digital extensions across various aspects of human activity (information retrieval, knowledge systems, communication, and self-regulation) are significantly altering life-

styles and transforming individuals. This expanded, augmented person, extended through external technological tools and digital systems, is becoming an increasingly active subject in the digital world and mixed reality. This perspective necessitates a reassessment not only of norms of cognitive and personal development but also of the constructs researchers utilize when studying the complex interplay between digital and traditional socialization. Psychologists, particularly mindful of the risks associated with digital transformations, are focusing on the crucial issue of personality wholeness, a central concern across various areas of psychological science and practice.

This article aims to address the internal consistency of the individual augmented by digital technologies, highlighting key aspects that shape the complex process of developing a new sense of wholeness within the context of adaptation to rapidly changing digital environments.

The problem of wholeness in social and humanitarian sciences

The philosophical concept of wholeness is reflected in the ontological principle of holism, which opposes reductionism. Holism asserts that a whole is more than the sum of its parts, possessing emergent properties unpredictable from the properties of its individual components. This philosophical principle has transcended disciplinary boundaries, influencing fields ranging from biology and medicine to sociology and mathematics, becoming a significant methodology in systems theory and the systemic approach [22].

Holistic principles are particularly evident in information science and artificial intelligence, giving rise to the concept of “strong AI,” capable not only of mimicking individual human cognitive processes and problem-solving but also of exhibiting holistic cognitive activity, including continuous learning and self-organization [21]. The potential emergence of “strong” AI remains debated, beginning with J. Searle’s “Chinese Room” thought experiment, a critique of the Turing test [35]. However, the question arises whether AI already constitutes a “new digital entity” with an internal structure differing from its creators’ initial intentions.

In psychology, the ontological principle of wholeness is relevant when considering the person within the unity and contradictions of nature and culture, individual and social, subjective and objec-

tive, hereditary and acquired, factual and transcendental, conscious and unconscious, and the unity of past, present, and future. The general methodological principle of organizing complex systems has shaped the understanding of the psyche’s wholeness as a phenomenal field in Gestalt psychology (M. Wertheimer et al.), reflecting the universal law of the whole being greater than the sum of its parts. C.G. Jung introduced the archetype of the Self as the integrating potential of the personality, encompassing consciousness and unconsciousness, and representing the life goal. K. Lewin presented a dual view of the human psyche, depicting the personality as both a differentiated whole and a part of its personal space. G. Allport developed the concept of proprium, organizing a personality’s attitudes, motives, and inclinations.

Humanistic psychology significantly contributed to understanding wholeness, emphasizing the unity and integrity of the person as a complex, open system striving for integration and interconnectedness. Studies on existential integrity (A. Maslow), personality congruence (C. Rogers), and self-identity within temporal and social contexts (E. Erikson) exemplify this understanding.

In Soviet and Russian psychology, the concept of personality itself, and the concept of individuality based on an anthropological principle, are viewed as integrating principles linking various processes, ensuring the stability and wholeness of the person through internal connections. These principles are characterized by increasing complexity in the historical-evolutionary process (B.G. Ananyev, A.G. Asmolov, K.A. Abulkhanova, A.V. Brushlinsky, V.S. Merlin, V.D. Nebylitsyn, Petrovsky, Yaroshevsky, S.L. Rubinstein, etc.).

As S.P. Gurevich notes, true wholeness remains unattainable due to the inherent incompleteness and instability of human nature: fallibility, dependence, openness to the world, infinite potential, plasticity, capacity for change, and the inevitability of internal and external conflicts and contradictions. Wholeness is not absolute; it is not inherently given but acquired as relative holism. Human existence is fundamentally incomplete, characterized by fragmentation and conflict [2]. The increasing uncertainty, nonlinearity, complexity, fluidity, and ontological fragmentation of the modern world, largely driven by digital transformations, complicate wholeness and necessitate new ways of restoring integrity or creating new forms. It is through this lens of wholeness that we will examine the Augmented Man from various perspectives.

Directions of Technologically Extended Personality Study: Indicators of New Wholeness

Based on analyses of current theoretical and empirical research, we identify four areas for studying the technologically extended personality, revealing aspects of wholeness in the digital age: technological, cognitive, motivational-value, and socio-behavioral. The distinctions between these areas are somewhat arbitrary. For each, we will consider potential indicator systems for the technologically extended personality, along with challenges and trends related to new forms of wholeness.

Technological Aspects. The current balance between the digital and the real in mixed reality, and the emergence of technosystems as the primary mediating link between individuals and their physical environment, challenge previous conceptions of worldview integrity. This can be studied using indicators such as: the technological equipment of the surrounding space; the availability and accessibility of digital devices, programs, applications, and platforms; user satisfaction with their quality; and the diversity of user experiences.

We have tracked several of these indicators since 2013. For instance, over the past decade, the number of teenagers exhibiting high levels of user activity – hyperconnected individuals (spending 8-9 or more hours online daily) – has increased fivefold. Over 80% of users now spend six or more hours online daily [9]. By 2019, a quarter of homes in major Russian cities were equipped with smart home devices, and over half of preschoolers and a third of primary school children interacted with robotic smart toys. Furthermore, the younger the children, the more technologically saturated their environment, facilitated by the Internet of Things and the increasing number of network-connected objects [8].

Digital gadgets, applications, and voice assistants expand and augment personal capabilities, optimizing various aspects of daily life (e.g., heart rate trackers, pedometers). Their convenience and simplicity lead to ubiquitous use across diverse life domains. Digital devices and spaces, due to their accessibility and prevalence, are rapidly becoming constants for modern individuals, playing a key role in shaping their sense of wholeness. Deprivation of long-term, intensive use of digital extensions can render individuals helpless and significantly reduce their effectiveness.

The personality not only expands and is augmented by digital “extensions” but also inhabits a unique space where the virtual and real continuously blend, interpenetrating and altering physical, social, and psychological dimensions. The problem of the personality’s new wholeness in mixed reality is demonstrated through the interplay between various psychological phenomena and attitudes toward digital devices. Adaptation to mixed reality necessitates increased self-trust as a competent user, a condition, according to C. Rogers, for maintaining personality integrity. However, the integrity of a technologically extended personality also relies on trust in convenient, reliable, and accessible – and therefore widespread – technologies, including artificial intelligence such as voice assistants and neural networks. Simultaneously, avoiding excessive or uncritical trust in digital extensions is crucial. Research on chatbots reveals that half of user queries are emotionally driven [11]. When selecting smart home technologies, comfort and convenience often outweigh security and privacy concerns [23]. Many individuals interact with technical devices as if they were animate beings, attributing personality traits and interacting according to established cultural norms [32].

Currently, research is shifting from focusing on the utility, cost-effectiveness, labor intensity, and practical applications of specific technologies toward socio-psychological investigations into the formation of attitudes toward technology and its role in life. This includes developing a conscious and responsible user position, where individuals control their devices rather than vice versa. A new mode of internal wholeness for the extended person can be acquired through this approach – one dependent not only on the reliability of digital extensions but also, as their functions expand, on the nature of the relationship with them: ranging from anthropomorphizing devices and automatic trust to a consciously developed attitude toward them as tools and useful applications. The ontological duality of mixed reality demands a re-evaluation of individual wholeness, recognizing digital devices as constant companions.

Cognitive Aspects. Digital tools are increasingly integrated into various cognitive tasks, often becoming indispensable. This raises questions about cognitive integrity, particularly concerning the augmentation of cognitive processes by digital tools, the development of new behaviors within digitally mediated environments, the fragmentation of consciousness – especially in younger genera-

tions – and the challenges of holistically responding to mixed reality. The complexity of the interplay between cognitive and social aspects within digitally mediated cognitive processes is evident in the “Google effect,” studies of networked thinking, technology-mediated social cognition, the expansion of autobiographical memory capabilities, and research on attention in media multitasking [e.g., 14; 20; 38].

Research into digitally augmented cognitive processes builds upon the extended mind thesis [15] and the trend of “cognitive unloading” – offloading cognitive processes onto external tools [19; 29], freeing resources for other activities [14; 37]. While digital devices allow individuals to perceive the utilization of external tools as an extension of their own cognitive functions, involving cognitive load distribution and resource conservation, the technosystem-mediated cognitive development of individuals yields outcomes differing from 20th-century developmental psychology norms.

A key area of discussion involves the Internet as an extended transactive memory, with digital devices acting as memory partners. This highlights the blurring of boundaries between “what the user knows and what the Internet knows,” the “Google effect” [27; 36]. Human memory is extended through various devices – smartphones, computers, cameras, smartwatches, GPS devices, smart speakers, and other internet-connected devices. This raises concerns about cognitive integrity, arising from various digital effects. For example, internet use increases confidence in one’s knowledge, leading to the perception of online information as part of one’s own knowledge system, and increasing reliance on the internet [37]. Conversely, individuals may forget information entrusted to digital storage [25].

These observed transformations of higher mental functions reflect the human search for new wholeness in mixed reality and new ways of managing memory, attention, thinking, and social cognition within a multifaceted digital environment. Advances in artificial intelligence provide additional capabilities, creating a new “cognitive exoskeleton” for the extended personality. The question remains whether this will serve as a foundation for its wholeness.

Motivational and value Aspects. In this line of research, digital devices and environments are viewed as motivating, emotionally charged artifacts possessing special value for their owners, signifi-

cantly differing from other possessions. This highlights the emergence of new “digital” needs, along with indicators of emotional attachment, trust in digital devices and AI programs, the experience of technology as part of the self, technology-related psychological states (including anxiety, phobias, and depression), and the integration of the virtual and real selves into a holistic self.

This manifests in phenomena related to the motivational-need sphere of the technologically extended personality, particularly emotional attachment to digital devices. This attachment is reflected in attributing personality traits and emotions to devices, showing concern for them [30], experiencing anxiety in their absence [33], developing technophobia, forming general attitudes toward technology [3], and experiencing nomophobia – the anxiety of being without a smartphone or internet access [24]. This emotional attachment is particularly prominent among children and teenagers, for whom a smartphone becomes a significant possession and trusted companion, making life without it difficult to imagine [8].

Smartphone users report that technology has become a bodily extension, shaping both personality and lifestyle [30; 39], with separation resulting in a partial loss of identity [33]. However, some argue that the smartphone is not a personality extension itself, but rather a combination of existing extension means representing various facets of identity [34].

S. Park and B. Kay identified three types of smartphone-based personality extension: functional (expanding cognitive and physical capabilities); anthropomorphic (attributing human characteristics); and ontological (experiencing ontological security or insecurity, “changing who they are”) [30]. Closely related is problematic internet use, currently studied clinically or behaviorally, but not yet in terms of the device’s significance as a technological personality extension [33; 34].

Constructing a holistic self-image, images of others, and a coherent worldview is crucial in the socialization of children, adolescents, and young adults, and presents a significant challenge in adapting to mixed reality. Teenagers and older generations approach this differently. Adults typically transfer their online identity to the digital world unchanged, preserving their existing integrity. In contrast, teenagers’ real and digital world images are fluid, blending and complementing each other. Their virtual and real selves, rather than opposing each other, interact complementarily, constructed

within mixed reality and striving for integrity [6]. The digital generation independently develops skills to build a holistic personality in mixed reality, as evidenced by the convergence of digital and real personalities. This results in a new hybrid personality type, with boundaries extended by the digital dimension, potentially leading to identity choices beyond biological nature.

Social and behavioral Aspects. This research area, connected to digital sociality, primarily examines the processes of mastering socio-cultural practices within digitally mediated contexts. These practices relate to the technological expansion of personality, managing digital daily life, and self-regulation within it and in mixed reality. The research also explores the specifics of social interactions, connections, perceptions of others, attitudes toward digital personal data, and issues of identity and self-presentation. The active development of socio-cultural practices in mixed reality, utilizing digital extensions, ranges from destructive practices like cyber aggression to positive ones such as online charity and volunteering. These practices interact with real-life activities, raising critical questions about personality wholeness in modern teenagers and young adults.

Research indicates that teenagers on social networks are deeply engaged in the socio-technological expansion of their personalities. They actively digitalize themselves through posting photos, changing avatars, and constructing and editing public profiles [8]. Digital spaces offer opportunities to experiment with self-presentation, potentially transferring these presentations offline [6]. The fragmented personality and its wholeness issues are reflected in social media activity focused on self-presentation and continuous image transformation. The greater the discrepancy between different aspects of the self, the more active the user's content uploads and edits.

Regarding the image of the self and personality, we, following other authors, highlight the shift in traditional self-construction practices, now extended by digital and, importantly, mixed-reality practices. R. Belk described the dematerialization of significant, "self-filled" objects into digital copies, the reproduction of oneself in digital spaces through avatars and digital traces, and autobiographical memory distributed across digital spaces [12]. R. Brubaker, following M. Foucault, refers to self-contouring practices as "technologies of self-production," emphasizing routine self-objectification through readily accessible digital data [13].

Research into such practices includes the use of app data for self-monitoring, self-knowledge, and self-control, blurring the line between a person and their data. Hyperconnectivity creates a new technosocial infrastructure of the self through constant offline-online connection [18]. The subject's integrity takes on new dimensions – the "Digital Self" becomes "immediately available for inspection, addition, and clarification," mirroring the observation of one's own body [26, p. 59–60].

The extended personality develops new practices for constructing a social network of contacts – social online capital – which serves as a resource for development and self-realization, but also as a potential source of conflict and risk, challenging its wholeness. The internet enables nearly one-third of teenagers to reach the Dunbar number of contacts typical of the average adult, within a single social network [16; 31]. Online social capital has been shown to fulfill communication, belonging, support, and acceptance needs, thus increasing self-esteem and psychological well-being [28]. Simultaneously, the risk of encountering cyberbullying and cybergrooming increases [1]. However, the crucial question of how real and virtual world social capitals are connected, the processes within mixed reality, and the impact on individual wholeness, remains unanswered.

A significant challenge for the technologically extended personality is self-regulation through the management of digital extensions. To understand these processes, the "Self-management of digital everyday life" methodology was developed and tested. This includes experiences within digital daily life, the management of digital devices, and digital sociality [5]. Research indicates that a key tool for managing the diversity of technological extensions within digital daily life – and thus addressing challenges to personal wholeness – is digital competence: the readiness and ability to use digital extensions effectively and safely. Furthermore, techno-rationalism – a conscious and balanced attitude toward technological progress – is also crucial.

Conclusion

The areas of research into the technologically extended personality (technological, cognitive, motivational-value, and socio-behavioral) defines key indicators for understanding human wholeness in the digital age. The cognitive and social

externalization of humans via the technosystem and mixed reality challenges human wholeness from various perspectives: the integrity of the Self, the Other(s), and the understanding of the world, including AI systems. This wholeness is now distributed, fragmented, and exists across multiple realities. To what extent can individuals maintain the understanding of wholeness prevalent in 20th-century social and humanistic sciences? Modern humans, more than in previous eras, constantly transform and reconstruct themselves, striving for integrity, which, under conditions of rapid change, cannot be static. It is fluid, mirroring modernity itself, and continuously acquired. Essentially, psychological, biological, and psychosocial integrity regardless of perspective is understood as a lifelong pursuit for such a complex self-organizing system as a human being. The current state of the information society necessitates addressing this problem and finding new ways for individuals to replenish their wholeness, perhaps through the creation of a new, relative integrity that evolves throughout life [10]. The question of, and the need for, integration within the modern world's multiple realities remains open.

The technologically extended personality faces significant challenges, particularly the need for self-determination and self-regulation in this new world. This involves both appropriating digital extensions devices and digital spaces and mastering them as cultural tools to develop new modes of action. Critically, this includes managing emerging digital extensions to preserve integrity, ensure security, and realize opportunities within the mixed-reality habitat and new forms of sociality. Empirical evidence of the integration of human cognitive, personal, and behavioral systems with digital tools whose unique properties define the specificity of digital mediation and require progressively less personal effort suggests that the understanding of human wholeness must differ from 20th-century perspectives. In this era of accelerating digital transformation, this view must be reconsidered based on the key principle that a changing person exists within a constantly transforming world. This acknowledges that previous anthropological models and norms limit our understanding of the person, and that the person is an open, unfinished project aimed at the infinite unfolding of their potential.

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Resources of Post-NonClassical Psychology for the Study of Digital Communication

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This work explores the potential of discursive and narrative psychology research in studying the digital social space. From the perspective of the methodology of science, discursive and narrative psychology are aligned with social constructivism. In the studies of Russian science methodologists, social constructivism is framed within the context of post-nonclassical psychology and is linked to the ideas of the classics of Russian psychology. Therefore, it is recommended to draw upon the contributions of Russian psychologists when studying the digital social space. In choosing between discursive and narrative approaches, it is important to define the focus of the potential study. If the psychological analysis is focused on studying digital communication and interactions, the discursive approach is the most effective. It is emphasized that psychologists use traditional discourse analysis methods, such as intent analysis and conversational analysis, to study digital sociality. The search for new methods of studying digital empirics is driven by the use of computational linguistics techniques. However, if the psychological analysis is focused on studying the “digital personality” and identity, the narrative approach is recommended.

Keywords: discursive psychology, narrative psychology, social constructivism, postnonclassical psychology, digital communication.

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Ресурсы постнеклассической психологии для изучения цифровой коммуникации

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Работа направлена на характеристику потенциала исследований в области дискурсивной и нарративной психологии для изучения цифрового социального пространства. С точки зрения методологии науки дискурсивную и нарративную психологию соотносят с социальным конструктивизмом. В исследованиях российских методологов науки социальный конструктивизм представляют в терминах постнеклассической психологии, связывают с идеями классиков российской психологии; следовательно, в процессе изучения цифрового социального пространства рекомендуется опираться на наследие российских психологов. В процессе выбора дискурсивного или нарративного подходов следует определить фокус потенциального исследования. Если психологический анализ ориентирован на изучение цифровой коммуникации, цифровых интеракций, наиболее ресурсным является дискурсивный подход. Подчеркивается, что для анализа цифровой социальности психологи используют традиционные методики изучения дискурса (интент-анализ, разговорный анализ и т. д.). Поиск новых методов изучения цифровой эмпирики обусловлен использованием методов компьютерной лингвистики. Если же психологический анализ ориентирован на изучение «цифровой личности», идентичности, рекомендуется использовать нарративный подход.

Ключевые слова: дискурсивная психология, нарративная психология, социальный конструктивизм, постнеклассическая психология, цифровая коммуникация.

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Introduction

In the Russian academic field, discussions of the new theoretical and methodological foundations for modern psychology have not subsided for more than a quarter of a century, focusing on analyzing the postmodernist version of psychological research development [5]. Russian psychologists used the justifications of philosopher V.S. Stepin on post-non-classical rationality [19], linking post-non-classical rationality with psychological concepts of the postmodernist type (mainly with social constructivism and constructionism, which determine the development of narrative, discursive, cultural psychology, etc.) [21] and further — with the ideas of the classics of Russian psychology L.S. Vygotsky, A.N. Leontiev, A.R. Luria, and others [9, 21]. As a result, a tradition of correlating problematic fields studied abroad

mainly based on postmodernist perspectives, with the concept of post-non-classical psychology began to develop in Russian psychology.

V.S. Stepin, characterizing the development of science, names three types of rationality or three ways of scientific understanding: classical, non-classical, and post-non-classical rationality. As criteria for division, he uses 1) the characteristics of the system of objects under study, 2) research norms and ideals, and 3) the specifics of philosophical and methodological reflection [19]. According to this classification, at the stage of classical science, the main objects of research are simple systems, in non-classical science — complex self-regulating systems, in modern (post-non-classical) science — complex self-developing systems. According to the opinion of Yu.P. Zinchenko and E.I. Pervichko, which is based on the position of historians and methodologists of Russian

psychology, non-classical psychology in Russia reached its culmination in the 60s–80s of the twentieth century, and modern psychological problems and theories relevant to them correspond to the status of post-non-classical science [9].

Thus, a new research-relevant space of scientific reflection of social relations in the digital environment belongs to such a complex self-developing system. Digitalization of the social implies the mediation of social experience using info communication technologies [18] and the need for researchers to seek new theoretical and methodological tools for studying this digital reality. According to G.U. Soldatova and A.E. Voiskunskii, in digital communication, a “digital personality” (which is part of the “real personality”) is created for a subject of digital social relations. The key form of existence of this “digital personality” is text, since in the process of digital communication its subjects are deprived of their usual biological form and are “supplemented” with digital modes of existence – interactions (reposts, likes, etc.) and texts (verbal or non-verbal, for example, photos, as well as creolized or multimodal, built through the integration of several formats/channels for receiving information, for example, video).

Transformations of the subject of digital communication define a professional challenge for research psychologists: some of the usual psychodiagnostic tools and theoretical ideas for studying digital psychological phenomena turn out to be inoperative. Researchers have to update their research baggage without ceasing the constant search for new theoretical ideas. We believe that those areas of psychology that reveal post-non-classical rationality in the psychological dimension, namely discursive and narrative psychology, serve as a valid basis for interpreting digital relations and digital personality and can produce new research (diagnostic) tools.

The purpose of this article is to characterize the potential of research that reveals the problems of discursive and narrative psychology in the context of studying digital communication – the field of post-non-classical psychology, and to describe the opportunities that open up for researchers who use the tools of discursive and narrative psychology in studying digital social relations.

Methods and Materials

This study is a theoretical review aimed at identifying and describing the resources of discursive and narrative psychology for studying the digital social space. The materials for analysis were collected using the keywords ‘discursive psychology’ and “narrative psychology” from

the open digital libraries CyberLeninka, eLIBRARY.RU, and the search platform Google Academy.

In this article, discursive psychology is understood as a research area within a broad multidisciplinary movement that emerged at the turn of the 80s and 90s of the 20th century in Great Britain, the focus of which is the understanding of the social functions of everyday speech, communication, and conversation using philosophy, linguistics, sociology, and psychology [24]. Currently, researchers consider not only verbal material as discourse but also representations of non-verbal material, such as emotions [11].

Narrative psychology is a social-constructivist direction in psychology, according to which a person understands the surrounding world, experience, and biography through stories and narratives; by rebuilding narratives, it is possible to change the picture of the world and the narrative identity of the individual [38].

The identified materials were classified according to the construct “discursive approaches and narrative approaches”; theoretical and theoretical-empirical studies were identified. Particular attention was focused on studies of digital communication (digital social networks, social media, etc.).

As a theoretical hypothesis, we suggest that psychologists using the methodological coordinates of social constructivism, namely those relying on discursive or narrative approaches, follow two main strategies when studying digital social relations and choosing diagnostic tools: they partially use traditional psychodiagnostic methods focused on studying text (for example, psycholinguistic) and are also actively searching for and adapting new tools from related scientific fields (for example, linguistics, literary studies, etc.).

Discursive Psychology and Digital Communication

From the point of view of the theoretical and methodological areas of “control” of post-non-classical psychology, discursive psychology was the first to begin an active movement in the description and explanation of mental reality. In addition, the “discursive turn” captured various areas of socio-humanitarian studies (sociology, political science, etc.), and traditional psychological problems from “discursive perspectives” began to be discussed by non-psychologists. For example, the phenomenon of “discursive personality” firmly entered the field of analysis of linguists, and the phenomenon of “discursive identity” – the studies of philosophers, political scientists, etc. [10, 13 и др.].

An explanation for the phenomenon of the “discursive turn” follows from the traditions of the cultural-his-

torical psychology of L.S. Vygotsky, according to which the intrapsychic is derived from the intersychic and all human mental functions are essentially interiorized social relations [3]. Interiorization, the idea of the sign symbolic mediation of L.S. Vygotsky and the metaphor of the psyche as a sieve, which lets through and changes the world in the direction of a positive distortion for the subject of perception, according to A.M. Ulanovsky, allow us to consider the cultural-historical theory as socially constructivist, therefore laying the foundations for the development of discursive psychology [21].

While some Russian psychologists searched for support in the legacy of Russian psychology for the development of discursive psychology, others rejected post-modernism and the social constructivism associated with it as a potential methodological basis, effectively denying the possibility of developing a Russian version of discursive psychology. Critics of “discursive tools” in studying the psyche were those researchers who adhered to the position of the “primacy of the mental” as a fact (text/discourse reflects reality) and did not share the opinion that reality can be constructed (in discourse – in fantasy, in consciousness, etc.) and not reflected by the subject (in discourse) [2]. Thus, currently, Russian discursive psychology is represented by two development directions. The first direction is a space for ongoing methodological discussions [5, 23 и др.]. In line with the second direction, there is a progressive development of empirical psychological studies of discourse [4; 15; 16 и др.].

The logic of empirical psychological studies of discourse has been largely shaped by the works of psychologists who, in studying mental phenomena, focused on language. For example, A.M. Ulanovsky, drawing on J. Austin's theory of speech acts and the discursive psychology of K. Gergen and R. Harr, highlighted the importance of studying communication (“conversations”) [22]. He also presented tools for collecting empirical data, emphasizing key methods in discursive psychology – specifically qualitative methods derived from hermeneutic, phenomenological, or ethnomethodological traditions [34]. However, when studying social interaction, researchers may rely not only on verbal discourse but also on the multi-code complexity of human behavior (for instance, through observation) [39]. Thus, discursive psychology effectively integrates traditional methods of empirical data collection, with a particular focus on qualitative methodologies and techniques.

Although qualitative methodology offers a wide range of methods (such as focus groups, interviews, and conversation analysis), discourse analysis has gained particular popularity in empirical research, especially in fields related to psychology, sociology, political science,

and others. It is commonly used in two main forms: as an analysis of discourse and as a specialized tool within the framework of critical social theory.

M.N. Krasina, drawing on the research of R. Keller, identifies four features characteristic of all discourse studies, including those in psychology and interdisciplinary fields [10]. These features are:

- A focus on the sign system of mediation in social practices (encompassing all sign systems, not just oral or written language);
- Acknowledgment that the sign system used in communication constructs the social phenomenon being communicated through interpretation;
- The recognition that interpretations (of symbolic orders), reconstructed through sign systems, can be stabilized within specific contexts;
- The ability of discourse analysis to identify and interpret the rules governing the creation of discourse.

In Russian psychology, discourse analysis has been actively developed within the context of psycholinguistic research [4, 15]. Like any other form of communication, digital communication is mediated by sign systems – such as written verbal text combined with emojis (emoticons) in chats – and serves as valuable material for psychological discursive analysis [15]. Researchers at the Laboratory of Speech and Psycholinguistics at the Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, to emphasize the focus on discursivity in the study of digital communication, use the term “discursive reality of the Internet”, highlighting the multimodality of internet discourse (the integration of different codes in online communication) [4].

Each research group focused on studying digital communication forms a range of topics and tools that contribute to the advancement of discursive psychology. For example, at the Laboratory of Speech and Psycholinguistics at the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, when studying post-event Internet discourse (such as discussions in chats, comments, etc.), researchers prefer to use established and tested methods of quantitative intent analysis to reconstruct the intentional structure of online discourse [15]. A similar approach, using quantitative intent analysis, is applied in other studies of online communications. For instance, it is used to examine the creation of rules for online discussions by analyzing interactions and online activity indicators, such as “likes” [16]. These methods of discourse analysis (variants of quantitative intent analysis) essentially represent “mixed methods” – combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches. This is because the research process involves interpreting discourse elements (the hermeneutic basis of qualitative analysis) and subsequently coding these elements using descrip-

tive statistics to calculate the resulting codes (quantitative approach).

Intent analysis is a popular tool for analyzing digital communication discourse, used in both qualitative and mixed (qualitative-quantitative) formats. Critical discourse analysis, which is based on the theoretical framework of critical social theory, can also be applied in a mixed format when using computational linguistics methods. However, in contemporary studies, this approach is more often employed in its qualitative form, particularly the critical discourse analysis of T. van Dijk, N. Fairclough, and R. Wodak [6]. Digital political discussions, including instances of online hatred, and digital media discourse [29, и др.] are frequently analyzed using discourse intent analysis or critical discourse analysis.

Since all communication, whether conventional “real” or digital, is based on sign systems, the study of digital communication and digital discourse can employ the same methods, such as interviews. For example, in the work by S.P. Hammond, J. D’Arcy, M. Minott, and E. Krasniqi, online interviews were used to explore the inclusion of children with disabilities in online communication [30]. Following the tradition of the qualitative approach, the study used interview topics to identify key issues, risks of online communication, and opportunities for teachers to train children in new information and communication fields. Mediating the interview process with software simplifies preparation for analysis (such as automating interview transcription) but does not fundamentally alter the researcher’s role. There is also a process of “adapting” traditional discourse analysis to digital communications (for example: [35]). Thus, both traditional and digital texts share a similar set of research tools for discourse analysis, with the added advantage of digital texts, namely the ability to analyze large datasets using computational linguistics methods.

Narrative Psychology and Digital Communication

The narrative approach and narrative psychology are based on the idea that human consciousness, identity, culture, and other aspects are shaped by semantic complexes — stories. Therefore, studying the human experience and providing assistance to individuals are most effective when grounded in stories (narratives). The narrative approach is most commonly recognized in Russian psychology in the context of psychotherapeutic practice [20]. However, like any other branch of psychological knowledge, narrative psychology offers resources for both research and therapeutic purposes [38].

The space of narratives studied by psychologists is even more ephemeral than discourse, as the structure of discourse (verbal, non-verbal, multimodal) includes specific elements that can be described, measured, or “objectified”. Subjectivity in discursive studies is largely concentrated in the interpretation of discourse. In contrast, narratives are defined by their meanings and plots, and in research, they are both subjective and complex at the levels of interpretation and identification of structural elements, which aligns with the methodology of post-non-classical psychology.

Since both narrative psychology and discursive psychology use texts as materials for study (understood broadly as related semantic complexes of signs — verbal, non-verbal, and multimodal texts), the narrative approach in psychological research is distinguished from the discursive approach in several ways. In the comparative analysis of the two approaches in the study of identity, E.S. Kutkovaya outlines the following criteria that highlight both their commonalities and differences [12]:

- Common characteristics include a conceptual foundation (postmodernism in the form of social constructivism) and the role of language, communication, and dialogue in the construction of psychological phenomena.
- Distinguishing criteria include the focus of analysis: linguistic and communicative strategies in discursive analysis, and semantic strategies in narrative analysis. Additionally, the discursive approach tends to focus on the individual level, while the narrative approach emphasizes the social level in understanding psychological phenomena.

Consequently, the discursive approach focuses on answering the question “how?” — that is, how psychological phenomena and reality are reproduced in communication discourse using specific linguistic means. The narrative approach, on the other hand, addresses the questions “why?” and “for what reason?” (a narrative, a story from a semantic perspective).

The space of identity, expressed through narrative (typically in biographies and autobiographies), is one of the most popular areas of focus among researchers using the narrative approach [8, 20, 37 и др.]. In these studies, self-understanding is conceptualized as a “cognitive illusion” created by the protagonist — the biographer — who constructs a life story from a multitude of experiences stored in memory.

Research on narrative identity is also connected to the hermeneutics of Paul Ricoeur, particularly his work *Narrative Identity*. According to Ricoeur, personal identity is formed through the stories individuals tell about themselves. The narrator's orientation toward the other (the listener) when creating a narrative can raise several

ethical issues, including questions related to the truth of autobiographical stories [37].

Conventional strategies for studying personality and identity (such as tests, questionnaires, etc.) in narrative psychology are effectively supplemented by new techniques that work with self-descriptions [27]. These techniques help establish connections between narrative identity and self-esteem, as well as between narrative identity and reflections on interpersonal relationships [31]. Scientific projects are developing approaches that justify the use of “narrative variables”. For example, it has been proposed to identify motivational themes, affective themes, themes of integrative meaning, and structural elements in order to reconstruct narrative identity and examine its connection to personal well-being [25].

In narrative studies, “digital sociality” is not a separate structural element, but rather a continuation of “ordinary sociality”. In “ordinary communication”, a person presents their body/voice as an ego-text. In digital communication, however, one must “formulate” oneself, choose a name (nickname), select an image (avatar), and so on. Narrative identity in the digital social space becomes evident because the very nature of digital communication challenges the traditional narrative form.

In the narrative approach, meaning becomes the central focus of analysis and a key research tool. As such, the narrative method is used to study how reality is understood [1] and how interpersonal relationships are perceived through the lens of humor [7]. For example, digital video stories about anxiety, created by teenagers and studied by psychologists, help deepen the understanding of children's experiences with anxiety, enriching our comprehension of mental health issues in children and adolescents with new insights [33].

The narrative approach in research has a practical, psychotherapeutic orientation. For example, by comparing autobiographical narratives from two age groups, psychologists identified a positive impact of narrated events on self-perception during middle adulthood, a phenomenon known as “narrative redemption” [28]. In another study, researchers used “digital storytelling” and collaborative comic drawing with peers to increase students' awareness of school bullying and its consequences, while also enriching adolescents' social experiences by providing productive ways to handle critical social situations [26].

The value of “helping knowledge” has always been a key element of academic research, but it is research that utilizes a narrative approach that demonstrates direct implications for psychotherapy and psychological care. For example, it has been found that multimodal stories in digital formats (e.g., videos) viewed

before a trip can help prevent emotional stress in tourists [32]. This allows for the refinement of preparatory programs for travelers seeking positive experiences and impressions.

It is noteworthy that the narrative approach in psychological analysis uncovers both ego-narratives, which represent various aspects of a person's life (such as autobiography, biographical interviews, diaries, life stories, photo album selections, or personal pages on social networks), and “affective texts”, which are often referred to as “storytelling” in modern academic discourse. The digital environment serves as a rich space for communication, making digital storytelling a valuable practice in pedagogy, education, journalism, and psychotherapy [14; 26 и др.].

Conclusion

Digital social life, including the “digital personalities” of individuals involved in digital relationships, creates a complex, self-developing “space-system” within digital social networks and social media. Traditional methodological and psychodiagnostic tools in this field are insufficient – psychologists must adapt and expand their approaches to understand these new spaces. Postnon-classical psychology, by integrating discursive and narrative psychology, offers resources to address these emerging challenges, providing both theoretical frameworks and new instrumental solutions for working with empirical data.

At the same time, digital communication has unique features that can be reflected in a psychologist's research materials. Therefore, when using tools to study digital communication, it is essential to critically reflect on the method of generating empirical material. The empirical data extracted from “digital communication” can include both ordinary texts created for general purposes (such as letters, diaries, and multimodal ego-documents – any digitized texts posted on specialized digital platforms) and texts specifically created within the “digital communication” format (such as chats and comments). These texts possess distinct characteristics due to digital virtuality, such as the integration of ‘emoji’ icons into ordinary verbal text.

Discursive or narrative approach? The choice between these approaches depends on the objectives of the scientific project. A discursive approach may be more effective when the study focuses on the specifics of digital interactions, communication, and reactions. On the other hand, a narrative approach is more suitable when the analysis centers on psychological phenomena related to meanings and/or representations (e.g., identity).

As noted in the analysis presented, various methods and techniques have been tested in contemporary psychological research on digital discourse, such as intent analysis [15, 16], interviews [30], and conversation analysis [35]. The large volumes of digital text available allow psychologists to apply linguistic methods (e.g., computational linguistics) to reconstruct psychological phenomena, such as media social representations [17], which were previously studied on smaller datasets and did not aim for universality.

The study results confirm the hypothesis that was put forward. Theoretical and methodological tools from discursive psychology in digital communication include both previously tested psychodiagnostic tools and new methods for studying digital empirical data. Theoretical and methodological tools from narrative psychology are especially valuable in the study of digital identity, such as in the analysis of self-presentation on digital social networks. This is particularly true for tools designed to analyze complex multimodal texts, like videos.

The importance of computational linguistics methods in psychology must be emphasized to understand

the potential of mastering new techniques for studying digitalized texts. By combining these methods with, for example, machine learning techniques (which form the basis of artificial intelligence), psychologists can analyze large volumes of text and identify cultural scenarios in stories, biographies, ego-documents, and more [36]. This approach allows them to demonstrate, using real data, what was once only discussed in classical psychological texts, which were often influenced by philosophy and cultural studies — namely, to reveal how psychological patterns manifest through the verbalization of human experience.

Understanding the resources of discursive and narrative psychology within the context of post-non-classical psychology bridges traditional concepts with modern phenomena and enables Russian psychologists to navigate the new digital social space, grounded in the theoretical foundations of Russian psychology. It also addresses pressing issues related to psychological support in digital communication, psychological assistance, and social forecasting.

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Overcoming the Semantic Barrier and Developing the Ability to Use Communicative Tools Part II. Psychotechnique

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The proof comes nearer, nearer,
What man praises in deepest Nature,
Through Reason we dare to probe it,
And what she organizes, here,
We're now able to crystallize it.

Faust, by Goethe

This article describes the psychotechnique of mediating (real-life, communicative) action in working with difficult children. We outline the stages and corresponding environments leading to turning points in the formation of consciousness¹ (mental model) of a child with ASD. It's defined by restructuring interfunctional relations in the process of mediation and developing conceptual reflective interfunctional thinking (not only reflective functional thinking). The psychotechnique can be used in practice, both in work with difficult children and in general education in order to prevent the motivational disorders and to raise the age boundary by restructuring the performance of yet unformed function).

Keywords: developmental psychology, experimental genetic method, mediating (real-life, communicative) action, psychotechnique, activity-based approach in education, emotional and volitional disorders, autism spectrum disorders, semantic barrier, semantic shift, restructuring the performance of the impaired function, position, conscious interfunctional thinking.

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¹ Russian science traditionally believes that, aside from steady evolution in the development of the human psyche, there are also leaps forward: the purposeful work and clear organization of the environment in order to make it possible to achieve changes in the child's psyche and significantly accelerate the child's mental development. This, for example, is covered in research on the crisis nature of development, in D.B. Elkonin's age periodization.

Преодоление смыслового барьера и развитие способности к использованию коммуникативных средств

Часть II. Психотехника

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Я убеждаюсь, что дождался часа,
Когда природы тайную печать
Нам удалось сознательно сломать
Благодаря пытливости привычной,
И то, что жизнь творила органично,
Мы научились кристаллизовать.

Фауст, Гете

В статье описана психотехника посреднического (живого коммуникативного) действия в работе с трудным детством. Обозначены этапы и соответствующие им условия работы, ведущие к повороту в формировании сознания² (модели психического) ребенка с РАС, которые определяются перестройкой характера межфункциональных отношений в процессе опосредствования и развитием понятийного рефлексивного межфункционального мышления (не лишь отражающего функционального). Психотехника может быть использована как в практике работы с трудным детством, так и в практике общего образования (с целью предупреждения возникновения мотивационных нарушений и повышения границы возраста: через перестройку способа реализации пока не сформированной функции).

Ключевые слова: психология развития, экспериментально-генетический метод, посредническое (живое коммуникативное) действие, психотехника, деятельностный подход в образовании, эмоционально-волевые нарушения, расстройства аутистического спектра, смысловой барьер, смысловое смещение, перестройка способа реализации нарушенной функции, позиция, осознающее межфункциональное мышление.

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The development of practical psychotechniques, as follows from Part I of this study, is both historically and methodologically well-grounded, meeting the demand of our time, namely the need to enhance work with children with an appropriate method that forms the child's subjectivity. After all, attempts to copy foreign methods have not solved this problem whatsoever. While they are reminiscent of the situation described earlier by L.S. Vygotsky [10, p. 78]: "annexation — the mechanical transfer of one system's pieces into another — in this instance, as always, seems almost miraculous and testifies to the truth...", that is not quite the case. Replication of foreign

methods and their introduction into educational practice has exposed the crisis in psychology that L.S. Vygotsky predicted as early as in 1927 [14]. And the issue here is "not the lack of material, which is abundantly collected, and not the lack of philosophical and methodological principles, which are abundant as well, but the fact that practitioners find it impossible to comprehend the entire spectrum of this variability and to treat the replicated practices critically and compare these data with methodological psychology." "There is not a single science where theory and practice have followed such different paths (L. Binswanger, 1922, p. 6)" [10, p. 125].

² В традиции отечественной науки считается, что возможны не только эволюционные периоды в развитии психики, но скачкообразные — поворотные периоды, позволяющие при целенаправленной работе и четкой организации среды добиться изменений в психике ребенка и существенно ускорить его психическое развитие. Такой позиции придерживается, например, Д.Б. Эльконин в исследовании о кризисном характере развития в возрастной периодизации.

The system of teaching children with ASD, despite the efforts expended, still does not meet the performance goals set by the Russian state standards in terms of creating conditions for the formation of personal and meta-disciplinary results. The reason is that the spontaneously formed “modern scientific evidence-based practices”³ are far removed from the actual development of the child’s subjectivity and do not allow the child to achieve what they are truly capable of through the construction of alternative development paths [8, p. 105]. Development of psychotechniques for mediating (real-life, communicative) action becomes “the defining point of the circle” and “the main driving force of the crisis in its last phase” [10, p. 138], if we are to recall another idea expressed by L.S. Vygotsky: “the path of development,” in this case education for children with ASD, “is not always straight, but takes twists and turns...” [24, p. 180].

Returning to subjectivity as the center of L.S. Vygotsky’s theory and the practical impact of psychotechniques, it is necessary to note that subjectivity emerges when the transition from the natural form to the cultural form is expressed: “the subject and subjectivity are believed cannot be pointed at”; they are not actually physically present. Vygotsky does not point to the individual (or group of individuals), but to their way(s) of life. The subject is constructed as the mutual transition between the real and ideal forms. The pattern behind this process can be described as “sign mediation,” “when naturally formed stereotypes of behavior become the subject of change and ... are overcome, becoming conscious and arbitrary” (i.e., a person masters their own behavior) [25, p. 8, 9]. The main condition for planning this transition is interfunctional restructurisation, achieved in a way that shapes the child’s cultural development. After all, “the only way ... is to construct ... a process with given properties” [12, p. 306]. Of course, the conditions of organizing real-life communicative action are not outlined explicitly, but they can be reconstructed from the works of Russian researchers. The need to read and understand these texts hermeneutically causes difficulties, which are avoided through replicating the readily available foreign techniques. We have made an attempt to describe these conditions. Taken together, they should create a developmental space, accommodating the child’s affective reactions and meeting the following requirements:

- introducing new things in “doses”;
- changing the environment (nature of relationships) in the process of the child’s (the social environment’s) absorption of cultural experience, stage-by-stage [26]⁴; note that these stages must involve transition from reflecting objects (social environment) to trying out the limits of controlling their behavior and forming the skill of rationally using the communi-

cative means (directly or, in the absence of verbal communication, indirectly [8, p.105], through restructuring the performance of the impaired function) or the mode of action [1]; overcoming syncretic thinking and developing interfunctional thinking;

- considering the specifics of how the child contacts the social environment and experiences social relations; helping the child overcome the semantic barrier (defined as the child’s insensitivity to the adult’s educational influence [23, p. 9], although it is rather the adult who is insensitive to manifestations of the child’s activity);

- allocating the child’s personal action with its transformation into the child’s “I-action” [28, p. 163], building work with the child with a focus on their spontaneous activity, helping the child form their personal stance;

- shaping positional vision in a child with ASD, correlated with the way of seeing the Other, i.e., the carrier of the concept of action [25], which would help the child to change their mode of action and alter the social situation when reconstructing human culture.

It is reasonable to consider the development of mediating (real-life, communicative) action on the basis of three subsystems of conditions that ensure its formation:

- the first subsystem contains conditions that allow to consistently transform the child’s personal action into the I-action, forming the regulatory component of activity;

- the second subsystem contains conditions that prevent the child’s demotivation, the deterioration of their emotional status and the negative emotional response to failure;

- the third subsystem contains conditions that allow the child to meaningfully use their communicative means (directly or, as an alternative, indirectly, by restructuring the performance of the impaired function) [12, p. 168].

It should also be specified that the success of such work can be ensured by compliance with two requirements:

1. The specialist applying the psychotechnique must have interdisciplinary knowledge of medical psychology in child and adolescent psychiatry, developmental psychology, systemic family therapy, and speech therapy (neurology).

2. The specialist must develop the skill of holistic systemic interfunctional process analysis (as opposed to the simple structural functional behavioral analysis of external manifestations), which will allow them to restructure the performance of impaired in a fundamentally different way, preventing an increase in affective symptomatology, known as “the seven-star constellation of crisis symptoms” [9, p. 374]. Accounting for these requirements will make it possible to approach the process

³ B Is this science? After all, any science explains the genesis of a phenomenon and focuses on historicism and methodology, but what do we have here? Just statistics. In his work *Questions of the Theory and History of Psychology* [19, p. 454], L.S. Vygotsky called this a “feldsher’s approach to science” – author’s note.

⁴ In case of children with ASD, this involves creating a favorable environment for overcoming the semantic barrier and gaining the ability to understand speech; furthermore, this involves training the child to use communicative means (by taking the “the direct route” and the “indirect route” with nonverbal children, through restructuring the performance of the impaired function).

of the child's development in a holistic way, to go above and beyond imposing "an image of the desired future" onto the child [22, p. 73], which would only entangle the child in "a vain struggle, eternal self-deception" [22, p. 76], and to actually form new phenomena of an entirely different quality: speech communication, I-action, self-reflection (i.e., criticism of performance), meaningful action (as opposed to mirrored repetition), with self-control and self-correction, ultimately helping the child gain an open, conscious attitude to the complex, contradictory and not always orderly world.

Considering that the degree of mastering an action is measured by its completeness, and the measure of generalization does not always allow for an immediate execution of a complete action, the triune task (the triune subsystem of conditions) is not always maintained in communication with the child, and adults limit themselves to setting only one task – to develop the skill of using a communicative tool, and through alternative communication at that (as opposed to speech), we suggest a preliminary "action plan for our work and immediately proceed to the solution of our tasks according to this plan" [12, p. 189], thus maintaining proper guidelines and keeping communication at a higher level (fig.).

This research was carried out in sequential stages, each of the stages being characterized by its own content (type of interfunctional relations, social situation) and the specifics of the mediator's actions during the transition (crisis) periods. In the process of constructing the general field of action, consistently moving to a higher degree of generalization, it is expedient to include the missing subsystems of conditions in the analysis of the child's adult caretakers: "As soon as what has been learned has acquired a reduced form... an opportunity opens up for us to concentrate on the new task" [12, p. 303]. The action plan is an extremely convenient medium for this, because it allows us, by maintaining a higher degree of generalization, to open up the possibility of action variability within each of the subsystems, while

eliminating unnecessary non-directed movements that lead to disorganization. This directly correlates with the stages of development of thinking and play according to L.S. Vygotsky [7, p. 163], and also with D.B. Elkonin's age periodization [30, p. 487]. Let us consider these stages in more detail.

The first stage: Pre-speech thinking and pre-intellectual play. [15, p. 156], mastering relationships [30, p. 487]. Most often corresponds to the primary reception, when the directed interview of the child's adult caretakers problematizes the discrepancy between the actual means of caring for the child with the cultural (ideal) means. Traditionally, mistakes occur in all three subsystems of conditions, but especially often the conditions of the second and third subsystems are not considered, which causes the child to form a specific type of reaction, reflected thinking, and mechanical will, and to alternative communication only.

The second stage: The greatest discovery in life is the inability to think. [15, p. 156], crisis of the social development situation [30, p. 487]. The work is based on the child's actions in everyday life situations without the use of instrumental learning with a system of motivation. The main task solved at this stage is the primary orientation in the boundary of the child's achievements and in the conditions of caring for the child; the limitations of these tools are demonstrated, and fundamental guidelines are laid down for future child-adult action (with ongoing operational control by the specialist).

The third stage: The meeting as an instrumental method. Stage of cultural reception. [15, p. 156], mastering the subject [30, p. 487]. Formulation of the triune task, work with reference to the cultural norm and action concept (model), as well as the image of the action situation, formation a positional vision in the child (adult caretakers) in the process of learning to use the communicative means (mode of action): direct and indirect paths, with subsequent dosage-sequential reorganization of relations, formulation of the final requirements

Overcoming the semantic barrier and developing the ability to use communicative means

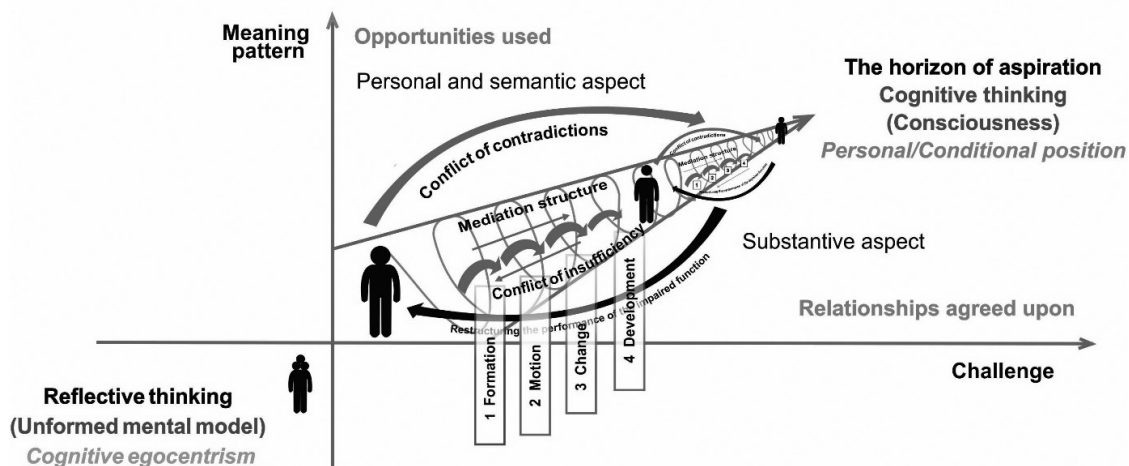


Fig.

imposed on the executive part of action. Pre-check of the action comprehension level: necessary to assess the understanding to what degree the mode of action has been mastered. Formally we distinguish three types of action comprehension [21]:

reflective, formal: imitation of action (mirroring), mechanical repetition;

reflexive: comprehension within one functional system and orientation in one subsystem of conditions; interfunctional.

The fourth stage: Speech thinking: the external tool becomes internal, and is intellectualized. [15, p. 157], crisis of the adult-child relationship [30, c. 487]. This stage is characterized by the third interfunctional type of comprehension of the material, when participants choose meaningful components of action in a given situation, rely on other meaningful components when the situation changes, or complete the actions of other people. Fluent mastery of the communicative action is observed at this stage.

Following D.B. Elkonin, we note the presence of critical periods in the process of action construction. They are characterized by conditional boundaries due to the child's and the adult caretakers' desire for independent judgment and the emergence of affect in response to the actions of the mediator. They always accompany "play as interaction between the real and ideal forms and, hence, as a special form of assimilation" [30, p. 483] and demand attention to the occurrence of insufficiency and contradiction conflicts that lead to symptom aggravation and growth of "the seven-star constellation of crisis symptoms" [9, p. 374]. Therefore, the child's response to the adult, active involvement a culturally affirming normative action, and reflection on this action, must be retained consistently at all stages of support work. After all, the child's retention of the action's concept (without disorganization on their part), is determined by the teacher's action: "the direct focus on the real object conditions of action (what A.N. Leontiev called operation) is included and defined in the cumulative action by focusing on the action of another! I act in such a way as to organize and prepare the actions of another person. I hold a nail with one hand and hammer it in with the other. My hands are positioned in a way that makes hammering easier. The two hands are like two people. This is what the inter-psyche is all about. That's what's getting intergrated! The Other is getting integrated!" [30, p. 518]. At the same time, support is needed not only for the children, but also for the parents, especially in the situation of caring for children with a complex disability structure. Parents of such children are more likely to lose motivation, buying into the idea that it is impossible to change the trajectory of their child's development. It is important to trace these situations and translate the dialogue into a reflexive attitude to the mode of action (the mastery of the psychotechnical form), emphasizing what may have passed unnoticed. In children, just as in adults, disorganization is exacerbated by reflected syncretic thinking. When communicating with them, you can eas-

ily notice when they are echoing phrases said by their parents or specialists, even with the preservation of the original intonation. Therefore, in order not to further disorganize the child, it is necessary to understand what they "absorbed from the whole context" [6, p. 347]. In child development, "word" and "context" merge together, and without specially organized work, "special ways of including the actions of one person in the actions of another" [27, p. 60], "word" may never acquire the semantic shades of human culture, as "...a thought that is not embodied in the word remains a Stygian shadow, nothing but fog" [6, p. 361]. Let us confirm this with practical examples. We shall describe the effects that emerge while working with a simple reflexological action (behavioral approach) and mediating (real-life, communicative) action.

Work within the limits of reflexological action was distinguished by being instrumental, failing to consider the context and individual history of the child's development, and using the functional analysis of behavior and external manifestations. The construction of the second type of communicative situation supported its dynamics, as well as changes in the child's position, and restructured intrafunctional connections and relations, leading to disinhibition of the speech function and development of the regulatory component of the child's activity. As expected, we got different results.

While work within the framework of the reflexological communicative action yielded certain results (unsustainable in the long term), it also had a delayed negative effect: children in the control group still showed echo reactions, insufficient speech development, lack of orientation in a situation, and fixed forms of behavior and were focused only on the emotional component of action (the adult's facial expressions and gestures), without analyzing what the adult was actually saying to them, even if it was in conflict with their interests. Here is a concrete example, which is more convincing than statistical calculations: the specialist consults a boy, studying in grade 2 of the 8.2 program⁵. In an interaction situation, he is restless and calms down by drawing the alphabet with English letters, which he can continue doing indefinitely until stopped. He perceives the activity specifically as drawing, as he does not know how to spell and makes numerous notable mistakes (mirrors when writing, misses parts of a letter...). He follows situational instructions, despite his pronounced problems with speech comprehension. In a situation where communication is initiated, he shows an increase in anxiety and disorganized behavior due to a lack of understanding of what is required of him. The child looks at the adult, tries to choose an action that will satisfy the adult, going over the previously required actions, doing one or the other, repeating them in a stereotypical way: taking an eraser, erasing, putting it away in a pencil case, pushing a chair. Every time, he looks into the adult's eyes, as if asking: "Am I doing it right? Is this what you want from me?" In the absence of an emotional reaction from the adult (approval or critique), the child's disorganization only intensifies. He tries to say some words, turning to the adult and try-

⁵ It begs the question, HOW did a nonverbal child get into this training program?

ing to initiate a dialogue: “album,” “write,” starts to rock in the chair and cry, grabs the specialist’s hand as a plea to organize his own activities (give “physical cues” in the words of “ABA therapists”). If an adult does not give the boy any examples to follow, he gets even more disorganized. In a situation where the instruction diverges from the child’s interests, there is also profound disorganization. For example, the specialist offers the child to ride a scooter (knowing that the child does not like it). Instead of answering, “No, I don’t want to!” which would have satisfied the researcher, the child begins to run around in a frenzy, crying and screaming: “The scooter! The scooter!” After the adult says, “You don’t want to ride the scooter? You don’t have to ride the scooter,” the child, still crying, takes the scooter and heads for the door with it, intending to perform an action they are not interested in and were not even required to do. This example perfectly demonstrates the absence of developmental dynamics in the child during the preschool period, both at the level of using a cultural tool and at the level of organizing their actions. The cause is the instrumental, reflexological (behavioral) nature of working with the child.

When a psychotechnique is applied instead, children reach a level of meaningful communication and no longer make the mistakes typical for children that worked with reflexological practices. These children are more confident in using a more universal cultural tool (verbal communication), reaching the level of word creation and independent word formation when trying to construct a phrase. They have a decreased echo response. Thus, they can already correct the specialist when they use “trick” tasks in diagnostics, and do not lose control when frustrated. When playing together, they can be heard saying, “This is blueberry ice cream, not chocolate ice cream.” These children, as well as their parents, already become less sensitive to disturbances and less disorganized. A little girl’s mother would say, “Ah, I see what you want,” with a smile on her face. This phrase serves as excellent proof that a shared field of meaning had formed between the specialist and the child’s parents: the field of understanding, the fullest generalized reference form of communicative action.

Through these examples, we clearly demonstrate that the communicative model, having been enriched with additional substantive parameters and having evolved beyond the superficial view of communication as an analysis of only external manifestations, forms a qualitatively different new phenomenon: reflexive speech consciousness, as opposed to reflected thinking. After all, “the capabilities ... of imitation⁶ are not infinite” [9, p. 263], and the only condition allowing children with ASD to leave the autistic world is semantic restructuring: what we need is “not mechanical, automatic, meaningless imitation, but reasonable imitation ... based on understanding” [9, p. 263]. For specialists, the communicative process, correlating with the meaning of the situation, changing its form in accordance with the emotional intuition and anticipation (completeness of orientation: interfunctional analysis), must become the intuition of conscience (as A.A. Ukhtomsky called it), which, “like Princess Cinderella... works more efficiently than her sister, the Will.” [17, p. 334]. This is when a child with emotional and volitional disorders (even with ASD) can obtain a different kind of knowledge of the world: “The emergence of a new point of development... here the affect that prompts the child to overcome difficulties is extremely important. If these difficulties do not demagnetize the child... but activate them, they lead reveal an alternative development route” [8, p. 127]. Though, of course, this cannot be done alone, since “it is impossible for one person, but possible for two” [6, p. 361]. And “workarounds” need to be used as well [8, p. 105]. To read the Word [6, p. 361] means to understand the Meaning, which will reveal the line of reasoning used by L. S. Vygotsky when talking about the relationship between affect and intellect. And only then will “...this very notion (affective ‘defect’), a sure sign of our own defect, disappear” [8, p. 72]. We must measure not what has been done, but “WHAT HAS NOT BEEN DONE YET” [15, p. 565]. This is what ensures a change in attitude to the world, an exit from the clinical paradigm and withdrawal of the cultural-historical theory from the ranks of behavioral sciences.

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⁶ As opposed to overcoming the hypotonia of one’s consciousness and the ability to go beyond reflective syncretic thinking and functional analysis. After all, turning to the tradition of non-classical psychology – the classical studies of domestic knowledge – makes it possible to build “togetherness” not upon the intersection of actions (the subject conflict), but rather upon overcoming the conflict of meaning and preventing disorganized behavior.

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The Child's Position in the Educational Situation and the Development of Coherent Speech

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The question of the child's position in the educational process is one of the controversial ones, since the answer to it determines the learning paradigm. The purpose of this study was to determine the influence of a child's position in an educational situation on the development of coherent speech. A randomized control experiment was conducted with the participation of 125 preschoolers ($M = 70$ месяцев, $SD = 3,6$, 50,4% male), final sample – 87 children. The children were divided into 5 groups: Play worlds, Free play, Research project, Creative Project and Control group. In two playgroups, which differed in the way of adult involvement, preschoolers acted in an imaginary situation and took a subject position. A creative situation was organized in the project groups, but the author's position in Research group was much less than in Creative one. The participants of the Control group were in a typical of education system normative situation. As a result, children in Creative project showed the greatest number of significant or trend-significant positive effects and differences compared to other groups. Preschoolers in Play worlds also increased the scores of the macro and micro structures of narratives compared to the Control group. In the Free Play, there was a significant increase in scores in the macrostructure of the narrative compared to the Control group. In Research project the development of coherent speech was not recorded. The results obtained indicate the influence of the child's position on speech development and can be used for the practical implementation in preschool education.

Keywords: cultural-historical approach, educational situation, pretend play, project approach, speech development.

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Взаимосвязь позиции ребенка в образовательной ситуации и развития связной речи

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Вопрос о субъектности позиции ребенка в образовательном процессе является одним из дискуссионных, так как ответ на него определяет парадигму обучения. Целью данного исследования стало определение влияния степени субъектности позиции ребенка в образовательной ситуации на развитие связной речи. Был проведен слепой рандомизированный эксперимент с участием 125 дошкольников ($M = 70$ месяцев, $SD = 3,6$, 50,4% мальчиков), финальную выборку составили 87 детей. Дети были разделены на 5 групп: «Игровые миры», «Свободная игра», «Исследовательский проект», «Творческий проект» и контрольная группа. В двух игровых группах, отличавшихся степенью включения взрослого в игру, дошкольники действовали в мнимой ситуации и занимали субъектную позицию. В группах проектной деятельности создавалась творческая ситуация, но авторская позиция участников группы исследовательского проекта была значительно менее выраженной. Участники контрольной группы находились в типичной для образовательных учреждений нормативной ситуации и позиции ученика. Уровень связной речи оценивался с помощью методики MAIN. В результате в группе «Творческий проект» было зафиксировано наибольшее количество значимых или значимых на уровне тенденций положительных эффектов и различий с другими группами. Дети из группы «Игровые миры» показали значимое развитие макро- и микроструктуры нарративов по сравнению с контрольной группой. В группе «Свободная игра» зафиксирован значимый по сравнению с контрольной группой рост баллов по макроструктуре нарратива. В группе «Исследовательский проект» развитие связной речи не обнаружено. Полученные результаты свидетельствуют о влиянии степени субъектности позиции ребенка на речевое развитие и могут быть использованы для практической реализации в дошкольном образовании.

Ключевые слова: культурно-исторический подход, субъектность, образовательная ситуация, сюжетно-ролевая игра, проектная деятельность, речевое развитие.

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Introduction: Contemporary Contexts of Childhood

One of the fundamental perspectives on childhood within the cultural-historical approach is shaped by the “adult-child” relationship. This perspective defines the debate on the interplay between play and learning, a topic actively explored in contemporary research [26; 19, 20]. At its core, this framework raises the issue of childhood subjectivity. The concept of subjectivity encompasses two key characteristics: self-causation and lived experience [12]. In other words, subjectivity highlights, on the one hand, that human activity is inherently proactive rather than reactive, and on the other hand, that this internal activity is experienced and felt by the individual. The effort to recognize children as active subjects of their own childhood is reflected in several research directions: incorporating children’s perspectives into childhood studies [25], expanding the use of narrative methodologies [24], and exploring ways to integrate play-based methods into children’s learning [21; 13], among others.

The “adult-child” context aligns with the “cultural-natural” context. The gap in mastering cultural forms between adults and children serves as the foundation for the emergence of a distinct period in human life, defined as childhood [14, p. 63]. E.V. Ilyenkov described culture as a governing force that stands in opposition to the individual and regulates their behavior: “This power of the social whole over the individual manifests itself directly in the form of the state, the political system of society, a system of moral, ethical, and legal restrictions, norms of social behavior, as well as aesthetic, logical, and other normative criteria” [9, p. 19]. From this perspective, culture and culturally mediated behavior represent a more advanced form of development compared to natural behavior. Limited mastery of cultural forms restricts a child’s ability to express subjectivity. According to L.S. Vygotsky, it is the acquisition of culture that transforms a child’s behavior from natural to cultural, enabling them to become an active subject of their own development.

The acquisition of culture takes place within society, which is defined as the system of norms and rules for interacting with artifacts. The fundamental unit of society is the situation, which comprises both objective and subjective aspects [3]. The objective aspect reflects observable and latent characteristics, such as prescriptions, requirements, and rules. The subjective aspect encompasses the individual’s attitude within the situation, including values, goals, and emotional experiences [2; 5]. Within a given situation, an individual engages in activity, thereby becoming an active subject of their own development. Consequently, the relationship between “situation and society” establishes a third contextual

framework of childhood, which pertains to the roles of children and adults in social interactions [5].

Types of Situations and the Child’s Position

We identify several types of situations, each of which characterizes the child’s position with varying degrees of subjectivity. A preschool-aged child can act within a normative situation, an imaginary (or pretend) situation, and a creative situation. In a normative situation, the child interacts with a cultural artifact that dictates a specific mode of action. The cultural artifact constitutes the external aspect of the normative situation, while the prescribed actions associated with it form the internal or implicit aspect. The key feature of a normative situation is that, among the many possible ways of interacting with a cultural artifact, society establishes specific methods of engagement developed through historical evolution. These methods are not self-evident and cannot be directly inferred from the artifact itself based on the child’s immediate interaction with it. As a result, mastering actions with cultural artifacts is impossible without adult guidance. According to the cultural-historical paradigm, this process of mastery constitutes learning, which is organized by an adult and takes place within the child’s zone of proximal development. In a normative situation, the child assumes the role of a learner, while the adult occupies the role of a teacher. A crucial aspect of mastering a cultural artifact is the use of speech as a form of social interaction aimed at acquiring meanings. The role of speech is determined by the general genetic law of cultural development, formulated by L.S. Vygotsky: “Every function in the child’s cultural development appears on the stage twice, on two planes — first on the social, then on the psychological; first between people, as an interpsychic category, and then within the child, as an intrapsychic category” (Vygotsky, p. 145). The social plane of this process involves the use of speech in communication, serving as a tool for the transmission and internalization of cultural meanings.

An imaginary (or pretend) situation arises in play. This type of situation is characterized by the role that the child voluntarily assumes. It is important to note that accepting a role comes with rules that the child must follow in shaping their behavior. According to Vygotsky, it is not possible for a child to act outside the established rules within an imaginary situation (Vygotsky, 1933/1967). Play, as described by L.S. Vygotsky, has a profound impact on child development. The play space, defined by the imaginary situation, differs from the cultural space, which consists of normative situations built around cultural artifacts. While the cultural space is primarily oriented toward mastering the operational

structure of actions, which is linked to a system of meanings, the play space focuses on the semantic dimension of cultural artifacts. Play creates a shared space of meanings among participants, within which play actions are carried out to construct relationships with cultural artifacts. A.N. Leontiev, analyzing a child's play with a stick (Leontiev, p. 479–480), demonstrated that the play action reproduces the cultural action of an adult in terms of its goal. However, the operations used by the child in play do not correspond to those employed by an adult in real-life activity. A play action is thus characterized by partial alignment with the real action of an adult. This suggests that, due to the complexity of mastering the operational aspect of adult actions, the child first internalizes the meaning behind the action. However, this process of meaning-making occurs largely independently, with limited adult intervention. In this study, we refer to the child's position within an imaginary situation as the position of a subject, emphasizing their active role in meaning construction during play.

We identify another category of situations – creative situations – aimed at generating something new. Their primary characteristic is the realization of an individual idea and its expression through the creation of a unique product. In this case, the novelty of the product serves as a medium for conveying the child's individuality. Within the framework of creative situations, project-based activities unfold. The distinctive feature of project implementation is that children often encounter certain difficulties due to their still-developing executive skills. Therefore, in project-based activities, children receive support in carrying out their ideas. The primary role of the adult is to listen to the “voice of the child” and assist in defining and implementing their concept. It is essential for the child to act as the author of the created product and present it to their immediate environment, receiving positive feedback. The degree of authorship in completing the project and the overall productivity of the activity determine the developmental potential of project-based activities and creative situations.

To sum up, in a normative situation, the child acquires cultural meanings through the learning process, assuming the role of a student. In an imaginary situation, the child internalizes cultural meanings by taking on the role of a subject in play. In a creative situation, the child generates new meanings, realizing them in a socially significant product, thereby assuming the role of an author.

Current Study

The analysis of contemporary childhood contexts conducted within the framework of cultural-historical ap-

proach has demonstrated that children express their activity in three types of situations: normative, imaginary, and creative. These situations allow preschoolers to assume different roles when interacting with other participants: the role of a student, a subject, and an author. It can be expected that their impact on the development of children's consciousness will vary depending on the role assumed.

Thus, this study aims to test the hypothesis regarding the dynamics of coherent speech development based on the role the child takes in a given situation. We propose that in the role of an author – where the highest level of agency is achieved through the child's initiative and its realization – speech development will be most pronounced. This assumption is based on the importance of considering children's perspectives to enhance educational effectiveness [16; 31], the necessity of activating students' internal processes for learning and development, such as problem-setting in activities [10], and existing data on the characteristics of speech development in modern preschoolers [17; 26].

Study Design

Sample

The study, conducted during the 2023–2024 academic year, involved 125 preschool children aged 5–6 years ($M = 70$ months, $SD = 3,6$, 50,4% male). All participants attended public kindergartens in Moscow, located in districts with comparable infrastructure levels. Written consent for participation and video recording was obtained from the parents of all children involved in the study. The research was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Psychology at Lomonosov Moscow State University.

During the diagnostic and experimental sessions, certain participants were excluded from the study based on the following criteria: (1) children who attended fewer than half of the sessions ($N = 9$); (2) children who did not participate in the post-test ($N = 29$) due to illness or absence from kindergarten on the testing days. As a result, the final sample for analysis included 87 preschoolers (47 boys, 54.6%).

Procedure

A blind randomized controlled experiment was conducted, consisting of three stages. In the first stage, a group of diagnosticians performed individual assessments of children's speech development. The transcription of narrative audio recordings and their evaluation were carried out by Expert-1, who was unaware of the research purpose and did not participate in either the diagnostics or the conducting of sessions.

In the second stage, four experimental groups and one control group were formed: “Play World” (GW), “Free Play” (FP), “Research Project” (RP), “Creative Project” (CP), and the control group (CG). During the pre-test, there were no differences between the groups across all diagnostic measures (Kruskal-Wallis, $p > 0.05$). The gender ratio of boys and girls was equal across all conditions. Each group participated in 22 sessions lasting 20–30 minutes in subgroups of 10–12 children. The sessions were held twice a week. The sessions were conducted by specially trained psychologists who did not conduct the diagnostics of the children. The psychologists were informed that the sessions were being held for the purpose of testing the programs. Each psychologist led sessions with two subgroups: GW and FP, or RP and CP. Thus, two psychologists conducted sessions in each condition, which allowed for controlling the influence of the pedagogue's personality on the study results. The fourth, ninth, and eighteenth sessions in all groups were recorded on video using a smartphone for monitoring the implementation of the sessions and for qualitatively assessing changes in children's behavior and speech manifestations. The recordings were then assessed by Expert-2, who was unaware of the research purpose and did not participate in the diagnostics or the sessions. Expert-2 evaluated the session recordings using tools for categorized observation, including the “Game Matrix” and its analogue for project activities [32]. The observation matrices represent an observation map that includes behavioral, speech, and emotional manifestations of the children. The matrices allow for recording the frequency of manifestations for each category. The matrices included the following categories: impulsive actions, field actions, disengagement from the group context, typical actions within the activity, original actions within the activity, group emotionally charged actions, regulation of other children's behavior, metacognitive and evaluative statements, typical activity-related statements, such as role-play statements in games, answers to questions in project activities, participation in discussions with other children.

The sessions were completed simultaneously across all groups. In the third stage, a post-test was conducted, similar to the initial diagnostic test, to assess the level of coherent speech. The post-test was conducted by the same group of diagnosticians as the pre-test, with the condition that diagnosticians could not test the same children as in the pre-test.

Measurements

To assess speech development in preschoolers, the method of extracting and evaluating coherent speech

(narratives) “MAIN: Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives” [22] was used, which allows for assessing both the macrostructure and microstructure of children's narratives. This method was developed and validated on a Russian sample for children aged 3 to 10 years [15; 22], and has also been adapted for more than 20 languages [23], being widely used both in Russia and abroad. Additionally, when evaluating the macrostructure of the narrative, criteria developed by T.V. Akhutina [1] were also taken into account to assess the semantic completeness and adequacy of speech, supplementing the MAIN method [15]. The child was presented with equivalent picture series “Nest” on the pre-test and “Kids” on the post-test to compensate for the learning and memory effects, in accordance with the developers' recommendations [24]. Both series consist of a sequence of 6 pictures, which are combined into 3 episodes. For the procedure, the series were printed and folded into a “fold-out book.” The child was allowed to look at the book, and the following instruction was given: “Now I will show you some comics. Do you like comics? Look. What happened here? Tell me so it becomes a real story. Tell as much as you can.” The child's narrative was recorded on a voice recorder. After transcription, the number of words in the child's story, the speech rate (the ratio of the number of words to the time taken to tell the story), and the macro — and microstructure of the narrative were assessed. The macrostructure of the story (max. 10 points) includes 2 subscales, each rated from 1 to 10 points, and then their arithmetic mean is calculated: story programming (semantic completeness, internal coherence, and adherence to the narrative structure “goal — action — result”) and semantic adequacy (the correspondence of the story to the presented pictures, understanding of cause-and-effect relationships). The microstructure (max. 10 points) also includes 2 subscales, each rated from 1 to 10 points, and then their arithmetic mean is calculated: lexical presentation of the story (correctness of word usage, morphological variety) and grammatical-syntactic presentation of the story (grammatical and syntactic errors, grammatical-syntactic variety).

Intervention

In the PW group, a educational practice “Play Worlds” was used to organize pretend play based on a fairy tale plot, with an adult acting as a play partner [21]. Participants were offered abridged versions of the fairy tales “*Pinocchio*” and “*The Wizard of Oz*” as plot foundations. The experimenter read the stories to the children, after which a discussion and role distribution were organized, with the experimenter taking on one of the roles. Using a “portal,” participants moved into

the play world, selected appropriate attributes for their roles, and began playing. Strict adherence to the original storyline was not required. The child's position in the PW group was determined by their understanding of the plot and role, followed by adherence to necessary rules. This effectively represented a subjective (reflexive) position.

Within the FP group, experimenters assisted children in initiating pretend play, for example, by organizing a discussion on selecting the theme and roles, but then did not interfere in the game. The free play took place in an environment enriched with non-play materials such as sticks, cones, boxes, leaves, and other objects. These non-play materials were used to expand the possibilities for implementing various play themes and to encourage the use of substitute objects in role-playing games. In the FP group, adults were minimally involved in organizing the play and did not immerse themselves in the imaginary situation.

In the RP group, two projects were created – one on space and the other on electricity. During the sessions, experimenters introduced a problem situation related to the theme of space or electricity, facilitated discussions, and helped define a specific research question formulated by the children, such as: “How does the light in the lamp appear in our kindergarten?” The experimenters then assisted the children in developing a plan for finding answers, directly gathering and documenting information, designing a project product, and presenting their findings to peers and adults. The experimenters acted as assistants, while the main initiative came from the children, fostering a creative environment, a sense of authorship, and productive activity.

The CP group was also characterized by an authorship position and productive activity. The children created a model of space and an original theatrical performance. The sessions included problem situations and discussions that encouraged children to develop a creative product. To determine the project's goal and final product, children proposed their ideas, craft sketches, and play scripts, after which one of the suggested options was selected through voting. Participants then moved on to planning and directly implementing the project. In this case, experimenters also acted as assistants, following the children's initiative and helping with the technical aspects of the work. Upon completion, the group presented their projects in kindergarten.

Data Analysis

The analysis consisted of two stages: a preliminary stage and an analysis of differences in the influence of the experimental groups. Initially, the data were tested for

normality using the Shapiro–Wilk test and for homogeneity of variances across groups using Levene's test. Normal data distribution and equal variances were considered prerequisites for conducting an analysis of variance (ANOVA). A multifactor ANOVA was performed to assess differences between children who dropped out of the experiment and those who remained in it. The independent variables included inclusion/exclusion in the final sample and assignment to an experimental group. ANOVA was conducted on the final sample to check for any differences between the study groups at the preliminary testing stage. The Chi-square test was used to assess gender distribution across the groups. During the main stage of data analysis, a repeated measures multifactor ANOVA was conducted for normally distributed data, while the Kruskal–Wallis test was applied to non-normally distributed data. The independent variables in the ANOVA included gender and assignment to an experimental group. Throughout the analysis, statistical significance was set at $p = 0.05$.

Results

Descriptive statistics and preliminary analysis

At the pre-test, including all children who participated in the study ($n = 105$), the data on speech rate (Shapiro–Wilk test, $W = 0.977$, $p = 0.09$; Levene's test, $F(4, 91) = 0.336$, $p = 0.661$), macrostructure (Shapiro–Wilk test, $W = 0.975$, $p = 0.068$; Levene's test, $F(4, 91) = 1.22$, $p = 0.309$), and microstructure (Shapiro–Wilk test, $W = 0.981$, $p = 0.186$; Levene's test, $F(4, 91) = 0.798$, $p = 0.53$) of the narrative were normally distributed and had equal variances across groups. However, the word count data were not normally distributed (Shapiro–Wilk test, $W = 0.833$, $p < 0.001$). A multifactor ANOVA was used to assess differences between children who dropped out of the experiment and those who remained in the final sample. The independent variables were “inclusion/exclusion in the final sample” and assignment to an experimental group. The analysis showed no significant differences in speech rate, macrostructure, or microstructure of the narrative ($p > 0.05$). For the macrostructure of the narrative, a significant interaction effect was found (ANOVA, $F(4, 86) = 3.71$, $p = 0.008$), but post-hoc tests did not reveal pairwise differences between groups (Bonferroni-adjusted $p > 0.05$). Children who dropped out of the study and those who remained in the final sample also did not differ in word count in their narratives at the pre-test stage (Kruskal–Wallis test, $\chi^2(1) = 0.00799$, $p = 0.929$).

At the pre-test and post-test, considering only participants included in the final sample, the normality of

data distribution and equality of variances for speech rate, macrostructure, and microstructure (Tables 1 and 2) remained consistent across groups. The distribution of word count in the composed narrative remained non-normal (Tables 1 and 2). At the pre-test, no significant differences were found between the groups for any of the assessed indicators (ANOVA, $p > 0.05$). Data on the quantitative and gender composition of the groups, as

well as medians and standard deviations, are presented in Tables 1 and 2. While no significant differences in gender composition between groups were found, a trend-level effect was observed ($\chi^2(4) = 9.07, p = 0.059$). Additionally, research indicates significant differences in the development of coherent speech between preschool-age boys and girls [25]; therefore, the gender factor was controlled for in the further analysis.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics for the assessed indicators at the pre-test for the experimental and control groups

Indicator	Study group	Mean	Standard deviation	Shapiro–Wilk test	Levene's test	Group differences
Word count	Play worlds ($N = 22, 59\%$ male)	48,8	13,5	$W = 0,819, p < 0,001$	$F(4,59) = 0,361, p = 0,835$	Kruskal–Wallis test, $\chi^2(4) = 4,03, p = 0,402$
	Free play ($N = 25, 52,9\%$ male)	48,5	25,2			
	Research project ($N = 10, 60\%$ мальчики)	42,4	29,4			
	Creative project ($N = 10, 40\%$ male)	47	19,4			
	Control group ($N = 20, 42\%$ male)	43,6	12,9			
Speech rate	Play worlds	0,922	0,292	$W = 0,976, p = 0,249$	$F(4,59) = 1,05, p = 0,387$	ANOVA, $F(4,59) = 2,24, p = 0,075$
	Free play	0,875	0,281			
	Research project	0,805	0,390			
	Creative project	1,09	0,352			
	Control group	0,687	0,173			
Narrative macrostructure	Play worlds	5,32	1,2	$W = 0,968, p = 0,092$	$F(4,59) = 1,35, p = 0,263$	ANOVA, $F(4,59) = 1,82, p = 0,138$
	Free play	4,65	1,17			
	Research project	4,2	1,14			
	Creative project	5,44	1,81			
	Control group	5,11	1,27			
Narrative microstructure	Play worlds	4,95	1,27	$W = 0,969, p = 0,112$	$F(4,59) = 0,293, p = 0,882$	ANOVA, $F(4,59) = 2,17, p = 0,083$
	Free play	4,35	1,17			
	Research project	4,5	1,08			
	Creative project	5,44	1,51			
	Control group	5,11	1,13			

Table 2

Descriptive statistics for the assessed indicators at the post-test for the experimental and control groups

Indicator	Study group	Mean	Standard deviation	Shapiro–Wilk test	Levene's test	Group differences
Word count	Play worlds	51,9	15	$W = 0,963, p = 0,034$	$F(4,59) = 2,09, p = 0,092$	Kruskal–Wallis test, $\chi^2(4) = 4,21, p = 0,378$
	Free play	52,7	16,3			
	Research project	43,6	21,6			
	Creative project	63	23			
	Control group	50,3	21,9			
Speech rate	Play worlds	0,959	0,19	$W = 0,980, p = 0,305$	$F(4,67) = 0,719, p = 0,582$	ANOVA, $F(4,67) = 2,62, p = 0,042$
	Free play	0,920	0,205			
	Research project	0,869	0,284			
	Creative project	1,16	0,196			
	Control group	0,912	0,262			

Indicator	Study group	Mean	Standard deviation	Shapiro–Wilk test	Levene’s test	Group differences
Narrative macrostructure	Play worlds	6,09	1,07	W = 0,989, p = 0,785	F(4,67) = 0,264, p = 0,899	ANOVA, F(4,67) = 11,2, p < 0,001
	Free play	5,47	0,9			
	Research project	4,33	1,19			
	Creative project	6,25	1,64			
	Control group	3,79	1,47			
Narrative microstructure	Play worlds	6,25	1,14	W = 0,984, p = 0,468	F(4,67) = 2,2, p = 0,079	ANOVA, F(4,67) = 6,58, p < 0,001
	Free play	5,68	1,1			
	Research project	4,61	1,27			
	Creative project	6,25	1,38			
	Control group	4,57	1,2			

Analysis of differences

Given the unequal group sizes, disproportionate gender distribution, as well as the normal distribution of data and homogeneity of variances across groups, a repeated measures multifactor ANOVA was conducted to compare the effectiveness of play-based and project-based activities in developing coherent speech (speech rate, macrostructure, and microstructure of the narrative). The independent factors included the experimental group and gender. For word count in the narrative, the Kruskal–Wallis test was applied.

A significant interaction effect between time and the experimental group was found for the macrostructure of the narrative (RM-ANOVA, $F(4, 51) = 4.43$, $p = 0.004$, $\eta^2 = 0.046$, see Fig. 1). Post-hoc analysis revealed that, at the post-test stage, children in the PW group scored significantly higher on macrostructure than those in the control group ($t = 5.03$, Bonferroni-adjusted $p < 0.001$) and showed a trend-level advantage over children in the RP group ($t = 3.42$, Bonferroni-adjusted $p < 0.049$). Children in the FP group scored significantly higher than those in the control group ($t = 4.14$, Bonferroni-adjusted $p = 0.006$).

Children in the CP group demonstrated significantly better results in narrative macrostructure than those in the RP group ($t = 3.63$, Bonferroni-adjusted $p = 0.029$) and the control group ($t = 4.86$, Bonferroni-adjusted $p < 0.001$).

A significant interaction effect between time and the experimental group was also found for the microstructure of the narrative (RM-ANOVA, $F(4, 51) = 4.2$, $p = 0.005$, $\eta^2 = 0.062$, see Fig. 2). Children in the PW group ($t = 4.26$, Bonferroni-adjusted $p = 0.004$) and the CP group ($t = 3.75$, Bonferroni-adjusted $p = 0.02$) scored significantly higher on microstructure than children in the control group.

A trend-level difference was found between the groups in the change of scores (differential differences) from pre-test to post-test (Kruskal–Wallis test, $\chi^2(4) = 9.5$, $p = 0.050$, $\epsilon^2 = 0.132$). Pairwise comparisons showed that, at the trend level, children in the CP group produced narratives with a higher word count than participants in the RP group (DSCF, $W = 3.797$, $p = 0.056$).

No significant differences were found for speech rate. Additionally, no significant differences were observed between boys and girls.

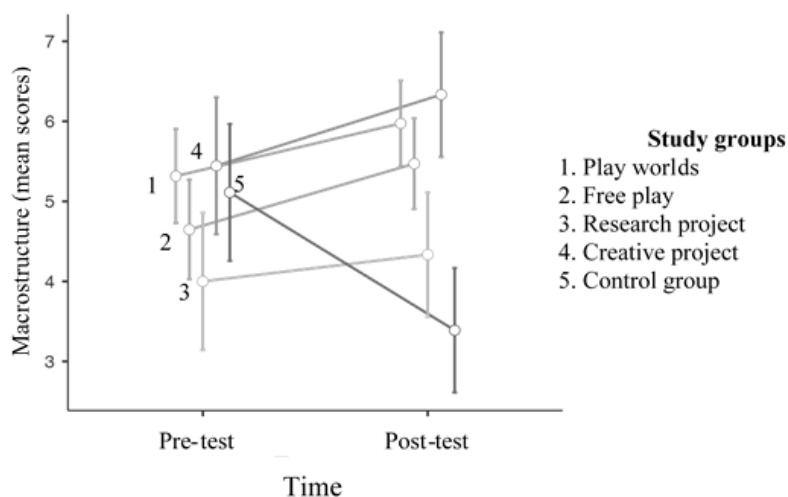


Fig. 1. The mean values of the narrative macrostructure at the pre-test and post-test for the different experimental groups

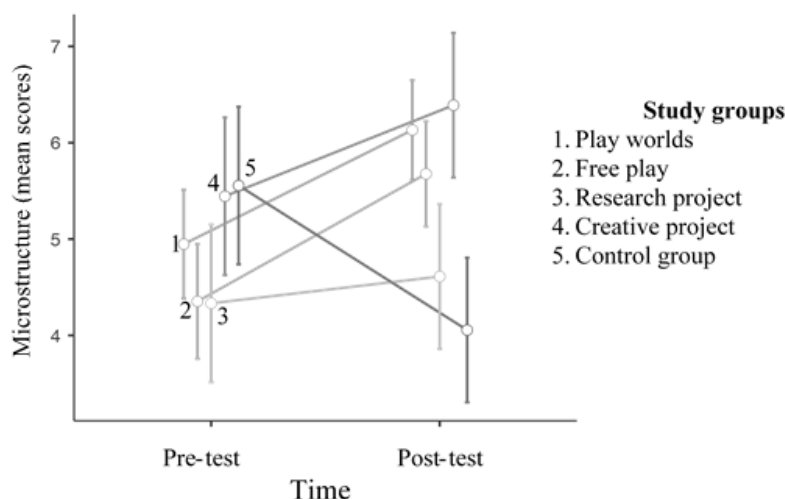


Fig. 2. The mean values of the narrative microstructure at the pre-test and post-test for the different experimental groups

Discussion

The aim of this study was to determine the influence of a child's position in the educational situation on the development of coherent speech. In the CP group, the greatest number of significant or trend-level positive effects was observed. In this case, the authorial position, productive activity, and social demonstration stimulated the child's communication with others during explanation, idea selection, discussion, and presentation. The creation of a unique product, i.e., the making of something new [18], expressed the child's individuality not only in the process of conceiving the product but also in its production. In terms of content, this influence was evident, for example, in the fact that CP participants, Herman and Artem (pseudonyms), became approximately seven times more likely to engage in discussions with peers by the end of the program, compared to the third and fourth meetings, according to video-recording assessments. Furthermore, Herman's number of self-initiated statements, such as answering questions from the teacher voluntarily rather than at the teacher's request, increased from 5 to 14 statements, while Artem's increased from 1 to 5. No such changes were found for children in the PW, FP, and RP groups, highlighting the unique position of the child in the CP group — markedly authorial and productive.

The PW, FP, and CP groups were effective in developing coherent speech at the semantic level of the macrostructure. At the same time, PW and CP had a significant impact on the development of vocabulary and grammar at the microstructure level of the narrative. In the PW and FP groups, preschoolers acted in a pretend situation and took on a subject position. The subjectivity of the position was characterized by two features: 1) the child was aware of the plot and the role they were playing; 2) the child independently determined and

performed the corresponding roles in the plot of the action [35]. However, in the PW group, the adult also became an equal participant in the imaginary situation. Since a rich and developed pretend play requires various skills from the child (e.g., having an understanding of the diversity of the surrounding reality, being familiar with a wide range of characters, being able to create and hold an imaginary situation in their mind, using substitute objects, cooperating with peers, etc.), the adult, as a bearer of cultural experience and knowledge, can enrich the child's play by providing examples of actions, roles, dialogues, and intonation [6; 14]. The adult's participation in the child's role play can influence its course, richness, and the children's expressions, including their speech. Therefore, to some extent, the inclusion of an adult may also impact the development of coherent speech in children [34], which likely explains the greater effectiveness of PW compared to FP, as found in this study. Since play is not productive in the same way as project activity, preschoolers' position was limited to active involvement in the play, which may explain the greater influence of CP on speech development. It is important to note that the manifestation of macro — and microstructure development reflected differently in actual activity. For example, CP participants Herman and Artem made a significant number of metareflective and evaluative statements about their activities, such as: "You did a beautiful job. You draw beautifully! But mine (*about the drawing*) is more interesting. No one has ever done anything like this," "I understood that I can fix it, improve it," or "Well, that's not the right way to do it! You need to use another color, remember how we agreed... when... when we were choosing with the coins (*about voting for the best model of the product*)."

On the other hand, during the third and fourth sessions, such statements were absent in these children. Meanwhile, in the PW and FP

groups, the preschoolers Denis, Yaroslav, Petya, and Kolya (pseudonyms) showed a 4–5 times increase in emotional statements and exclamations about the game or their role, for example: “No! I won’t give you the key! You’re bad (*with a serious, angry intonation*)” or “Hooray! Yes, let’s do it this way! (*joyfully and loudly*).” The children became more deeply emotionally immersed in the pretend situation, expressing their desires and emotions more openly and freely.

It is important to note that the dynamics in the RP group, based on the speech diagnostics results, did not differ from the control group. The authorial position in RP was limited, as the research question, although reflecting individuality, presented a product that conveyed already known, objective information — strictly speaking, a fragment of the informational space, not individual concepts [33]. Meanwhile, the participants in the CG acted in accordance with the established system of rules within the preschool setting and in normative situations, following the prescribed instructions. It seems that the child’s position in RP does not significantly differ from the typical position of a child in preschool or in CG, where their ideas, though expressed, are constrained by the structure of the lesson plan, the rules convenient for the teacher to maintain discipline, the daily routine of the group, etc.

Thus, it was shown that the more subject-oriented the child’s position, the more pronounced the development of coherent speech, which supports the overall hypothesis of the study. The results of the two groups, PW and FP, were similar in the average indicators of the dynamics of word count, as well as the development of the macro — and microstructure of the children’s narratives. The results of the children in the RP and

CP groups differ due to the differences in the positions they occupied. The most beneficial situation for the development of coherent speech is a creative one, where the child occupies a full-fledged position as the author of their idea and product, as seen in a creative project. The obtained data align with other studies and theoretical works that highlight the importance of the child’s subject position, as well as taking their initiative and perspective into account in the educational process for development [16; 31].

Conclusion

This study on the relationship between the child’s position in the educational situation and the development of coherent speech was conducted within the framework of the cultural-historical approach. Several contexts that determine the development of coherent speech in preschoolers were identified: “adult — child,” “natural — cultural,” and “situation — society.” The results of the study indicate that there is a dependency between the development of coherent speech and the position occupied by the child in the educational situation. The results showed that children who occupied an authorial position in a creative project demonstrated the development of coherent speech across the most parameters. The imaginary play situation, where the child assumes the position of a subject, also contributes to the development of the meaning level of speech, vocabulary, and grammar, regardless of the extent to which the adult is involved in the play. The least developmental potential is found in the normative situation, where the child occupies the position of a student.

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Representational Shifts in Children Aged 6 to 9

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The experiment tested the hypothesis regarding the influence of categorical labels on image memory in children aged 6–9 years. Previous literature describes the effect of representational shift, which manifests as impaired recognition of individual objects after categorisation compared to a non-categorisation task. This effect has been observed in adults and, according to the dominant explanation is driven by an attentional shift towards category-relevant features influenced by labels. To understand the mechanisms of this effect, data on its age-related variations are necessary to be obtained. Following this explanation – within the framework of the cultural-historical approach – we expect that changes in recognition performance with age should differ between the condition with a category label and the condition without it. To test this hypothesis, we replicated an experiment previously conducted on adults with child participants and additionally assessed individual differences in participants' verbal flexibility. Children aged 6 to 9 years ($N = 33$) participated in the experiment which consisted of two stages: a task stage and a test stage. During the task stage children completed a classification task and a preference assessment task. In the test phase we examined how well the children remembered the images from the first stage. As a result, we observed the effect of representational shift in children: the number of *correct detections* and the *sensitivity* (d') were lower in the classification task compared to the preference assessment task. Thus, the hypothesis regarding age-related differences in the manifestation of the effect was confirmed. However, no individual differences were found in the relationship between the representational shift effect and verbal flexibility.

Keywords: categorical perception, ontogenesis, verbalization, categories, detection, verbal flexibility.

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Эффект репрезентационного сдвига у детей 6–9 лет

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В эксперименте проверялась гипотеза о влиянии категориальных названий на запоминание изображений у детей 6–9 лет. Ранее в литературе описан эффект репрезентационного сдвига, который проявляется в ухудшении распознавания индивидуальных объектов после их категоризации по сравнению с опытом некатегориального задания. Эффект был обнаружен у взрослых и, согласно доминирующему объяснению, определяется смещением внимания на релевантные для категорий признаки под влиянием названий. Для объяснения механизмов эффекта необходимы данные о его возрастных вариациях. В соответствии с приведенным объяснением мы ожидаем — в логике культурно-исторического подхода — что изменение в успешности распознавания с возрастом должны происходить по-разному в условии с названием и без названия категории. Для проверки гипотезы мы повторили эксперимент, проводившийся на взрослых, с участием детей и дополнительно оценили индивидуальные различия в вербальной гибкости участников. В эксперименте приняли участие дети в возрасте от 6 до 9 лет ($N = 33$). Эксперимент включал в себя два этапа: этап с заданием и тестовый этап. Во время этапа с заданием дети проходили задание на классификацию и оценку предпочтений. Во время тестовой фазы проверялось то, как хорошо дети запомнили изображения из первого этапа. В результате мы обнаружили эффект репрезентационного сдвига у детей (количество правильных обнаружений и показатель чувствительности были ниже в задании с классификацией, чем с оценкой предпочтений). Таким образом подтвердилась гипотеза о возрастных различиях в проявлении эффекта. При этом индивидуальных различий связи эффекта репрезентационного сдвига с вербальной гибкостью обнаружено не было.

Ключевые слова: категориальное восприятие, онтогенез, вербализация, категории, распознавание, вербальная гибкость.

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Introduction

The words people use in communication play a significant role in basic cognitive functions such as categorization and memory [4; 9; 15]. Since words are closely linked to concepts and categories, they can alter object representations towards semantic meanings and category prototypes. For example, in the classic study by L. Carmichael and colleagues [5], participants were shown ambiguous figures accompanied by different la-

bels. It was found that depending on the label used, participants altered their memory of the depicted figure.

Hypothesis of Representational Shift

One of the key modern studies on the role of basic-level categories and their labels in memory is the research conducted by G. Lupyan [8]. In this study, participants perceived and memorized images of chairs and lamps —

either based on their category affiliation (they classified each image as belonging to one of the categories) or in a non-category manner (expressing a preference by evaluating whether they liked the object or not). Following this, participants performed a test where they had to distinguish old images from new ones. Lupyan discovered that recognition accuracy was significantly lower in the classification condition compared to the non-category tasks. He proposed the hypothesis of representational shift in memory: the use of category labels activates the semantic category (its prototype), leading to a top-down influence on perception, shifting attention to category-relevant, typical features of the object. This results in a mismatch between the stored representation of a previously seen object and its actual properties, making object recognition more difficult. Representational shift should lead to a decrease in correct detections but should not affect false alarm rates, meaning it should not create difficulties in distinguishing previously memorized objects from entirely new ones.

Following studies have critiqued and refined the representational shift hypothesis. For instance, N. Blanco and T. Gureckis [3] suggested that forgetting in Lupyan's task [8] could be explained by the greater complexity of the non-category task compared to the classification task, as it requires evaluation of each object based on multiple features and includes an emotional assessment (e.g., liking a chair because it is beautiful, matches the furniture, or is comfortable to sit on). To test this, their study introduced a new condition where participants had to assess the direction an object was facing. This non-category task was as simple as the category naming task but did not require labeling. They found that this new non-category task also led to forgetting, similar to the classification task.

A similar study by D. Richler, T. Palmeri, and I. Gauthier [14] also proposed that the representational shift effect could be explained by simpler, non-category mechanisms. Specifically, they demonstrated that the effect disappeared when memorizing objects from different categories rather than objects from a single category, as in Lupyan's experiment. In this case, they argue, the effect can be explained by the fact that the use of category names simply artificially reduces the perceptual distinctiveness of objects, without significantly changing their representation.

However, the representational shift hypothesis has also evolved. Further studies on the relationship between memory and learning have shown that this effect is not limited to familiar object memory. A similar effect occurs with artificial categories: when an artificial rule is created for category membership, new examples of the category are subsequently remembered less accurately

compared to those without a category rule [6]. Thus, category representation does influence information retrieval from memory.

The explanation of this effect through changes in attention under sign mediation — either directly through labels or through their conceptual representations — aligns with the cultural-historical approach [1]. This leads researchers to the necessity of examining how the effect manifests across ontogenetic development.

Representational Shift and Ontogenesis

The connection between language and categories is not constant throughout life; this connection develops and changes during ontogenesis [1]. Children under the age of 6–7 rely less on language when forming new categories and memorizing objects [18]. However, at this age they begin to discover the possibilities that words, including category names, provide [10; 13]. In preschool years, verbal support from adults — through explanations, instructions, and communicative strategies — shapes new ways of generalizing information [16].

Interestingly, verbal labels influence memory and resemble the representational shift effect even in infancy. A study with 12-month-old infants showed that after memorizing images of toys paired with a single common label, infants later had more difficulty recognizing those toys among new ones compared to a condition where each toy had a distinct label [7]. The authors explained this result by suggesting that a shared label creates category expectations, leading to the search for common features among different toys, which distorts memory traces. This effect was not compared in children of different ages and, of course, the method of detecting it was very different from the method for adults.

In our study, we examined whether the representational shift effect is present in children aged 6–9 and whether it depends on age and individual differences in verbal flexibility. If the task encourages the use of speech and category labels as cultural tools supporting memory, we hypothesize that children will also demonstrate the representational shift effect. Furthermore, age of children should differentially influence the success of memorization under conditions that encourage the use of category names, since they will demonstrate the indirect nature of memorization, and with memorization under conditions without category names, since it will reflect memorization without the support of cultural means [1].

We used Lupyan's experimental task for replication [8], adapting it for children. Additionally, we measured individual differences of children using a verbal flexibility task [17; 19]. This task evaluates an ability to solve

a lexical task using category information. In this task, a child must retrieve as many examples from a single category as possible within one minute. As a result the number of category clusters in the response sequence is counted. The more such subcategories a child generates, the higher their flexibility – the ability to switch between clusters; the more often they switch from cluster to cluster, the easier it becomes to solve the task. This measure of individual differences in verbal flexibility allowed us to assess whether the influence of verbalization on memory is strategic or automatic. If it is strategic, then the greater the verbal flexibility, the stronger the representational shift effect should be.

Thus, this study tested several hypotheses. If the representational shift hypothesis is correct, we expected that children, like adults, would demonstrate poorer memory performance in the condition with category labels than without them. Moreover, with age, children should show improved recognition in the condition without category labels (natural memory) while maintaining a stable level in the condition with category labels (mediated memory).

Methods

Participants

The study included 33 children aged 6 to 9 years ($M = 7.87$, $SD = 1.57$; 18 girls and 15 boys). All children participated individually, either at home or at school (after additional classes). Participants received a small reward for their participation (a notebook, pencils, and an eraser).

Materials

We replicated Lupyan's results adapting task procedure and materials for children [8], adapting it for children. The experiment was designed using PsychoPy software [12]. As in the original study, we used 40 images of chairs and 40 images of lamps from the IKEA online catalog. Many images overlapped with those from Lupyan's study; images of examples that were not typical for the category were excluded, as we assumed that children would not automatically categorize them. Each image was presented on a white background with a size of 250x250 pixels on a 14-inch laptop screen. The images were divided into groups: one set for the task phase and another set of "new" images used only in the test phase. Each image pair had slight modifications: e.g., shape, color, material, or combination differences (fig. 1). Images used in the task phase were divided into two conditions: classification and preference evaluation, with 10 images per condition.

Procedure

The difference between our task and G. Lupyan's task was that we did not use a keyboard or gamepads to collect responses, as it was done in the original study for adults. At the beginning, children were shown images of a lamp or a chair. After the image disappeared from the screen, children were shown the answer categories – a simplified image of a chair and a lamp for the classification stage and sad and happy emoticons for feedback. Responses were given by moving the cursor or pressing the corresponding category image.

In the first phase, participants completed the task. Half of the participants first completed the classification condition and then the preference evaluation condition, while the other half completed them in reverse order. The presentation of images from each set within each condition was randomized.

After the first task phase, participants moved on to the test phase. In this phase, the stimuli included both previously presented images and new ones that had not appeared in the earlier task. All stimuli were shuffled and presented in a randomized order. During the test phase, participants also used two icons on the screen to respond: one for "have seen before" (a checkmark) and one for "have not seen before" (a cross).

Before conducting the experiment, we assessed the children's level of verbal flexibility. Participants were given one minute to name out loud as many words as possible from the category "animals". They completed a practice round using a different category ("food"). Time was measured using a visible timer, and responses were



Fig. 1. Examples of images during the study phase (top) and the test phase (bottom)

recorded with a voice recorder. The responses were evaluated as follows: within the total number of words, clusters were identified – groups of words united by a common subcategory. Then, the number of switches between these clusters was counted. For example, if there were four clusters in total, the number of switches would be three. Thus, the higher the number of switches (rather than the total number of words), the higher the verbal flexibility score for a given participant. We analyzed the relationship between verbal flexibility, memory performance in different conditions, and participants' age.

The results of the test phase in the main experiment were evaluated using Signal Detection Theory (SDT) indices: the number of correct detections, false alarms, sensitivity, and criterion. Since we used a within-subject experimental design, each of these metrics was calculated for each participant separately for images in the classification condition and for images in the preference evaluation condition. The experiment materials and results are available in the repository (<https://osf.io/u49v7/>).

Results

Since the children completed the image classification task while interacting with an experimenter, we did not assess their performance on the task. In the original study, such assessment was conducted both in terms of categories (lamps and chairs) and order (before or after the attractiveness evaluation). No differences were found, and such differences were not theoretically expected. To assess the success of the recognition test, we used the following measurements of SDT: proportion of correct detections, false alarms, sensitivity, and criterion. Table 1 presents the results for the classification and preference conditions.

Overall, the children performed well on the recognition test. The number of correct detections was above the chance level (0.5) in both conditions: in the preference condition ($t(32) = 7.68, p < 0.001, \text{Cohen's } d = 1.32$) and in the classification condition ($t(32) = 2.12, p = 0.03, \text{Cohen's } d = 0.38$). Similarly, the number of false alarms was below the chance level in both the preference condition ($t(32) = -3.06, p = 0.004, \text{Cohen's } d = -0.53$) and the classification condition ($t(32) = -2.96, p = 0.006, \text{Cohen's } d = -0.51$).

As seen in Table 1, the number of correct detections was higher in the preference condition: $t(32) = 6.2, p < 0.001, \text{Cohen's } d = 1.09$. After classification, children remembered fewer images. There were no differences in the number of false alarms: $t(32) = 0.61, p > 0.1, \text{Cohen's } d = 0.16$. Overall sensitivity was also higher in the preference condition: $t(32) = 4.41, p < 0.001, \text{Cohen's } d = 0.77$. Thus, the difference in sensitivity between conditions was due to the number of correct detections rather than the number of false alarms. We also found a difference in the criterion: $t(32) = -4.76, p < 0.001, \text{Cohen's } d = -0.83$. The criterion in the preference condition was more liberal, meaning participants found the test in this condition subjectively easier.

Comparing the mean performance indicators and differences between conditions in children and adults from the original study, we noted that children's results fully align with those of adults. This confirms that children also exhibit representational shift: the use of category names during classification results in the memory trace of specific images being shifted towards a more general representation. Thus, in conditions of potential possible support of perception with a label (the name of a category accessible in semantic memory), the processes of perception and memory involve the rules for processing perceptual information fixed behind this label – first of all, to perceive and store the values of key features for a given category.

Next, we examined the relationship between memory performance, participants' age, and individual differences in verbal flexibility. We found (Table 2) that age correlated only with memorization success in the preference condition: the older the participant, the more correct responses, the higher the sensitivity, and the fewer false alarms. Memorization success in the classification condition was not related to age, nor was the decision criterion in either condition.

From the different indicators of the verbal flexibility method, we used only the main one – the number of category clusters. On average, verbal flexibility was $M = 4.25, SD = 2.27$ (i.e., children created about four category clusters per minute). To test the relationship between age and verbal flexibility level, a correlation analysis was conducted using Pearson's coefficient. A Pearson correlation analysis confirmed that verbal flexibility was related to age: the older the participant,

Table 1

Mean and standard deviation of the proportion of correct detections, false alarms, d' , and criterion (c)

Condition	Correct Detections ***	False Alarms ns	d' ***	c ***
Preference	0.80 (0.23)	0.38 (0.17)	1.89 (1.90)	-0.70 (1.05)
Classification	0.56 (0.19)	0.36 (0.22)	0.58 (0.68)	0.3 (0.88)

Table 2

Pearson correlation between participant age and recognition performance measures (p-values in parentheses)

Condition	Correct Detections	False Alarms	d	c
Preference	0.476 (0.03)*	-0.495 (0.02)*	0.51 (0.01)**	0.012 (0.96)
Classification	-0.366 (0.11)	-0.293 (0.21)	0.038 (0.68)	0.365 (0.11)

the higher their verbal flexibility: $r = 0.439$, $p = 0.041$. However, we found no relationship between verbal flexibility and any of the recognition performance measures in either condition ($p > 0.1$).

Discussion

In our study, we investigated the effect of representational shift in children aged 6–9. This effect in adults is explained by a shift in attention under the influence of category labels to categoryly significant features, which leads to a deterioration in memory for individual examples. This effect has not yet been studied in children, and according to our hypothesis, it should be observed in children aged 6–9. We found that children in this age range exhibit this effect in a manner similar to adults. However, age-related changes in the manifestation of the effect were found: the expected low success rate in recognizing examples in the condition with classification (i.e., category names) did not change with age, and on average, the higher success rate in recognizing examples in the condition without category labels increased depending on age. We suggest that this pattern reflects the development of cultural cognitive functions: when a function is supported by cultural means, its outcomes are more stable and at a certain point reach a plateau, whereas when it is not supported, its effectiveness is significantly lower at an early age. At the same time, it appears that we did not identify the precise age at which the representational shift effect emerges. Our results indicate that by an early elementary school age, category names, as signs that shift attention toward category features of an object during the memorization process, are already internalized. This motivates us to further investigate the dynamics of this phenomenon in preschoolers.

We did not find a relationship between the representational shift effect and individual differences in verbal flexibility. Although participants showed age-related increases in verbal flexibility, the level of verbal flexibility did not affect memory performance in either the category labeling (classification) condition or the non-labeling condition. Eventually, our results confirm and extend the theoretical explanation of the representational shift effect. Our findings suggest that words and verbalization influence memory retrieval in both adults and children from the age of six. The fact that category names shift at-

tention to categoryly relevant features has an age-related developmental pattern: children in this age range rely on category principles for creating and retrieving memory traces. Interestingly, the influence of category labels did not increase with age but remained at the same level as in adults from the original study. Meanwhile, memory retrieval without labels improved with age. This trend supports the role of language in the development of higher cognitive functions: labels provide children with an alternative, culturally mediated way of organizing information. In this case, the shift in attention to category features leads to the same way of encoding and representing information as adults. However, without labels, children may organize recall differently, using various strategies and retrieval methods. The older the child, the more options they have.

In our study, we explained the representational shift in recognition through the influence of language and category labels. In the original study, labels were only implied by the classification task and were not explicitly presented in text or required to be pronounced. In our study, category labels were displayed on the screen but only as symbolic representations of two categories. Can we then claim that memory distortions were caused specifically by linguistic factors? In the case of adult participants, this could be tested using verbal interference methods to suppress speech use at different stages of the task. For children, however, verbal interference is challenging, making the opposite approach – inducing or enhancing verbal processes, for example, by requiring label pronunciation – more feasible. Nevertheless, our results show that even without this, the effect is sufficiently pronounced. Additionally, most children performed the task almost aloud, verbalizing their decisions both in the classification and attractiveness rating conditions.

The hypothesis of representational shift [9] is currently being explored in studies on visual short-term memory. Different mechanisms of verbalization's impact on memory are now being examined to assess the relationship between various encoding formats in long-term and short-term visual memory. For example, in A. Souza's model of category visual long-term memory [10; 20], verbalization was shown to not only shift attention to semantically relevant features while distracting from irrelevant ones: even when features used for memorization were already in focus, verbalization still enhanced

recognition. In both adults and children, verbalization primarily creates more convenient long-term memory representations, which can then be used for solving various short-term memory tasks [2; 11].

Our study leaves open the question of whether the representational shift effect is influenced by language in an automatic or strategic manner. We hypothesized that if the influence was strategic, children with more developed abilities to use verbal categories for memory retrieval would show a stronger effect. In this study, we did not find such a relationship, despite observing a link between verbal flexibility and age. These findings suggest that the influence of language on memory in children is automatic rather than strategic.

Conclusion

In this study, we documented the representational shift effect in children aged 6–9 for the first time. The children exhibited this effect in almost the same way as adults in previous studies [8]. We also described age-related changes in the manifestation of the effect: recognition accuracy in the condition with category labels remained stable across ages, while recognition accuracy in the condition without category labels increased with age. No relationship was found between the representational shift effect and individual differences in children's ver-

bal flexibility. Overall, the study's results align with the hypothesis of representational shift in semantic memory: attention is shifted towards category-typical features of an object under the influence of category labels.

In our study, we paid little attention to examining specific factors that might explain the representational shift effect. For example, future research should investigate the role of working memory development or other cognitive functions related to language and cognitive control in contributing to this effect.

Although we demonstrated that the effect is as pronounced in children aged 6–9 as in adults, the lower boundary for the emergence of this effect remains an open question for future studies. The methodology we presented can be successfully modified and adapted for children younger than six, providing opportunities to examine the effect in a younger sample. Identifying the age at which this phenomenon first appears will allow researchers to design experiments involving external use of signs, on which the internalization of this phenomenon is based. This, in turn, will enable the testing of specific hypotheses about the factors underlying the representational shift.

The presence of the representational shift effect in early school-aged children may indicate the role of category knowledge in acquiring and retaining new information. These findings could be relevant for structuring learning processes in early education.

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Ethnic Identity and Personality's Subjective Perception of Time (on Example of Armenian Youth)

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This work is aimed at studying the characteristics of ethnic identity and subjective perception of time. In the article, identity is considered within the framework of the problem of “Self” and “Self-Image”, which implies the presence of information about oneself and the continuity of mental activity as a set of ideas of the individual about himself. The authors focus on the existential and phenomenological approach to the experience of the personality of the concept of time and its connection with ethnic identity. The goal of the study is the investigation of the features of identity and the subjective assessment of the time of the personality in a psychological perspective. The results of an empirical study (N=89) conducted on students of various areas of professional training and courses of study aged 18 to 24 years (M=19,60; SD=1,30) are described. The study was conducted using the author's questionnaire to identify social and demographic data, the questionnaire “Types of ethnic identity of a personality” (G.U. Soldatova, S.V. Ryzhova), the Semantic time differential (L.I. Wasserman and others), Assessment of the severity of ethnic identity and the Scale for express evaluation of feelings associated with ethnicity (N.M. Lebedeva). The obtained results allowed us to identify the main characteristics of ethnic identity and highlight the dominant types among the Armenian student youth. Based on the results of hypotheses testing, statistically significant relationships were revealed between feelings towards one's nationality and the length of staying in Armenia, between the feeling of being Armenian and the assessment of the past and future.

Keywords: ethnic identity, positive ethnic identity, perception of time, Armenian youth, length of stay in Armenia.

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Этническая идентичность и субъективное восприятие времени личности (на примере армянской молодежи)

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Данная работа направлена на исследование характеристик этнической идентичности и субъективного восприятия времени. В статье идентичность рассматривается в рамках проблемы «Я» и «Образ Я», предполагающей наличие информации о себе и преемственность психической деятельности в качестве совокупности представлений индивида о самом себе. Авторы акцентируют внимание на экзистенциальном и феноменологическом подходе к переживанию личностью понятия времени и связи его с этнической идентичностью. Целью исследования является изучение связи особенностей идентичности и субъективной оценки времени личности в психологическом ракурсе. Представлены результаты эмпирического исследования (N = 89), проведенного со студентами различных направлений профессиональной подготовки и курсов обучения в возрасте от 18 до 24 лет (M = 19,60; SD = 1,30). Исследование проводилось с использованием авторской анкеты для выявления социально-демографических данных, методики «Типы этнической идентичности личности» (Г.У. Солдатова, С.В. Рыжова), методики «Семантический дифференциал времени» (Л.И. Вассерман и другие), Шкалы экспресс-оценки выраженности этнической идентичности и Шкалы экспресс-оценки чувств, связанных с этнической принадлежностью (Н.М. Лебедева). Полученные результаты позволили выявить основные характеристики этнической идентичности и выделить доминантные типы у армянской студенческой молодежи. По результатам проверки выдвинутых гипотез были выявлены статистически достоверные связи между чувствами по отношению к своей национальности и длительностью проживания в Армении, между ощущением себя армянином и оценкой прошлого и будущего.

Ключевые слова: этническая идентичность, позитивная этническая идентичность, восприятие времени, армянская молодежь, длительность проживания в Армении.

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Introduction

The concept of ethnic identity

The search for answers to the question: “Who am I?”, the search for ethnic identity by an individual, a social group, a society is a relevant point in modern scientific psychology. E. Erikson defined identity as an important condition for maintaining an individual’s mental health, authenticity, stability and internal integrity. In modern psychological science, the individual’s need for ethnic

identity is formed much more broadly than just belonging to a certain group or social community [21]. The need for identity is also determined by the individual’s understanding of the historical experience of the ethnic group, which actualizes the fundamental nature of scientific research into this problem [23].

According to C. Cooley, identity is associated with the notion of the Self-concept and the subjective reflection of the opinions of others. Personality is formed within the process of interaction with society, i.e. identi-

ty is part of the Self-concept, which is responsible for the awareness of one's group affiliation. That said, identity is an area of self-awareness and formed by a generalization of the opinions of people around a person [8]. R. Fogelson believed that a struggle between four types of identity occurs within a person: real identity, ideal identity, negative identity and presented identity. In the struggle of identities a person strives to bring real identity closer to the ideal one and to reduce the distance between real and negative identities [25].

In Russian psychology, identity was mainly studied within the framework of self-awareness, self-determination and socialization of the individual. This topic was investigated by L.S. Vygotsky, A.N. Leontiev, L.B. Schneider, T.G. Stefanenko and others [4; 14; 17]. The notion of self-awareness in Soviet psychology was first studied by L.S. Vygotsky. He viewed self-awareness as a higher form of consciousness, which is facilitated by the development of speech, voluntary movements and the growth of independence [4]. V.V. Stolin viewed identity as self-awareness of the individual, which has a multifaceted structure [15]. I.S. Kon investigated identity within the framework of the problem of the "Self" and the "Self-Image". "Self" implies the presence of information about oneself and the continuity of mental activity, and the "Self-Image" corrects it, i.e. the "Self-Image" is a set of an individual's ideas about himself [7].

Human nature is structured in such a way that an individual constantly identifies himself with a certain group with which he has connections, or which is close to him in its ideology, value system, system of views [19]. In psychological sense, it is important to understand that identification is associated with basic human needs. This strengthens the sense of self-preservation, self-affirmation, self-expression. Thus, a person needs to feel his belonging to society, a reference group, and much more [6].

Ethnic identity is a part of social identity, which implies awareness of one's belonging to a certain ethnic community. Ethnic identity includes a cognitive component, i.e. an idea of the characteristics of one's group, awareness of oneself as a member of it, and an affective component — the significance of membership in this group, attitude to its qualities and their assessment. The attitude towards one's own ethnic community is expressed in ethnic attitudes [18; 32]. Participation in the social life of an ethnic group is often considered as an indicator of ethnic identity. However, the question of the stability of the connection between who a person considers himself to be and how he acts in real life is still being considered [24]. In traditional societies, participation in the social life and culture of an ethnic group is a necessary condition for the formation of ethnic identity [29].

The concept of time in psychology

The problem of psychological time, the temporality of personality is substantiated in the works of P. Janet, Ch. Buhler, K. Levin, S.L. Rubinstein, B.G. Ananyev, K.A. Abulkhanova-Slavskaya, T.N. Berezina, E.I. Golovakha, A.A. Kronik, S.B. Nesterova, F. Zimbardo, J. Boyd, V.I. Kovalev and others. The results of empirical studies related to the attitude towards time were presented by S.V. Dukhnovsky, E.V. Zabelina, Ya.V. Kravtsova, T.D. Dubovitskaya, D.L. Prokopyev, P.I. Yanichev and others.

The main directions of research on time in psychology are associated with the concepts of human ontogenesis as a unity of the biological, social and subjective [5]. In scientific psychology, the temporal characteristics of a person as an individual, as a personality and as a subject are considered at four main levels: 1) psychophysical, 2) psychophysiological, 3) social and psychological and 4) personal and psychological. Along with this, three approaches to the study of time are considered: situational, biographical and historical.

1. The psychophysical level involves identifying the parameters of physical time, such as topological (simultaneity, sequence) and metric (duration) characteristics, and the unconscious mechanisms of their mental reflection. The psychophysical level is manifested in the form of directly experienced and assessed time [9]. S.Ya. Rubinstein also identified subtypes of time perception: a direct sense of duration and a subjective perception of time [10]. W. Wundt pioneered in conducting an experimental study and revealing the subjective perception of objectively given time intervals of the same duration [22].

2. The psychophysiological level reveals the psychophysiological mechanisms of time perception, human adaptation to the dynamics of mental processes depending on biological rhythms and the organization of biological time. For the first time, I.M. Sechenov drew attention to the fact that the perception of time occurs due to several "sensitive devices" [11]. Treisman and other researchers revealed the relationship between the perception of time and the coordination of the motor act, experimentally proving that it is the work of the so-called "internal clock" and its frequency that ensure the perception of time in humans [30]. At the psychophysiological level, when studying the time phenomenon, the neurons were detected that respond to a specific time interval [28]. These results correlate with the theory associated with the time analyzer proposed by E.N. Sokolov [12].

3. The social and psychological level reveals the features of a person's perception of "social" time in the context of social and cultural conditions, especially human ontogenesis, social generation, and the history of society. From the perspective of this triad, the time of an individual, genera-

tion, and history is considered. Within the framework of this level, the most profound study of three spheres was observed: organizational, economic, and cross-cultural psychology. In the context of our research, a studies on the ethnocultural characteristics of time perspective and time orientation (Jones, Syrtsova and others), group ideas about the sources of time are of particular interest [20].

4. Psychological (personal) level. The psychological content of the category of time is most fully manifested in the concept of “psychological time”. E.I. Golovakha and A.A. Kronik note the significant role of higher mental functions, a conscious attitude to the past, present and future and their assessment, the formation of a holistic idea of time in general in the processes of experiencing long periods of time [5]. Pierre Janet pioneered in investigating the concept of the life path of an individual. He correlated time phases with biographical stages of a person's life path, linking together biological, psychological and historical time in the structure of the ethnogenesis of an individual.

In **psychological research**, when studying the mechanisms of time perception, the “event concept of psychological time” becomes traditional; in this concept, the indicators of time perception — its speed, saturation, duration — directly depend on the number and intensity of life events. However, the event concept, which focuses on the change in thoughts, feelings, actions, and human behavior when perceiving time, does not allow to resolve issues related to the definition of boundaries and interrelationships of the present, past, and future, subjective assessment of time, and mechanisms for time perception formation [5].

The concept of time in existentialism and the connection with ethnic identity

Special attention is paid to the features of psychological time in cross-cultural psychology [9]. One of the phenomena that associated with psychological time is identity. As researchers acknowledge, it is psychological time and the ability to store information about the past that contribute to the process of identity formation and development. The scientific literature reflects the results of empirical studies indicating that the processes of identity development and the development of time perspective mutually reinforce each other [27].

The period of emerging adulthood, when a person strives to link together his past, present and future, integrating them into a single process and at the same time building connections between the events of his own life, has been particularly broadly investigated [9; 10; 27]. In some approaches, the temporal aspects of identity are considered as multiple cognitive components of the self-concept, existing in the temporal dimension of identity: in the past, present (actual), prospective, future [26; 30; 31]. Empirical studies have confirmed the hypothesis

that identity is connected with ideas about one's Self in the process of event saturation of the past, present and future. Identifying the attitude towards the temporary stages of an individual's life is an indicator of the level of self-identity formation [10; 18; 27].

Studies of phenomena associated with the experience of time have revealed cultural and individual values that act as predictors of psychological time. The perception of time in different cultures has a special, specific character. Armenia is one of the countries whose population has an axiological thinking, and the category of time is expressed clearly and consciously. In this perspective, a study of psychological time among representatives of Armenia will allow us to identify the features of the psychological time and its components, compare the indicators of psychological time, and determine the components of the structure of psychological time.

Relevance. In modern society, a person learns about himself, the history of his country and, ultimately, his identity through determining his place in actual reality. Knowledge of the past together with the knowledge of the present allow a person to build the future. The relevance of this study is that personal identity acts as the most important characteristic of the phenomenon of social integrity and uniqueness; identity is a reflection of the inseparable unity of three time projections: past, present and future.

The goal of the study is the investigation of the features of identity and the subjective assessment of the time of the personality in a psychological perspective.

Research hypotheses. We assume that there is a relationship:

- 1) between the feeling of being an Armenian and the length of residence in Armenia.
- 2) between feelings towards one's people and the length of residence in Armenia.
- 3) between the subjective assessment of time and the feeling of being an Armenian.

Methods

The methodological basis of the study — the theories and conceptual provisions of E. Erikson, J.G. Mead, C. Cooley, R. Fogelson, I. Goffman, L. Vygotsky, A. Leontiev, L. Schneider, T. Stefanenko and others.

Research participants. We conducted a study with ethnic Armenians, students of the Russian-Armenian University and the Yerevan branch of the Plekhanov Russian University of Economics (Yerevan, Armenia), a total of 89 people. The average age of the participants was 19.6 years (SD = 1.3), representatives of both sexes (male —

14.6%, female — 85.4%), undergraduate students. Confidentiality and anonymity were complied with in the study.

Research methods. We conducted empirical study using the following methods.

1. Author's questionnaire. This questionnaire included 7 questions aimed at identifying social and demographic data. The questionnaire results revealed the participants' age and sex, length of residence in Armenia, course of study and professional orientation.

2. Assessment of the severity of ethnic identity (N.M. Lebedeva). This scale reveals the severity of ethnic identity by assessing the feeling of belonging to one's nationality on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 is "I do not feel at all" and 5 is "I feel fully" [16].

3. Scale for express evaluation of feelings associated with ethnicity (N.M. Lebedeva). This scale reveals the strength of feelings associated with ethnic identity, using a scale from 1 to 5 [16].

4. The questionnaire "Types of ethnic identity of a personality" (G.U. Soldatova, S.V. Ryzhova). This technique reveals the intensity of different types of ethnic identity: ethno-nihilism, ethnic indifference, positive ethnic identity, ethno-egoism, ethno-isolationism and ethno-fanaticism. The participant is asked to rate the answers to 30 judgments "I am a person who ..." from 0 to 4 [13].

5. Semantic time differential (SDT; L.I. Wasserman and others). This technique reveals the perception of individual psychological time. The SDT technique involves assessing 25 polar properties, the expression of

which should be assessed from 1 to 3. The participant is asked to assess these properties separately for three tenses: present, past and future [3].

Data analysis. Statistical data analysis was performed through writing code in R (R Development Core team, 2021). The nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis test (function `kruskal_test` in `rstatix`), Dunn's post hoc test (function `dunn_test` in `rstatix`) and Pearson's chi-square test (function `chisq.test` in R) were used to test the hypotheses. The entire analysis code along with anonymized data can be found on the OSF page of this project: <https://osf.io/efhwj/>

Results

Descriptive statistics

Based on the results of the author's questionnaire, the main socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents were identified, which are presented in Table 1.

Empirical testing of hypothetical assumptions

Analysis of the relationship between feeling like an Armenian and the length of residence in Armenia. To the question: "To what extent do you feel like a representative of your nation?" the following answers were received: 5.6% of respondents answered: "I don't feel it at all", 7.9% of participants answered: "I feel it, but very weakly", 23.6% of participants answered: "Sometimes I feel it, and sometimes I don't", 40.4% of participants an-

Table 1

Descriptive statistics

Participants	Quantity	Percentage
Year of study		
1	36	40,4%
2	24	26,9%
3	20	22,4%
4	9	10,3%
Sex		
Female	76	85,4%
Male	13	14,6%
Duration of residence in Armenia		
0–5 years	22	24,7%
5–10 years	6	6,7%
more than 10 years (with breaks)	15	16,9%
permanently	46	51,7%
Field of study		
STEM	11	12,4%
Humanities	18	20,2%
Social sciences	60	67,4%
Age range		
18–20 years	68	76,4%
20–24 years	21	23,6%
Total number of participants	89	100%

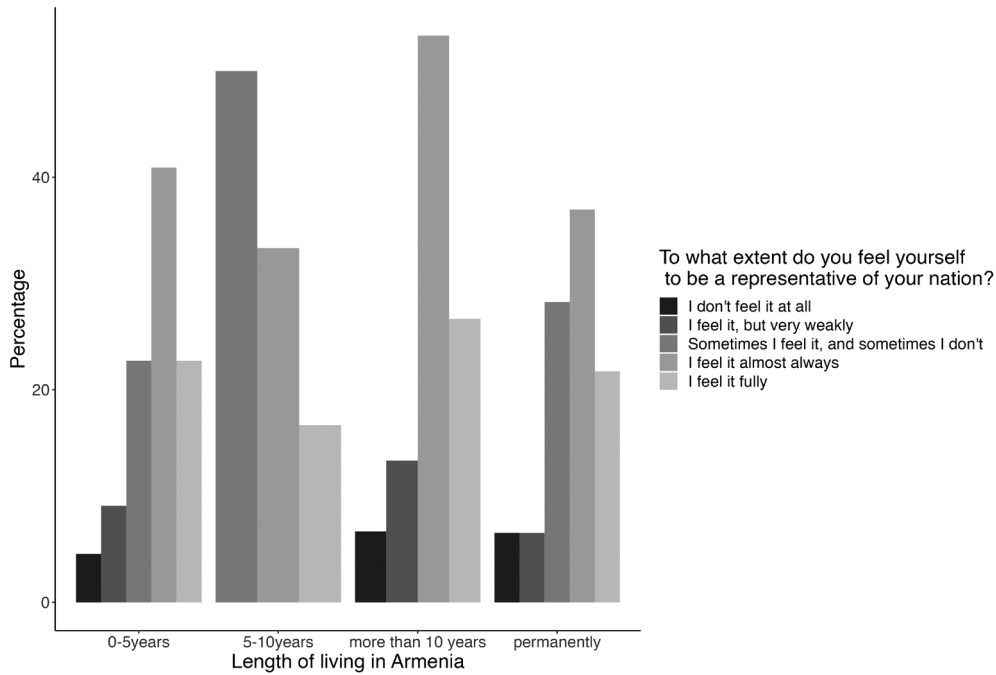


Fig. 1. Feeling a representative of one's nation in groups with different lengths of residence in Armenia

swered: "I feel it almost always", while 22.5% of participants answered: "I feel it fully". To test the hypothesis about the presence of a connection between feeling an Armenian and the length of residence in Armenia, the results of this scale were visualized for 4 groups of participants. These results are presented in Fig. 1. The use of the nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis test revealed the absence of statistically significant relationships between the results of the four groups ($p = 0.8299$).

Analysis of the relationship between feelings towards one's nation and the length of residence in Armenia. Based on the answers to the question: "What feelings does belonging to your nation evoke in you?", the following answers were received: 28.1% of participants answered "Pride", 29.2% of participants indicated "Calm confidence", 33.7% of participants answered "No feelings", 2.3% of participants answered "Resentment", 6.7% of participants answered "Infringement, humiliation". To

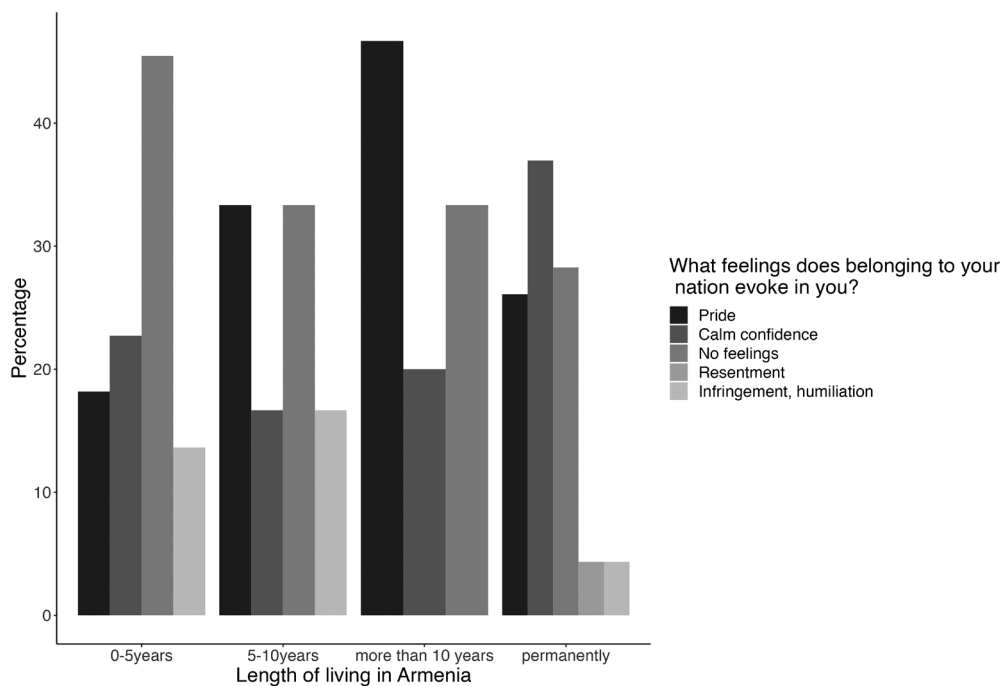


Fig. 2. Feelings associated with belonging to one's nation in groups with different lengths of residence in Armenia

test the hypothesis about the presence of a relationship between feelings towards one's nation and the length of residence in Armenia, the results were visualized (Fig. 2). Using the Kruskal-Wallis criterion and the paired Dunn's post hoc test (Table 2), statistically significant relationships were revealed between feelings towards one's nationality only for two groups: those living in Armenia from 0 to 5 years and the ones living more than 10 years, with interruptions ($p = 0.0376$). Participants living in Armenia for up to 5 years were characterized by an average rating of 2.68, between the scale values: 2 and 3, where 2 represents calm confidence and 3 — no feelings. Participants living in Armenia for more than 10 years with breaks were characterized by a lower average rating of 1.87, between the scale values: 1 and 2, where 1 represents pride and 2 — calm confidence.

Analysis of the relationship between the assessment of time perception and the feeling of being an Armenian. Semantic time differential technique was used to assess the subjective perception of individual psychological time. Based on the results of this technique, average values were identified for 5 scales, as well as average values for each of the times (Table 3). The obtained average values were compared with the normative values for each of the scales and times and allocated to a high or low level (Fig. 3). Average values for all scales of the present time belong to a reduced level. The average value of the past time on the "Magnitude of time" scale corresponds to an increased level compared to the normative values. For the future time, average values are observed on three

scales at once: "Emotional coloring of time", "Magnitude of time" and "Time Structure" — and correspond to an increased level compared to the normative values.

Using the nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis test and the paired Dunn's post hoc test, statistically significant relationships were found between the results of feeling an Armenian and the results of the past and future. No statistically significant differences were found between the results of feeling an Armenian and the results of the present ($p = 0.446$). Statistically significant results are presented in Table 4 (for the past) and Table 5 (for the future).

Results of the study of types of ethnic identity

Analysis of the relationship between types of ethnic identity and the feeling of being an Armenian. According to the results of the study, values were identified for each of the 6 types of ethnic identity, as well as the dominant type of ethnic identity for each of the participants. Most participants (82.2%) had a positive ethnic identity as the predominant type of identity (Table 6).

By using the Pearson's chi-square test, a relationship was found between the type of ethnic identity and the feeling of being an Armenian (Chi-square = 62.45, $df = 16$, p -value < 0.001). To assess the strength of this relationship, we calculated Cramer's V, which yielded a high association value ($V = 0.42$). The predominant group, with a positive ethnic identity, was characterized by values for four different feelings: 50% feel Armenian almost always, 26% feel Armenian fully, 21.9% sometimes feel Armenian, and only 4.1% do not feel Armenian at all (Figure 4).

Table 2

Results of Dunn's paired post hoc test for analyzing feelings towards one's nationality depending on the length of residence in Armenia

Group 1	Group 2	Statistic values	P-values
0–5 years	5–10 years	–0,510	0,610
0–5 years	More than 10 years, with breaks	–2,08	0,0376*
0–5 years	Permanently	–1,46	0,143
5–10 years	More than 10 years, with breaks	–0,955	0,339
5–10 years	Permanently	–0,333	0,739
More than 10 years, with breaks	Permanently	1,07	0,287

Note: «*» — values < 0,05.

Table 3

Results of Semantic time differential

Scale	Past		Present		Future	
	M	SE	M	SE	M	SE
Activity of time	1,49	0,51	1,53	0,5	2,57	0,44
Emotional coloring of time	0,85	0,77	1,27	0,75	7,11	0,7
Magnitude of time	2,29	0,61	1,81	0,57	5,91	0,71
Structure of time	–0,43	0,57	0,03	0,45	3,62	0,57
Perceptibility of time	0,69	0,5	1,89	0,54	3,66	0,56
Average time assessment	0,98	0,46	1,31	0,44	4,58	0,5

Note: M — the mean value on a given scale; SE — the standard error of the mean.

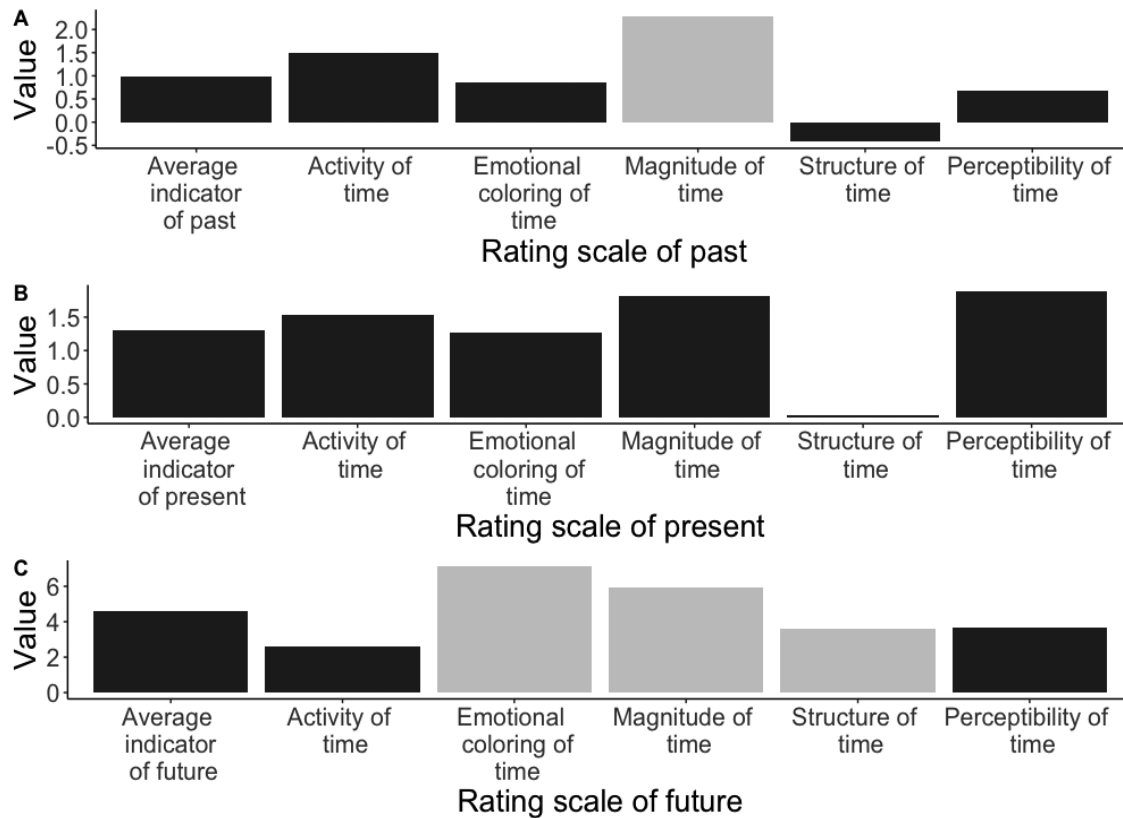


Fig. 3. Results of the Semantic time differential technique, where black color reflects a low level, and gray color reflects a high level

Table 4

Results of Dunn’s paired post hoc test for analyzing future assessment depending on feeling an Armenian

Group 1	Group 2	Statistic values	P-values
I don't feel it at all	Sometimes I feel it, sometimes I don't	2,30	0,02*
I don't feel it at all	I feel it almost always	2,54	0,01*
I don't feel it at all	I feel it fully	3,08	0,002**
I feel it, but very weakly	I feel it fully	1,98	0,04*

Note: «***» – values < 0,001; «**» – values < 0,01; «*» – values < 0,05.

Table 5

Results of Dunn’s paired post hoc test for analyzing future assessment depending on feeling an Armenian

Group 1	Group 2	Statistic values	P-values
I don't feel it at all	I feel it, but very weakly	-2,33	0,02*
I don't feel it at all	I feel it almost always	-1,81	0,07.
I feel it, but very weakly	Sometimes I feel it, sometimes I don't	2,58	0,009**
I feel it, but very weakly	I feel it fully	2,06	0,04*
Sometimes I feel it, sometimes I don't	I feel it almost always	-2,27	0,023*

Note: «***» – values < 0,001; «**» – values < 0,01; «*» – values < 0,05; «.» – values < 0,1.

Analysis of the relationship between the types of ethnic identity and feelings towards one’s nation. Using the Pearson’s chi-square test, the existence of a relationship between the type of ethnic identity and feelings towards one’s nationality was revealed (Chi-square = 42.51, df = 16, p-value < 0.001). To assess the strength of this relationship,

we calculated Cramer’s V, which resulted in a moderate association value (V = 0.35). The group with a positive ethnic identity was characterized by values for all five feelings, where most participants felt calm confidence (34.2%) and pride (32.9%), followed by 23.3% having no feelings, 8.2% – infringement, and 1.4% – resentment (Fig. 5).

Table 6

Predominant type of ethnic identity among participants

Predominant type of identity	Quantity of participants	Percentage of participants
Positive ethnic identity	73	82,02 %
Ethno-fanaticism	1	1,12%
Ethnic indifference	10	11,24%
Ethno-nihilism	4	4,50%
Ethno-isolationism	1	1,12%
Ethno-egoism	0	0%
Total	89	100%

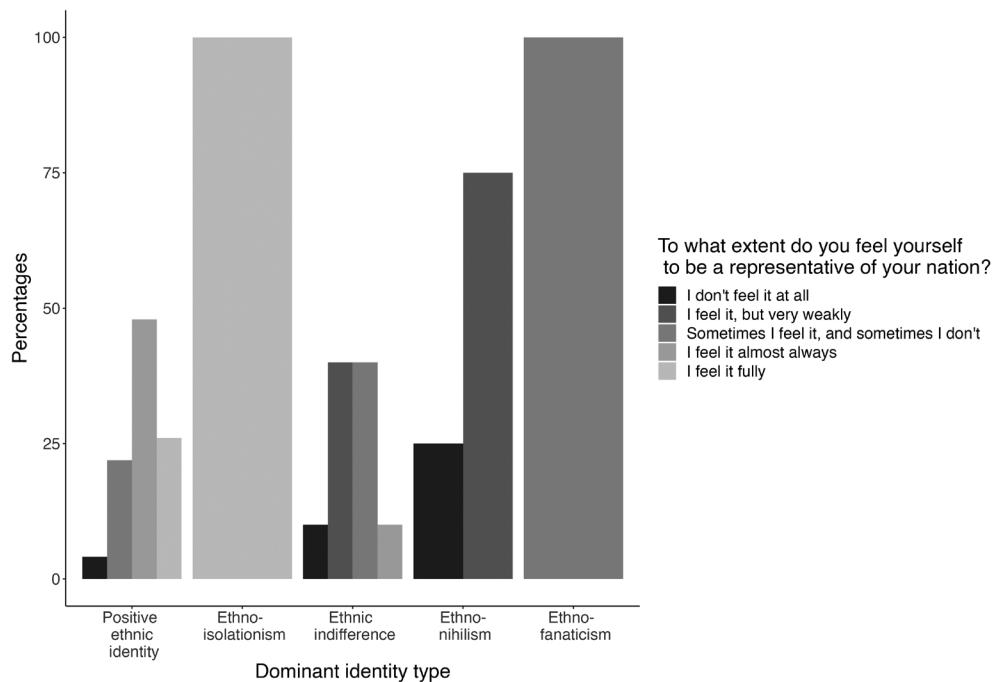


Fig. 4. Feeling of being Armenian among participants with different types of identity

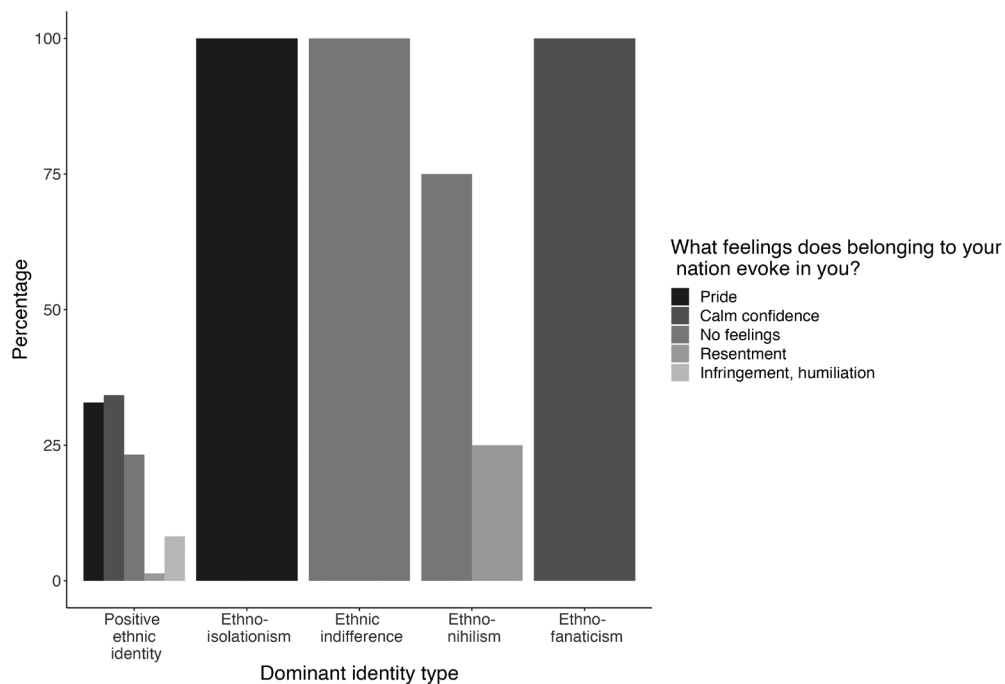


Fig. 5. Feelings associated with belonging to one's nation in participants with different types of ethnic identity

Discussion

This study was conducted to identify the features of ethnic identity and subjective perception of time depending on social and demographic characteristics. The study was conducted with ethnic Armenians, students of various fields and levels of professional training. Based on the results of the assessment of the expression of ethnic identity, it was found that the majority of participants felt themselves to be representatives of their nationality "almost always". These results are consistent with the results of previous studies [1; 2].

The hypothesis about the relationship between individual perception of time and the feeling of being an Armenian was confirmed. Based on the results of the assessment of time perception, high average results were found on the "Magnitude of time" scale for the past and future. This relationship shows a high semantic fulfillment of time, a sense of freedom.

The hypothesis about the relationship between the dominant types of ethnic identity and feelings towards one's people was also confirmed. Most participants with a positive ethnic identity were characterized by feelings of calm confidence (34.2%) and pride (32.9%). Participants with ethno-isolationism were characterized with only pride out of all possible choices. Participants with ethnic indifference had only values on one scale – "No feelings". Most participants with ethno-nihilism (75%) had values on the "No feelings" scale, the remaining 25% – on the "Resentment" scale. Participants with ethno-fanaticism were characterized by values on only one scale – "Calm confidence". It is important to note that the connections in the groups of participants were not equally represented. Thus, the results of assessing feelings towards their nationality differed in two groups: 1) among Armenians living in Armenia from 0 to 5 years, and 2) among Armenians living in Armenia for more than 10 years – with breaks with slightly higher values in the first group.

Additionally, a link was found between the feeling of being an Armenian and the results of assessing the past and the future. This link, according to the high average indicators obtained on the "Emotional coloring of the future tense" scale, characterizes satisfaction with the current situation and the structure of the future tense. According to the results of the study, the assessment of the past tense differed between the group with the lowest expression of ethnic identity (1 = do not feel at all) and other groups (medium and high expression of ethnic identity). Differences were also found in the assessment of the past tense between the group with low expression of ethnic identity (2 = feel,

but very weakly) and the group with the highest expression of ethnic identity (5 = feel completely). The assessment of the future tense also differed between participants with different levels of expression of ethnic identity.

Based on the assessment of the types of ethnic identity, the dominant type of ethnic identity was identified, i.e., positive ethnic identity (82.2%). A relationship was found between the dominant types of ethnic identity and the feeling of being an Armenian. The prevailing group with a positive ethnic identity had values for four different feelings: 50% felt Armenian almost always, 26% felt Armenian fully, 21.9% sometimes felt Armenians, and only 4.1% did not feel Armenian at all. The group of participants with ethno-isolationism had an average value of 5 on the scale for assessing the severity of ethnic identity, where 5 is "I feel it to the fullest extent." The group of participants with ethnic indifference showed a range of four feelings: 40% sometimes felt Armenian and 40% felt Armenians very weakly, respectively, 10% did not feel Armenian at all and 10% felt Armenian almost always. Most participants with ethno-nihilism (75%) showed very weak feelings of their nationality ("I feel it, but very weakly"), the remaining 25% did not feel Armenian ("I do not feel it at all"). Participants with ethno-fanaticism as a dominant type of identity showed a feeling of being Armenian with a value of 3 ("sometimes I feel it, and sometimes I do not"). Since the study sample is limited in size, future studies with a larger sample are needed to further investigate these relationships.

Conclusion

This study was devoted to the study of the features and characteristics of ethnic identity of student youth, subjective assessment of time and their relationship. The results of this study allowed us to describe the main characteristics of ethnic identity, identify dominant types of ethnic identity, disentangle indicators of feeling a representative of one's nationality and feelings associated with one's belonging. Additionally, indicators of subjective assessment of time were calculated separately for the past, present and future tenses. The hypothetical assumptions formulated earlier in the theoretical part were statistically tested using the nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis criterion, Dunn's post hoc test and Pearson's chi-square criterion. This analysis allowed us to identify statistically significant relationships between the severity of ethnic identity and the duration of residence in Armenia; subjective assessment of time and the feeling of being an Armenian.

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A Professional Exam as a Resource for Improving the Readiness of a Future Teacher-Psychologist to Support the Educational Process at School

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An important problem of modern psychological and pedagogical education is the assessment of the readiness of university graduates to carry out the basic professional function of supporting the educational process in educational organizations of different levels. The aim of the article is to study the potential of the demonstration professional examination not only as a resource for identifying the level of professional competencies of students and determining the “zone of nearest development” of these competencies, but also as a resource for improving the readiness of future teacher-psychologists to support the educational process at school. The content and organizational characteristics of the training direction “psychology-pedagogical education” are described, the methodology of which is based on the provisions of the scientific school of cultural-historical psychology, system-activity and competence approaches to the formation of educational results of students. The directions and necessary conditions for improving the developing educational environment of the university are substantiated, which is a resource for increasing the professional readiness of students to support the educational process at school. The analysis of modern researches of effectiveness of professional examination, introduced in the Higher Education Institutions of the Russian Federation is presented.

Keywords: educational psychologist, psychological education service, demonstration professional exam, educational process support, assessment of professional competencies, cultural and historical psychology, developmental education.

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Профессиональный экзамен как ресурс повышения готовности будущего педагога-психолога к сопровождению образовательного процесса в школе

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Важной проблемой современного психолого-педагогического образования становится оценка готовности выпускников вуза к осуществлению базовой профессиональной функции по сопровождению образовательного процесса в образовательных организациях различного уровня. Цель статьи заключается в изучении потенциала демонстрационного профессионального экзамена не только как ресурса для выявления уровня сформированности профессиональных компетенций у обучающихся и определения «зоны ближайшего развития» данных компетенций, но и как ресурса повышения готовности будущих педагогов-психологов к сопровождению образовательного процесса в школе. Описаны содержательные и организационные характеристики направления подготовки «Психолого-педагогическое образование», методология которого основана на положениях научной школы культурно-исторической психологии, системно-деятельностном и компетентностном подходах к формированию образовательных результатов обучающихся. Обоснованы направления и необходимые условия совершенствования развивающей образовательной среды вуза, что является ресурсом повышения профессиональной готовности обучающихся к сопровождению образовательного процесса в школе. Представлен анализ современных исследований эффективности профессионального экзамена, внедряемого в вузах Российской Федерации.

Ключевые слова: педагог-психолог, психологическая служба образования, демонстрационный профессиональный экзамен, сопровождение образовательного процесса, оценка профессиональных компетенций, культурно-историческая психология, развивающее образование.

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«Science is often confused with knowledge. This is a gross misunderstanding. Science is not only knowledge, but also consciousness, i.e. the ability to use knowledge properly».

V.O. Klyuchevsky

Introduction

The establishment of the psychological service of education, in terms of both organisation and methodology, commenced in the early 1980s. During this period, significant scientific and practical events were held, including round tables, conferences, exhibitions, and scientific and methodological publications. These events served to substantiate the expediency of psychologists' participation in the activities of educational organisa-

tions, with schools being a primary focus [6]. I.V. Dubrovina, an eminent organiser and scientific inspirer of the establishment and operation of the school psychological service, designated this era as a romantic period: «Psychologists were of the opinion that their presence at school would serve to ensure the implementation of every child's right to full mental and personal development, as well as respect for their emerging personal individuality» [5, p. 25]. E.I. Metelkova, Advisor to the Rector of the National Research University Higher

School of Economics, observes that «the domestic institute of psychological assistance in education was formed in response to society’s demand for practical implementation of the principles of humanistic education, and for the education system to be adapted to the levels and peculiarities of students’ and pupils’ development and training» [16, p. 35]. For a period of more than four decades, the importance of the educational psychologist within schools has been enhanced, concomitantly with an increase in their professional responsibility. Nevertheless, the psychological service, which occupies a central position in all negative cases involving students, their parents, teachers and society at large, has not yet been fully developed into a system capable of effectively supporting students in their psychosocial and personal development. The President of the Russian Federation, V.V. Putin, highlighted this fact during the II Congress of Young Scientists. Putin’s address was directed towards the participants of the II Congress of Young Scientists, specifically those engaged in the programme for the development of personnel management reserve in the domain of science, technology and higher education: « It is evident that the demand for psychological services has not yet been met, and that the existing services are inadequate. This can be attributed, at least in part, to the state’s lack of attention to the matter, at all levels. Regrettably, this oversight persists, resulting in a situation that is, as yet, unaddressed» [2, p. iv].

The Concept and Plan for the Development of the System of Psychological and Pedagogical Assistance in General Education and Secondary Vocational Education in the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030 were soon formulated and endorsed. The documents identify a psychologically favourable and safe educational environment as the main predictor of achieving the target results of the educational process, in the creation of which pedagogical psychologists play a key role. In order to facilitate the delivery of high-quality training to educational psychologists, the creation of specific conditions is planned. These conditions will ensure continuous professional growth and career progression from a young educational psychologist to a methodologist and mentor [1]. An urgent task has been established to continue the systematic work on addressing the significant deficit of skills exhibited by a substantial proportion of educational psychologists in addressing professional issues. A comprehensive list and detailed description of these competencies can be found in the ‘Methodological Recommendations on the Functioning of Psychological Services in General Education Organisations and Related to the Implementation of the Current Federal State Educational Standards for General Education’ [24, p. 6].

It is imperative that the Psychological Service of Education address its personnel issues at the pre-professional training stage of future specialists. This is particularly salient given the disconcerting statistics which indicate a

decline in professional motivation amongst over 71% of students by the conclusion of higher education [18].

At the All-Russian Congress of Psychological Services in the Education System of the Russian Federation in December 2023, A.A. Margolis, rector of the Moscow State University of Psychology and Education, proposed «an improvement to the educational process that would facilitate the transition from teacher training to practical professional activity» [26, p. 151]. Consequently, a significant challenge confronting contemporary psycho-pedagogical education is the evaluation of university graduates’ preparedness to execute the fundamental professional role of facilitating the educational process within educational organisations at diverse levels. Following the lead of secondary vocational educational organisations, higher education institutions are adopting an innovative form of assessment known as a demonstration exam [7].

The objective of the present article is twofold: firstly, to examine the potential of the professional demonstration examination (hereinafter referred to as the ‘demo examination’) as a resource for identifying the level of professional competencies of students and determining the ‘zone of immediate development’ of these competencies; and secondly, to explore its use as a resource for enhancing the readiness of future educational psychologists to support the educational process in schools. In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary to turn to the methodology of psychology-pedagogical education and analyse the successful developments of Russian universities in conducting a demonstration exam.

Methodology of Psychological and Pedagogical Education

The specialization “Psychological and Pedagogical Education” within the extended group of specializations and specializations “Education and Pedagogical Sciences” is developed for the purpose of targeted training of specialists for psychological service in the field of education. The federal state educational standard of higher education (hereinafter – the standard, FSES HE) in this branch of education was approved by the order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation dated 22.03.2010. The Standard and the basic professional educational programme developed on its basis were based on scientific principles, to which we refer the system-activity and competence approaches, the main provisions of the cultural-historical theory.

The system-activity approach is ensured, in particular, by:

– the findings of an in-depth study on the coordination of the normative vectors of professional training as set out in the Professional Standard of Educational Psychologist (Psychologist in Education) and FSES at all levels of general education;

– the curriculum’s structural composition, which comprises individual units of study (or “modules”) focused on the acquisition of discrete labour functions. The overarching, more generalised labour function of “psychological and pedagogical support of the educational process in educational organisations of general, vocational and additional education, support of basic and additional educational programmes”;

– the mastery of labour functions by students, which is achieved through the application of the activity approach, whereby “each module is designed to be both a practical and theoretical unit, with the objective of cultivating a specific set of professional competencies in line with the Professional Standard” [15, p. 13].

The competence approach, in addition to traditional knowledge, skills and attributes, has enriched the learner’s characteristic with such qualities as ‘the ability and readiness to take a subjective position in relation to theoretical and practical learning material’.

Cultural-historical theory is used as a methodology of:

– the analysis of existing educational practices in the training of educational psychologists in accordance with the challenges of modern society, economy and politics;

– organisation of the educational process encompasses the totality of learning, encompassing the acquisition of knowledge, the mastery of practical skills, and the development of competencies in the semantic field of social relations and professional responsibility;

– the design of technology for the assessment of the professional competence of prospective educational psychologists is imperative for the effective support of the educational process and the social and personal development of students.

The second principle is considered in relation to the educational outcomes of psychology students from the perspective of the primary tenets of cultural-historical psychology, particularly the law of development of higher mental functions formulated by L.S. Vygotsky. According to this law, each higher mental function is initially considered to be a social relationship between two individuals. Subsequent to this, as a consequence of spontaneous and/or organised learning influences, it evolves into a mental function proper – internal, i.e. intrapsychic [3].

“Inclusion as an active subject in collective, jointly distributed activities allows the child to consciously assimilate the accumulated cultural experience. The process of activity, in this case, becomes a catalyst for the development of various abilities, including interaction, communication, cooperation, as well as reflexive and creative capacities” [21, p. 9]. L.S. Vygotsky provided substantiation for the law of development of higher mental functions for children’s ages. Subsequent researchers, adhering to the principles of the aforementioned scientist, have corroborated the validity of this law in older age groups, specifically among students [20].

The content, methods and techniques of the educational process aimed at ‘psychological and pedagogical education’ in the paradigm of the cultural-historical sci-

entific school are determined by the ‘zone of the nearest development’ of students. In this context, it is essential to take into account the psychological neoformations that are specific to this age – the age of the student. They, in a general sense, can be defined as follows:

– ability to adapt in different environments, deep reflection; developed awareness of their own individuality;

– readiness for self-determination in the profession and the necessary level of professional competence;

– attitude to consciously build their own life;

– harmonious connection of the leading activity of this period (educational and professional) with other activities.

The cognitive and personal ascent of a young person to the aforementioned goal orientations is only possible within the conditions of ‘... the system of developmental education based on the ideas of L.S. Vygotsky, which has received its concrete embodiment in various theoretical approaches (systems)’ [25]. FSES HE in the direction of ‘Psychological and pedagogical education’ and the model basic educational programme are based on the D.B. Elkonin–V.V. Davydov system, which is based on the concept of ‘learning activity’.

A.D. Maidansky, in his work on the subject of Vygotsky’s theory, has identified the genetic knots that connect a child’s cognitive and practical activities. He has also noted that the concept of labour is the cornerstone of cultural-historical psychology [13, p. 9]. Furthermore, it is important to consider the following: “It is evident that consciousness and labour are inherently social processes. If consciousness is defined as a collective psyche, then labour can be understood as a collective practice of cooperation (through sign systems, technical devices and social institutions)” [ibid., p. 10]. This thesis posits that mental work should be regarded not only as a polymotivated activity of students, but also as a resource for the development of higher levels of self-regulation and self-determination. Self-regulation is defined as ‘the ability to set goals for oneself and determine the direction of one’s activity’ [12, p. 28], and self-determination.

In summary, an exploration into the methodology of psychological and pedagogical education reveals key directions and necessary conditions for enhancing the developing educational environment of the university. This is a *resource for increasing the professional readiness* of students to support the educational process at school.

1. The development and implementation of the fundamental professional educational programme in a modular format is of paramount importance. In this format, each module is meticulously designed to decompose professional competencies into the specific knowledge, skills and abilities necessary to perform the job function specified in the professional standard. For instance, this may include psychological diagnostics or corrective-developmental work.

2. Designing the module structure in the logic of mastering the labour action specified in the professional standard of pedagogical psychologist (educational psychologist):

– practice and workshops within the framework of module;

– research work within the framework of practice;

– research work as an independent section of the module.

3. The networking of educational organisations for the effective practical training of educational psychologists [8].

4. The implementation of innovative interactive technologies in the educational process (reflexive seminar). The reflexive seminar plays a pivotal role in establishing a university environment conducive to personal development. Its primary formats include discussion, engagement with a computer model of the studied psychological and pedagogical phenomenon, a business game, modelling of a problematic professional situation, case technology, and the technology of ‘questioning reading’. The planning and implementation of the reflexive seminar in the paradigm of the system-activity approach to the organisation of educational and practical activity is instrumental in achieving the fundamental educational outcome, namely the formation of subjectivity among future pedagogical psychologists.

5. «Mastering by the students the method of identifying, evaluating and applying best social (primarily educational) practice based on the principle of evidence» [22, p. 9]. This approach, as posited by V.V. Rubtsov, facilitates the enhancement of productive team interactions among psychologists and their colleagues, encompassing a diverse range of issues, and with students across various categories.

The implementation of developmental education in higher education institutions is achieved through the following mechanisms:

– the content and ways of joint implementation of educational and professional activity;

– system of methods, with the help of which it is possible to determine the levels of development of students’ psychological new-formations, including professional competences.

Demonstration Professional Examination as a Resource for Improving the Readiness of Future Teacher-Psychologist to Support the Educational Process at School

A comprehensive understanding of the requirements to be met by students at a particular workplace in the direction of ‘Psychological and Pedagogical Education’ is, firstly, a motivating reference point throughout the period of studies undertaken at higher education levels and, secondly, serves to specify the contents of the zone of immediate development. The issue can be attributed to an insufficient level of practical training, coupled with uncertainty regarding their abilities to support the educational process. Consequently, subjects of educational relations in dif-

ficult situations often become both an objective and subjective obstacle to the successful entry of graduates of psychology faculties into independent professional activity. The preceding section elucidates the manner in which the university’s educational milieu facilitates the reconciliation of the disparate training methodologies employed in the preparation of future school psychologists and their practical aptitude in supporting the educational process.

In recent years, Russian universities have widely adopted a reliable tool for evaluating the educational achievements of students at all stages of professional training: the demonstration exam. The algorithm of the demonstration exam may be different, but its objective is unambiguous: namely, to allow students to demonstrate their achieved level of professional readiness (i.e. their current abilities) and potential competences (i.e. their future professional development). In order to assess the quality of professional training in the field of developmental education, it is recommended that an evaluation be conducted following the completion of a training session (educational event). This evaluation should encompass a range of competencies, including psychological and pedagogical, communicative and digital, as well as subject-specific and methodological skills [17]. The results of the examination can be used in the comprehensive assessment of the quality of developmental education in a higher education institution.

The ‘Methodological Recommendations on Organising and Conducting Professional (Demonstration) Examinations for Basic Educational Programmes of Higher Education EGSD 44.00.00 ‘Education and Pedagogical Sciences’ [17, pp. 1–2] enumerates the advantages of the form of certification test contemplated in this article for, firstly, students who, in particular, receive feedback from an independent commission in the form of recommendations for further professional growth, as well as often offers of employment. Secondly, for independent experts, for whom, in addition to the possible resolution of personnel issues, the prospects of becoming a member of the expert community of professional and public accreditation are opened up. Thirdly, educational organisations can utilise the demo exam to identify areas for improvement in their activities and establish connections with potential employers of graduates

Consequently, the professional (demonstration) examination can be regarded as a rational consequence of higher education, serving as an effective mechanism for enhancing the readiness of graduates to fulfil the integrative labour function of ‘support’. However, it is essential to emphasise that this outcome is contingent upon the educational process being founded on the principles of cultural and historical theory, the activity approach to the formation of target learning outcomes (professional competencies), and the age-psychological approach to the support of students.

Current Research on the Effectiveness of the Demonstration Professional Examination

The pertinence of the implementation of professional (demonstration) examinations as a tool for evaluating the cultivation of professional competencies within the context of higher education, in conjunction with its emphasis on practical applications, has been demonstrated through a multitude of national publications.

The results of the study were presented by A.S. Fetisov, N.V. Gorbunova and Y.V. Kudinova. The purpose of the study was to identify the possibilities of using the demonstration exam [27, p. 48]. The authors emphasised the particular relevance of 'searching for effective models of higher education system for training future teachers' and 'updating the methods and forms of evaluation of educational results' [27, p. 48].

Through the meticulous analysis and synthesis of a plethora of studies, researchers have successfully identified the potential of the demonstration examination to facilitate a more precise determination of the level of formed professional competencies, in comparison to conventional certification processes that are predominantly theoretical in nature and fail to fully identify 'possible gaps for further improvement of professional qualities of a graduate in the educational process' [27, p. 46].

The analysis of the experience of vocational education institutions in the Chuvash Republic in relation to the implementation of professional (demonstration) examinations has enabled the determination that 'the practical results of certification in the form of professional (demonstration) examination in all specialities are lower than in the case of final certification in the traditional "knowledge" format' [11, p. 83]. The researcher elucidates this phenomenon by proposing the hypothesis that 'practical skills, the level of which is assessed in greater detail during the professional (demonstration) examination, are underdeveloped in students and require further practical development' [11, p. 83].

The following study presents the experience of implementing a professional (demonstration) examination at FSAEI HE 'Russian State Professional and Pedagogical University' (hereinafter referred to as RSPPU). The study was conducted by L.V. Samsonova and A.O. Prokubovskaya. In analysing the implementation of the professional (demonstration) examination, the study's authors underscore the significance of the assessment of professional competencies in this context. They emphasise that the utilisation of a professional (demonstration) examination enables the involvement of independent, external experts, including representatives of the employer [23].

In a series of studies, the researchers underscore the significance of the implementation of the professional (demonstration) examination and discuss its capacity to attain the requisite educational outcomes for students enrolled in teacher training universities. For instance, V.V. Ponikarovskaya, S.V. Nesyna and E.I. Mychko have observed the pivotal role of profes-

sional (demonstration) examinations in the actualisation of internal motivation and the development of subject position in the construction of students' educational trajectory. The authors posit that the educational potential of the professional (demonstration) examination should be considered in order to model professional activity, obtain personally significant educational outcomes, and effect a shift in the evaluation system towards reflection [19, p. 295].

In the contemporary research landscape, a particular emphasis has been placed on the issue of conceptual validity in the introduction of professional (demonstration) examinations within the system of assessment of professional competence development in higher education.

The analysis of normative legal documents regulating activities in the system of higher education, along with the results of scientific research in the fields of psychology at home and abroad, enabled I.V. Duda, M.V. Basalaeva and Y.R. Yudenko to present a detailed description and qualitative analysis of the results of the introduction of independent assessment of the formation of future teachers' labour functions in the practice of higher education institutions (on the example of primary school graduates of Krasnoyarsk State Pedagogical University named after V.P. Astafiev) [29]. In the present study, the authors propose the utilisation of the scientific standpoint of A.V. Khutorskoy [28], who employs the following evaluation systems when assessing student competence: «A methodology has been devised to assess the quality of students' products in the execution of academic obligations. Such obligations may include practical work, laboratory work, projects, coursework, and diploma theses. The evaluation of the student's proficiency in relevant knowledge, skills, abilities, analytical tools and experiential learning is based on the elements of the product. The system of evaluation of the student's activity. In this case, the student's activity, its quality, efficiency, completeness and effectiveness are evaluated. In this context, student activity assumes the role of a pedagogical product, which is subject to diagnosis and evaluation. The system of students' self-assessment of their competences. It is important to note that self-assessment is reflective of the student's subjective perceptions of their own competences. An activity-based approach to the assessment of competences formation is necessary» [29].

The researchers propose that the praxeological approach should be considered as a methodological basis for the introduction of professional (demonstration) examinations in the practice of assessing professional competencies in the system of higher education [10]. The present paper demonstrates the function of the praxiological approach in 'developed criteria and indicators of comprehensive assessment of music teacher's readiness for pedagogical activity (through assessment of technological map, lesson fragment and its analysis)' [10, p. 178]. The authors also define the role of the activity and competence approaches as the methodological basis of the professional (demonstration)

examination. The authors further posit that the content of the examination is founded upon the principles of competence and activity. The competence approach is defined by the “synthesis of the teacher’s labour action and professional competences, with the choice of methods for assessing the final results of future teacher education being prioritised in accordance with the individual norms of the student, and integrated and interdisciplinary assessment being carried out. The activity approach, on the other hand, is focused on fostering the acquisition of new knowledge through work-based experiences, thereby developing a deliberate stance towards the undertaken activity” [10, p. 178].

The study by A.S. Fetisov, N.V. Gorbunova and Y.V. Kudinova provides a comprehensive overview of the algorithm of task development, as well as the scientific substantiation of the content of tasks for the professional (demonstration) examination, the structure of the task itself, and their examples [27]. In a number of studies, the authors define the tools for assessing the formation of professional competencies in the format of professional (demonstration) examinations as follows: dialogue simulators, the imitation of professional activities to assess practical skills (quasi-professional situations), and computer testing (competency test). The criteria for assessing educational outcomes are defined as subject, psychological and pedagogical, methodological, communicative and digital literacy [14, p. 157]. The present study draws upon the findings of N.I. Eshkina and A.A. Sergeeva, who detail the experience of introducing the professional (demonstration) examination in the practice of FSFEI HE ‘Tula State Pedagogical University named after L.N. Tolstoy’. The authors hereby present a proposed model for the gradual implementation of a professional (demonstration) examination into the process of evaluating educational results, commencing from the third year within the context of certification in various disciplines and concluding with the fifth year in the scope of state final certification. The authors delineate the algorithm of preparing and conducting such a form of certification as a credit, but with the use of professional (demonstration) examination. The authors propose a multifaceted approach to the implementation of this form of certification, encompassing several stages. At the initial preparatory stage, the authors propose the delineation of the subject matter of the educational event, the formulation of its outline, the identification of a segment for demonstration, and the preparation of the requisite materials for it. In the subsequent second stage, the demonstration stage, students submit their outlines to the committee, prepare the necessary equipment and materials, and demonstrate a segment of the educational event. The third stage is the evaluation stage, in which the educational event outline and the demonstrated fragment of the educational event are evaluated by the examination committee experts [9, p. 43–44].

The study by I.V. Duda, M.V. Basalaeva and Y.R. Yudenko also describes the various stages involved in the professional (demonstration) examination, an external, independent evaluation of the quality of educa-

tion of future teachers. The authors of the study delineate three distinct stages of the professional (demonstration) examination. Firstly, there is the preparatory stage, which encompasses the development of a technical description, the preparation of testing materials, site preparation, and the determination of the composition of the expert group and the group of student participants. Secondly, there is the main stage, which involves the carrying out of all procedures of the professional (demonstration) examination. Finally, there is the reflexive stage, which comprises a joint final reflection by the group of experts and students, as well as an analytical seminar of the expert group with university teachers [29, p. 1346–1347].

A number of scientific studies have been conducted which attempt to summarise the main thematic directions and problem areas of implementation of professional (demonstration) examinations in the system of higher education.

The study by I.V. Gladkaya and I.Yu. Gutnik, A.E. Bakhmutsy, and N.V. Smirnova identified five potential challenges that may emerge during the administration of a professional (demonstration) examination. These challenges encompass the competence of the examination organisers, the examination’s knowledge-intensive nature, the readiness of university teachers to organise and implement a professional (demonstration) examination, and students’ preparedness for this form of assessment, which emulates real-life scenarios [4].

Consequently, the extant domestic scientific psychopedagogical literature presents the results of research and analyses the experience of implementing the professional (demonstration) examination in pedagogical universities.

Summary and Conclusions

An eminent philosopher of ancient China said that there are three paths to knowledge: the path of reflection is the noblest, the path of imitation is the easiest, and the path of experience is the most bitter. The famous saying of Confucius best reveals the semantic meaning of the subject of our research – professional demonstration exam, which is an innovative form of presenting students’ competences. The analysis of the methodology of psycho-pedagogical education and the professional demonstration examination as its structural element allows us to draw the following conclusions:

1. Society’s needs, the requirements of the professional standard and the FSES at all levels of education are the target guidelines for the training of educational psychologists at the University.

2. The system-activity and competence approaches, the main provisions of cultural-historical theory, form the scientific basis of the educational psychologist’s main professional training programme.

3. The role of the professional demonstration exam in reinforcing and meaningfully developing motivation to

learn, and the importance of the exam in revealing problematic issues related to the students' "zone of immediate professional development" were substantiated.

4. The analysis of the best practices of Russian universities in implementing the professional demonstration examination in the educational process confirms its effectiveness in increasing the motivational and professional readiness of future educational psychologists to support the educational process in schools.

5. At the same time, the analysis of the best practices of Russian universities in the implementation of the professional demonstration exam in the educational process in the higher education system reveals: insufficient scientific, theoretical and methodological substantiation of the process and mechanisms of implementing the demonstration exam; insufficient presentation of the results of research on the psychological and pedagogical conditions for implementing the demonstration exam in the higher education system; lack of a single model of the professional demonstration exam in the higher education system; lack of a single model of the professional demonstration exam

in the higher education system; lack of a single model of the professional demonstration exam in the higher education system.

As a prospect for further research in this direction, the authors suggest:

– to substantiate scientifically, test and determine the effectiveness of the professional examination procedure in a model learning situation under the conditions of an educational organisation – a network partner. This format can make it possible to further motivate students to acquire professional competences throughout their studies. The transfer, even if partial, of the professional examination to the practical base provides for the development of a full set of methodological materials and regulatory support;

– to conduct a longitudinal study of professional exams as a factor in developing future educational psychologists' career orientations;

– using the network resources of Russian universities, to develop a common bank of exams using modern technologies, methodological recommendations for organising the exam, aimed at preventing a formal approach to certifying future teacher-psychologists.

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DISCUSSION AND DISCURSIS
ДИСКУССИИ И ДИСКУРСЫ

Cultural-Historical Neuropsychology and ADHD: Commentary on the Article “ADHD Diagnosis from the Perspective of Cultural-Historical Neuropsychology” by Athanasios Koutsoklenis, Yulia Solovieva, and Luis Quintanar Rojas

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Abstract

This article presents a commentary on the paper “ADHD Diagnosis from the Perspective of Cultural-Historical Neuropsychology”. The authors of this paper, Athanasios Koutsoklenis, Yulia Solovieva, and Luis Quintanar Rojas, strongly advocate for a paradigm shift from the traditional diagnostic approach to cultural-historical neuropsychology (CHNP). According to the authors, the CHNP approach allows us to reject ADHD diagnosis when assessing the corresponding syndrome. The authors suggest that such a departure from an intermediate level of abstraction (in the form of a diagnosis) in favor of the results of neuropsychological evaluation of a particular child will enable a direct transition to personalized recommendations for corrective and developmental support for that child. Despite the commonality of our initial theoretical positions, namely the principles of cultural-historical psychology and neuropsychology developed by Lev Vygotsky and Alexander Luria, I do not agree with the solution proposed by the authors regarding the issue of diagnosing ADHD.

The proposal to renounce the diagnosis of ADHD does not address the issues of providing support to children and their stigmatization. These problems are either resolved or left unresolved depending on the resources available to help a child in a given social context. The solution lies in enhancing the efficiency of the support provided to children, including the neuropsychological support. The rejection of the diagnosis and the attempt to justify this through CHNP involves overlooking several of its key principles, which could ultimately lead to discrediting of CHNP. Furthermore, while rejecting the ADHD diagnosis we simultaneously refuse the necessity to further investigate the mechanisms of the syndrome via current and future scientific tools.

Keywords: cultural-historical neuropsychology, attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), diagnosis of ADHD, social context of development

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О культурно-исторической нейропсихологии и диагнозе СДВГ: комментарий к статье А. Куцоклениса, Ю. Соловьевой, Л. Кинтанара Рохаса «Диагностика СДВГ с позиций культурно- исторической нейропсихологии»

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Резюме

В данной статье предлагается комментарий к статье «Диагностика СДВГ с позиций культурно-исторической нейропсихологии». Авторы комментируемой статьи А. Куцокленис, Ю. Соловьева и Л. Кинтанар Рохас решительно выступают за смену парадигмы от традиционного диагностического подхода к культурно-исторической нейропсихологии (КИНП). По мнению авторов, подход с позиций КИНП позволяет отказаться от постановки диагноза СДВГ при диагностике этого синдрома. Авторы предполагают, что такой отказ от промежуточного уровня абстракции (в форме диагноза) в пользу результатов нейропсихологической оценки конкретного ребенка позволит напрямую перейти к персонализированным рекомендациям по коррекционно-развивающей помощи данному ребенку. Несмотря на общность наших исходных теоретических позиций, т. е. принципов культурно-исторической психологии и нейропсихологии, разработанных в трудах Л.С. Выготского и А.Р. Лурии, я не согласна с предлагаемым авторами статьи решением вопроса о диагнозе СДВГ.

Предложение отказаться от диагноза СДВГ не решает проблему помощи детям, в частности проблему их стигматизации. Проблема решается или не решается в зависимости от того, какие средства помощи реально доступны в данной социальной ситуации развития ребенка. Решение проблемы лежит в увеличении эффективности оказываемой детям помощи, в том числе нейропсихологической. Отказ от диагноза и попытка его обоснования культурно-исторической нейропсихологией связан с игнорированием ряда ее положений и может повести в конечном счете к дискредитации КИНП. Кроме того, отказываясь от диагноза СДВГ, мы одновременно отказываемся от необходимости все глубже изучать механизмы синдрома, используя современные и будущие научные средства.

Ключевые слова: культурно-историческая нейропсихология, синдром дефицита внимания и гиперактивности (СДВГ), диагноз СДВГ, социальная ситуация развития

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In the article by my colleagues and friends Athanasios Koutsoklenis (from Greece), Yulia Solovieva and Luis Quintanar Rojas (from Mexico), the debates on the status and diagnosis of ADHD are examined from the perspective of cultural-historical neuropsychology (CHNP), and a viewpoint on the foundations of CHNP and its prospects is proposed. Both issues — the diagnosis of ADHD and the prospects of CHNP — are undoubtedly important and require thorough consideration. Despite the commonality of our theoretical positions, namely the principles of cultural-historical psychology developed by Lev Vygotsky and Alexander Luria, our understanding of the raised questions and the proposed

solution to the issue of the status of ADHD differ. Given the importance, social relevance, and complexity of both questions, I decided to present our disagreements for the consideration of the readers.

Let me begin the discussion by stating a common viewpoint. While discussing the neuropsychological assessment, the authors rightly insist on the necessity of syndrome analysis focused on identifying the underlying causes of symptoms. They emphasize that a syndrome is not merely a collection of observable symptoms that can be “simply summed up and labeled with an arbitrary diagnostic term”. They follow Lev Vygotsky who opposed the phenomenological approach limited to the

description and systematization of symptom complexes, advocating for a shift to a “causal-dynamic point of view in the methodology of studying and diagnosing development” (Vygotsky, 1983, p. 272). Lev Vygotsky emphasized that to address diagnostic issues, the description of symptoms must be followed by “dynamic typological interpretation” and “qualification of symptoms”, i.e., the integration of symptoms into a cohesive picture by highlighting the specific unifying factors on the basis of which a diagnosis is made. Alexander Luria discusses this in his scientific autobiography: “Only after he [the clinical psychologist] has collected a sufficient number of similar symptoms to form a single ‘syndrome’ does he have the right to consider his hypothesis... proven (or refuted)” (Luria, 1982, p. 123). Alexander Luria refers to this stage of research as “syndrome analysis”, the identification of the “factor”.

Students of Alexander Luria define syndrome and syndrome analysis as follows: “Syndrome is a law-governed constellation of symptoms, caused by a certain primary deficit (pathological factor). There are definite primary, secondary, and tertiary (compensatory) symptoms within the syndrome. Syndrome analysis (synonym: factor analysis) is an analysis of observed symptoms with the goal of finding a common base (factor), which explains their origin. It includes a stepwise procedure which includes the comparison of all observed symptoms, a qualitative estimation of symptoms, a discovery of their common base, i.e. detecting a primary deficit, its systemic consequences and compensatory reorganization” (Akhutina, Glozman, Moskovich, 2005, p. 200. See also Akhutina, Shereshevsky, 2014).

While discussing the ADHD diagnosing, it is important to note that Lev Vygotsky considered the “qualification of the defect” and “the establishment of a diagnosis” to be necessary components of the diagnostic process. He added that “scientific diagnostics can be established even when the causes of the process that is established in the diagnosis are not yet known to us”, and clarified that “the essence of the matter is that in scientific diagnosis, on the basis of known symptoms, proceeding from them, we establish a certain process underlying these symptoms” (Vygotsky, 1983, p. 317). He warned that “it is a mistake to try to see a diagnosis in establishing a series of symptoms or factual data” (ibid). Thus, according to Lev Vygotsky, for a diagnosis, it is necessary not only to identify certain symptoms but also to establish the connection between them and to postulate a common primary deficit underlying them. Based on current research data on cognitive impairments in ADHD and learning difficulties, it can be suggested that the primary deficit may have either a single cause or multiple causes (Pennington, 2006). In our opinion, Bruce Pennington rightly points out that complex behavioral disorders may arise from the interaction of multiple risk and protective factors, which can be either genetic or environmental”; he clarifies that “these risk and protective factors alter the

development of cognitive functions necessary for normal development, thus producing the behavioral symptoms that define these disorders” (Pennington, 2006, p. 404). These ideas of Pennington are similar to the viewpoint of Lev Vygotsky, who considered development to be a self-organizing probabilistic process and noted that “the child is constantly influenced by positive and negative sources. Thus, secondary formations can either follow the alignment line or cause additional complications...” (Vygotsky, vol. 5, p. 130).

Let me now discuss the ADHD diagnosis and the mechanisms of the syndrome. The authors of the commented article present a contradictory picture when describing the mechanisms of ADHD. They begin by stating that in the DSM which “represents the prevailing view on ADHD”, the syndrome is characterized as “a complex, multifactorial neurodevelopmental disorder”. However, they immediately express doubts about the validity of ADHD as a diagnosis and provide a number of reasons, starting with “the absence of cognitive, metabolic, or neurological markers and the lack of medical tests”. At the end of the article, it is argued that “ADHD is considered as a unique clinical picture” (p. 6). At the same time, the article references comprise works, including those of the authors, which discuss the identification of “different brain mechanisms that might be responsible for ‘symptoms’ as presented in the mainstream ADHD diagnosis”.

Having painted such a multifaceted picture, the authors suggest rejecting the ADHD diagnosis. In their opinion, this rejection of an intermediate level of abstraction (in the form of a diagnosis) in favor of the results of a neuropsychological assessment of a particular child will allow for a direct transition to personalized recommendations for helping that child.

What arguments are presented for rejecting the diagnosis? These include the absence of cognitive and medical markers for ADHD; the existing practice of using medication to help children with ADHD in many countries; and the stigmatization of such children.

The authors justify the rejection of the ADHD diagnosis using the approach of CHNP. However, they do not fully take into account several important aspects of this approach, particularly regarding the identification of ADHD markers. When discussing “the absence of cognitive, metabolic, or neurological markers and the lack of medical tests” for ADHD diagnosis, the authors rely on the conclusions of a rather controversial article by Stephan Schleim (Schleim S., 2022). In this article, Schleim addresses the biomarkers of mental disorders including ADHD. For him, a biomarker should demonstrate a direct link between a behavioral feature and brain substrate. This is possible for primary areas of the cerebral cortex and elementary sensations or movements, where direct links between center and periphery were revealed. However, according to contemporary psychophysiology and neuropsychology,

human behavior is underpinned by complex hierarchical multilevel functional systems, which is also relevant even for basic cognitive and emotional processes. Lev Vygotsky acknowledged this understanding while anticipating the development of neuropsychology, and therefore he insisted that attempts to directly link symptoms with the mechanisms of disorders and “to see a diagnosis in establishing a series of symptoms or factual data” are fundamentally flawed (Vygotsky, 1983, p. 317). Expanding on Vygotsky's thought, we could say that when diagnosing based on known symptoms, we must postulate a certain underlying process responsible for these symptoms and assume that further development of science will allow us to study this process more accurately. By rejecting the diagnosis, we simultaneously forgo the necessity of studying the posited process.

The authors of the article suggest that “qualitative assessment of children with diagnosis of ADHD allows to find different mechanisms, responsible for the child's difficulties” (p. 5). At the same time, they reference the collaborative study of Regina Machinskaya who is a physiologist and a specialist in EEG, and Olga Semenova, a neuropsychologist (Machinskaya, Semenova, 2004). In the works by the authors of the commented article on ADHD diagnosis, a physiologist is frequently one of the co-authors. Thus, the authors do not limit themselves to a single qualitative neuropsychological examination of children; they complement and validate it with EEG analysis. However, is this accessible to an average psychologist?

A neuropsychologist, during the examination, obtains results from tests and observations of the child's behavior; the next step should be the integration and interpretation of the collected data, that is, making a diagnosis. Suppose the neuropsychologist does not take this step and concludes that the child exhibits increased motor activity and a delay in the development of executive functions. What would be his recommendations, therapeutic-educational appointment, that is a necessary component of the diagnosis according to Lev Vygotsky (1983, vol. 5, p. 321)? The recommendations will depend on what forms of support are actually available within the child's social situation. Whether other children will tease the child with words like “fool” or “crazy”, and how teachers and doctors will treat them, will again depend on the social context.

The rejection of the ADHD diagnosis cannot change the social situation. It is important to consider whether optimal means of assistance are available, how accessible and effective the neuropsychological service is, how pop-

ular it is, and what its authority is. The issues of efficacy and accessibility of neuropsychological support are critical even in countries where medical treatment for children and adolescents with ADHD is not widely popular.

An important question that remained not addressed by the authors is the comparison of the efficacy of different approaches: pharmacological, non-pharmacological (behavioral therapy, cognitive training), and combined approaches. Research on the long-term effects of various types of assistance has shown that the combined approach yields the greatest effect. According to Arnold et al. (2020), this approach was associated with higher improvement in the achievement test results and academic performance (100% and 67%, respectively) compared to pharmacological (75% and 33%) or non-pharmacological (75% and 50%) assistance alone.

Of course, the question arises regarding what non-pharmacological assistance was provided and whether these data can be attributed to neuropsychological support. The literature on ADHD, as far as we know, does not contain information on the efficacy of this support, let alone comparisons of different types of neuropsychological assistance, although there are descriptions of it (see, for example, Solovieva, Quintanar, 2022). This is not accidental. Neuropsychologists take the requirement for an individually-tailored approach to correction seriously. The Cochrane requirements for testing efficacy are difficult to reconcile with such an approach. An individualized approach to a patient requires high qualifications and significant workload from a psychologist, while template-based work is easier and more accessible for mass verification in accordance with Cochrane requirements.

Let me summarize my commentary.

The suggestion to reject the ADHD diagnosis does not solve the problem of stigmatization of children who are currently given this diagnosis. The solution lies in increasing the efficacy of the assistance provided to them, including the efficacy of neuropsychological support. It is quite possible that a combined approach should be applied. Engaging psychophysicists and competent doctors could be a step in the right direction. Rejecting the diagnosis and replacing it with data from neuropsychological assessment, as well as the attempt to justify this through CHNP, are associated with ignoring of several of its tenets and may ultimately lead to the discrediting of CHNP. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that by rejecting the ADHD diagnosis, we simultaneously forgo the necessity of studying the mechanisms of the syndrome more deeply, using current and future scientific tools.

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ADHD Diagnosis from the Perspective of Cultural-Historical Neuropsychology

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The diagnosis of Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) has been a subject of enduring debates, with numerous discussions challenging its validity and questioning the evidence that supports its existence. This paper thoroughly examines the ADHD debate by utilizing the lens of cultural-historical neuropsychology. This particular framework is deeply rooted in the cultural-historical theory developed by prominent scholars such as Vygotsky, Luria, and Leontiev. The paper briefly presents the theoretical principles of cultural-historical neuropsychology and continues with a discussion of the development of attention from the perspective of cultural-historical theory. It critically discusses the symptoms of ADHD and illustrates the comparative advantages of cultural-historical neuropsychology. It strongly advocates for a paradigm shift from the traditional diagnostic approach to one based on cultural-historical neuropsychological principles. This shift is said to offer a more personalized, explanatory, and holistic perspective that is better equipped to address and understand the challenges associated with ADHD. This framework considers the unique needs of each child, providing a comprehensive and tailored approach to their specific circumstances.

Keywords: Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder, ADHD, diagnosis, cultural-historical theory, cultural-historical neuropsychology.

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Диагностика СДВГ с позиций культурно-исторической нейропсихологии

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Диагноз синдрома дефицита внимания и гиперактивности (СДВГ) был предметом постоянных дискуссий, при этом многочисленные дискуссии оспаривали его обоснованность и ставили под сомнение доказательства, подтверждающие его существование. Эта статья тщательно исследует дебаты о СДВГ, используя призму культурно-исторической нейропсихологии. Эта конкретная концепция глубоко укоренена в культурно-исторической теории, разработанной такими выдающимися учеными, как Выготский, Лурия и Леонтьев. В статье кратко излагаются теоретические основы культурно-исторической нейропсихологии и продолжается обсуждение вопросов развития внимания с позиций культурно-исторической теории. Критически обсуждаются симптомы СДВГ и иллюстрируются сравнительные преимущества культурно-исторической нейропсихологии. Авторы решительно выступают за смену парадигмы от традиционного диагностического подхода к подходу, основанному на культурно-исторических нейропсихологических принципах. Утверждается, что этот подход обеспечивает более персонализированную, объяснительную и целостную перспективу, которая лучше подходит для решения и понимания трудностей, связанных с СДВГ. Эта система учитывает уникальные потребности каждого ребенка, предлагая комплексный и индивидуальный подход к его конкретным обстоятельствам.

Ключевые слова: синдром дефицита внимания и гиперактивности, СДВГ, диагноз, культурно-историческая теория, культурно-историческая нейропсихология.

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Introduction: The ADHD debate

The diagnosis of Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) has faced scrutiny from ontological, epistemological, and axiological perspectives since its introduction in the second edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) in 1968 by the American Psychological Association (APA) [22]. The DSM is considered the gold standard for psychiatric diagnoses used in research, policy and practice, and is the most globally accepted diagnostic classification manual [22]. Consequently, it is justifiable to argue that the DSM represents the prevailing view on ADHD. The contemporary notion of ADHD within the DSM characterizes it as a complex, multifactorial neurodevelopmental disorder [2].

However, the legitimacy of ADHD as a diagnostic entity remains a contentious issue, and the evidence remains inconclusive, sparking intense debates both within and outside the field of psychiatry. One primary line of critique questions the validity of childhood ADHD as a diagnosis. This contention arises on various grounds, including the absence of cognitive, metabolic, or neurological markers and the lack of medical tests [41]. Additionally, it is debated due to the inaccuracies in the diagnostic criteria [20; 26], high rates of comorbidity [17], subjectivity in distinguishing normal behaviors from pathological ones [27], variability within populations [23], differences in diagnosis across gender [14], socioeconomic class [4], and diagnostic disparities based on race and ethnicity [61; 42].

From cultural-historical theory to cultural-historical neuropsychology

Cultural-historical theory is founded on the theoretical contributions of Lev S. Vygotsky (1896–1934), Alexander R. Luria (1902–1977), and Aleksei N. Leontiev (1903–1979). The subject matter of Cultural-historical psychology revolves around the cultural and historical theory of the development of higher psychological functions. Cultural-historical psychology recognizes the cultural origin not only of human psychological activity but also of the brain's functional systems that underlie this activity [32]. Cultural-historical neuropsychology shares the same theoretical principles with Cultural-historical psychology concerning the cultural and historical origin of psychological processes and their systemic structure [55]. The difference lies in the fact that cultural-historical neuropsychology focuses on how higher psychological functions are related to the brain. Examples of such studies encompass the examination of the functional system of speech production and comprehension and of writing [30; 29] and the functional system of reading [43; 44].

The development of attention from the perspective of cultural-historical theory

According to Cultural-historical theory, isolated psychological functions are theoretical constructions with no specific psychological reality. Vygotsky [59] proposed that all psychological functions constitute complex psychological systems and should not be studied in isolation. Vygotsky [57] also argued that studying isolated psychological processes lacks meaning, and each process should only be examined as a component of more complex system. All psychological processes may undergo dialectical transformations during ontogenetic development. For instance, during the developmental process, attention becomes voluntary, mediatized and may later become internalized [57]. Such transformation is neither unique nor spontaneous, meaning it may not necessarily occur automatically, representing only a possibility in the cultural development of a child. Each child progresses through complex and lengthy stages of cultural development, before acquiring speech and logical knowledge.

Building on Vygotsky's ideas, Luria [31] proposed a definition of human psychological processes that distinguished them from those in animals. Human psychological functions are cultural in origin, mediated¹ in structure and voluntary in operation. This perspective allows for the study of psychological processes within a complex functional structure, and it was suggested that this structure is human activity [28]. Each activity is directed towards a cultural objective and is influenced by a cultural object or motive of the activity. Various types of cultural activities are formed during ontogenetical

development, such as play activity during preschool age and learning activity during school age [58; 44].

For instance, in the context of attention, the function of attention is explained with the help of another functions, such as motivation, perception, intellect, consciousness or even movement [25]. Attention should be studied as an integral element in every human activity. This element is referred to as external control [25]. The child may control their actions using external means, such as toys, objects, drawings, or speech. Speech can be both external and internal. The child may acquire the function of control only through the of adult's constant control of the child's productive actions; otherwise, no form of control would spontaneously develop.

Initially, the child is guided by the adult's external speech, which is directed to the child's action goal [59; 33]. Later, during the schooling period, the child may develop the ability to control their intellectual actions through internalized speech. In this case, it can be said that the child has acquired attention. The function of attention is always the function of self-control [25]. The element of control in each cultural action (playing, reading, writing, drawing, and so on) can be either external or internal, and attention can be understood as an internalized level of external control or as internal self-control.

'ADHD symptoms' from the perspective of cultural-historical neuropsychology

According to Luria's proposal, different functional brain mechanisms might be studied as elements of a complex functional system [21]. Each functional system includes the elements of assuming the future result of the action (the objective of the action), efferent control of the execution of the action, afferent analysis, synthesis of external or internal information and the possibility of correction of the action [28]. A brain functional system includes the mechanisms of regulation and control, sequential organization of movements and actions, afferent kinesthetic analysis and synthesis, spatial simultaneous perception, and general activation of cortical activity. Vygotsky [58] presented some important ideas for clinical diagnosis, during which profound causes, instead of external manifestations of symptoms, should be discovered by a specialist. Only qualitative approach for both levels of psychological and neuropsychological assessment may discover the reasons for the child's developmental difficulties and point out the ways for adequate correction.

Such perspectives are rarely taken into account when a child is diagnosed with ADHD. The label substitutes the necessity of identifying the reason for the difficulty, and the name of the disorder is considered sufficient to explain all the symptoms. According to the cultural-historical approach, neuropsychological assessment is understood as a specifically organized qualitative interaction between an adult and a child, during which the

¹ We prefer the term 'mediatized' rather than the term 'mediated' because the latter overemphasizes the adult's role and participation.

child is asked and induced to fulfill different tasks. Each task represents a complex functional system (for example, drawing a house or writing a sentence by dictation), so that the specialist may find and determine the difficulties related systemically to one general factor or brain mechanisms of the syndrome [32].

As we have previously stated, cultural-historical neuropsychology does not study or assess the process of attention in isolation. The process of neuropsychological assessment allows us to establish strong and weak components of functional system of an activity, which accessible to the child at each specific psychological age (preschool or school age) [44]. In the case of ADHD diagnosis, previous studies [e.g. 5; 33] did not identify only one type of brain functional mechanisms or brain structures, responsible for the child's difficulties. Among such different mechanisms assessed in students of different ages and grades (preschool, primary, secondary school), the mechanisms of regulation and control, motor sequential organization of movements and actions, general brain activation and spatial functions were frequently determined as the reasons for children's difficulties and low success in learning activities [52].

Qualitative assessment of children with diagnosis of ADHD allows to find different mechanisms, responsible for the child's difficulties [53]. Children may have complex systemic difficulties and receive a diagnosis of ADHD, but in different cases, these difficulties would be completely different [45; 49]. Such differences require a differential approach for correction and development at different psychological ages [46; 52]. It is also important to stress that brain functional mechanisms are not related to only one brain level or brain zone. Luria's conception of dynamic, hi-

erarchic and systemic representation of functional systems changes during ontogenetic development, realized during cultural activities with different level of automatization of actions [50]. Table 1 shows examples of different brain mechanisms that might be responsible for 'symptoms' as presented in the mainstream ADHD diagnosis.

Data presented in Table 1 is based on clinical experience of the authors and previous studies. These studies implemented the method of qualitative neuropsychological assessment and EEG recording, and pointing out the possibility of the participation of different levels of maturation of brain regulation cortical and subcortical systems in samples of Russian and Mexican children and adolescents of varying ages [16; 33; 34; 47; 48; 52]. Cases of children with a diagnosis of ADHD and no kind of systemic difficulties during qualitative neuropsychological assessment and no evidence of any compromised brain level according to EEG were also found [51].

Table 1 presents known variants of the combination of traditional diagnosis of ADHD with the data of qualitative neuropsychological assessment and EEG methods. These brain levels of organization are not taken into account by mainstream views on ADHD. In contrast, ADHD is considered as a unique clinical picture that does not allow the understanding of real brain mechanisms that lead to the difficulties of the child. The process of correction and development is substituted by medication, the use of behavior conditioning or training of executive functions [3]. No specific proposals according to the age or educational level of the child are usually provided; the same treatment and recommendations are applied to all cases according to the ADHD label.

Table 1

Brain functional mechanisms that are responsible for the children's' difficulties

Functional mechanisms	Possible brain anatomic level	Possible age of children
Regulation and control	Fronto-thalamic system of regulation	Preschool age (5 – 7), school age (7–12), adolescence (12–15)
	Medial structure of brain stem	Preschool age (5–7), school age (7–12)
	Basal ganglia	Preschool age (5–7), school age (7–12)
	Limbic system	Preschool age (5–7), school age (7–12)
Sequential organization of movements and actions	Fronto-thalamic system of regulation	Preschool age (5–7), School age (7–13)
	Basal ganglia	Preschool age (5–7), School age (7–13)
Spatial functions (spatial analysis and synthesis)	Posterior cortical associative and subcortical zones (TPO)	School age (7–13)
	Low brainstem, reticular system	Preschool age and initial period of school age (5–8)
General level of activation	Brainstem, reticular system	Preschool and school age
	Medial structure of brain stem	Preschool and school age
	Limbic system	Preschool and school age
Afferent kinesthetic analysis and synthesis	Parietal cortical and subcortical lobe	Adolescents

Comparative advantages of cultural-historical neuropsychology

1. Provides explanations for behaviors

In the latest edition of DSM, the APA conceptualized ADHD as “a neurodevelopmental disorder defined by impairing levels of inattention, disorganization, and/or hyperactivity-impulsivity. Inattention and disorganization entail inability to stay on task, seeming not to listen, and losing materials necessary for tasks, at levels that are inconsistent with age or developmental level. Hyperactivity-impulsivity entails overactivity, fidgeting, inability to stay seated, intruding into other people’s activities, and inability to wait— symptoms that are excessive for age or developmental level” [2, p. 37]. This definition retains the circular logic of the previous edition, which is “if A then B, and if B then A” translated to “if an individual has attention deficit hyperactivity disorder it is because he is inattentive, disorganized and hyperactive-impulsive, and if an individual is inattentive, disorganized and hyperactive-impulsive it is because he has ADHD”. However, without concrete and objective evidence of an identifiable brain disorder there is nothing that explains behaviors associated with ADHD diagnosis.

DSM-5-TR represents a descriptive approach to diagnosis. DSM utilizes behavioral indicators that are considered sufficient for the diagnosis — there is no necessity to understand or identify any presumed underlying causes or dynamics [40]. These behavioral indicators are simultaneously called symptoms and ‘diagnostic criteria’. These criteria constitute the essence of descriptive diagnosis since they form the basis for the definitions of disorders and the scientific validity of the classification system [24]. On the contrary, Cultural-historical neuropsychology favors *explanatory* models and principles instead of *descriptive* models and principles [55]. In Cultural-historical theory, to explain means to explain causally [56]. Cultural-historical neuropsychology has formulated the understanding of the brain bases of human activity at the level of humans’ brain functional systems [31]. It allows the identification of precise functional brain sources responsible for the child’s difficulties, such as the specific brain factors mentioned above (see Table 1). The concept of functional brain systems helps to understand and explain the various possibilities of the reasons for difficulties. Such reasons might depend on functional deficits of different neuropsychological factors, such as regulation and control, general brain activation, spatial functions, and so on. Subsequently, neuropsychological assessment is not preoccupied with the description of behavioral symptoms but with the identification of the factors that are the reasons for the manifestation of these symptoms. To sum up, Cultural-historical neuropsychology is focused on identifying and explaining the deeper reasons for the behavior, not on naming the behavior itself.

2. Negates the arbitrary homogenization of a *de facto* heterogenous population

The population of children diagnosed with ADHD is very diverse [23]. This diversity is expected, as the

ADHD diagnostic category includes three sub-categories [2, p. 70]:

F90.2 Combined presentation: If both Criterion A1 (inattention) and Criterion A2 (hyperactivity-impulsivity) are met for the past 6 months.

F90.0 Predominantly inattentive presentation: If Criterion A1 (inattention) is met but Criterion A2 (hyperactivity-impulsivity) is not met for the past 6 months.

F90.1 Predominantly hyperactive/impulsive presentation: If Criterion A2 (hyperactivity-impulsivity) is met and Criterion A1 (inattention) is not met for the past 6 months.

This means that children diagnosed with “Predominantly inattentive presentation” may not share common “symptoms” with children diagnosed with “Predominantly hyperactive/impulsive presentation” or share only a few of them. Even for the children diagnosed with the “Combined presentation” there are many possible combinations of symptoms that lead to very different profiles. All the different symptoms mentioned above are considered to derive from a neurological cause. However, this cause has not been defined yet, as admitted by the American Psychiatric Association itself [2].

The heterogeneity of the population of children diagnosed with ADHD is also documented in the high rates of ‘comorbid’ diagnoses. Data from the National Survey of Children’s Health show that nearly two-thirds (63.8%) of children diagnosed with ADHD had at least one current co-occurring condition [12]. Examples of high prevalent ‘co-morbid’ conditions include autism spectrum disorders and learning disorders [17].

Cultural-historical neuropsychology rejects the arbitrary inclusion of diverse children under one diagnostic entity. Firstly, Cultural-historical neuropsychology acknowledges that externally similar behaviors may rely on different psychological processes (that are not possible to be observed directly), and that externally different behaviors may stem from common underlying processes. Hence, it aims to identify the processes responsible for the particular observed behaviors through a structural analysis of the symptom under investigation. This means that a neuropsychological syndrome is not understood as a mere combination of symptoms in Cultural-historical neuropsychology, but it represents instead a selective defect of groups of psychological functions, whose structure includes the same damaged factor with the conservation of other functions that do not include this factor. Cultural-historical neuropsychology aims to reveal the reasons that lie behind the symptoms and not simply sum them up and label them with an arbitrary diagnostic term.

3. Avoids the medicalization of children’s behavior

Sociological approaches to ADHD focus on the social and historical contexts that shape the understanding of ADHD. ADHD (and its diagnostic predecessors such as hyperkinetic disorder and ADD) has had a central position in sociological research concerning the medicalization of human behavior [e.g. 9]. An ADHD diagnosis does not project a value-neutral self-image for labeled as

such. Despite the fact that an ADHD label may provide access to resources, it simultaneously distances individuals from ‘normalcy’ [21]. Stigmatization due to ADHD takes different forms, including public stigmatization, stigmatization by authorities, and courtesy stigma [37].

As stated above, Cultural-historical neuropsychology does not have the goal of labelling children, and thus it avoids the medicalization of children’s behavior. In Cultural-historical neuropsychology impulsive, inattentive and hyperkinetic behaviors are not considered symptoms of a neurological disorder per se. It follows that children who exhibit such behaviors are not considered sick or to have a brain disorder. In this manner, Cultural-historical neuropsychology avoids exposing children to the negative side effects of drug treatments, which include – but are not limited to – death, cardiac problems, psychotic disorders, reduced appetite, difficulty sleeping, and abdominal pain [40]. This is particularly important given how widespread the use of pharmaceutical interventions is becoming [12; 39].

4. Deploys research methodology that allows for explaining behavior at the individual level

The mainstream view on ADHD subscribes to evidence-based practice. Evidence-based practice has derived from its parent movement, evidence-based medicine [18]. In the case of ADHD, the literature promoting evidence-based practice privileges specific types of evidence produced by experimental research, particularly from randomized control trials (RCTs). The following statement by the European ADHD Guidelines Group is very representative: ‘Randomized-controlled trials (RCTs) remain the gold standard to assess the efficacy, effectiveness, and safety of interventions’ [8, p. 1338]. However, RCTs implement group-aggregated averages in the data analysis. Therefore, by default, their intention is not to explore the particular needs of specific individuals in their settings [18].

Cultural-historical neuropsychology avoids the pitfall of the aforementioned ‘ecological fallacy’. In contrast, it deploys research methods that aim to reveal the processes that are hidden from direct observation and which underlie such behavior [54]. Explanation is achieved with the structural-systemic description of the studied phenomenon. Therefore, the investigation of observable behavior cannot be sufficient in cultural-historical neuropsychology because observable behavior is not in direct correspondence with non-observable psychological processes that underlie it [54].

5. Avoids the complex educational negative effects of labeling

The ADHD label is closely related to stigmatization in educational settings [19]. Children and adolescents diagnosed with ADHD may perceive their diagnosis negatively [36; 60], and recall childhood memories of mistreatment, discrimination, or misunderstanding due to the diagnosis [21; 60].

The complexity of the effects of the ADHD label is evident in several studies. For example, [38] provided

school teachers and education students with vignettes describing children who met ADHD criteria that included or did not include the label ‘ADHD’. Participants were asked to rate their reactions towards the children’s behavior. They found that ADHD-labeled vignettes elicited greater perceptions of the child’s impairment, along with more negative emotions and less confidence in the participants; however, they also found an increase in the participants’ willingness to implement interventions for the labeled children [38]. In another study that used vignettes [15] it was found that the ADHD label general triggered essentialist beliefs among teachers. Labeling is not an objective in Cultural-historical neuropsychology, nor is it a prerequisite for effective intervention. By focusing its procedures on explaining rather than naming, Cultural-historical neuropsychology avoids exposing children to the complex effects of labeling.

6. Acknowledges that inattentive, impulsive and hyperkinetic behaviors may be attributed to reasons other than neuropsychological factors

Cultural-historical neuropsychology acknowledges that not all inattentive, impulsive, and hyperkinetic behaviors are related to neuropsychology. It recognizes that socio-economic factors can contribute to a child’s display of inattentive, impulsive,

and hyperkinetic behaviors. For example, Choi et al. [6] found that children living in decreasing, consistently low, and consistently mid-low-income households had an increased risk of being diagnosed with ADHD compared children who stably lived in a mid-high-income household. Cultural-historical neuropsychology also acknowledges that attention difficulties may be related to emotional development and the child’s achievement of a healthy self through emotional investments in relationships, and identity, and self-coherence [10]. Children who have received the ADHD diagnosis often experience a great deal of difficulties in interpersonal relationships stemming from problematic parental and sibling interactions, parental overinvolvement and abandonment, trauma, and narcissistic vulnerabilities [7; 11]. Cultural-historical neuropsychology may also help differentiate neuropsychological syndromes from other non-neuropsychological reasons that lead to ADHD related difficulties, such as social isolation or traditional, ineffective teaching techniques.

7. Acknowledges the teacher as an active collaborator

Evidence-based practices are considered the gold standard of mainstream approaches to ‘ADHD’ assessment and intervention. According to the mainstream perspective, a notable advantage of these interventions is their potential for standardization. This means they can be manualized and presented to teachers as a protocol with clearly defined steps.

[25]. These interventions aim to neutralize the impact of individual teachers on the effectiveness outcomes. Such an approach reduces the teacher to a follow-

er who needs to ‘follow the book’ to faithfully execute the instructions of the manual [25]. Furthermore, the guidelines are directed towards ‘children with ADHD’ in general and not to a particular individual child. However, for interventions to be effective, they must be contextualized and tailored to the unique and specific needs of individual children.

Cultural-historical neuropsychology addresses both of these issues. On one hand, it encourages active collaboration between teachers and neuropsychologists (as seen in examples provided in 44). Suggestions stemming from cultural-historical neuropsychology can be beneficial for individualized instruction (in a one-on-one setting) and for differentiated instruction (in a whole-class setting). On the other hand, the outcomes of cultural-historical neuropsychology are inherently customized for each child, influencing recommendations for school-based interventions. These interventions are not structured around the diagnosis but are solely based on the findings of the neuropsychological assessment. Consequently, there is no intermediate level of abstraction (in the form of a diagnosis) that mediates between assessment and intervention; a tailor-made assessment leads directly to personalized intervention recommendations for the specific child.

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Concluding remarks

To summarize, the discussion surrounding ADHD is intricate and multifaceted, encompassing ontological, epistemological, and axiological perspectives. While the prevailing view, as represented in the DSM, characterizes ADHD as a neurodevelopmental disorder, it remains a subject of debate, with numerous critiques challenging its validity and the implications of its application. Cultural-historical neuropsychology offers a distinctive perspective on attention and related difficulties, drawing from the rich theoretical tradition of cultural-historical theory. This approach views ADHD not as a monolithic condition but emphasizes the developmental nature of attention, highlighting how attention evolves from external to internal control within the context of cultural activities. In essence, cultural-historical neuropsychology provides a comprehensive framework for understanding and addressing the factors associated with the diagnosis of ADHD. It transcends the limitations of categorical diagnosis by focusing on explanatory models, individual needs, and collaboration among educators and specialists. As we continue to navigate the complexities of the ADHD diagnosis, this perspective offers a valuable pathway toward more effective support for children.

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Homo Legens: A Person Reading

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The article raises the problem of the psychology of fiction as a form of art from the standpoint of cultural and historical methodology. Separately, based on the ideas of M.M. Bakhtin about the dialogic nature of the text and A.N. Leontiev about the communicative nature of art, issues related to the creation of works of art and their understanding are considered, which is reflected in the sections “the work of the author” and “the work of the reader”. The meeting of the author and the reader means the birth of Homo Legens – the Reading Man: this publication is devoted to the study of this phenomenon.

Fiction (as the author’s work) can be analyzed in two ways: on the one hand, it acts as an object of psychological research, and on the other – its subject, an independent carrier of psychological knowledge. In the first case, literature is either an object of scientific and psychological study, or its means; in the second, the possibility of treating literature as a carrier of extra-scientific psychological knowledge is substantiated, which determines its psychotechnical effect on the reader.

The reader’s perception of a literary work (the reader’s work) is analyzed from artistic and scientific positions, which complement each other. Based on L.S. Vygotsky’s ideas about the activity of aesthetic experience and P.Ya. Galperin’s doctrine of interiorization, the point of view is substantiated according to which the reader’s understanding of a literary work is a process of its active recreation, which is consonant with V.F. Asmus’s ideas about reading as creativity.

In conclusion, using fiction as an example, a conclusion is made about the productivity of turning to scientific and non-scientific (literary) sources of psychological knowledge in developing issues of the psychology of art.

Keywords: cultural-historical theory of L.S. Vygotsky, psychology of art, psychology of literature, scientific and non-scientific knowledge, theory of P. Ya. Galperin, interiorization, reading.

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Номо Легенс: Человек читающий

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В статье с позиций культурно-исторической методологии поднимается проблема психологии художественной литературы как вида искусства. Отдельно, отталкиваясь от представлений М.М. Бахтина о диалогичности текста и А.Н. Леонтьева о коммуникативной природе искусства, рассматриваются вопросы, связанные с созданием художественных произведений и их пониманием, что получило отражение в разделах «Работа автора» и «Работа читателя». Встреча автора и читателя означает рождение Номо Легенс – Человека читающего. Исследованию этого феномена и посвящена данная публикация.

Художественную литературу (как работу автора) можно анализировать двояко: с одной стороны, она выступает предметом психологического исследования, а с другой – ее субъектом, самостоятельным носителем психологического знания. В первом случае литература представляет собой либо объект научно-психологического изучения, либо его средство; во втором – обосновывается возможность отношения к литературе как к носителю внеаучного психологического знания, чем и обусловлено ее психотехническое воздействие на читателя.

Восприятие литературного произведения читателем (работа читателя) анализируется с художественных и научных позиций, которые взаимодополняют друг друга. С опорой на представления Л.С. Выготского об активности эстетического переживания и учение об интериоризации П.Я. Гальперина обосновывается точка зрения, согласно которой понимание литературного произведения читателем есть процесс его активного воссоздания, что созвучно представлениям В.Ф. Асмуса о чтении как творчестве.

В заключение на примере художественной литературы делается вывод о продуктивности обращения к научным и вненаучным (литературным) источникам психологического знания при разработке вопросов психологии искусства.

Ключевые слова: культурно-историческая теория Л.С. Выготского, психология искусства, психология литературы, научное и вненаучное знание, теория П.Я. Гальперина, интериоризация, чтение.

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Only THAT reading is satisfactory when the book is experienced.
Reading “for pleasure” is not worth it. And even for “benefit” is hardly worth it.

V.V. Rozanov. *“The Apocalypse of Our Time”*

The past year 2024 is the year of the centenary of the cultural-historical psychology of L.S. Vygotsky. Remembering the two historic speeches of L.S. Vygotsky a century ago – at the Second Congress on Psychoneurology in Petrograd and the II All-Russian Congress of Social and Legal Protection of Minors in Moscow – there is a great temptation to turn to the analysis of these materials. However, another approach is also possible, based on a return to the origins of cultural-historical psychology, namely, to the development of L.S. Vygotsky’s issues of the psychology of art. D.B. Elkonin drew attention to the productivity of this train of thought. He noted that usually the beginning of L.S. Vygotsky is associated with his report on the methodology of reflexological and psychological research at the Second Congress on Psychoneurology, and then suggested: “And we have reason to believe that the book “Psychology of Art”, which he defended as a dissertation already in 1925, was prepared by him during the Gomel period of his life... But this means that this book was ready by L.S. Vygotsky before he spoke at the congress in 1924... But this also means that he, while studying the psychology of art (in his understanding), at the same time prepared the deep foundations for a huge theoretical breakthrough in the development of a number of fundamental general psychological problems” [53, p. 476–477].

Subsequently, A.N. Leontiev called “Psychology of Art” “a transitional book in the fullest and most precise meaning of the word” [30, p. 6], in which L.S. Vygotsky sums up his work from 1915-1922 and at the same time “prepares those new psychological ideas that constituted Vygotsky’s main contribution to science” [30, p. 6]. A.N. Leontiev concludes that “The Psychology of Art” should be read historically: “both as the psychology of art and as the psychology of art” [ibid.]. Introducing the first volume of the future sixteen-volume collected works of L.S. Vygotsky, which included theater reviews

and critical articles about the theater, V.S. Sobkin also considered it important to draw the reader’s attention “to the substantive connections between Vygotsky’s theater reviews and his subsequent psychological research, which manifested themselves already at the early stage of his work” [42, p. 10]. V.S. Sobkin came to the conclusion that turning to art played an important role in both the personal and professional self-determination of L.S. Vygotsky and “heard” “that ‘inaudible dialogue’ that Vygotsky conducted, reflecting on the development of theater, art and ... psychology” [42, p. 59].

Statement of the problem: the art of the author and the art of the reader

The starting point for our research was L.S. Vygotsky’s consideration of art not only as part of culture, but also as a subject of special scientific research. M.G. Yaroshevsky saw in the psychology of art “a happy combination of trends representing two different spheres of culture: art and science” [8, p. 295], the fruit of the combination of which was “Psychology of Art”.

It would be too presumptuous to claim to present L.S. Vygotsky’s views on the psychology of art in a small publication – what has been said is true, including in relation to the history of their formation, in this case, for us, only an extremely brief designation of them comes to the fore. A comprehensive – psychological, philosophical, cultural – analysis of L.S. Vygotsky’s works was reflected in the prefaces to the repeatedly reprinted “Psychology of Art”, as well as in an article by D.A. Leontiev and V.S. Sobkin specially devoted to this problem [27]. One of his works, addressed to the psychology of art by L.S. Vygotsky, V.S. Sobkin provided with the subtitle “an attempt at reconstructing the author’s meanings” [43], explaining that the word “experience” is used in the

meaning of “essay”, and this presupposes reflection of one’s own “experience, ... reactions regarding the problems touched upon by Vygotsky” [43, p. 13]. A surprisingly accurate designation of the reader’s psychological work with the texts of L.S. Vygotsky, close to the author of this publication.

L.S. Vygotsky saw the main “sin” of any theory of art in the fact that it tries to proceed “only from the objective data of artistic form or content” [8, p. 68] and does not rely on any psychological theory of art, which was proposed by the author using literature as an example. Let us conduct our research in this logic of L.S. Vygotsky and consider a work of art as a meeting place for the author and the reader. The famous Russian philosopher, logician and librarian S.I. Povarnin wrote: “... just as in music there are two types of artists: the composer who creates musical works, and the performer who plays them on the piano and other instruments, so in the field of verbal art — in the field of scientific and poetic books — two types of private “arts” are required: the art of the author and the art of the reader” [39, p. 213].

M.M. Bakhtin substantiated the dialogic nature of the text: the true essence of the text “always develops at the boundary of two consciousnesses, two subjects” [4, p. 285]. A.N. Leontiev wrote about this too: poetry, painting, music, not perceived by anyone, do not reveal their essential content, “art is communicative by its very nature” [29, p. 178].

The objective of this publication is to combine, based on the ideas of M.M. Bakhtin about the dialogic nature of the text and A.N. Leontiev about the communicative nature of art, the psychological work of the author and the reader, which results in the birth of the reader Homo Legens.

The analysis of the psychological work of the author is carried out from the standpoint of the psychotechnical approach, when fiction is considered as a carrier of non-scientific (as opposed to scientific) psychological knowledge.

The psychological work of the reader does not consist in passive reading of a work of art, but in its active recreation, which corresponds to the ideas of L.S. Vygotsky about the activity of aesthetic experience and the teachings of P.Ya. Galperin about interiorization as a source and at the same time a way of forming higher forms of human behavior, the example of which is reading. Such an understanding of reading fully corresponds to the idea of V.F. Asmus about reading as creativity.

The problem of the psychology of literature is presented in numerous studies [for example, 5; 8; 18; 24; 26; 42; 47 et al.], and our tasks do not include its comprehensive historical-psychological analysis, moreover: such an analysis would complicate our presentation. The appeal to specific sources is due to the interest in studying the phenomenon of Homo Legens — the Reading Man, whose birth occurs at the moment of the meeting of the

author and the reader, which corresponds to the essence of the psychotechnical approach to literature [44].

The problem posed is of an interdisciplinary nature, which presupposes subsequent appeal to both psychological and other sources. In this regard, of undoubted interest is the collective monograph, the authors of which include psychologists, philosophers and literary scholars, with the self-explanatory title “Poetry: An Experience of Interdisciplinary Analysis” [40]. One can agree or argue with the specific author’s conclusions (since the illustrations of the author’s approach refer the reader to specific examples of poetic creativity), and attempt to extend the general idea to other types of literary creativity, but there is no doubt about the “main pathos” of the “interdisciplinary, systematic approach to the phenomenon of poetry, which is not limited to a purely linguistic and/or aesthetic perspective” [40, p. 7]. Much earlier, A.A. Leontiev drew attention to the trend of an interdisciplinary approach to various phenomena of language (and speech), when he wrote about the birth of a new linguistics that learns from related sciences — logic and psychology, physiology of higher nervous activity and anthropology, sociology and ethnography [25, p. 334]. The answer to the question of whether the interdisciplinary approach is limited to poetry is found in A. Genis: “All literature is poetry, including prose” [11, p. 45]. B.L. Pasternak also wrote about the unity of poetry and prose: “Poetry and prose are inseparable from each other — they are poles” [37, p. 112], which, in his opinion, is due to the fact that art is created not by the creator, but by reality: “Art is realistic as an activity and symbolic as a fact. It is realistic in that it did not invent the metaphor itself, but found it in nature and sacredly reproduced it” [37, p. 231].

Psychology of Literature: The Author’s Work

The problems united by the general theme of “psychology of literature” turn out to be complex and multifaceted. Summarizing the data accumulated in psychology, fiction can be analyzed in two ways: on the one hand, it acts as the subject of psychological research, and on the other — its subject, in other words, an independent bearer of psychological knowledge.

Both directions require separate consideration, which was reflected in our publication [44], so now we will limit ourselves to a brief presentation of previously obtained results, enriched with new data.

Literature as a subject of psychological research

Literature as a subject of psychology can be presented by three approaches.

According to the first approach, literature acts as an object of psychological research: literature supplies the

material, and psychology acts as an explanatory science, and the psychologist thus carries out a scientific-psychological analysis of literature. A classic example of this approach is the psychology of art by L.S. Vygotsky, who called for “using the language of objective psychology to speak about the objective facts of art” [8, p. 8]. Literature has acted as an object of research in the works of other psychologists, and special mention should be made of I.V. Strakhov’s study of L.N. Tolstoy’s psychological concept [45].

Fiction has attracted the attention of specialists in disciplines related to psychology: the Russian psychiatrist V.F. Chizh showed that “the works of a healthy genius differ in essence from the works of a sick genius” [52, p. 422]; already in our time, the book of one of the leaders of Russian psychoanalysis of the first quarter of the last century I.D. Ermakov [15] was republished; Russian defectologist D.I. Azbukin wrote about the value of literary works for psychopathology and defectology [1].

According to the second approach, literature performs an illustrative function when psychologists give examples from works of art to confirm their own thoughts.

In this case, we can again refer to the works of L.S. Vygotsky and recall not only “Thinking and Speech”, but also his works on defectology, in particular an appeal to the story of V.G. Korolenko “The Blind Musician” [7]. Russian psychologist A.M. Shcherbina, a specialist in the field of education of blind children, also analyzes this story by V.G. Korolenko.

A.N. Leontiev, considering issues of personality formation, refers to L.N. Tolstoy, A.S. Pushkin, F.M. Dostoevsky [28]. E. Fromm, who decided to understand from the position of a psychologist what happiness, free will, conscience are, chose W. Shakespeare, L. Pirandello, G. Ibsen, F. Kafka as his reliable companions [50]. F.E. Vasilyuk, when studying critical life situations, turns to F.M. Dostoevsky, A.P. Chekhov, I.A. Bunin, Yu. Trifonov [6].

Finally, we encounter the third approach in B.M. Teplov, who proposed considering fiction as a method of psychological research. According to B.M. Teplov, literature contains an inexhaustible supply of materials, without which scientific psychology cannot do. B.M. Teplov names the establishment of “principles of scientific and psychological use of fiction data” as a very important task [47, p. 306].

A significant addition is made by B.S. Bratus`, when he notes that “the use of artistic image as a method of psychological research, the definition of its possibilities and limitations have not found due reflection in scientific

literature” [5, p. 55] and sets the task of understanding how the images accumulated in literature can be useful for psychology.

A.A. Leontev raises the problem of an objective method of studying the psychological specifics of art and names the analysis of the process of artistic communication as such [24, p. 346].

In conclusion, it can be noted that, despite the apparent difference in approaches, when literature acts as an object of research for a psychologist (1) or its means (2,3), they have much in common, while the differences, on the contrary, are very conditional.

Literature as a psychological practice

In the works of L.S. Vygotsky, B.M. Teplov, A.N. Leontiev, I.V. Strakhov and others, the idea of the psychological content inherent in literature, which has an impact on the reader, can be traced. L.S. Vygotsky speaks of the cathartic effect of a work of art, which “involves in ... a cleansing fire the most intimate, most vital shocks of the personal soul” [8, p. 238].

We dare to suggest that literature acts as a kind of psychological practice. Behind this understanding of literature lies its consideration as a source of psychotechnical knowledge, in other words, the psychotechnical approach to literature is realized, essentially laid down by the research of L.S. Vygotsky [see more about this: 44]. V.S. Sorokin in the introductory article to the volume of theater reviews by L.S. Vygotsky sets the task of “understanding the work that Vygotsky carries out in the course of his analysis” [42, p. 12] “The Tragedy of Hamlet” and concludes: “these are psychotechnical reader improvisations regarding individual semantic knots of “Hamlet”, which Vygotsky is trying to untie [42, p. 12].

A.A. Puzyrei in the “Afterword” to the book by M.M. Zoshchenko “The Tale of Reason”¹ called it “a guide on a spiritual journey” [19, p. 150]. He made an attempt to introduce this book by M.M. Zoshchenko into the “circulation” of modern psychology: “... the lesson that we can draw from Zoshchenko’s work as a unique experience ... of concrete and vital human psychology is extremely important, not only in relation to traditional, academic, scientific ... psychology, but also ... in relation to ... extremely interesting and in their own way very effective directions of practical psychology...” [19, p. 151].

Literature has a truly enormous influence on a person. K.G. Paustovsky describes his state after reading “Easy Breathing”: “Everything inside me trembled with sadness and love. <...> for the first time ... I understood what art is and what its uplifting and eternal power is” [38, p. 148]. The famous puppeteer Sergei Obraztsov

¹ “The Tale of Reason” was first published in 1972 on the pages of the “Znamya” with a preface by Arseny Gulyga, who called it “a story of a research plan” [13, p. 143]: “Language is a form of thought, and the idea of glorifying reason... helped him find words simple and expressive” [13, p. 144].

recalls Mayakovsky's performance half a century later, which seems to be burned into his memory: "this heroic and tragic conversation of his with the future, his account of his entire life" [35, p. 297]. It is no coincidence that I.V. Strakhov, who devoted a monograph to the analysis of L.N. Tolstoy's psychological views, called him an artist-psychologist and singled out psychological realism as the strongest side of his artistic work [45]. F.M. Dostoevsky "confessed": "They call me a psychologist, it is not true, I am only a realist in the highest sense, i.e. I depict all the depths of the human soul" *xcit.* from: 32, p. 113].

P.Ya. Galperin, who was not specifically engaged in the analysis of fiction, came to the conclusion that "in art, every depiction is a revelation, an exposure" [10, p. 562].

E.A. Klimov discovered reliable and useful knowledge in the stories of N. V. Gogol "Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka" and in this regard noted that "Gogol is not alien to thoughts appropriate for a practicing psychologist. He is the author of the expression "to provide spiritual assistance to others"" [20, p. 71].

Literature as a carrier of psychological knowledge. Scientific and artistic knowledge

The psychological content of fiction allows us to consider it as a carrier of psychological knowledge.

Let us follow philosophers in assuming that knowledge can have different sources. V.P. Zinchenko wrote about living knowledge [16]. The Russian philosopher S.L. Frank [49] drew attention to the contrast between knowledge-thought and living knowledge. For S.L. Frank, any artistic knowledge served as an example of such living knowledge. V.P. Zinchenko emphasized the adequacy of the concept of "living knowledge" in this case, but supported the author of the current publication in his desire not to exclude the concept of "non-scientific knowledge" from scientific circulation. Due to the duality of the latter, which contains an indication of the absence of knowledge, it is possible to use another concept – "extra-scientific knowledge" as a synonym for the concept of "living knowledge".

However, I would like to draw attention to another possible option for defining a non-scientific source of knowledge. A.A. Melik-Pashayev and Z.N. Novlyanskaya in the book "Psychology and literature in a dialogue about a person" [41] cites S.S. Averintsev and M.M. Bakhtin, who wrote about "other-scientific knowledge." Indeed, M.M. Bakhtin in his work "Towards the Methodology of the Humanities" cites S.S. Averintsev's words about "other-scientific form of knowledge that has its own internal laws and criteria of accuracy" [*cit.* from: 4, p. 362]. M.M. Bakhtin draws attention to the difference between the exact sciences, which presuppose a monologue form of knowledge and one subject – the one who knows (contemplates) the thing, and the hu-

manities – sciences of the spirit, which deal with a dialogical form of knowledge, when the subject cannot be perceived as a thing and become voiceless. Due to this, humanities knowledge "cannot become scientific in the sense of the scientific nature of the exact sciences" [4, p. 362]. We encounter the attitude to art as knowledge in the article by V.P. Zinchenko [18], in which he, in turn, refers the reader to G.G. Shpet ("Art as a form of knowledge").

Summarizing the above, we will dwell on the consideration of literature as a bearer of extra-scientific psychological knowledge, since M.M. Bakhtin's comparison of exact and humanitarian sciences presupposes an appeal to sciences, while in our case we are not talking about science, but about literature as a form of art. We encounter a noteworthy analysis of the relationship between science and art in the reasoning of V.F. Tendryakov: "In art, it is not the truth of facts that is important, but the truth of feelings.

... a general conclusion: science cognizes the objective world, art – a person's perception of this world" [46, p. 123].

It would also be necessary to specifically mention the possibility of considering fiction as a bearer of extra-scientific humanitarian knowledge in general. In particular, it is precisely this reading of artistic texts that we encounter in the works of L.S. Vygotsky on defectology, in which L.S. Vygotsky "argues" with Korolenko, who describes the experiences of a blind person [7].

The psychological content of literature can be understood (or called) differently. Soviet literary scholar Lydia Ginzburg wrote about psychological and analytical prose. At the same time, she saw in psychological prose an attempt to correlate "the concept of personality inherent in a given era and social environment and its artistic depiction" [12, p. 5].

The attitude we are developing towards literature as a carrier of psychological knowledge is not new for psychology. G. Allport identified the problem of the existence of two approaches to understanding personality – psychological and literary – and set the task of reconciling them.

Developing the idea of G. Allport, B.S. Bratus` discovered in literature a number of useful "edifications for scientific psychology, relating both to a specific research process and to self-awareness, self-education of a professional psychologist" [5, p. 56], but at the same time he drew attention to significant limitations in the use of artistic material by scientific psychology.

As the experimental approach develops, there is a temptation to abandon the appeal to literary texts, however, according to A.Sh. Tkhostov, the intuitive accuracy of writers provides "a kind of 'ecological validity' to psychological interpretation" [48, p. 109]. The consideration of literature as a carrier of psychological knowledge presupposes the clarification of the fundamental

differences between scientific and non-scientific psychological knowledge. We find an attempt to solve this problem in the works of S.L. Frank. He considers Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, Maupassant and Ibsen to be teachers of psychology; and he suggests looking for the necessary material for real psychology among clinical observations of the mentally ill. However, S.L. Frank emphasizes that it is unacceptable to demand that thinkers-artists like Dostoevsky, Tolstoy and Ibsen or dreamers and preachers like Nietzsche and Maeterlinck give their thoughts and observations a scientific form. He sees danger where “such literature is either taken as a substitute for scientific knowledge, or itself makes such a claim” [49, p. 427]. If we return to literature as a carrier of non-scientific psychological knowledge, then we can identify at least two of its fundamental differences from scientific knowledge. Firstly, scientific psychological knowledge is a product of the work of professional psychologists, while a huge amount of psychological work in literature is carried out by the author. Another thing is that a writer sometimes turns out to be more of a psychologist than a professional, and this speaks of the psychological intuition of the creators of artistic texts – as Marina Tsvetaeva wrote: “the most valuable thing in poetry and in life is what fell through” [51, p. 362].

Secondly, scientific psychological knowledge is the result of research using psychological methods of work. The writer has artistic methods, thanks to which the sequence of certain events (or experiences, or contemplations of nature) turns from a description of everyday life into a work of art.

Psychology is a science, and literature is an art, however, from the fact that scientific knowledge differs from non-scientific knowledge, it does not follow that the latter should be abandoned. Literary knowledge is valuable not only in itself, it, as S.L. Frank notes, “provides the richest food for scientific thought” [49, p. 427]. Moreover, according to V.P. Zinchenko, “art is decades, if not centuries, ahead of science in the knowledge of the inanimate and especially the living” [17, p. 439]. Isn't it better to use the non-scientific psychological knowledge inherent in literature for scientific psychological purposes?

Psychology of Literature: The Work of the Reader

The perception of a literary text is the subject of special analysis.

The reader is active – this idea is found in the works of philosophers, writers, psychologists, etc. L.S. Vygotsky wrote: “... artistic perception is not accessible to everyone, and the perception of a work of art is a difficult and tedious mental work” [9, p. 278]. A work of art is perceived not only by the ears and eyes, “there is a complex constructive activity carried out by the listener or viewer and consisting in the fact that from the presented

external impressions the perceiver himself constructs and creates an aesthetic object” [9, p. 279]. A.A. Leontiev, considering art as communication, notes that, like any communication, art must be taught: “A person who perceives art also creates it, and we need to teach him to create art” [24, p. 300]. In his book on psycholinguistics, he writes about the “psycholinguistic theory of text comprehension” [23, p. 141] and cites M.M. Bakhtin's words that the content of the text is polyphonic and multi-aspect, and then clarifies: “the recipient ‘reads’ the text” [23, p. 143].

D.A. Leontiev sees the mechanism of interaction of the individual with the objective forms of culture and, indirectly through the latter, with other individuals in the creation and perception of art, and writes about art as a mechanism for transmitting meanings [26].

As for fiction, its perception was the subject of special concern for writers.

First of all, let us turn to the analysis of the reader's work by writers, since their view in this case can be called a professional search for ways to “reach the reader.” In addition, this corresponds to the above-expressed idea of the existence of two approaches: scientific and artistic, literary.

Russian writer Ya.B. Knyazhnin, characterizing the work of understanding the text, wrote about three types of reading: “There are three ways of reading: first, to read and not to understand; second, to read and understand; third, to read and understand even what is not written” [cit. by: 21, p. 231]. M.M. Bakhtin specifically emphasized: the text awaits active understanding, which is always dialogic [4]. The above-mentioned S.I. Povarnin wrote about how difficult it is to become a reader: “We will find Goethe's words true: “These good people do not even suspect what labor and time it takes to learn to read. I myself have spent 80 years on this and still cannot say that I have fully achieved my goal” [39, p. 213]. S.I. Povarnin's contemporary, the Englishman S. Maugham, added in his book *Summing Up*, written in his mature years: “I read slowly and do not know how to skim through books” [34, p. 94].

S.Ya. Marshak, a well-known children's writer, wrote articles about literature in which he reflected not only on the writer, but also on the reader. In the essay “On the Talented Reader” he noted: “... the reader is an irreplaceable person. Without him, not only our books, but also the works of Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Pushkin are just a mute and dead pile of paper” [31, p. 99]. But one must become a Reader in the true sense of the word, and S. Ya. Marshak writes about the great work that the reader does: “The reader ... must and wants to work ... Literature needs talented readers as well as talented writers” [31, p. 105]. The aforementioned essay by S.Ya. Marshak's “On the Talented Reader”, first published in the magazine “Novy Mir” in 1958, was later included by the

writer in the 1961 collection “Education by Word”. In the same 1961, the magazine “Questions of Literature” published an article by the philosopher and literary scholar V.F. Asmus “Reading as Labor and Creativity”. A random coincidence in time or a non-random product of time? V.F. Asmus quite rightly notes that most readers do not even think about whether reading is labor; they are not inclined to follow the work of their own thoughts, which occurs during the reading of fiction. V.F. Asmus notes what a lot of work is needed so that “the life depicted by the author arises “secondarily”, becomes life for his reader” [3, p. 56]. In order for reading to be fruitful, the reader must work hard himself, and in addition to the work necessary to simply reproduce a sequence of phrases and words, the reader must expend “special, complex, and, moreover, truly creative work” (ibid.).

In the process of reading, the reader is active, the special activity of his consciousness is regulated by two attitudes: on the one hand, he treats what he is reading as a kind of reality, and on the other, he realizes that the piece of life shown by the author is not immediate life, but its image. Thus, in the process of reading, the reader possesses a kind of dialectic and sees “the real equivalent of artistic fiction” [3, p. 59].

V.F. Asmus poses a question about the content of the reader’s work, which is important for our subsequent presentation. In the process of reading a work of art, the reader to some extent repeats the path of thought and feeling taken by the author, but he does not follow the author’s route exactly and with a result different from the author’s. Moreover, the more complex the image of the heroes, manifested in a series of their actions, the more significant the variations in the reader’s awareness, understanding and evaluation. However, this does not mean that reading a work of art is a process in which subjectivity and arbitrariness prevail, but only proves that the activity of the reader, viewer, listener himself leads to awareness of the content of a work of art. V.F. Asmus concludes: “The content of a work of art does not pass – like water pouring from a jug to another – from the work into the reader’s head. It is reproduced, recreated by the reader himself – according to the guidelines given in the work itself, but with the end result determined by the mental, spiritual, spiritual activity of the reader” [3, p. 62].

The reader’s activity is creativity, and the creative result of reading depends not only on the reader’s state at the moment of reading, but also on his entire spiritual biography. S. Maugham drew attention to this “bias” of the reader, conditioned not so much by the intellectual as by the personal exactingness of the reader. “I have come to the conclusion,” he wrote, “that I shall never find the one book that fully satisfies me, which I am looking for – I will not find it for the reason that such a book can only be some expression of myself” [34, p. 261].

Thus, the difficulty of understanding fiction is a relative concept, and the ability to “understand” depends on the level of reading culture. “Incomprehensibility” in art is “an inaccurate name for the reader’s laziness, helplessness, virginity of the reader’s artistic biography, the absence of modesty and desire to work in him” [3, p. 64].

If S. Ya. Marshak and V.F. Asmus writes about the work of the reader from the standpoint of literary criticism, then the question involuntarily arises about how psychologists see the work of the reader. What is hidden behind the process of perceiving a literary text if it cannot be presented as pouring from one jug to another?

B.G. Ananyev, in connection with the discussion of issues of the psychology of art, set the task of studying the formation of artistic talent and, as working concepts that can be used, settled on “interiorization” and “exteriorization” [2]. He noted that from the first days of life, a child manifests himself as a viewer, listener, and creator. A person becomes a reader before he learns to read, since the mechanism of interiorization in the field of art is often independent of a person.

However, another understanding of interiorization as an active process is possible, which is true for both the perception of art and artistic creativity. Let us turn to the study of the process of interiorization by P.Ya. Galperin. L.S. Vygotsky wrote that the nature of aesthetic experience has not yet been sufficiently studied, but “we are convinced that a complex constructive activity is taking place here... which consists in the fact that from the presented external impressions the perceiver himself constructs and creates an aesthetic image...” [9, p. 279]. The research of P. Ya. Galperin allows us to come closer to understanding what kind of psychological work lies behind the active creation of an aesthetic image. The result of his research was the understanding of interiorization as a transition from the non-psychic to the psychic and, in this regard, the discovery of the answer to the question of the origin of the psyche, which was reflected in the most systematized form in the article “On the Question of Interiorization”. At the same time, attention is drawn to the commonality of the formulations in this article by P. Ya. Galperin and the above-mentioned work by V.F. Asmus.

The process of interiorization, according to P.Ya. Galperin, means that “the mental plane is not an empty vessel into which some thing is placed, that the process of interiorization is the process of formation of the internal plane. [10, p. 430]. Transfer to the internal plane is “the process of its formation, and not a simple replenishment with new content” [ibid.]. V. F. Asmus wrote about this, noting that the content of a work of art is recreated by the reader.

Thus, the process of reading as understanding a literary text can be presented as a process of interiorization of objectively given literary samples into the subjective property of the subject, as a transition from the

non-mental (for the reader this is the author's text) to the mental, which, according to P.Ya. Galperin, helps to overcome the eternal gap between them. At the same time, the study of the stage-by-stage formation of mental actions allowed P.Ya. Galperin "was the first to reveal the meaning of the "transition from the outside to the inside" as a condition (but only a condition!) for the transformation of a non-mental phenomenon into a mental one" [10, p. 432]. P.Ya. Galperin formulates his understanding of interiorization in a polemic with L.S. Vygotsky, noting that in experimental studies of concepts, the fact of transferring external forms of action to internal ones appeared, but this did not change the process itself in essence. And only the line of genetic research restored the basic meaning of the concept of interiorization. Through the prism of such an idea of interiorization, one can also consider the perception of an artistic text, while the latter is a special type of art. Cultural-historical psychology of art acquires a concrete sound, the circle is closed: from L.S. Vygotsky's ideas about the formation of higher mental functions and higher forms of behavior, a special case of which is reading, to P.Ya. Galperin's doctrine of interiorization and further – to L.S. Vygotsky's psychology of art at a new level. The question inevitably arises: how, if at all possible, can we organize the formation of the skill (action) of reading, not only as mastering signs, but also as comprehending meanings? P.Ya. Galperin studied the formation of an objective action, and so far it remains unclear what might be hidden behind this action, given that each reader has his own meanings, which has been repeatedly pointed out by authors of works of art. A.N. Leontiev also wrote about the focus of art on comprehending the "personal meaning of reality, reality" [29, p. 184]: "... the most difficult thing in the art of words is to go beyond meaning in the material of meaning" [ibid.].

The Future of Literary Psychology: Dialogue of Science and Art

So, what happens to a person who reads, as well as to a person who does not read?

Attempts to answer this and similar questions primarily involve turning to scientifically based data, but the specific nature of the subject of study – Homo Legens – directs the search towards combining scientific and other knowledge, the result of which is an interdisciplinary approach.

B.S. Bratus` wrote that the analysis of literary data cannot be the main, and even more so the only one in understanding the living movement of a person's personality. At the same time, literature as a carrier of non-scientific knowledge is worthy of the most careful psychological study.

Writer S.Ya. Marshak reflects on a talented reader, philosopher and writer V.F. Asmus explains what lies behind the reader's creativity, and psychologist P.Ya. Galperin finds a law – the law of interiorization, explaining the birth and development of a reader. Thus, the productivity of turning to both scientific and other sources of psychological knowledge in developing issues of literary psychology is obvious. A.A. Leontiev noted that in any science there are problems that cannot be solved only by its own means [22] – the problems of literary psychology are among them, which determines the appeal to an interdisciplinary approach.

Our conversation touched on the origins of cultural-historical psychology – the psychology of art using the example of the psychology of literature, which was considered from two sides: the writer and the reader. If in the first case we are dealing with an objectively existing literary work, then in the second – with its subjective reflection by the reader. L.S. Vygotsky's general position on art as a social technique of feelings received specific psychological content using the example of the formation of the Reader. At the same time, it is difficult not to agree with A.A. Leontiev that this technique can be closed to the reader if "he does not participate in the act of communication through art as an equal" [24, p. 313]. Recognizing that not every work is intended for any reader, any agreeable person, A.A. Leontiev specifically specifies that "every truly significant work is significant in that it is potentially accessible to any reader... provided that he has mastered the basics of the language of a given art" [24, p. 314].

An additional proof of the truth of L.S. Vygotsky's definition of art is the coincidence of scientific and literary opinions in assessing the purpose of art. If for L.S. Vygotsky "Art is, rather, the organization of our behavior for the future, an installation forward, a requirement that may never be realized, but which makes us strive beyond our life to what lies beyond it" [8, p. 243], then for A. Maurois "Art is an attempt to create another, more humane world next to the real world" [33, p. 31]. The philosopher Arseny Gulyga drew attention to the productivity of combining scientific and artistic analysis: turning to the philosophical simpler M. Zoshchenko, he called his story an example of the scientific and artistic genre [14, p. 700]. In this case, it seems very promising to turn to such sources, which may include the works of V.V. Rozanov, Yu.K. Olesha, I.G. Ehrenburg, B.L. Pasternak, K.I. Chukovsky, including foreign authors – for example, D. Orwell; the list can be continued.

The words of A.A. Leontiev become clear not so much about the purpose of art, but about its necessity. He drew attention to the fact that in the life of both an individual and society as a whole there is something that seems superfluous, a luxury. Does a person need Bach and Blok? A.A. Leontyev concludes: "There are things without which each of us individually can live, but society as a whole cannot" [24, p. 297]. Returning to L.S. Vygotsky's

understanding of art as a social technique of feelings, A.A. Leontyev writes about the development of personality through communication through art: “Art is a kind

of ‘testing ground’ where people learn to be people” [24, p. 350]. And fiction is, without a doubt, perhaps the most productive testing ground.

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Children’s Play in the Limelight of Contemporary Psychological Concepts. Reflections after Reading the Textbook about Play

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Abstract

The article is devoted to consideration and analysis of the new textbook “Early and Preschool Child Play”, published in 2024. The authors strove to carry out such an analysis not simply in the framework of a review, but to consider the content of the textbook through the prism of contemporary views of psychologists on children’s play in early and preschool age, taking account of classical and non-classical (in the terminology of V.T. Kudryavtsev) theories, primarily from the position of cultural-historical psychology. Thus, the main goal of the theoretical study was to analyze the content of the textbook “Early and Preschool Child Play”, identifying the positions of the authors on the key issues of the phenomenon under consideration in the context of current scientific ideas about play in early and preschool ages. The analysis conducted showed the presence of substantial differences between the authors in understanding and interpreting some aspects of children’s play, which once more indicates the phenomenon complexity under study and its insufficient development of not only the external manifestations of children’s play activity, but also the internal processes that generate this activity, both in theoretical and empirical aspects. At the same time, according to the authors of the article, the publication of the textbook “Early and Preschool Child Play” is undoubtedly a significant and essential step in psychological and pedagogical science to embrace both the well-studied aspects of children’s play and still unresolved problems of this phenomenon.

Keywords: cultural-historical approach, children’s play, early age, preschool age, adult intervention, digital games.

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Детская игра в оптике современных психологических представлений. Размышления по прочтении учебника об игре

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Резюме

Статья посвящена рассмотрению и анализу нового учебника «Игра ребенка раннего и дошкольного возраста», опубликованного в 2024 г. При этом авторы стремились осуществить такой анализ не просто в жанре рецензии, а рассмотреть содержание учебника через призму современных взглядов психологов на игру детей раннего и дошкольного возраста с учетом классических и не(о)классических (в терминологии В.Т. Кудрявцева) теорий, прежде всего с позиций культурно-исторической психологии. Таким образом, была реализована основная цель теоретического исследования — провести анализ содержания учебника «Игра ребенка раннего и дошкольного возраста», выявив позиции авторов по ключевым проблемам рассматриваемого феномена в контексте современных научных представлений об игре в раннем и дошкольном возрастах. Проведенный анализ показал наличие существенных расхождений авторов в понимании и трактовке некоторых аспектов детской игры, что в очередной раз свидетельствует о сложности изучаемого феномена и недостаточной разработанности как в теоретическом, так и в эмпирическом плане не только внешних проявлений игровой активности детей, но и внутренних процессов, порождающих эту активность. Вместе с тем, по мнению авторов статьи, выход в свет учебника «Игра ребенка раннего и дошкольного возраста» без сомнения является значимым и существенным шагом психолого-педагогической науки в освещении как хорошо изученных сторон детской игры, так и остающихся пока неразрешенными проблем этого феномена.

Ключевые слова: культурно-исторический подход, детская игра, ранний возраст, дошкольный возраст, вмешательство взрослого, цифровые игры

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Introduction

After careful examination of the textbook “Early and Preschool Child Play” (I.N. Galasyuk [et al.]; edited by I.N. Galasyuk, A.A. Shvedovskaya, E.V. Bodrova, O.V. Rubtsova. — Moscow: Yurait Publishing House, 2024. — 424 p.), some ideas arose related to the need not only to respond to this extraordinary event — the publication of a textbook entirely devoted to the problem of children’s play — but also to express some thoughts regarding the phenomenon of play under consideration through the prism of psychological ideas reflected in contemporary foreign and domestic publications.

Domestic researchers developed many theories of children’s play (Venger, Mikhailenko, 1978; Vygotsky, 1966, 2023; Kravtsov, Kravtsova, 2017; Trifonova, 2022; Elkonin, 1978). Starting from the works of L.S. Vygotsky within the framework of cultural-historical psychology (Vygotsky, 2023) and J. Piaget and his followers, who spoke from the standpoint of genetic psychology, time and again the focus of attention of psychologists has been on play. Many psychological articles and stand-alone

books have been published about it over the past hundred years in Russia and abroad. However, as V.T. Kudryavtsev justifiably notes, after the famous Symposium on the Psychology and Pedagogy of Children’s Play, organized by the Institute of Preschool Education of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR in October 1964, “no attempts were made to discuss the nature and development paths of children’s (preschool) play comprehensively in our country” (Galasyuk et al., 2024, pp. 12–13).

The publication of the textbook “Early and Preschool Child Play” has partly compensated for the absence of discussions and debates on this issue for the past half-century and more and enables not only students but also all specialists interested in this topic to familiarize themselves with a whole range of views on the phenomenon of children’s play from different sides and in different aspects, collected under one cover. This fact seems to be extremely important for some reasons. Despite a significant number of studies of this phenomenon, conducted both in our country and abroad, the secret of children’s play remains not revealed completely. More-

over, one can probably state that the deeper it is studied, the more it generates new enigmas. In connection with the foregoing, the semi-legendary story comes to mind about Albert Einstein, who having met and talked with Jean Piaget, a great Swiss psychologist, exclaimed: “How simple is what I do compared to what you do! Theoretical physics is child’s play compared to the mysteries of children’s play!”

It should be noted that when analyzing the content of the textbook, one can identify not only the key topics clearly outlined by the authors, but also those scientific categories that stay in the limelight among many of the specialists who undertook the writing of this serious academic piece of work. These are such categories as the structure of preschoolers’ play, typology of play, parental responsiveness, play in the era of “digital childhood”, adult intervention in children’s play, and many others. Among these categories, such a category as children’s subjectivity was mentioned, but it was not analyzed thoroughly. In several paragraphs, the authors turned their attention to the fact that the child’s subjectivity manifests itself and develops in play, but the essence of this concept, its characteristics, psychological mechanisms, and the possibilities of play in the development of children’s subjectivity were not given in detail.

In this regard, the authors of the article set their main objective: to carry out the analysis of the contents of the textbook “Early and Preschool Child Play”, trying to determine the viewpoints of the authors on the key issues of the phenomenon under consideration in the context of contemporary scientific ideas and concepts about play in early and preschool age.

Content analysis of the textbook “Early and Preschool Child Play”

The structure of the textbook is subject to the thematic principle: the main text was divided not into sections or parts, but into the three most important themes, which contain paragraphs. Each of the paragraphs deals with a certain aspect of the corresponding topic and ends with questions about the text, an educational assignment, and a reference list. Almost all paragraphs were written by different authors (with few rare cases when one or two authors are credited with writing two or even three paragraphs). Perhaps there is no need to describe in detail how the paragraphs were distributed between the authors of the textbook – the reader can find out from the preface of the book at will.

It is not possible to analyze the content of each paragraph in detail due to the limited volume of the article. Let us pay attention only to some of the texts which, in our opinion, are the most significant.

This primarily concerns two paragraphs that open the first theme and, in fact, set, like a tuning fork, the meaningful tone for all subsequent educational materials. This first theme was “Fundamental and Applied Problems of Children’s Play”. It is not surprising that the first “ringleaders” entering the problematic “field of

play” were two renowned specialists in preschool childhood, two doctors of psychological sciences V.T. Kudryavtsev and G.G. Kravtsov.

The first of them draws the reader’s attention to how play influences the development of a child’s imagination. He convincingly proves that “reducing imagination to one of its components – the operation of sign-symbolic substitution – is a principal one, but, alas, hitherto a widespread psychological prejudice” (Galasyuk et al., p. 23). This issue was partly touched on by him earlier (Kudryavtsev, 1999).

G.G. Kravtsov proposes no less profound and fundamental approach to the problem of children’s play. The same way as V.T. Kudryavtsev, paying tribute to the primary imagination as a prerequisite for children’s play and imagination in the ultimate result as an independent psychological function (according to L.S. Vygotsky), G.G. Kravtsov pays special attention to the relationship between play and learning. At the same time, the author believes that “... the groundless use of play in teaching children often does more harm than good, adversely affecting the natural development of a play activity itself and does not ensure effective learning, which entails the mental development of children” (Galasyuk et al., p. 36).

Let us consider some more important ideas formulated by the authors in different paragraphs and in different topics covered in the textbook. The idea of the necessity for children’s development of free, independent, spontaneous, creative play, initiated and “generated” by the child himself, literally runs through the entire textbook as a common thread. For instance, E.V. Trifonova quotes a very important assertion by A.V. Zaporozhets that play “...equips a preschooler with accessible methods of active recreation, modeling with the help of external, objective actions of such content that would be unattainable under other conditions and, consequently, could not be truly mastered” (Zaporozhets, 1986, p. 241).

In the first theme, we found the paragraph devoted to children’s play in the context of digital transformation to be quite interesting (by the way, the authors address the issues of play in the digital age, children’s use of games on various gadgets, and “digital childhood” in different places in the textbook).

This theme is extremely topical at present. The analysis of play in “digital childhood” by O.V. Rubtsova, the author of this paragraph, is worthy of note.

In addition, she examines such an important concept as digital toys and gives their classification. Here, one of the latest and most popular classifications is of great interest, within which digital toys are divided into three categories: interactive, smart, and connected. This classification is based on the following criteria:

- 1) the level of technological complexity of a toy.
- 2) the way of interaction with a toy.
- 3) possible types of activities with a toy (the degree of autonomy and interactivity of a toy) (Hall, Paracha, Flint, 2021).

In the framework of the second theme “Play interaction between a child and an adult”, the latent discussion that unfolded on the pages of the textbook about the

degree of possible adult intervention in children's play is of undoubted interest. The position of I.N. Galasyuk appears to be very important, which shows that in play and the play space, the leading role should be given to the child, and the adult only creates conditions for his self-realization and the embodiment of his capabilities in play actions. For example, the work of A.N. Yakshina, T.N. Le-van (Yakshina, Le-van, 2023) is devoted to the study of the issue of guidance in children's play by an adult, in particular, by a teacher, in contemporary conditions. It is impossible not to pay attention to the fact that there is a new round of interest in spontaneous, creative play of a child in contemporary research projects (Aleksandrova, 2023).

In the third theme "Children's play in diagnostics and remediation" the most interesting material is related to the "Fairytale semantic differential" technique developed by V.F. Petrenko and O.V. Mitina. Due to a lack of psychodiagnostic techniques for young children and the obvious complexity of carrying out a diagnostic assessment during this period (V.A. Yakimenko, among others, wrote about this (Yakimenko, 2021)), the emergence of this technique is an important event in the problematic field of children's play.

The technique "Playing House" proposed by A.A. Shvedovskaya is no less interesting tool for studying the child's experiences and perception of parent-child relationships. One of her first publications on the problem of using games as a psychodiagnostic tool came out more than twenty years ago (Shvedovskaya, 2003).

The developments by N.V. Zvereva and L.V. Tokarskaya, dedicated to the diagnosis of parental perception of a special child's play, as well as the characteristics of the play activities of children with limited abilities (CLA) and approaches to its evaluation will undoubtedly be useful for specialists working with children with limited abilities. It should be noted that in recent years, there is an upsurge of specialists' interest in studying the games of children with various somatic and mental disorders (Kolyagina, Kozlova, 2023).

A vast array of methodology tools placed in the Appendices can be considered a tremendous advantage of the textbook under consideration. Here students and specialists who are already working will find the most interesting psychodiagnostic techniques for studying and evaluating children's play, as well as recommendations for parents on interacting with the child in the process of play.

A brief analysis of the content of the multi-page textbook "Early and Preschool Child Play" allows us to speak about many fruitful ideas expressed by its authors and those categories that were considered and discussed above.

Such concepts as "subject", "subjectivity" and "subjective perception" are rarely found in the text. However, no detailed analysis of the manifestation of subjectivity and its development in the process of unfolding children's play could be found in the textbook. On page 315 there is a reference to the Diagnostics of subjective manifestations of preschool children in play activity pro-

posed by O.V. Akulova and O.V. Solntseva. They suggest identifying the following indicators of preschoolers' subjective manifestations in the process of sociodramatic and directing games:

- interest in participating in story games
- interest in story games, their content
- selectivity, independence, and creativity
- communicative and play skills
- social circle in a game (Galasyuk et al., 2024).

However, the indicators of children's manifestations of subjectivity in play were not disclosed in detail. Meanwhile, it is hard to overestimate the importance of the phenomenon of subjectivity in the context of children's play. Reading the textbook "Early and Preschool Child Play" gave rise to a wish, which is justified in our opinion, to complement the authors' reasoning with a reflection on the relationship between play and the development of children's subjectivity.

The content of the new textbook in the context of modern psychological concepts of the game

A wide range of opinions about the essence, structure, criteria, nature, dynamic characteristics, and other attributes of play emerges, as a consequence of the enigmatic character of the phenomenon of play in early and preschool childhood (however, this enigmatic character persists in older ages).

When a textbook is created by a large team of authors (and by the way, there are 25 of them, all of them are excellent specialists in the field of preschool children's play), the situation of different opinions inevitably arises. It is connected, apparently, with the situation natural for any scientific milieu (it seems, for the psychological one especially), when researchers have different views on one and the same subject.

When it comes to such an extremely complex psychological phenomenon as children's play, opinions turn out to be not only different in some respects, but often simply a polar opposite. The authors also evaluate differently the views of quite authoritative experts in the field of children's play. For example, someone criticizes E.O. Smirnova's position, and someone constantly quotes her works, considering the understanding of arbitrariness in children's play proposed by her as the only correct one.

Perhaps, one thing that unites the positions of the authors of the textbook under consideration is the reliance on the ideas of the cultural-historical approach and, first of all, on the most important scientific statements and postulates on the essence of children's play formulated by L.S. Vygotsky. However, sometimes both the understanding of these postulates and the conclusions arising from them, according to the authors, turn out to be different again.

When dealing with the most important problematic issues raised in the first theme of the textbook "Fundamental and Applied Problems of Children's Play", we paid attention to the first paragraph of this theme writ-

ten by V. Kudryavtsev. His main idea, in our opinion, is not that he analyzed the role of play in the development of a child's imagination (L.S. Vygotsky wrote about this as early as L.S. Vygotsky), but in a new understanding of the essence of children's play in its connection with meaning.

Pointing out the fact that the “non-(neo)classical” ideas of L.S. Vygotsky should underlie the understanding of children's play, he emphasized (partly engaging in a controversy with D.B. Elkonin) that play is not just handing down to children and their comprehension of historically given “canons of adulthood” or a way of modeling social relations, for the child it turns out to be “a form of self-attitude, where the immediate and more distant prospect of personal growth is constructed and conditionally “tested” in terms of meaning” (Galasyuk et al., 2024, c. 29). In other words, the category of meaning for V.T. Kudryavtsev, which is closely connected with the categories of imagination and personality, comes to the fore in understanding children's play. In this respect, his ideas are consonant with the position of A.G. Asmolov (The Worlds and Meanings of Alexander Asmolov (Conversation with a Scientist), 2024).

Such an authoritative scientist as G.G. Kravtsov advocates no less original and, to a certain extent, unexpected position. For example, he believes that didactic games do not exist at all from the psychological point of view, that this is a special activity. Moreover, he adheres to a fundamentally different position, as compared to the representatives of the activity approach, regarding will and arbitrariness, which, of course, play a very important role in children's play, but cannot be considered as different abilities, which E.O. Smirnova wrote about, for example. G.G. Kravtsov asserts that there is a significant and essential connection of genetic continuity between will and arbitrariness. The author discerned external, activity consciousness and internal introspective consciousness. Then there is an extremely important statement that contradicts A.N. Leontiev's point of view: “From these positions, what we are used to calling children's play activity in fact is no activity at all, but introspection of the emotional and semantic sphere of the psyche but carried out in a form accessible to preschool children, namely, in external expressive actions with substitute objects and with their bodies” (Galasyuk et al., 2024, p. 46). Of course, even many of the authors of the textbook in question may disagree with this position, but, in our opinion, it is quite convincing and deserves careful attention.

In general, G.G. Kravtsov's criticism of the approach of A.N. Leontiev and his followers regarding the understanding of the essence of motive and the role of the child's motivation and need sphere in the play process seems, in our opinion, to be very well founded.

O.V. Rubtsova suggested important ideas and gave relevant information that would undoubtedly be of interest to all those who are immersed in the problems of contemporary children's play.

Her analysis of the foreign researchers' works oriented to our domestic theories of play is very interesting.

Firstly, O.V. Rubtsova notes that in English-language literature, such terms as connected play and digital play are used to describe contemporary children's play. Thus, when considering play from the standpoint of the cultural-historical concept, O. Marsh (2017) acted as a supporter of the theory of connected play, and M. Fleer (2016) developed the idea of digital play. Secondly, it is worth paying attention to a very important idea suggested by O.V. Rubtsova (Rubtsova, 2019, 2024), that a virtual game situation is by no means an analogue of an imaginary situation in a traditional game, which L.S. Vygotsky wrote about. We can find similar ideas about “digital” games and toys in other modern publications (Tokarchuk, Salomatova, Gavrilova, 2024).

In the second theme, in our opinion, the paragraph written by E.G. Yudina is of particular importance. As E.G. Yudina points out, an opinion shared by almost everyone has emerged in recent years that the “disappearance” of children's free play is related to the utilitarian-pragmatic position of adults, expressed in constant attempts to use play as a learning resource for preparing children for school and, in general, for the future. Owing to parents' demands, teachers of preschool educational institutions are forced to take control of children's play into their own hands. However, E.G. Yudina showed in her studies that the reason for the “oppression” of play in kindergartens is not the parents' attitude to the priority of preparation for school (in the survey to determine the list of the main objectives of preschool educational institutions, compiled on the basis of parents' opinions, preparation for school as an objective of a nursery school lies in fourth or fifth place among parents), but the fact that the current generation of parents was deprived of play in childhood and therefore they do not understand why their children need play. That is why, they put children's play in last place in the list of preschool educational institution tasks (Galasyuk et al., 2024). It is worth noting that among the issues raised in the textbook and those problems related to preschoolers' play that, in the opinion of the authors, are still awaiting their solution, the issue of the child's subjectivity development in the process of children's play was not considered deeply enough — contrary to what it deserves.

Conclusions

1. The publication of the textbook “Early and Preschool Child Play” (I.N. Galasyuk [et al.]; edited by I.N. Galasyuk, A.A. Shvedovskaya, E.V. Bodrova, O.V. Rubtsova. — Moscow: Yurait Publishing House, 2024. — 424 p.) can be considered an important event both for those who are just studying psychological science and for the scientific psychological community in general, especially for specialists dealing with the problems of early and preschool ages and the psychological content of children's play.

2. The textbook brings up several questions regarding the phenomenon of children's play that have remained unresolved in psychological and pedagogical science: the

structure of play in early and preschool childhood, the criteria and typology of play, the manifestation and development of various mental functions in play, the role of an adult in children's play and the required and sufficient degree of his intervention in children's play, the specific features of contemporary play of preschoolers and its specificity in the space of "digital transformation" and many others. The positions of the authors on these issues sometimes differ quite significantly, which gives an opportunity us to consider the new textbook as some sort of the field for scientific discussions.

3. Among the abundance of the categories examined in detail in the framework of the above-mentioned issues (parental responsiveness, play in the era of "digital childhood", adult intervention in children's play, etc.), a very important problem of children's subjectivity was left out of the discussion, that develops in the process of play.

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4. The study prospects are, first of all, the organization and implementation of experimental studies aimed at examining children's play as a space for the development of the child's subjectivity.

Limitations. When generalizing the results, the following should be identified as limitations: consideration of psychological problems of play in early and preschool childhood is mainly based on the content of the textbook "Early and Preschool Child Play" and sources related to its content, therefore some significant works devoted to these problems were left out. The main theoretical postulates on children's subjectivity in the context of play were formulated without involving empirical data; the theory of human subjectivity cannot be recognized to be developed completely, which determines some schematic character, incomplete coverage of all the specifics of the subjectivity development in the early and preschool ages, outlined in this textbook.

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